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BIOGRAPHIA BRITANNICA.

VOLUME THE FIFTH.

A Character of this Work, by GILBERT WEST, Esq; at the Conclusion of his Poem on EDUCATION, in a Note on the Words *Great Lives explain.*

'I CANNOT forbear taking occasion from these words, to make my 'acknowledgments to the writers of *Biographia Britannica*, for the 'pleasure and profit I have lately received, from perusing the two first 'volumes of that useful and entertaining work, of which the *monumental* '*structure* abovementioned, decorated with the statues of *great* and *good* 'men, is no improper emblem. This work, which contains *The Lives of* '*the most eminent Persons who have flourished in Great Britain and Ireland,* '*from the earliest Ages, down to the present Time*, appears to me, as far as 'it has hitherto gone, to be executed with great *spirit*, *accuracy*, and '*judgment*; and deserves, in my opinion, to be encouraged by all, who 'have at heart the honour of their country, and that of their particular 'families and friends; and who can any ways assist the ingenious and labo- 'rious authors, to render, as perfect as possible, a design so apparently 'calculated to serve the Publick, by setting in the truest and fullest light, 'the characters of persons already generally, though perhaps too indistinctly, 'known; and reviving from obscurity and oblivion, examples of private 'and retired merit; which, though less glaring and ostentatious than the 'former, are not, however, of a less extensive, or less beneficial influence, 'to those, who may happen not to have seen this repository of British 'glory. I cannot give a better idea of it, than in the following lines of '*Virgil*:

'Hic manus *ob Patriam pugnando* vulnera passi;	'*Here* Patriots *live, who for their* Country's good,
	'*In* fighting fields, *were prodigal of blood*;
'Quique *Sacerdotes* casti, dum vita manebat;	'Priests *of* unblemish'd lives *here make abode*,
'Quique pii *Vates & Phœbo digna* locuti;	'*And* Poets *worthy their aspiring God*:
	'*And* searching Wits *of more* mechanic parts,
'*Inventas* aut qui *vitam excoluere per artes*;	'*Who grac'd their age with* new invented arts;
'Quique *sui memores* alios fecere *merendo*.'	'*Those who to* worth *their* bounty *did extend*,
	'*And those who knew that* bounty *to* commend.'
VIRG. Æn. Lib. vi. ver. 660.	DRYDEN's Transl.

Biographia Britannica:

OR, THE

LIVES

Literary Society of Bombay

OF THE

Moſt eminent PERSONS

Who have flouriſhed in

GREAT BRITAIN

AND

IRELAND,

From the earlieſt Ages, down to the preſent Times;

Collected from the beſt Authorities, both Printed and Manuſcript,

23044 AL

And digeſted in the Manner of

Mr *BAYLE*'s HISTORICAL and CRITICAL

DICTIONARY.

VOLUME THE FIFTH.

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XX. a. 4

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THE LIVES OF THE Moſt Eminent PERSONS Who have flouriſhed in *GREAT-BRITAIN* and *IRELAND*, From the earlieſt Ages, down to the preſent Times.

L.

LATIMER [HUGH], Biſhop of Worceſter, and a Martyr, in the XVIth century, was born about the year 1480 [*A*], at Thurcaſton in Leiceſterſhire (*a*); being the ſon of Hugh Latimer, a yeoman of that place [*B*]. He was brought up with his parents in his younger years; and being their only ſon (*b*), and endowed with excellent parts, they reſolved to make a ſcholar of him. Therefore, after he had got as much learning as he could at the common ſchools in his own country, they ſent him, at the age of fourteen (*c*), to Chriſt's-college in Cambridge (*d*). He duly improved himſelf there in all academical exerciſes, and then ſtudied Divinity, in which he took the degree of Bachelor (*e*). But it ſeems he never took the degree of Doctor (*f*). At that time, and 'till the age of 30, he was a zealous and violent Papiſt, but being converted by Mr Thomas Bilney [*C*], he became as zealous a Proteſtant, and preached earneſtly

(*a*) Or, as it is vulgarly called, Thirkeſſon. See J. Foxe's Acts and Monuments, &c. edit. 1610. Vol. II. p. 1570. and T. Fuller's Worthies, in Leiceſterſhire, p. 127.

(*b*) But they had ſix daughters. J. Foxe, p. 1571.

(*c*) Foxe, ibid.

(*d*) Fuller, as above, and Godwin de Præſulib. edit. Cl. W. Richardſon, 1743, fol. p. 468.

(*e*) Foxe, as above.

(*f*) Idem, p. 1603. col. 1.

[*A*] *Was born about the year* 1480.] This I collect from a paſſage in J. Foxe's book of Martyrs (1); where it is ſaid, that at the acceſſion of K. Edw. VI. Bp Latimer 'was above 67 yeares of age.' But, from a Letter of Phil. Melanchthon, it may be concluded that he was born in 1475 (2).

[*B*] *The ſon of . . . . . . a yeoman of that place.*] So he tells us himſelf in one of his Sermons. 'My father, 'ſays he, was a yeoman, and had no lands of his owne, 'onely he had a farm of three or four pound by yeare 'at the uttermoſt, and hereupon he tilled ſo much as 'kept halfe a dozen men. He had walke for an hun'dreth ſheepe, and my mother milked 30 kine. He 'was able, and did finde the king a harnes, with himſelfe and his horſe, while he came to the place 'that he ſhould receive the King's wages. I can re'member, that I buckled his harnes, when he went to 'Blacke-heath-fielde. He kept me to ſchoole, or elſe 'I had not beene able to have preached before the 'King's Majeſty now. He maryed my Siſters with 'five pound, or xx nobles a peece, ſo that he brought 'them up in godlineſſe and feare of God. He kept hoſ'pitality for his poore neighbours. And ſome almes 'he gave to the poore, and all this did he of the ſaid 'farme. Where hee that now hath it, payeth 16 pound 'by the yeare or more, and is not able to doe any 'thing for his Prince, for himſelfe, nor for his chil'dren, or give a cup of drinke to the poore (3).'

[*C*] *At that time, he was a zealous and violent Papiſt, but being converted by Mr Bilney, &c*] This alſo

(1) Edit. 1610, p. 1579, col. 1. compared with p. 1578, col. 2.

(2) Melanchthoni Epiſt. edit. Lond. 1642, fol. col. 959.

(3) Biſhop Latimer's Sermons, edit. 1635, fol. 33.

nestly against the errors of Popery (*g*). This he could do with the more success, as he was used to the pulpit; being one of the twelve allowed, or licensed, preachers from the university of Cambridge (*h*). But his freedom brought him into trouble. For, by the procurement of some members of the university, who accused him of heresy, he was summoned before Cardinal Wolsey, and forced to subscribe such articles as were then proposed to him. However, he went back to Cambridge, where, by the means of Dr Butts, Physician to King Henry the Eighth, he became one of the great promoters of those two most important points, his Majesty's Supremacy and Divorce (*i*). Not long after, he was invited to Court, and lodged a while in Dr Butts's chamber, preaching frequently in London. And, through the interest of the said Doctor, and of Thomas Cromwell, he was presented by the King, about the year 1529, to the Rectory of Westkinton in Wiltshire (*k*). Whereupon being weary of the Court, the wickedness and hypocrisy of which did not suit his honest heart and free and open soul, he retired to his living, contrary to Dr Butts's approbation; and there instructed, not only his parishioners, but the whole neighbourhood, by his honest, zealous, and plain manner of preaching. But taking all opportunities of reflecting upon the errors of Popery, he was cited, the tenth of January 1531, to appear before the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, in the Consistory Court at St Paul's, on the 29th of the same month, to answer to certain articles [*D*]. And, after having been greatly molested, and long detained from his cure, was fain to subscribe, the 21st of March ensuing, several propositions exhibited to him (*l*) [*E*]. The King's favour and protection not only secured him from further danger, but also his Majesty promoted him, in the year 1535, to the Bishopric of Worcester (*m*) [*F*]. He behaved in that station, as he had done before, in the most industrious and exemplary manner; and taught the world not only by his constant preaching, but also by his more private instructions. Particularly he endeavoured to root out Popish superstition [*G*], and to bring on a thorough reformation, as far as his abilities could serve, or the

(*g*) See Latimer's Sermons, edit. 1635, 4to. fol. 17. a. 124. b. 292. b. and fol. 6, 12, 13, 14, 17, 23, 55, 90, 208, &c.

(*h*) Foxe, p. 1571, 1585, 1586.

(*i*) Foxe, p. 1575. and Burnet's History of the Reformation, part i. p. 87.

(*k*) Foxe, p. 1575, and Godwin, ubi supra.

(*l*) Foxe, p. 1577. See our author's Sermons, fol. 93, 94.

(*m*) Foxe, p. 1577. and Godwin, ut supra, p. 469.

also we learn from himself. 'Heere, saith he, I have 'occasion to tell you a story which happened at Cambridge. Master Bilney (or rather Saint Bilney that 'suffered death for God's word sake) the same Bilney 'was the instrument whereby God called me to knowledge, for I may thanke him next to God, for that 'knowledge that I have in the word of God. For I 'was as obstinate a Papist as any was in England, insomuch that when I should be made Batchelor of 'Divinity, my whole oration went against Phillippe 'Melancthon, and against his opinions. Bilney hearde 'mee at that time, and perceived that I was zealous 'without knowledge, and hee came to me afterward 'in my study, and desired mee for God's sake to heare 'his confession: I did so: And to say the very truth, 'by his confession I learned more than before in many 'yeares. So from that time forward, I beganne to 'smell the word of God, and forsooke the schoole-'doctors, and such fooleries (4).'—He tells us elsewhere (5) — 'that he took orders at Lincoln.' Whilst he continued a Papist at Cambridge, he was Crosskeeper of the university, which he solemnly brought forth on procession days (6).

[*D*] *To answer to certain articles.*] Those articles were, 1. That he had preached against the Virgin Mary; saying, that she was a sinner. 2. That he 'should say, that Saints were not to bee worshipped. '3. That *Ave Maria* was a salutation onely, and no 'prayer. 4. That there was no material fire in 'hell. 5. That there was no purgatory; in saying, that he had lever [rather] be in purgatory than 'in Lollard's tower (7).' In his answer, printed in J. Foxe (8), he affirms, that most of those articles were downright falsehoods; and the rest he explains in a favourable manner.—This trouble was brought upon him by some Priests of Bristol: 'which, 'as he says himself, first desired me, welcomed me, 'made me cheare, heard what I said, allowed my 'saying in all things whiles I was with them: when 'I was gone home to my benefice, perceiving that 'the people favoured me so greatlie, and that the 'Maior had appointed me to preach at Easter, privily they procured an inhibition for all them that 'had not the Bishop's licence, which they knewe well 'enough I had not, and so craftily defeated Mr Maior's appointment, pretending that they were sory 'for it, procuring also certaine preachers to blatter 'against me, as Hubberdin and Powel, with other mo, 'whom when I had brought before the Maior and 'the wise councell of the Town, to know what they 'could lay to my charge, wherefore they so declamed 'against me, they said they spake of information: howbeit no man could be brought forth that woulde abide 'by anie thing: so that they had place and time to 'bely me shamefully, but they had no place nor time 'to lay to my charge when I was present and readie 'to make them answere.'

(4) Sermons, fol. 124. b.

(5) Sermons, fol. 96. a.

(6) Fuller's History of Cambridge, p. 102.

(7) Foxe, as above, p. 1576.

(8) P. 1580.

[*E*] *Was fain to subscribe . . . . several propositions, &c.*] J. Foxe has transcribed them out of Bp Tonstall's Register: and the first are, 'I believe that 'there is a purgatorie to purge the soules of the dead 'after this life: that the soules in purgatorie are 'holpen with the masses, prayers, and almes of the 'living: that the Saints do praie as Mediatours now 'for us in heaven: that they are to be honoured of 'us in heaven, &c.' It is somewhat unaccountable, that Mr Latimer should subscribe to opinions that were so contrary to his real sentiments. But if he did, it was owing to the iniquity of the time; which was such, that he must either do so, or expose himself to the greatest dangers (9). He was troubled again afterwards for those matters, as Mr Collier relates from the Journals of Convocation: who observes, that Latimer had been delated in the Synod, in the year 1531, for maintaining erroneous doctrine in some letters written to one Greenwood of Cambridge; and that in 1532 his case was brought before the upper house of Convocation. Being requir'd to take an oath to make a true answer to interrogatories, he declined the jurisdiction of the house, and appealed to the King: but the king refusing the application, returned him to the Convocation, upon which he acknowledged himself mistaken, and was pardoned upon his submission. But now he relapsed, as they call'd it, to his former opinions. The articles he was charged with, were, his denying purgatory, &c. He had subscribed a recantation upon these heads, and promised not to preach offensively upon them for the future. Notwithstanding this engagement his conscience would not give him leave to keep his word: for in the pulpit at Bristol he declaimed against the received doctrines: and therefore to disable him in his credit, the House, at the motion of the bishop of Winchester, ordered (March 26, 1533) a copy of his submission should be sent down into those parts (10.)

[*F*] *His Majesty promoted him, in 1535, to the bishopric of Worcester.*] He was advanced thereto at the instance of Qu. Anne Boleyn, to whom he was made chaplain in the year 1534 (11), and also through Tho. Cromwell's and Dr Butts's interest (12). He was installed the 20th of August 1535 (13), and had restitution of the temporalities the 4th of October following (14).

[*G*] *He endeavoured to root out Popish superstition.*] Among other instances; when he found, he could not hinder the distribution of holy bread and holy water in his diocese, he so ordered it, that it should be managed with as little superstition as possible, and convey

(9) See J. Foxe, p. 1577.

(10) Convocation-Journal, fol. 46, 47, 53, 54. See Collier's Eccles. Hist. Vol. II. p. 75.

(11) Wharton, Anglia Sacra, pars i. p. 539.

(12) Godwin, ut supra, p. 539. and Foxe, p. 1577.

(13) Wharton, ibid.

(14) Rymer, Acta Publ. Tom. XIV p. 553.

the variable and dangerous times he lived in would permit (*n*). His great aversion to all kinds of imposture he manifested, in the great pains he took to discover the fraudulent pretensions of the Maid of Kent (*o*). And, in another affair, he shewed a due moderation and regard for posterity; namely, when the contest was in the House of Lords, in 1538, about giving all the abbey-lands to the King. The Popish Bishops consented, that the King should resume all those abbies which were of royal foundation, leaving the rest to continue according to the intention of their respective founders: and the Bishops who were favourers of the Reformation, complied absolutely with the King's will; but Latimer dissented from these, earnestly urging, that two abbies at the least in every diocese, of considerable revenues, might be preserved [*H*], for the maintenance of learned men (*p*). During his private condition, both at his country-living and the university, he had met with some enemies and opposers; but he met with great numbers, when placed in the more exalted, and *then* slippery, station of a Bishop [*I*]. However, notwithstanding all their attacks, he stood his ground, and went on zealously doing his duty through evil and good report, 'till the passing of the act for the six bloody articles. Then, his conscience not permitting him to embrace what he knew to be false and absurd, he chose to resign his Bishopric; which he did on the first of July 1539 (*q*) [*K*]. This resignation did not procure him the quiet and ease he expected. For having, soon after, been very much bruised and almost killed by the fall of a tree, and coming to London for cure, he was accused of having spoken against the six articles, and committed to the Tower, where he remained 'till the death of King Henry the Eighth, in January 1546-7 (*r*). Latimer being thereupon released, did not resume his episcopal dignity [*L*]: but he entered again upon his ministerial function, often preaching before King Edward the Sixth, and in other places [*M*], with great diligence and vigour; freely rebuking wickedness and abuses of every sort [*N*], and, as it seems, with uncommon success [*O*]. Having in

(*n*) Foxe, p. 1577, 1578.

(*o*) Richardsoni notæ ad Godwin de Præsulib. p. 469.

(*p*) Fuller's Worthies, as above, p. 128.

(*q*) Godwin, ut supra.

(*r*) Foxe, p. 1578.

vey some useful lesson to the people. For that purpose, he enjoined the priests to use the following words, *in giving holy water*;

Remember your promise in Baptisme,
Christ his mercy and bloud-shedding,
By whose most holy sprinkling
Of all your sinnes you have free pardoning.

And these *in giving holy bread*.

Of Christ's body this is a token,
Which on the crosse for our sinnes was broken.
Wherefore of your sinnes you must be forsakers,
If of Christ's death ye will be partakers (15).

[illegible]e, as above, p. 1578.

[*H*] *That two Abbies at the least in every diocese, of considerable revenues, might be preserved.*] He writ to the same purpose to Tho. Lord Cromwell; when he recommended to him the Prior of Great Malverne in Worcestershire, with an earnest desire, that his House might stand, 'not in monkery, but so as to be converted to preaching, study, and prayer.'—Adding, 'Alas, my good Lord! shall we not see *two or three* in every shire changed to such remedy (16)?'

(16) Burnet's History of the Reformation, P. i. p. 237, 238. from Cotton. Libr. Cleopat. E. iv. fol. 264.

[*I*] *He had met with some enemies and opposers, but he met with great numbers when made a Bishop.*] He gives an instance of it, in one of his Sermons; wherein he relates, That a great many persons being called before K. Henry VIII. to say their minds in certain matters; one of those persons accused him of sedition, and of having preached seditious doctrine. Whereupon he (Bp Latimer) addressed himself to that person, and asked him, 'What form of preaching he would "appoint him, to preach before a King? and, whether 'he would have him preach nothing as concerning a 'King in the King's sermon?' To which the man had nothing to say. Then the Bishop turning himself to the King, submitted to his Grace, who accepted well of his sayings. But some of his friends came to him with tears in their eyes, and told him, they looked he should have been in the Tower the same night (17). Mr Foxe gives other instances of the troubles he met with in his own country and diocese, in taking the cause of right and equity against oppression and wrong (18).

(17) Sermons, fol. 44.

(18) Foxe, p. 1578.

[*K*] *He chose to resign his Bishopric; which he did on the first of July,* 1539.] J. Foxe relates, that when the Bishop put off his rochet, in his chamber among his friends, he gave a skip on the floor for joy; saying, 'He felt his shoulders light, now he was discharged of such an heavy burden (19).'

(19) P. 1578.

[*L*] *Did not resume his Episcopal dignity.*] And for that several reasons are assigned by T. Fuller (20); but whether he has hit upon the right one, let the reader judge. He says, 'It was not for any want of favour 'from the King:—nor was it because his down-right 'sermons disobliged the courtiers, who generally delight in soft preaching as in soft cloathing: nor was 'it out of sullennesse;' because another had had his bishoprick. 'Nor have we any cause to suspect Latimer of Hooper's opinion, as distasting ceremonies, 'and so obstructing his advancement. But we impute 'it, either to his conscience (oft-times sharpest in the 'bluntest men) because he would not be built on the 'ruines of another; especially knowing Heath [his 'successor] one of a meek and moderate nature: or 'to his age, who, Barzillai like, was superannuated for 'earthly honour: or, because he found himself not 'so fit for government, better for preaching, than ordering ecclesiastical affairs. Or lastly, because he 'prophetically foresaw, that the ingratitude of the 'English nation would shorten their happinesse, and 'K. Edward's life; and he was loth to come into a 'place, onely to go out of thereof.'—I am sorry to find him, in 1548, one of the Commissioners for trying and condemning Joan Bocher; and wish he, and our first reformers, had not given any ground for the Imputation thrown upon them; that, as soon as they were freed from persecution, they turned persecutors themselves. See Strype's Life of Cranmer, Lond. 1694, p. 181.

(20) Church-history, book vii. p. 405.

[*M*] *And in other places.*] As before Katherine Brandon, Duchess of Suffolk, at Grimstorpe; at Bexterley, &c. (21). J. Foxe says, that he preached for the most part *twice* every Sunday. And tho' he was infirm, and very aged, he took so little care of sparing himself, and so little consulted his own ease; that, every morning usually, both winter and summer, he was up at his studies by two o' clock (22).

(21) See his printed Sermons.

(22) J. Foxe, p. 1579.

[*N*] *Freely rebuking wickedness and abuses of every sort.*] Of which we shall give instances, out of his Sermons.—Thus therefore he expresses himself upon the point of OPPRESSION and Injustice, in persons of all degrees. '— God is a great grand-master of the 'King's house, and will take account of every one that 'beareth rule therein, for the executing of their offices: 'whether they have justly and truly served the King 'in their offices, or no. Yea, God looketh upon the 'King himselfe, if he worke well or not. Every King 'is subject unto God, and all other men are subject 'unto the King. In a King God requireth faith, not 'excess of horses. Horses for a King be good and 'necessary, if they be well used, but horses are not 'to be preferred above poor men.—God appointeth every King a sufficient living for his estate and 'degree both by landes and other customes. And it is 'lawful for every King to enjoy the same goods and 'possessions. But to extort and take away the right 'of the poore, is against the honour of the King. For 'I fully certifie you extortioners, violent oppressors, 'ingrossers

(s) See his Sermons, edit. 1635, fol. 6, 12, 13, 14, 17, 23, 55, 90, 208, &c.

in those discourses, and upon all other occasions, been a most zealous and declared champion against Popery (s); at the accession of bloody Queen Mary, in 1553, he was singled

'ingrossers of tenements and lands, through whose covetousnesse, villages decay and fall downe, the King's leige people for lacke of sustenance are famished and decayed. They be those which speak against the honour of the King (23).—Wel then, if God wil not allow a King too much, whether will he allow a subject too much? no, that he will not: whether have any men heere in England too much? I doubt most rich men have too much; for without too much we can get nothing. As for example, the Physition, if the poore man be diseased, he can have no helpe without too much: and of the Lawyer the poore man can get no counsel, expedition, nor helpe in his matter, except he give him too much. At merchants hands, no kind of ware can be had, except we give for it too much. You landlords, you rent-raisers, I may say you steplords, you unnatural lords, you have for your possessions yearely too much. For that here before went for 20 or 60 pound by yeare (which is an honest portion to be had *gratis* in one lordship of another man's sweate and labour) now is let for 50 or 100 pound by yeare. Of this too much cometh this monstrous and portentous dearth made by man, notwithstanding God doth send us plentifully the fruits of the earth, mercifully, contrary unto our deserts.—I will tell you, my lords and masters, this is not for the King's honour. —Furthermore, if the King's honour (as some men say) standeth in the great multitude of people: then these grasiers, inclosers, and rentreaters, are hinderers of the King's honour. For whereas have beene a great many housholders, and inhabitantes, there is now but a shepheard and his dog.—My lords and masters, I say also, that all such proceedings which are against the King's honour, doe intend plainly to make the yeomandry slavery and the Clergy shavery.—We of the Clergy had too much, but this is taken away and now we have too little.—There lyeth a great matter by these appropriations, great reformation is to be had in them. I know wher is a great market-towne with divers hamlets and inhabitants, where doe rise yearely of their labours to the value of 50 pounde, and the Vicar that serveth, (being so great a cure) hath but 12 or 14 markes by yeare, so that of this pension he is not able to buy him bookes, nor give his neighbours drinke, and all the great gaine goeth another way (24).'—He condemns Lying and Cheating with the same earnestness.—'Consider, saith he, and examine all estates, and ye shall finde all their doings furnished with lyes: Goe first to men of occupations, consider their lives and conversations; there is in a manner nothing with them but lying. Go to men of authority, go to the Lawyers, you shall finde stuffe enough. For it is seene now a-days that children learne prettily of their parents, to lye, for the parents are not ashamed to lye in the presence of their children. The craftsman, or merchant, teacheth his prentise to lye, and to utter his wares with lying and forswearing. Finally there is almost nothing among us but lyes, and therefore parents and masters are in great danger of eternall damnation, for they care not after what manner they bring up their youth. Wherefore I earnestly exhort you in God's behalfe, to consider better of the matter: you that be parents, suffer not your children to lye, or tell false tales; when you heare one of your children to make a lye, take him up, and give him three or four good stripes, and tell him that it is naught: and when he maketh another lye, give him 6 or 7 stripes, and I am sure when you serve him so, he will leave it (25).—O what a falshood is used in England, yea in the whole world! It were no marvel if the fire from heaven fell upon us, like as it did upon the Sodomites only for our falshood's sake!—Those which use such deceitfulnesse shall be damned world without end, except they repent.' And then he proceeds to give instances of the cheats then practised (26).—'There be some people,' saith he 'elsewhere, that ascribe their gaines, their increase gotten by faculty, to the divell. Is there any, trow ye, in England would say so? Now if a man should come to another, and said he got his living by the divell, he would fall out with him. There is not a man in England, that so saith, yet is there some that thinke it. For all that get it with false buying and selling, with circumvention, with usury, impostures, mixt wares, false weightes, deceiving their lords and masters, all those that get their goods of this fashion, what doe they thinke, but that the divell sendeth them gaines and riches? for they be his, being unlawfully gotten (27).'—In another place he shews the frauds used in the public revenue.—'Whatsoever,' says he, 'is granted unto his Majestie by the Parliament, the whole realm is bound in conscience to pay it, every man as it is required of him.—But now he will say, this is a great bondage, and a heavie yoke and servitude—As when there is a subsidie, so that the King requireth one shilling of every pound; now I am worth 40 pounds, and so I pay 40 shillings, to which money the King hath as good right, as to any inheritance which his Majestie hath. And this I speake to this end, for I feare this realme be full of theeves, for he is a theefe that withdraweth any thing from any man whosoever he be. Now I put the case it is allowed by the Parliament, by common authority, that the King shall have one shilling of every pound, and there be certaine men appointed in every shiere which be valuers, when I now either corrupt the valuer, or sweare against my conscience, that I am not worth an 100 pound when I am worth 200. Here I am a theefe before God and shall be hanged in hell. Now, how many theeves thinke you are here in England, which will not be valued above 10 *l.* when they be worth an 100 pound; but this is a pittiful thing, and God will punish them one day, for God's matters are not to be trifled withall (28).—O Lord, what bribery, falshood, deceiving, false getting of goods is in England? and yet for all that we heare nothing of restitution, which is a miserable thing I tell you, none of them which have taken their neighbours goods from him by any manner of falshood, none of them, I say, shall be saved, except they make restitution (29).' And he speaks in as harsh terms against Bribery; especially among Judges.—'I beseech your Grace, that ye will looke to these matters. Heare them [i. e. the plaintiffs] yourselfe. View your judges, and heare poore mens causes. And you proud Judges harken what God saith in his holy booke, Heare them, the small as well as the great, the poore as well as the rich. Regard no person, feare no man, why? *Quia Domini judicium est:* The judgment is God's. Marke this saying thou proud Judge. The devill will bring this sentence at the day of doome. Hell will be full of these Judges, if they repent not and amend. They are worse than the wicked Judge that Christ speaketh of, that neither feared God nor the world. [Luke xviii.] (30)—I will tell you, my Lord Judges, if ye consider this matter well, ye shall be more afraid of the poore widow than of a nobleman with all his friends and power that he can make.—What will ye doe in the day of great vengeance, when God shall visite you? he saith he will heare the teares of poor women when he goeth on visitation. For their sake he will hurt the Judge, be he never so high. *Deus transfert regna.* He will for widdowes sakes change realms, bring them into troubles, and plucke the Judges skins over their eares. Cambises was a great king, such another as our master is, he had many Lord Deputies, Lord Presidents, and Lieutenants under him. It chanced he had under him in one of his dominions, a Briber, a gift-taker, a gratifier of rich men, he followed gifts,—a hand-maker in his office, to make his sonne a great man; as the old saying is, Happy is the child, whose father goeth to the devill. The cry of the poore widow came to the Emperour's eare, and caused him to flay the Judge quicke, and layd his skine in his chaire of judgment, that all judges that should give judgment afterwards, should sit in the same skinne: surely it was a goodly signe, a goodly monument the signe of the Judges skinne, I pray God we may once see the signe of the Skinne in England. Ye will say peradventure, that this is cruelly and uncharitably spoken: no, no, I do it charitably for a love I bear to my country (31)—If the King and his Counsell should suffer evill Judges of this realm to take bribes, to

(23) Sermons, fol. 29.

(24) Sermons, fol. 31, 32. See also fol. 71.

(25) Sermons, fol. 199.

(26) Fol. 156.

(27) Fol. 76. See also fol. 243.

(28) Fol. 204.

(29) F[illegible]

(30) Fol. 43.

(31) Fol. 49. See also 47, 54, 55, 56.

ſingled out as one of the firſt victims that were to be ſacrificed to Popiſh revenge and cruelty. Being then in the country, a purſuivant was ſent after him: of whoſe coming having notice, he was ſo far from flying, that he rather prepared for his journey. At this the purſuivant being amazed, he told him, ‘He was a welcome meſſenger;’ and declared to him, and to the whole world, that he went then as willingly to London (being called by his Prince to render an account of his doctrine), as ever he did to any place in the world. The purſuivant, after having delivered his letters, went away, telling Latimer,

‘to defeat juſtice, and ſuffer the great to overgo the poore, and ſhould look through his fingers, and winke at it, ſhold not the king be partaker of their naughtines? And why, Is he not ſupreame head of the Church? What? is the ſupreame a dignity, and nothing elſe? Is it not countable? I thinke it will be a chargeable dignity when an account ſhall be aſked of it (32).—I am ſure this is *ſcala inferni*, the right way to hell, to be covetous, to take bribes, and pervert juſtice. If a judge ſhould aſke me the way to hell, I would ſhew him this way. Firſt, let him be a covetous man, let his heart be poyſoned with covetouſneſſe. Then let him goe a little further, and take bribes, and at laſt pervert judgement. Loe here is the mother and the daughter, and the daughters daughter. Avarice is the mother, ſhe brings forth bribe-taking, and bribe taking perverting of judgement. There lacks a fourth thing to make up the meſſe, which God ſo helpe me if I were Judge, ſhould be *Hangum tuum*, a Tyburne tippit to take with him; and it were the Judg of the King's Bench, my Lord chieſe Judge of England: yea, and it were my Lord Chancellor himſelfe, to Tiburne with him (33).—It is a dangerous thing to be in office, for *qui attingit picem, coinquinabitur ab eâ*. He that medleth with pitch, is like to be ſpotted with it: bribes may be reſembled to pitch, for even as pitch doth pollute their hands that meddle with it, ſo bribes will bring you to perverting of juſtice. Beware of pitch you Judges of the world, bribes will make you pervert juſtice. Why, you will ſay we touch none. No marry, but my miſtris your wife, hath a fine finger, ſhe toucheth it for you; or elſe you have a ſervant, *à Muneribus*, he will ſay, if you will come to my maſter and offer him a yoke of oxen you ſhall ſpeed never the worſe, but I think my maſter will take none: when he hath offered them to the maſter, then comes another ſervant and ſayes, If you will bring them to the Clarke of the Kitchin, you ſhall be remembered the better. This is a frierly faſhion, that will receive no money in their hands, but will have it put upon their ſleeves: a goodly ragge of Popiſh Religion (34).’—He ſpeaks likewiſe very bitterly, in many places, againſt *Unpreaching Prelates* (35).—And is particularly ſevere againſt all manner of LEWDNESS.—‘One thing’ (ſaith he in one of his Sermons before the Court) ‘I muſt here deſire you to reforme, my Lords; you have put down the Stewes. But I pray you what is the matter amended? what availeth that? ye have but changed the place, and not taken the whoredome away.—I advertiſe you in God's name looke to it. I heare ſay there is now more whoredome in London, than ever there was on the Banke (36).—There is more open whoredome, more ſtued whoredom than ever was before. For God's ſake let it be looked upon, it is your office to ſee unto it (37).—‘I thinke,’ ſaith he another time, ‘I ſhal never come into this place againe, and therefore I wil aſke a petition of your Highnes. For the love of God take an order for Marriages here in England. For here is marriage for pleaſure and voluptuouſneſſe and for goods, and ſo that they may joyne land to land, and poſſeſſions to poſſeſſions, they care for no more heere in England. And that is the cauſe of ſo much idolatry, and ſo much breach of wedlocke in the noble men, in the gentlemen, and ſo much divorcing. And it is not now in the noble men only, but it is come now to the inferiour ſort. Every man if he have but a ſmall cauſe, will caſt off his old wife, and take a new, and will marry againe at his pleaſure, and there be many that have ſo done. I would therefore wiſh that there were a law provided in this behalfe for adulterers, and that adultery ſhould be puniſhed with death; and that might be a remedy for all this matter. There would not be then ſo much adultery, whoredome, and lechery in England as there is. For the love of God take heed to it, and ſee a remedy provided for it. I would wiſh that adultery ſhould be puniſhed with death. And that the woman being an offender, if her huſband would be a ſuter for her, ſhe ſhould be pardoned for the firſt time, but not for the ſecond time. And the man being an offender, ſhould be pardoned, if his wife be a ſuter for him, the firſt time, but not for the ſecond time, if he offend twice. If this law were made, there would not be ſo much adultery nor lechery uſed in the realme as there is. Well, I truſt once yet as old as I am, to ſee the day that lechery ſhal be puniſhed. It was never more neede, for there was never more lechery uſed in England than is at this day, and maintained. It is made but a laughing matter, and a trifle; but it is a ſad matter, and an earneſt matter. For lechery is a great ſinne: Sodome and Gomorrah was deſtroyed for it (38).—Although we reade, that the Kings amongſt the Jewes had liberty to take more wives than one, we may not therefore attempt to walke inordinately, and to thinke that we may take alſo many wives. For Chriſt hath forbidden this unto us Chriſtians. And let us not impute ſinne unto the Jewes becauſe they had many wives, for they had a diſpenſation ſo to do. Chriſt limiteth unto us one wife onely. And it is a great thing for a man to rule one wife rightly and ordinately: for a woman is fraile and proclive unto all evils, a woman is a very weak veſſel, and may ſoone deceive a man, and bring him unto evill. Many examples we have in holy ſcripture,’ &c. (39)—Laſtly, he taxeth the vices of the City of London with the utmoſt freedom. ‘What ſhall we ſay of theſe rich Citizens of London? What ſhall I ſay of them? Shall I call them proud men of London, malicious men of London, mercileſſe men of London? No, no, I may not ſay ſo, they will be offended with me then. Yet muſt I ſpeake. For is there not raigning in London, as much pride, as much covetouſnes, as much cruelty, as much oppreſſion, and as much ſuperſtition, as was in Nebo? Yes, I think, and much more too. Therefore I ſay, repent, O London, repent, repent,’ &c. (40).—He goes on much further in the ſame ſtrain, which I omit for fear of wearying the Reader.

[O] *And, as it ſeems, with uncommon ſucceſs.*] He gives us himſelf inſtances of it, in the following words:—‘At my firſt preaching of reſtitution, one man tooke remorſe of conſcience, and acknowledged himſelfe to me, that he had deceived the King, and willing he was to make reſtitution: and ſo the firſt Lent came to my hands 20 pounds to be reſtored to the King's uſe. I was promiſed 20 pound more the ſame Lent, but it could not bee made, ſo that it came not. Well, the next Lent came 320 pound more; I received it myſelfe and payd it to the King's counſell. So I was aſked, what he was that made this reſtitution; but ſhould I have named him? Nay they ſhould aſſoone have this weſaunt of mine. Well, now this Lent came 180 Pounds, 10 Shillings, which I have payd and delivered this preſent day to the King's counſell: and ſo this man hath made a godly reſtitution: and ſo (quoth I to a certaine Nobleman that is one of the King's counſell) if every man that hath beguiled the King ſhould make reſtitution after this ſort, it would cough the King 20,000 pounds, I think (quoth I;) yea that it would (quoth the other) a whole 100000 pounds. Alack, alack, make reſtitution for God's ſake, make reſtitution, ye will cough in hell elſe, that all the devils there will laugh at your coughing. There is no remedy but reſtitution open or ſecret, or elſe hell. This that I have now told you of, was a ſecret reſtitution. Some examples hath been of open reſtitution, and glad may hee be that God was ſo friendly unto him, to bring him unto it in this world. I am not afrayd to name him. It was Maſter Sherington, an honeſt Gentleman, and one that God loveth. He openly confeſſed that hee had deceived the King, and hee made open reſtitution (41).’

(32) Fol. 52.

(33) Fol. 63.

(34) Fol. 66. See alſo fol. 110, 111.

(35) See fol. 18, 52, 55, 235, &c.

(36) In Southwark, where ſtood the Stews.

(37) Fol. 43. See alſo fol. 68.

(38) Fol. 102, 103. See alſo fol 30, 109.

(39) Fol. 29.

(40) Fol. 18.

(41) Fol. 117.

mer, that he had orders not to ſtay for him. By which ſome might imagine, the Court would have been better pleaſed, if he had withdrawn himſelf out of the kingdom. But good Latimer had the true ſpirit of a Martyr in him. He came up therefore to London, and, as he paſſed through Smithfield, ſaid, That Smithfield had long groaned for him. September 13, he was brought before the Privy-Council, and after having been much abuſed by them, and made proper replies, he was committed to the Tower (t), for his ſeditious demeanour, as it is expreſſed in the Council-book (u). During his impriſonment, he ſuffered great hardſhips, which he bore with uncommon reſolution and chear-fulneſs [P]; and had for ſome time the comfort of Archbiſhop Cranmer's and Biſhop Ridley's company, that were confined in the ſame room with him (w). At length, to compleat the laſt ſcene of this tragedy, about the tenth of April 1554, he and thoſe two prelates were conveyed by Sir John Williams to Oxford, in order to hold there a public diſputation with ſeveral Doctors of both univerſities (x) [Q]; becauſe a rumour was ſpread,

(t) Foxe, as above, p. 1282, 1579.

(u) See Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 346.

(w) Foxe.

(x) Foxe, p. 1299.

[P] *He ſuffered great hardſhips*, &c.] Among the reſt he was kept without fire in the froſty winter, and almoſt ſtarv'd with cold. So that the Lieutenant of the Tower's ſervant coming in once to him, he merrily bid him tell his maſter, That if he did not look to him better, perhaps he would deceive him. Upon which the Lieutenant began to watch him more narrowly, for fear he ſhould eſcape; and queſtioning him about his words, he replied, 'Yea, maſter Lieutenant, ſo I 'ſaid; for you look, I think that I ſhould burn: 'but except you let me have ſome fire, I am like to 'deceive your expectation, for I am like here to ſtarve 'for cold (42).'

(42) Foxe, p. 1579.

[Q] *To hold there a public diſputation with ſeveral Doctors of both univerſities.*] The Oxford divines were, Dr Weſton, prolocutor of the convocation, Dr Treſham, Dr Cole, Dr Oglethorpe, Dr Pie, Mr Harpsfield, Mr Feckenham. Thoſe from Cambridge, Dr Yong, Vice-chancellor, Dr Glin, Dr Seaton, Dr Watſon, Dr Sedgewicke, Dr Atkinſon, &c.—The Queſtions they diſputed upon, were theſe three. '1. Whether the natural body of Chriſt be 'really in the Sacrament, after the words ſpoken by 'the prieſt, or no? 2. Whether in the Sacrament, 'after the words of conſecration, any other ſubſtance 'do remaine, than the ſubſtance of the body and 'blood of Chriſt? 3. Whether the maſſe be a ſacri-'fice propitiatory for the ſinnes of the quicke and the 'dead?' Their diſputations, upon thoſe points, may be ſeen in Foxe's Acts and Monuments (43).—The 14th day of April, was the firſt time Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer were brought before the Commiſſioners; and aſked, whether they would ſubſcribe thoſe three articles? At which time, Latimer appeared 'with a kerchief, and two or three caps on his head, 'his ſpectacles hanging by a ſtring at his breaſt, and 'a ſtaff in his hand.' He was permitted, by reaſon of his age to ſit down in a chair. 'After his denial of 'ſubſcribing the articles, when he had the Wedneſ-'day following appointed for diſputation, he alledged 'age, ſickneſs, diſuſe, and want of books, ſaying, that 'he was almoſt as fit to diſpute as to be a captain of 'Calais; but he would, he ſaid, declare his mind ei-'ther by writing or by word, and would ſtand to all 'that they could lay upon his back: Complaining 'moreover, that he was permitted to have neither 'pen or ink, nor yet any book, but only the New 'Teſtament, (there in his hand,) which he ſaid he 'had read over ſeven times deliberately, and yet 'could not find the maſs in it, neither the *marow-bones* 'nor *ſinews* of the ſame. At which words the Com-'miſſioners were not a little offended, and Dr Weſton 'ſaid, he would make him grant, that it had both 'marow-bones and ſinews in the New Teſtament.' To whom Mr Latimer ſaid again, 'that you will ne-'ver do, Mr Doctor;' and ſo forthwith they put him 'to ſilence, ſo that when he was deſirous to tell what 'he meant by thoſe terms, he was not ſuffered (44).'—The 18th of April he was brought to the ſchools, in order to diſpute, tho' he declared himſelf utterly unfit for it, and therefore he delivered his proteſtation, or anſwer, in writing, which was to this effect: 'Con-'cerning the firſt concluſion, [or article] meethinketh 'it is ſet foorth with certaine new-found termes, that 'be obſcure, and doe not ſound according to the 'ſpeech of the ſcripture. Howbeit, howſoever I un-'derſtand it, this I doe anſwere plainly, though not 'without perill: I anſwere, I ſay, that to the right 'celebration of the Lord's-ſupper, there is no other 'preſence of Chriſt required, than a ſpirituall pre-'ſence: and this preſence is ſufficient for a Chriſtian 'man, as a preſence by which we abide in Chriſt, and 'Chriſt abideth in us, to the obtaining of eternall life, 'if we perſevere. And this ſame preſence may be 'called moſt fitly, a reall preſence, that is, a preſence 'not feigned, but a true and a faithful preſence. 'Which thing I here rehearſe, leſt ſome ſycophant 'or ſcorner ſhould ſuppoſe mee with the Anabaptiſtes, 'to make nothing elſe of the ſacrament but a naked 'and a bare ſigne. As for that which is fained of 'many concerning their corporall preſence, I for my 'part take it but for a papiſticall invention, therefore 'thinke it utterly to be rejected. Concerning the 2d 'concluſion, I dare bee bolde to ſay, that it hath no 'ſtay or ground in God's word, but is a thing invent-'ed and found out by man: and therefore to bee 'taken as fond and falſe: and I had almoſt ſayd, 'as the mother and nurſe of the other errors. It 'were good for my lords and maiſters of the tran-'ſubſtantiation, to take heed leſt they conſpire with 'the Neſtorians, for I do not ſee how they can avoide 'it. The 3d concluſion (as I doe underſtand it) 'ſeemeth ſubtlely to ſowe ſedition againſt the offering 'which Chriſt himſelfe offered for us in his owne pro-'per perſon, according to that pithie place of Paul, 'Hebr. i. 3. and ii. 17. So that the expiation or 'taking away of our ſinnes, may be thought rather to 'depend on this: that Chriſt was an offering Biſhop, 'than that he was offered, were it not that he was of-'fered of himſelfe: and therefore it is needleſſe that 'he ſhould be offered of any other.'—He proceeds further to explain this 1ſt point; ſaying, among other things, that 'The Supper of the Lord was inſtituted 'to provoke us to thankſgiving, for the offering which 'the Lord himſelf did offer for us, much rather than 'that our offerers ſhould doe there as they do.' —After which he adds, 'Thus loe I have taken the more 'paine to write, becauſe I refuſed to diſpute, in conſi-'deration of my debilitie thereunto: that all men may 'know, how that I have ſo done, not without great 'paines, having not any man to helpe me, as I have 'never before been debarred to have. O Sir, you may 'chance to live till you come to this age and weak-'neſſe that I am of. I have ſpoken in my time before 'two kings, more than once, two or three houres toge-'ther without interruption: but now that I may 'ſpeake the truth (by your leave) I could not be ſuf-'fered to declare my minde before you, no, not by 'the ſpace of a quarter of an houre, without ſnatches, 'revilings, checkes, rebukes, taunts, ſuch as I have not 'felt the like, in ſuch an audience all my life long. 'Surely it cannot be, but an heinous offence that I 'have given. But what was it? Forſooth I had ſpoken 'of the foure marrow-bones of the maſſe. The which 'kinde of ſpeaking, I never read to be a ſinne againſt 'the Holy Ghoſt. I could not be allowed to ſhew what 'I meant by my metaphore: but Sir, now, by your fa-'vour, I will tell your maiſterſhip what I meane. The '1ſt is the Popiſh conſecration: which hath beene cal-'led a God's body-making. The 2d is Tranſubſtan-'tiation. The 3d is Miſſal oblation. The 4th Ado-'ration. Theſe chiefe and principal portions, partes, 'and points belonging or incident to the maſſe, and 'moſt eſteemed and had in price of the ſame, I 'call the *marow-bones* of the maſſe, which indeede you 'by force, might and violence, intrude in ſounde of 'words in ſome of the ſcripture, with racking and 'cramping, injuring and wronging the ſame: but els 'indeede, plaine out of the Scripture, as I am tho-'rowly perſwaded, although in diſputation I could now 'nothing doe, to perſwade the ſame to others, being 'both unapt to ſtudie, and alſo to make a ſhew of my 'former ſtudie, in ſuch readineſſe as ſhould be requi-'ſite to the ſame.' &c.—However, he was drawn into

(43) Vol. II. edit. 1610, p. 1299, &c.

(44) Foxe, p. 1299, 1300.

spread, that the Roman-Catholicks had been lately worsted in the Convocation-house (y). Therefore, this disputation was not with a view of sifting out and establishing the truth; but to triumph over those three great pillars of the Reformation, which their Popish adversaries had in their hearts already devoted to destruction, if they would not immediately subscribe to all the errors of Popery. On purpose to confound them, the disputation was tumultuously and very unfairly carried on [R]; and when it was ended, Mr Latimer absolutely refusing to turn, he and his two fellow-sufferers were, on the 20th of April, declared no members of the Church, and condemned as hereticks. At the hearing of which sentence, Latimer thanked God most heartily, that he had prolonged his life, to this end, that he might in this case glorify God by that kind of death. Then he was committed to the Bailiff's custody (z). He continued there 'till about the end of September 1555, when a commission was granted from Cardinal Pole, as the Pope's legate, to White Bishop of Lincoln, Brookes of Gloucester, and Holiman of Bristol, to examine him, and Bishop Ridley, for the opinions they had maintained in the disputations abovementioned. Accordingly Mr Latimer appeared before them, September 30 and October 1, in the divinity school at Oxford [S]; at which time he refusing to recant, and 'to deny his master Christ, and his verity,' as he expressed it, was condemned to the flames as an obstinate heretic (a a). This most cruel sentence was executed upon him and Bishop Ridley, on the 16th of October 1555, in the town-ditch over against Balliol-college in Oxford. An account of his appearance and behaviour then, is given below in the note [T]. Bishop Latimer, as to his person, was tall and thin, and of a sanguine complexion. With regard to the qualities of his mind, he was a man of exemplary piety, regular in his life, and strict and austere in his manners; quite sincere and zealous in the profession of Religion, and earnest in the discharge of his duty, without regarding the consequences. But in some respects he seemed to want conduct and address, which exposed him now and then to some inconvenience (b b). He was more famous as a preacher [V], than

(y) Collier, as above, p. 367, col. 1.

(z) Foxe, as above, p. 1330.

(a a) Idem, p. 1559, &c.

(b b) See his Sermons, fol. 101.

into a disputation, or dialogue, which may be seen in Foxe (45).'

[R] *The disputation was tumultuously and very unfairly carried on.*] Of this unhandsome usage Bp Ridley complained in the following words: 'I could never have thought that it had beene possible to have found amongst men recounted to bee of knowledge and learning in this realme, any so brasen-faced and shamlesse, so disorderly and vainely to behave themselves, more like stage-players in enterludes, to set forth a pageant, than to grave Divines in schooles to dispute. The Sorbonicall clamours (which in Paris I have seene in time past, when Popery most prevailed) might be worthily thought (in comparison of this thrasonical ostentation) to have had much modestie. And no great marvell, seeing they which should have been moderatours and overseers of others, and which should have given good ensample in words and gravitie: they themselves above all other gave worst ensample, and did, as it were, blowe the trompe to the rest, to rave, rore, rage, and cry out. By reason whereof manifestly it may appeare that they never sought for any truth or verity, but onely for the glory of the world, and their owne bragging victorie, &c. (46)' — To which may be added what Mr Collier observes upon the occasion (47). 'The three Bishops were forc'd to enter the lists at great disadvantages: they had but two days allowed them for preparation: they were kept in different and ill accommodated prisons, not suffer'd to converse with each other; neither had they the convenience of their own books and papers. They were likewise obliged to appear single in the contest, each of them having a distinct day assigned; so that they had no opportunity of supporting each other, if occasion had requir'd.'

[S] *Accordingly Mr. Latimer appeared before them.*] He appeared in a very mean dress; whether through necessity, or his own choice.—'Having a kerchiefe on his head, and upon it a night-cap or two, and a great cap (such as townsmen then used) with two broad flaps to button under the chin; wearing an old threadbare Bristol-frise gown girded to his body with a penny leather-girdle, on which was hanged by a long string of leather his Testament; and his spectacles without a case, hung about his neck;' in the manner before described (48).

[T] *An account of his appearance and behaviour, &c.*] He appeared at the stake in the same mean garb just now described; only had a new long shrowd hanging over his hose, down to the feet. Bishop Ridley kissed and comforted him, before they were fastned to the stake: and he, on his part, spoke these chearful words to him; 'Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man; we shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as I trust shall never be put out.' Before the fire was lighted, lifting up his eyes towards heaven, he said with an amiable countenance, 'God is faithful, who will not suffer us to be tempted above our strength.' When the flames came near him, he seemed to embrace them, and cried aloud and vehemently, 'O Father of Heaven receive my Soul.' After he had stroak'd his face with his hands, and, as it were, bathed them a little in the fire, he soon died, with very little or no pain, to all appearance. The force of the fire bursting open his body, the blood ran out of his heart in such abundance, as if it had been all gathered there; to the great amazent of the spectators (49). Such was the end of Father Latimer; to his own immortal honour; and to the eternal reproach and disgrace of Popery!

[V] *He was more famous as a preacher.*] A collection of his Sermons was published in 1570, by Augustin Bernhere, an Helvetian, or Swiss, (who calls the Bishop his Master) and dedicated by him to the Lady Katherine Duches of Suffolke. They have been reprinted several times since, as in 1572 and 1635, 4to, in which last edition were inserted several, not before printed *. There is amongst them, one preached before the Convocation; seven before K. Edward VI (50); seven upon the Lord's Prayer; and others upon particular occasions: *forty* in all. They are in general written with great freedom; and contain several things which would be now-a-days reckoned unpolite and uncouth. Some instances may be seen under note [N], to which we shall add a few shorter specimens here.—'He [the devil] can give us an after-clappe when we least weane; that is, suddainly returne unawares to us, and then he given us an after-clap that overthroweth us (51).'—Speaking of the Protestant Religion,—'I tell you,' says he, 'it is old truth, long rusted with canker, and now new made bright and scoured (52).—God by his example shaketh us by the nostrils and pulleth us by the eares (53).—Now I would ask a strange question, who is the most diligentest Bishop and prelate in all England, and passeth all the rest in doing his office? I can tell, for I know him who hee is, I know him wel. But now methinks I see you listning and harkning, that I should name him. There is one that passeth all the other, and is the most diligent prelate and preacher in all England. And will ye know who it is? I will tell you. It is the devill. He is the most diligent preacher of all other, he is never out of his dioces, he is never from his cure (54).—What meaneth it that God hath to doe with the King's stable, but onely he would be master of his horses (55)?—Germany was visited twenty yeares with God's word, but

(45) See Vol. II. p. 1322, 1323, &c.

(46) Foxe, as above, p. 1330.

(47) Eccles. Hist. Vol. II. p. 367.

(48) Foxe, p. 1559.

(49) Foxe, as above, p. 1579, 1607.

* A new edition of them is now reprinting.

(50) The first time he preached before the King, his Majesty gave him 20 l. Burnet's History of the Reformation, Part ii. p. 54.

(51) Fol. 3.

(52) Ibid.

(53) Fol. 5.

(54) Fol. 21. See also fol. 24.

(55) Fol. 29.

than a writer [W]; and boldly cenſured and expoſed vice, even in the greateſt perſons; and That he did not only in the pulpit, but upon other occaſions: a remarkable inſtance of the liberty he took with that furious tyrant King Henry the Eighth, is given in the note [X]. He had ſo jeered and expoſed the Papiſts and Popery (c c), that he fell a ſacrifice to that inhuman ſpirit which never forgives; that helliſh ſpirit which invented the burning of perſons for conſcience-ſake; and which, 'tis to be wiſhed may for the future be the property of Popery alone.

(c c) Vide Sanderum de Schiſm. Angl. edit. 1610, p. 230.

'but they did not earneſtly embrace it, nor in life 'follow it, but made a mingle mangle and a hotchpotch of it; I cannot tell what, partly Popery, partly true Religion mingled together. They ſay in my 'country, when they call their hogges to the ſwine-trough; Come to thy mingle mangle, cum pur, 'cum pur: even ſo they made a mingle mangle of 'it (56).—If you have another faith than this, a 'whoremonger's faith, you are like to go to the ſcalding-houſe, and there you ſhall have two diſhes, weeping and gnaſhing of teeth, much good doe it you, 'you ſee your fare (57).—We have a common ſaying 'among us: Whoſoever loveth me loveth my hound: 'ſo, whoſoever loveth God, will love his neighbour (58).—He that will be a Chriſtian man, that 'intendeth to come to heaven muſt be a ſaucie fellow, 'he muſt be well powdered with the ſauce of affliction and tribulation (59).' And, to bring only one inſtance more:—In his Sermon upon Luke ii. 6, 7. he has theſe remarkable words: 'I warrant you, there 'was many a jolly damſell at that time in Bethlem, yet 'amongſt them all there was not one found that would 'humble herſelfe ſo much, as once to goe ſee poore 'Mary in the ſtable, and to comfort her. No, no, 'they were too fine to take ſo much paines. I warrant you they had their bracelets and *verdingals*, and 'were trimmed with all manner of fine and coſtly rayment, like as there be many now a dayes amongſt us, 'which ſtudie nothing elſe but how they may deviſe 'fine raiment, and in the meane ſeaſon, they ſuffer 'poore Mary to lye in the ſtable, that is to ſay, the 'poore people of God they ſuffer to periſh for lacke 'of neceſſaries. But what was her ſwaddling cloathes 'wherein ſhe layde the King of heaven and earth? 'no doubt it was poore geare, peradventure it 'was her kercher which ſhe tooke from her head, 'or ſuch like geare, for I thinke Mary had not much 'fine linen, ſhe was not trimmed up as our women be 'now a-dayes. I thinke indeed Mary had never a '*vardingall*, for ſhe uſed no ſuch ſuperfluities as our 'fine damſels doe now a-dayes: for in the old time, 'women were content with honeſt and ſingle garments. Now they have found out theſe *round-abouts*, they were not invented then, the devil was 'not ſo cunning to make ſuch geare, he found it out 'afterward. Therefore Mary had it not. I will ſay, 'this, and yet not judge other folkes hearts, but onely 'ſpeake after daily appearance and experience, no 'doubt it is nothing but a token of pride to weare 'ſuch vardingals, and therefore I think that every 'godly woman ſhould ſet them aſide (60).'—His notion of Preaching was, that 'a Preacher ſhould never feare to declare the meſſage of God unto all 'men (61);' without regarding the cenſure of the world. 'They have called me,' ſays he, 'old doating foole; but what then, we muſt be content to be 'deſpiſed with Chriſt heere in this world, that we may 'be glorified with him in the world to come (62).' Upon the whole, if any thing appear in his writings aukward and rude, it was not ſo much his own fault, as the fault of the times in which he lived; when preaching was but little uſed, and the Engliſh tongue very imperfect.

(56) Fol. 49. See alſo fol. 91.

(57) Fol. 87.

(58) Fol. 126.

(59) Fol. 182.

(60) Fol. 278, 279. See alſo fol. 283.

(61) Fol. 26.

(62) Fol. 220.

[W] *Than a writer.*] Beſides his Sermons, I do not find there is any thing of his publiſhed, except ſome letters in J. Foxe's Acts and Monuments (63); among which, there is one to K. Henry VIII. in 1530, for reſtoring again the free Liberty of reading the holy Scriptures.—And Injunctions given by him to the Prior and Convent of St Mary Houſe in Worceſter, during his viſitation in 1537 (64).

[X] *A remarkable inſtance of the liberty he took with ....., K. Henry* VIII. &c.] It was then cuſtomary for the Biſhops, to preſent New-years-gifts to the King, as gold, ſilver, a purſe of money, &c. But Biſhop Latimer's preſent was a New Teſtament, with a Napkin, having this motto round it: *Fornicatores & adulteros judicabit Deus.* Fornicators and adulterers God will judge (65). C

(63) Vol. II. fol. 1580, &c.

(64) Collect. Records, at end of B[illegible] Hiſtory [illegible] Refor[illegible] Part [illegible]

(65) [illegible] above, p. 1594.

LAUD [WILLIAM], ſucceſſively Biſhop of St David's; of Bath and Wells; of London; and Archbiſhop of Canterbury, in the laſt century. There ever hardly was any perſon, whoſe character hath been ſo differently repreſented, and of whom ſo much good and ſo much evil hath been ſaid. For our own part, we ſhall, in the following article, endeavour to avoid both extremes; and, for that purpoſe, abide only by facts, which ſpeak for themſelves, and carry with them their own praiſe or reproach. The Prelate whoſe life we are entering upon, was ſon of William Laud, a Clothier of Reading in Berkſhire, by Lucy his wife, widow of John Robinſon of the ſame place, and ſiſter to Sir William Webbe, afterwards Lord-Mayor of London (a). He was born within the pariſh of St Laurence in Reading, October 7, 1573 (b); and educated in the free-ſchool of that town 'till July 1589, when he was admitted into St John's college in Oxford [A], of which he was choſen Scholar in June 1590, and Fellow in June 1593 (c). He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in June 1594, and that of Maſter in July 1598 [B], in which year he was Grammar Reader. And being ordained Deacon 4 January 1600, and Prieſt 5 April 1601, he read, the year following, a Divinity Lecture in his college [C], which was then maintained by Mrs Maye. In the year 1603, he was one of the

(a) P. Heylin's Cyprianus Anglicus, or Hiſtory of the Life and Death of William Archbiſhop of Canterbury, edit. 1671, fol. p. 42.

(b) Wood, Athen. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 55. and Archbiſhop Laud's Diary, in the Hiſtory of his Troubles and Tryal, edit. 1695, p. 1.

(c) Wood, ibid. and Diary, p. 1.

[A] *He was admitted into St John's college.*] Under the tuition of Mr John Buckeridge, afterwards Preſident of the college; and ſucceſſively Biſhop of Rocheſter and Ely (1).

[B] *He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in June 1594, &c.*] This is the Archbiſhop's own account, in his Diary. But Mr Wood ſays, he took his Bachelor's degree July 1, 1594, and that of Maſter, June 26, 1598 (2). And gives this character of him; that he was 'at that time eſteemed by all thoſe that knew 'him (being little in perſon) a very forward, confident, 'and zealous perſon (3).'

[C] *He read — a Divinity Lecture in his college.*] It was, either in reading this lecture, or ſome other chapel-exerciſe, that he maintained the conſtant and perpetual *Viſibility* of the Church of Chriſt, derived from the Apoſtles to the Church of *Rome*, continued in that Church (as in others of the Eaſt and South) 'till the Reformation. Dr Abbot Maſter of Univerſity-college, and Vice-chancellor traced it, on the contrary, from the Berengarians to the Albigenſes, from the Albigenſes to the Wickleffiſts, from theſe to the Huſſites, and from the Huſſites to Luther and Calvin: and he being a very rigid Puritan, and perhaps thinking it a derogation to his parts and credit to be contradicted by a perſon whom he looked upon as his inferior, that made him conceive a very ſtrong prejudice againſt Mr Laud, which no time could either leſſen or aboliſh (4): and to give afterwards this unfavourable character of him. 'His life in Oxford was to 'pick

(1) Wood, as above, col. 55. and Heylin, p. 44, 45.

(2) Faſti, Vol. I. col. 147, 154.

(3) Athen. col. 55.

(4) Heylin, p. 49.

the Proctors of the university: and, on the third of September the same year, was made Chaplain to Charles Blount Earl of Devonshire, whom he inconsiderately married, the 26th of December 1605, to Penelope then wife of Robert Lord Rich (*d*); an affair that caused him afterwards great uneasiness, and exposed him to much censure [*D*]. He took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity, July 6, 1604 (*e*). The exercise he performed upon that occasion gave offence to the Calvinists (*f*) [*E*]; as did, not long after, a Sermon he preached before the university (*g*) [*F*]. The first preferment he had [*G*], was the Vicarage of Stanford in Northamptonshire, into which he was inducted November 13, 1607; and, in April 1608, he obtained the advowson of North-Kilworth in Leicestershire. On the 6th of June following, he proceeded Doctor in Divinity (*h*). At the recommendation of Dr Buckeridge, he was made Chaplain, August 5, 1608, to Richard Neile Bishop of Rochester. And that he might be near his patron, he exchanged North Kilworth for the Rectory of West Tilbury in Essex; into which he was inducted October 28, 1609. The Bishop gave him, shortly after, namely, May 25, 1610, the living of Cuckstone

(*d*) Diary, p. 2.

(*e*) Ibid.

(*f*) Heylin, p. 49. Hist. of his Troubles and Tryal, p. 380.

(*g*) Wood Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. Lib. i. p. 312.

(*h*) Diary, p. 2. and Wood Fasti, Vol. I. col. 180.

'pick quarrels in the lectures of the publick Readers, and to advertise them to the then Bishop of Durham (5), that he might fill the ears of King James with discontents against all the honest men that took pains in their places, and settled the truth (which he called Puritanism) in their auditors. He made it his work to see what books were in the press, and to look over epistles dedicatory, and prefaces to the reader, to see what faults might be found (6).'

(5) R. Neile.

(6) Rushworth's Hist. Coll. Vol. I. p. 440.

[*D*] *An affair that caused him afterwards great uneasiness*, &c.] This Charles Blount, was a younger brother of William Blount Lord Mountjoy, and had, in Queen Elizabeth's reign, greatly distinguished himself by his bravery and conduct in the wars in Ireland; particularly at the battle of Kinsale, wherein he defeated the rebellious Irish, broke their whole forces, reduced that kingdom to the obedience of this Crown, and brought Tir-Oen, the arch-rebel, prisoner with him into England. Before the year 1588, he made his addresses to the Lady Penelope, daughter of Walter Devereux Earl of Essex, a lady of great wit and beauty: and she had so far complied with his desires, 'that some assurances passed between them of a future marriage. But her friends looking on Mr Blount as a younger brother, considerable only in his dependences at Court, chose to dispose of her in marriage to Robert Lord Rich, a man of an independent fortune, and a known estate, but otherwise of an uncourtly disposition, unsociable, austere, and of no very agreeable conversation to her. Against this marriage Mr Blount had nothing sufficient to plead; the promises that had passed between them having been made in private, without any witnesses, and therefore not amounting to a pre-contract in due form of law. The Lord Rich had by her three sons; one of whom was Robert, afterwards Earl of Warwick, and Henry Earl of Holland; and four daughters. But they had not lived many years together before the old flames of her affection to Blount began to kindle again in her breast; so that having first had their private meetings, they afterwards conversed more openly with one another, than might stand with their mutual honour; especially when by the death of his elder brother, the title of Lord Mountjoy, and the estate, had descended to him: as if the alteration of his fortune could lessen the offence, or stop peoples mouths. Finding her, at his return from the wars of Ireland, free from Lord Rich, legally freed by a divorce, and not a voluntary separation only *a toro & mensâ*; he thought himself obliged to make her some reparation in point of honour, by taking her into his bosom as a lawful wife. Besides, he had some children by her, before she was actually separated from Lord Rich (one of which, Mountjoy Blount, afterwards attained to the title of Earl of Newport) whom he conceived he might have put into a capacity of legitimation, by his subsequent marriage, according to the rule and practice of the Civil Laws, in which it passeth for a maxim, That *subsequens Matrimonium legitimat prolem*. And to that end he dealt so powerfully with his Chaplain, that he disposed him to perform the rites of matrimony; which was accordingly done at Wanstead, Decemb. 26, 1605. The chief reason Mr Laud grounded himself upon, in that extraordinary proceeding, was, That in case of a Divorce, as here, *both the innocent and the guilty party may lawfully marry if they please*; which Maldonate (7) makes to be the general opinions of the Lutheran and Calvinian Ministers, as also of some Catholic Doctors (8). But this inconsiderate action King James did for many years take so ill, that he would never hear of any great preferment of Mr Laud; insomuch that Dr Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, who took upon himself to be the first promoter of him, many times said, That when he made mention of Laud to the King, his Majesty was so averse from it, that the Bishop was constrained oftentimes to say, He would never desire to serve that Master, which could not remit one fault unto his servant (9).' However, it made so deep impression upon Mr Laud, that he ever after kept the 26th of December as a day of fasting and humiliation (10).

(7) In Matth. xix. 9.

(8) Heylin, p. 53.

(9) Abp Abbot's Narrative, in Rushworth, as above, Vol. I. p. 440.

(10) See Prynne's Canterbury's Doom, p. 29.

[*E*] *The exercise he performed upon that occasion gave offence to the Calvinists.*] The questions he then disputed upon were, '1. The Necessity of Baptism. 2. That there could be no true Church without Diocesan Bishops.' For which last he was shrewdly rattled by Dr Holland, the Divinity-Professor, as one that did endeavour to cast a bone of discord betwixt the Church of England, and the Reformed Churches beyond the seas. And for the first, it was objected, 'That he had taken the greatest part of his supposition out of Bellarmine's works, as if every thing contained in that Cardinal's works, tho' never so true, was false, because it was said by him (11).' A strong instance of foolish prejudice!

(11) Heylin, p. 49. *Non quis, sed quid*; is a most reasonable rule. But see what the Archbishop says to that in his Tryal, p. 380.

[*F*] *As did, not long after, a Sermon he preached before the University.*] That Sermon was preached at St Mary's on the 21st [or 26th] of October 1606. What subject it was upon, or what the exceptionable passages in it were, is not recorded any where in print. But, however, Dr Airay, the then Vice-chancellor, a man entirely opposite to him with regard to Calvinistical notions (12), questioned him for that Sermon (13), as containing in it sundry scandalous and Popish passages: 'The good man,' as Heylin expresses it, 'taking all things to be matter of Popery, which were not held forth unto him in Calvin's Institutes; conceiving that there was as much idolatry *in bowing at the name of Jesus*, as in worshipping the brazen serpent, &c.' But Mr Laud so fully vindicated himself, that he was not obliged to make any recantation; as A. Wood testifies in the following account of that affair.—*Nonnulla protulit quæ Academicis plerisque, Calvinismo nimirum jam penitus imbutis, superstitionem Pontificiam sapere viderentur; quapropter virum ad se accersivit Doctor Airay Vicecancellarius, superque traditâ pro suggesto doctrinâ quæstionem habuit. At vero durante in hebdomadas nonnullas ejusdem eventilatione, ita se demum purgavit Laudus, ut publicam dogmatum suorum retractationem evaserit* (14). Mr Laud's forementioned adversary, Dr Abbot, taking 'advantage of this Sermon, so violently persecuted the poor man, and so openly branded him for a Papist, or at least very Popishly inclined, that it was almost made an *heresie* (as he himself told Mr Heylin) for any one to be seen in his company, and a *misprision of heresie* to give him a civil salutation as he walked the streets (15).' Strange instance of Intolerance, and want of due Moderation!

(12) See Wood Ath. Vol. I. col. 408. and Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. Lib. i. p. 309.

(13) Heylin, p. 49.

(14) Hist. & Antiq. ut supra, p. 312.

(15) Heylin, p. 50.

[*G*] *The first preferment he had*, &c.] D. Lloyd informs us, that he was no sooner invested in any of his livings, but he gave twelve poor people a constant allowance out of those livings; besides his constant well-repairing of the houses, &c. (16).

(16) D. Lloyd's Memoires, &c. Lond. 1668, fol. p. 228.

ſtone in Kent. Whereupon reſigning his Fellowſhip October the ſecond following, and leaving Oxford the 8th of the ſame month, he went and reſided at Cuckſtone. But the unhealthfulneſs of that place having brought an ague upon him, he exchanged it ſoon for Norton, a benefice of leſs value, but in a better air (*i*). About the ſame time, viz. the 29th of December 1610, Dr Buckeridge, Preſident of St John's college, being promoted to the biſhopric of Rocheſter, in the place of Dr Neile, tranſlated to the ſee of Lichfield and Coventry (*k*); Dr Abbot, newly made Archbiſhop of Canterbury, retaining his old grudge againſt Dr Laud, complained of him to the Lord Chancellor Elleſmere, Chancellor of the univerſity [*H*], in order to prevent his being elected Preſident of the foreſaid college. And the Lord Chancellor carryed thoſe complaints to the King; which had like to have deſtroyed at once Dr Laud's credit, intereſt, and advancement, if his conſtant and immovable friend Biſhop Neile had not effaced thoſe ill impreſſions (*l*). Notwithſtanding, therefore, thoſe indirect means, he was elected Preſident of St John's, May 10, 1611, by a majority of the Fellows, though he was then ſick in London, and unable either to make intereſt in perſon, or by writing to his friends (*m*): and ſome of his competitors having appealed to King James, his Majeſty not only confirmed his election, Auguſt 29, 1611, but, in further token of his favour, cauſed him to be ſworn one of his Chaplains the third of November next enſuing; upon the recommendation of Biſhop Neile. Our ambitious and aſpiring Doctor having thus ſet foot within the Court, flattered himſelf with hopes of great and immediate preferment. But Archbiſhop Abbot ſtanding always an obſtacle in his way, no preferment came; ſo that after three years fruitleſs waiting, he was upon the point of leaving the Court, and retiring wholly to his college: had not his friend and patron Biſhop Neile, newly tranſlated to Lincoln, adviſed him to ſtay one year longer. In the mean time, to keep up his ſpirits, the Biſhop gave him the Prebend of Bugden in the church of Lincoln, April 18, 1614; and, December 1, 1615. the Archdeaconry of Huntingdon (*n*). Upon the Lord Chancellor Elleſmere's decline, in 1616, Dr Laud's intereſt began to riſe at Court; ſo that in November that year, the King gave him the Deanery of Glouceſter [*I*]; a dignity indeed of no great value, but which eſtabliſhed his reputation. He then reſigned the Rectory of Weſt-Tilbury. As a further inſtance of his being in favour, he was pitched upon to attend the King in his journey to Scotland; which he began March 5, 1616-17. But before he ſet out, by his procurement ſome royal directions were ſent to Oxford, for the better government of that univerſity (*o*) [*K*]. The deſign of King James's journey, was to bring the

(*i*) Diary, p. 3. and Heylin, p. 55.

(*k*) See Le Neve Faſti, &c. edit. 1716, fol. p. 251.

(*l*) Heylin, p. 56.

(*m*) Diary, p. 3. and the Archbiſhop Anſwer to Lord Say's Speech, in the ſame volume, p. 474.

(*n*) Diary, p. 3. Heylin, p. 56, 57, 60.

(*o*) Diary, p. 3. and Heylin, p. 60, 66.

[*H*] *Complained of him to the Lord Chancellor Elleſmere,* &c.] The ſubſtance of his complaints, was, 'That Dr Laud was at the leaſt a Papiſt in heart, 'and cordially addicted unto Popery; That he kept 'company with none but profeſt and ſuſpected Papiſts; and, That if he were ſuffered to have any 'place of Government in the Univerſity, it would undoubtedly turn to the great Detriment of Religion, 'and Diſhonour of his Lordſhip. (17)'—What Archbiſhop Abbot meant by Dr Laud's being *addicted to Popery*, may be explained from theſe few paſſages, in a Sermon of his brother's preached before the Univerſity, and directly levell'd againſt Dr Laud.—'Some,' ſays he, 'are partly Romiſh, partly Engliſh, 'as occaſion ſerves them, that a man might ſay unto 'them, *noſter es, an Adverſariorum?* who, under pretence of truth, and preaching againſt the Puritan, 'ſtrike at the heart and root of the Faith and Religion now eſtabliſhed amongſt us, &c—If they do at 'any time ſpeak againſt the Papiſts, they do but beat 'a little about the buſh, and that but ſoftly too, for 'fear of waking and diſquieting the birds that are in 'it; they ſpeak nothing but that wherein one Papiſt 'will ſpeak againſt another; as againſt Equivocation 'and the Pope's temporal Authority, and the like; 'and perhaps ſome of their blaſphemous ſpeeches: 'but in the points of *Free-will, Juſtification, Concupiſcence* being a ſin after baptiſm, *Inherent Righteouſneſs*, and *Certainty of Salvation*; the Papiſts beyond 'the ſeas can ſay they are wholly theirs; and the Recuſants at home make their brags of them. And in 'all things they keep themſelves ſo near the brink, 'that upon any occaſion they may ſtep over to them. '—Might not Chriſt ſay, What art thou, Romiſh or 'Engliſh? Papiſt or Proteſtant? or what art thou? 'a mongrel, or compound of both: a Proteſtant by 'ordination, a Papiſt in point of Free-will, Inherent 'Righteouſneſs, and the like. A Proteſtant in receiving the Sacrament, a Papiſt in the doctrine of the Sacrament (18)?' So that Dr Laud's not having the ſame ſentiments as Calvin's or Auguſtin's followers, about Free-will, Inherent Righteouſneſs, &c. were the mighty arguments of his being a Papiſt.

(17) Heylin, p. 56.

(18) Idem. p. 61, 62.

[*I*] *The King gave him the Deanery of Glouceſter.*] When his Majeſty gave it him, he required him at the ſame time to reform and ſet in order what was amiſs in that Cathedral, which, as he ſaid, was worſe governed, and more out of order than any other in the kingdom. Dr Laud therefore making haſte to Glouceſter, found the church in great decay; and many things out of order, in his opinion; particularly the Communion-table ſtanding almoſt in the middle of the choir, contrary to the poſition of it in the King's chapel, and all the cathedral churches which he had ſeen. Whereupon he calls a chapter of the Prebends, and having acquainted them with the King's inſtructions, eaſily obtained their conſent to two chapter-acts: the one for the ſpeedy repairing of the church where it was moſt neceſſary: the other, for tranſpoſing the communion-table to the eaſt end of the choir, and placing it along the wall, according to the ſituation of it in other cathedral churches: which tranſpoſition being made, he recommended to the members of that church, the making their humble reverence to Almighty God, not only at their firſt entrance into the choir, but at their approaches toward the holy table. But theſe alterations gave great uneaſineſs to ſeveral perſons, eſpecially to Dr Miles Smith, then Biſhop of Glouceſter, who, it is ſaid, never ſet foot again in the church as long as he lived (19).

(19) Heylin, p. 63, 64.

[*K*] *By his procurement ſome royal directions were ſent to Oxford.*] They were addreſſed to the Vice-chancellor, the heads of colleges and halls, the two profeſſors and the two proctors of the Univerſity. And the 1ſt of them was, That it was his Majeſties pleaſure, that he would have all that take any degree in the ſchools, ſubſcribe to the three articles in the 36th canon. 2. That no preacher be allowed to preach in the town, but ſuch as are every way conformable both by ſubſcription and every other way 3 That all ſtudents do reſort to the ſermons in St Mary's, and be reſtrained from going to any other church in the time of St Mary's ſermons;—which are here ordered to be both before noon and after noon.—5. That there be a greater reſtraint of Scholars, haunting town houſes, eſpecially in the night. 6. That all Scholars both at the chapels and at the ſchools, keep their ſcholaſtical habits.
7. That young ſtudents in Divinity be directed to ſtudy ſuch books as be moſt agreeable in doctrine and diſcipline to the Church of England, and incited to be-

ſtow

the Church of Scotland to an Uniformity with that of England; a favourite ſcheme of Dr Laud, and ſome other Divines: but the Scots were Scots, as Dr Heylin expreſſes it (p), and reſolved to go their own way, whatever was the conſequence. So that the King gained nothing by that chargeable journey, but the neglect of his commands, and a contempt of his authority [L]. Dr Laud, on his return from Scotland, Auguſt 2, 1617, was inducted to the Rectory of Ibſtock in Leiceſterſhire; belonging to the patronage of the Biſhop of Rocheſter, of whom he had it in exchange for Norton (q). And January 2[illegible] 1620[illegible], was inſtalled into a Prebend of Weſtminſter, of which Biſhop Neile had procured him a grant ten years before (r). About the ſame time, there was a general expectation at Court, that the Deanery of that church would have been conferred upon him (s). But Dr John Williams, then Dean, wanting to keep it in commendam with the Biſhopric of Lincoln, to which he was promoted, got Dr Laud put off with the Biſhopric of St David's; which was become vacant by the tranſlation of Dr Richard Milbourne to Carliſle (t) [M]; though Archbiſhop Abbot obſtructed his riſe as much as poſſible [N]. Being therefore nominated Biſhop of St David's the 29th of June 1621, he was elected October 10, and conſecrated the 18th of November, by the Biſhops of London, Worceſter, Chicheſter, Ely, Landaff, and Oxford; the Archbiſhop being then under ſome kind of diſability, on account of the caſual homicide of the keeper of Bramſhill-Park. The day before his conſecration, he reſigned the Preſidentſhip of St John's, by reaſon of the ſtrictneſs of the college-ſtatute, which he would not violate, nor his oath to it, under any colour (u). But he was permitted to keep his Prebend of Weſtminſter in commendam, through the Lord-Keeper's intereſt; who, about a year after, gave him a living of 120 pounds a year in the dioceſe of St David's, to help his revenue (w). And, in January 1622-3, the King gave him alſo in commendam the Rectory of Creeke in Northamptonſhire (x). The preachers of thoſe times meddling with the abſtruſe doctrines of Predeſtination and Election, and the royal Prerogative, more than was agreeable to the Court; his Majeſty publiſhed, on the 4th of Auguſt 1622, Directions concerning Preachers and Preaching, in which Biſhop Laud is ſaid to have had a hand (y), and of which the ſubſtance is given below [O]. This year alſo (z), Biſhop Laud had

(p) P. 66.

(q) Diary, p. 3. and Heylin, p. 67. He reſigned Ibſtock March 6 1625-6. Diary, p. 30.

(r) Diary, p. 4. Heylin, p. 55, 77.

(s) Diary, p. 4. Heylin, p. 80.

(t) Wood, Ath. as above, col. 56. See J. Le Neve, p. 142.

(u) Diary, p. 4.

(w) Philips, as above, p. 78.

(x) Diary, p. 6. Heylin, p. 96.

(y) Heylin, p. 94.

(z) May 24.

ſtow their times in the Fathers and Councils, Schoolmen, Hiſtories, and Controverſies, and not to inſiſt too long upon Compendiums and Abbreviatures, making them the grounds of their ſtudy in Divinity. 8. That no man, either in pulpit or ſchools, be ſuffered to maintain dogmatically any point of doctrine that is not allowed by the Church of England (20).—Theſe Directions were viſibly levelled againſt the Puritans, and Lecturers.

[L] *And a contempt of his authority.*] Thereupon the King took a better courſe, than to put the point to argument and diſputation; which was, to withdraw thoſe augmentations, he had formerly allowed their Miniſters out of his Exchequer. This ſo wrought upon that indigent and obſtinate people, that the next year, in an Aſſembly holden at Perth, they paſſed an Act for admitting the *five Articles* for which his Majeſty had been courting them two years together (21). Thoſe Five Articles were, in ſubſtance, 1. That the holy Communion ſhould be received by the people *kneeling*. 2. That it might be adminiſtred to ſick perſons at home. 3. That, in caſe of neceſſity, Baptiſm might be perform'd in private houſes. 4. That the days of the Birth, Paſſion, Reſurrection and Aſcenſion of Chriſt, and of the coming down of the Holy Ghoſt, ſhould be publickly ſolemnized in the Congregation. 5. That the Miniſter in every pariſh, having catechized all children above eight years of age, ſhould preſent them to their Biſhops in their viſitations, by them to be bleſſed with prayers (22). Dr Laud, not content with theſe articles, was always preſſing the King to bring that Church to a nearer Uniformity with that of England (23).

[M] *Got Dr Laud put off with the Biſhopric of St David's.*] So this matter is repreſented by A. Wood. 'This promotion of him [viz. Dr Laud,] (ſays Wood,) 'to the ſee of St David was done by the endeavours of 'Dr John Williams, fearing if he had not the ſaid ſee, 'he would have been Dean of Weſtminſter, which the 'ſaid Williams kept in commendam with the ſee of 'Lincoln; whereby he ſhewed himſelf more a politician than a friend (24).' The ſame is hinted by Dr Heylin (25).—And Dr Laud himſelf, in his Diary ſays, that the general expectation at Court, was, that he ſhould have been made Dean of Weſtminſter and not Biſhop of St David's. The whole paſſage is in theſe words: 'The King's gracious ſpeech unto me, June 3, 1621. 'concerning my long ſervice. He was pleaſed to ſay: 'He had given me nothing but Glouceſter, which *he well knew was a ſhell without a kernel.* June 29, his 'Majeſty gave me the grant of the Biſhoprick of St 'David's. The general expectation in Court was, that 'I ſhould then have been made Dean of Weſtminſter 'and not Biſhop of St David's. The King gave me 'leave to hold the Preſidentſhip of St John Baptiſt's 'Colledge in Oxon. in my commendam with the Biſhoprick of St. David's (26).' From this whole paſſage it appears, That the King expreſſed great affection for him; and thought, he had not given him ſufficient preferment, at leaſt of any conſiderable value. Moreover, that he favoured him ſo much, as to permit him to keep the moſt agreeable part of his preferments, the Preſidentſhip of St John's college.—On the other hand, Dr Laud's enemies repreſent the King as utterly averſe to his promotion; 'aſſigning for reaſons, Laud's marriage of the Lady Rich, and his 'urging the King not to reſt at the five articles of 'Perth, &c. But the Duke of Buckingham, and eſpecially Lord Keeper Williams, earneſtly importuning K. James, and ſaying, how ſorry Laud was for 'theſe, the King at laſt ſaid, *And is there no hoe, but you will carry it! then take him to you; but on my ſaul you will repent it*; and ſo went away in anger, 'uſing other fierce and ominous words (27).' Some aſcribe his advancement to the mediation and *diſintereſted* ſollicitations of the foreſaid Lord Keeper, at the Duke's motion; and thence take occaſion to aggravate Laud's ingratitude, for indeavouring to ſupplant and ruin his benefactor (28). However, it is really more probable, that Bp Williams did it not ſo much out of Kindneſs as to ſerve his own ends (29). As for the ſcandalous ſtory told by R. Coke (30), upon Dr Laud's advancement to the Biſhopric; it is as void of probability, as it is of common decency.

[N] *Though Archbiſhop Abbot obſtructed his riſe as much as poſſible.*] This the Archbiſhop did, not only on account of the old grudge between them, but alſo becauſe they differed in principle. For, the Archbiſhop was a rigid Calviniſt, whereas 'Dr Laud was 'looked upon, in thoſe times, as an Arminian, and a 'fierce oppoſer of Puritans (31),' whom the Archbiſhop loved and protected. Therefore he was much bent againſt Laud, judging him to be a man of too bold and hot a ſpirit for thoſe times (32). And the ſame opinion was entertained of him by Judge Whitelock, who would ſay, 'He was too full of fire, 'though a juſt and good man; and that his want of 'Experience in ſtate matters, and his too much zeal 'for the Church, and heat if he proceeded in the way 'he was then in, would ſet this nation on fire (33).'

[O] *Directions concerning Preachers and Preaching, &c.*] The ſubſtance of them was as follows: 1, That no

(20) Ibid. p.

(21) Ibid.

(22) Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. and Heylin, p. 72, 73.

(23) R. Coke's Detection, edit. 1719, Vol. I. p. 144.

(24) Wood, Ath. as above, col. 56.

(25) P. 80.

(26) Diary, p. 4.

(27) Bp Hacket's Life of Abp Williams, part i. p. 63, 64. and R. Coke, as above, p. 145.

(28) Hacket, ibid. p. 64. and part ii. p. 65, 66, 85, 86, 115, 129, 131, &c. and Ruſhworth, Hiſtor. Collect. Part i. p. 61. See alſo Oldmixon's Hiſt. of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 57.

(29) See Mr Wharton's Preface to the Hiſtory of the Troubles and Tryal of Abp Laud, p. 5.

(30) Pag. 144, 145.

(31) Ruſhworth, as above, p. 61, 62.

(32) Ambr. Philips's Life of Abp Williams, p. 78.

(33) Whitelock's Memorials, edit. 1732, p. 34.

had a conference with Fisher the Jesuit, before the Marquis of Buckingham, and his mother; in order to confirm them both in the Protestant religion, wherein they were then wavering: which conference was printed in 1624 (*a*). That brought an intimate acquaintance between him and the Marquis, whose special favourite and confessor he became (*b*) [*P*]; and to whom, 'tis feared, he made himself too much subservient [*Q*]. So that the Marquis left him his agent at Court, when he went over with the Prince into Spain (*c*); and frequently corresponded with him from thence (*d*). About October 1623, the Lord Keeper Williams's jealousy for the Duke of Buckingham's special favour towards Bishop Laud, or misunderstandings and misrepresentations on both sides from tale-bearers and busy-bodies [*R*], occasioned such violent quarrels and enmity between those two prelates, as were attended with the worst consequences (*e*). Archbishop Abbot resolving also to keep Bishop Laud down as long as he could, left him out of the High-Commission, of which the Bishop complained to the Duke of Buckingham, November 1, 1624, and then was put in (*f*). In September 1624, he opposed the sacrilegious design formed by the Duke of Buckingham, of appropriating the large endowment of the Charter-house to the maintenance of an army, under pretence of its being for the King's advantage, and the ease of the subject (*g*). And on the 23d of December following, he presented to him a tract drawn up at his request about Doctrinal Puritanism, in ten heads (*h*). He corresponded also with him, during his voyage into France, about the marriage of the Princess Henrietta-Maria with King Charles the First (*i*). That Prince, soon after his accession to the throne, wanting to regulate the number of his chaplains, and to know the principles and qualifications of the most eminent Divines in his kingdom, our Bishop was ordered to draw a list of them, which he distinguished by the letter O. for Orthodox, and P. for Puritans (*k*). At that King's coronation, February 2, 1625-6, he officiated as Dean of Westminster [*S*], in the room of Bishop Williams, who was then in disgrace (*l*): and is said to have altered the Coronation-oath (*m*) [*T*]. In 1636, he was translated from

(*a*) Diary, p. 5, 12. Heylin, p. 95.

(*b*) Diary, p. 5. Heylin, p. 96, 118.

(*c*) Philips, as above, p. 150.

(*d*) Diary, p. 6, 7.

(*e*) Philips, ibid. and Diary, p. 7.

(*f*) Heylin, p. 113.

(*g*) Diary, p. 13. Heylin, p. 118.

(*h*) Diary, p. 14. See Heylin, p. 119.

(*i*) Diary, p. 17, 18.

(*k*) Diary, p. 16. Heylin, p. 127. R. Coke, as above, p. 187.

(*l*) Philips, as above, p. 190. Heylin, p. 135, 146. Hist. of his Troubles, &c. p. 318.

(*m*) Hist of his Tryal, p. 318, 354.

no preacher under the degree of a Bishop or Dean (and that only upon festivals) do take occasion, by the expounding of any text, to fall into any set course or common place, otherwise than by opening the coherence and division of his text, which shall not be comprehended within some one of the Articles of Religion, or some of the Homilies. 2. That no parson, lecturer, &c. shall preach any sermon upon sundays and holidays in the afternoons, but upon some part of the Catechism, or some text taken out of the Creed, Commandments, or the Lord's-prayer. 3. That no preacher, under the degree of a Bishop or Dean, do presume to preach in any popular auditory, the deep points of Predestination, Election, Reprobation, or of the Universality, Efficacity, Resistibility, or Irresistibility of God's Grace; but rather leave those themes to be handled by learned men, and that modestly and moderately, by use and application, rather than by way of positive doctrine, as being fitter for schools and universities, than for simple auditories. 4. That no preacher shall presume, in any auditory, to declare, limit, or bound by way of positive doctrine, in any lecture or sermon, the Power, Prerogative, Jurisdiction, Authority, or Duty of soveraign Princes, or therein meddle with matters of State, and reference between Princes and People, than as they are instructed in the Homily of Obedience, and in the rest of the Homilies and Articles of Religion: but rather confine themselves wholly to these two heads of *Faith* and *Good Life*, which are all the subject of the ancient sermons and homilies. 5. That no preacher shall causelesly, and without any invitation from the text, fall into any bitter invectives, and undecent railing speeches against the Papists or Puritans: but when they are occasioned thereunto by the text of Scripture, free both the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England from the aspersions of either adversary. 6. That the Archbishops and Bishops be more wary and choice in licensing of Preachers: And that all the Lecturers throughout the kingdom (a new body severed from the ancient Clergy of England, as being neither Parson, Vicar, or Curate) be licensed henceforward in the Court of Faculties, only upon recommendation of the party from the Bishop of the Diocess under his hand and seal, with a *Fiat* from the Archbishop of Canterbury, and a confirmation under the great Seal of England (34). These Directions, like the former, were aimed at the Puritans, and Lecturers; and occasioned great clamours amongst them (35). But they were necessary at a time when, 'Many shallow Preachers 'handled the profound points of Predestination; 'wherein (pretending to guide their flocks) they lost 'themselves (36).'

[*P*] *And confessor he became.*] The memorandums he hath entered in his Diary, upon that occasion, are in these words: 'June 9, being Whitsunday, my 'Lord Marquess Buckingham was pleased to enter 'upon a near respect to me. The particulars are 'not for paper. June 15, I became C. to my Lord 'of Buckingham. And June 16, being Trinity-Sunday, he received the Sacrament at Greenwich (37).' Now, whether by C. the Bishop means Confessor or Chaplain, is not certain. W. Prynne hath printed it Confessor (38); and from thence P. Heylin hath taken it, and styles him so (39).

[*Q*] *To whom, 'tis feared, he made himself too much subservient.*] This is observed by Abp Abbot in his Narrative, not without some jealousy and bitterness.— 'This man,' says he, 'is the only inward Counsellor 'with Buckingham, sitting with him sometimes privately whole hours, and feeding his humour with 'malice and spight (40).'

[*R*] *Or misunderstandings and misrepresentations on both sides from tale bearers and busy-bodies.*] It is well known, how great was the nation's uneasiness, upon Prince Charles's, and the Duke's, unadvised and simple journey to Spain: The Lord-Keeper, it seems, could not conceal his discontent, among the rest. And of all those practices Bp Laud sent an account to the Duke; who resolved to be revenged on the Lord-Keeper, and to take the first opportunity of displacing him. At least Williams imputed his disgrace to that, and charged Laud, upon this account, with the deepest ingratitude (41). 'Hereupon,' as Heylin expresses it (42), 'followed an estranging of 'the Duke's countenance from the Lord-Keeper Williams, and of *his* from the Bishop of St David's, 'whom he looked upon as one that stood in the way 'betwixt him and the Duke: with which the Duke 'was not long after made acquainted. But these displeasures were not only shewn in offended countenances, but brake out within a little time into sharp 'expostulations on either side.'

[*S*] *At that King's coronation — he officiated as Dean of Westminster.*] Bp Williams had orders to absent himself, and to depute one of the Prebendaries in his place. Now he was resolved not to name Bishop Laud, because he took him for his rival and his adversary; and to substitute one of a degree inferior to a Bishop, he thought would be taken ill by the court. Therefore to avoid being laugh'd at on the one hand, and censured on the other, he very prudently sends his Majesty a list of all the Prebendaries and their several dignities, and leaves it to him to choose whom he pleases; and immediately the King pitch'd upon Laud (43).

[*T*] *And is said to have altered the Coronation-oath.*] In order to form a true judgment of this invidious accusation,

(34) Heylin, p. 93, 94.

(35) D. Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, Vol. II. p. 137.

(36) Fuller, Ch. Hist. b. x. p. 108.

(37) Diary,

(38)

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(40) Rushworth, Vol. I. p. 440.

(41) Heylin, p. 107, and Philips, p. 150, 151.

(42) P. 112.

(43) Philips, as above, p. 190.

from St David's to the Bishopric of Bath and Wells [*V*]; and in 1628, to that of London (*n*) [*W*]. October 3, 1626, the King appointed him Dean of his royal chapel: and one of his Privy-Council, the 29th of April 1627 (*o*). He was in the commission for exercising archiepiscopal jurisdiction during Archbishop Abbot's sequestration (*p*). In the third Parliament of King Charles, he was voted to be one of the favourers of the Arminians [**W**], and one justly suspected to be unsound in his opinions that way: accordingly,

(*n*) Diary, p. 34, 35, 36, 41.

(*o*) Diary, p. 36, 41.

(*p*) Diary, p. 42. and Rushworth, Vol. I. p. 431. The Archbishop was sequestered for refusing to license Sibthorp's Sermon. He was restored to his jurisdiction towards the end of the year 1628. Heylin, p. 185.

adulation, we shall, *first*, lay before the reader, what appeared to us, upon collating the oath said to have been taken by K. Charles I, with the most ancient form we could meet with: *Next*, just take notice of what was alledged against Bishop Laud upon that article, and by whom: and *then* set down what he pleads in his own defence. Upon comparing, therefore the oath taken by K. Charles I. as set down by Rushworth (44), with the most ancient in print, which is that of Edward II (45), we observe this difference. At the end of article the first, after the words *your predecessor*, there is added in the form used by K. Charles I. — 'according to the laws of God, the true 'profession of the Gospel established in this king- 'dom, and agreeable to the Prerogative of the Kings 'thereof, and the antient customs of the realm.' And after the end of the fourth article, one of the Bishops read this passage to the King. 'Our Lord and King, 'we beseech you to pardon and to grant, and to 'preserve unto us, and to the Churches committed to 'our charge, all canonical Privileges, and due law 'and justice; and that you would protect and defend 'us, as every good King in his kingdoms ought to be 'protector and defender of the Bishops, and the 'churches under their government.' Then the King being conducted by the nobility to the throne, this passage was read to his Majesty. 'Stand and hold 'fast from henceforth the place, to which you have 'been heir by the Succession of your forefathers, be- 'ing now delivered to you by the authority of Al- 'mighty God, and by the hands of us, and all the 'bishops and servants of God: and as you see the 'Clergy to come nearer the Altar than others, so re- 'member that (in all places convenient) you give 'them greater honor, that the Mediator of God and 'Man may establish you in the kingly throne to be a 'Mediator betwixt the Clergy and the Laity; and 'that you may reign for ever with Jesus Christ, the 'king of kings, and lord of lords.' Such is the difference between the Coronation-oath of K. Charles I. and that of Edward II. But whether there was not the same difference in the Coronation-oath of K. Charles's predecessors, especially since the Reformation, remains a Quære.—However Bp Laud was charged by W. Lilly (46), with having 'altered the old 'Coronation oath, and framed another new:' by an anonymous author of the Life of King Charles (47), with having 'purposely emasculated it:' by W. Prynne, his inveterate enemy (48), with having inserted in it the words, *agreeable to the King's Prerogative*, and omitted these other words, *which the people have chosen*, or *shall chuse*. And the same accusation was repeated at his Tryal (49). Many years after, he was likewise charged by the Lord Chief Baron Atkins (50), of striking out of the ancient Coronation oath, 'that the 'King should consent to such Laws, as the People 'should choose;' and, instead of that, inserting this other very unusual one, 'Saving the King's Prerogative- 'royal.' which his Lordship visibly borrowed from W. Prynne.—Now, let us hear what the Archbishop had to say in his own defence. He says, therefore (51), that he was 'charged with two alterations in the body 'of the King's Oath. One added, namely these 'words, *agreeable to the King's Prerogative*: the other 'omitted, namely these words, *quæ populus elegerit*, '*which the people have chosen*, or *shall choose*. For 'this latter, the clause omitted, that suddenly va- 'nished: for it was omitted in the oath of King 'James, as is confessed by themselves in the printed 'votes of this present Parliament (52). But the other 'highly insisted on, as taking off the total assurance 'which the subjects have by the oath of their Prince 'for the performance of his Laws. 1. I humbly 'conceive this clause takes off none of the peoples 'assurance; none at all. For the King's just and le- 'gal Prerogative, and the Subjects assurance for Li- 'berty and Property may stand well together, and 'have so stood for hundreds of years. 2. That al- 'teration, whatever it be, was not made by me; nor 'is there any interlining or alteration so much as of a 'Letter found in that book. 3. If any thing be 'amiss therein, my predecessor (53) gave that oath to 'the King, and not I. I was meerly ministerial, both 'in the preparation, and at the Coronation itself, sup- 'plying the place of the Dean of Westminster. After 'this day's work [the eleventh day of his Tryal] was 'ended, it instantly spread all over the city, that I had 'altered the King's oath at his coronation, and from 'thence into all parts of the kingdom; as if all must 'be true which was said at the bar against me, what 'answer soever I made. The people and some of 'the Synod now crying out, that this one thing was 'enough to take away my life. And though this 'was all that was charged this day concerning this 'oath, yet seeing how this fire took, I thought fit the 'next day that I came to the bar, to desire that the 'books of the Coronation of former Kings, especially 'those of Queen Elizabeth and King James, might be 'seen and compared, and the copies brought into the 'Court, both from the Exchequer, and such as were 'in my study at Lambeth: and a fuller inquisition 'made into the business: *in regard I was as innocent 'from this crime, as when my mother bare me into the 'world*. A salvo was entred for me upon this. And 'every day that I after came to the bar, I called upon 'this business. But somewhat or other was still pre- 'tended by them which managed the evidence, that 'I could not get the books to be brought forth, nor 'any thing to be done, 'till almost the last day of my 'hearing. Then no books could be found in the Ex- 'chequer, nor in my study, but only that of King 'James; whereas, when the keys were taken from 'me, there were divers books there, as is confessed in 'the printed Votes of this parliament*: and one of 'them with a watchet sattin cover now missing. And 'whether this of King James (had not my secretary, 'who knew the book, seen it drop out of Mr Prynne's 'bag) would not have been concealed too, I cannot 'tell. At last the book of King James his coronation, and 'the other urged against me concerning King Charles, 'were seen and compared openly in the Lords house, 'and found to be the same oath in both, and no inter- 'lining or alteration in the book charged against me.'

(44) Part i. or Vol. I. p. 200. See also the King's Answer to the Remonstrance of the Lords and Commons, 26 May, 1642.

(45) See Rymer's Acta Regia, Vol. III. p. 63. and Rapin's History, Vol. I. fol. edit. p. 389.

(46) Hist of K. Charles I, &c. edit. 1715, p. 21.

(47) Printed by Reybold.

(48) Canterbury's Doom.

(49) See p. 318, &c. 354.

(50) Speech to the Lord-Mayor, October 1693.

(51) Troubles and Tryal, p. 318, &c. See also p. 354.

(52) P. 706.

(53) Archbishop Abbot.

* P. 706.

See the end of this Life.

[*V*] *He was translated - - - - to the Bishopric of Bath and Wells.*] He was nominated to that see June 20, elected August 16, and had restitution of the temporalities Sept. 19 (54).

[*W*] *And in 1628 to that of London.*] The King gave him a grant of it, June 17, 1627, (upon the intended removal of his predecessor Dr Geo. Monteine to Durham,) but he was not translated 'till July 15, 1628 (55). See the reason of the long space of time, between his nomination and translation to the See of London, in Heylin's Cyprianus Anglicus, or Life of our Bishop (56).

[**W**] *He was voted to be one of the favourers of the Arminians.*] Upon that occasion he made the following entry into his Diary (57), June 14: '— The 'house of Commons were making their Remonstrance 'to the King. Therein they named the Bishop of 'Winchester [Neile] and myself. One in the house 'stood up and said: Now we have named these per- 'sons, let us think of some causes why we did it. 'Sir Edw. Cooke answered, Have we not named my 'Lord of Buckingham without shewing a cause, and 'may we not be as bold with them?' It were to be wish'd, for the honour of the English senate, that they had duly examin'd the genuine Principles and Opinions of the Arminians, before they had ventur'd to condemn them. But what wrong notions were formed of them by the then House of Commons, will appear from the following sample; being part of a speech made 26 January, 1628, by Francis Rouse, afterwards Provost of Eaton, author of *Mella Patrum*, and Speaker of Oliver Cromwell's Parliament. - - - 'I desire, (says he) that we may consider 'the increase of Arminianism, an error that makes the 'Grace of God *lackey it after the will of man, that* 'makes

(54) Diary, under those days.

(55) Diary, p. 41, 43.

(56) P. 165, 166.

(57) P. 43.

(q) Rushworth, as above, Vol. I. p. 618, 621. Diary, p. 43, 44. Whitelock's Memorials, edit. 1732, p. 10.

(r) Heylin, p. 145, 172.

(s) Diary, p. 44. See Hist. of his Troubles and Tryal, p. 355, 400.

(t) Rushworth, as above, p. 614, 615.

(u) Diary, p. 43, 44, 53, 68. Heylin, p. 183. Hist. of his Troubles and Tryal, p. 304.

(w) Diary, p. 45. and Wood, Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. L. i. p. 332. and L. ii. p. 435.

(x) Rushworth, as above, p. 637. and Diary, p. 43. Heylin, p. 177.

ingly, his name was inserted as such in the Commons Remonst . ce (q). And because
he was thought to be the maker of the King's Speeches, and of e Duke of Bucking-
ham's answer to his impeachment, &c. (r), it raised a very great lamour against him;
and so exposed him to popular rage, that his life was threatned (s X]. About the same
time, he was put into an ungracious office; namely, in a comn on for raising monies
by impositions or otherwise; which the Commons called Excises ut it seems, never to
have been executed (t). Amidst all his employments, his care d not slacken towards
the place of his education, the university of Oxford; for, in ordu o stop and rectify the
factious and tumultuary manner of electing the Proctors, he fixed em to the several col-
leges, according to rotation. And caused to be collected and pu n order, the broken,
crossing, and imperfect statutes of that university, which had lain me hundreds of years
in a confused heap (u). On the 12th of April 1630, he was e ed Chancellor of the
same university (w); which he made it his business, the rest of s life, to adorn with
buildings [Y], and to enrich with the most valuable manuscript and other books [Z].
After the Duke of Buckingham's fatal murder, our Bishop becam chief favourite to King
Charles; which augmented indeed his power and interest, but ir eased at the same time
the envy and jealousy against him, which were already too stron (x). In order to stop
the too frequent disputes concerning God's Decrees, he advised his Majesty, that the 39 Articles might be reprinted, with a Royal Declaration at the head of them; which has been mostly prefixed to them ever since. But it was much exclaimed against by some of the rigid Calvinists [AA]; as were also some Instructions published soon after, relating to

'*makes the Sheep to keep the Shepherd, and makes a*
'*mortal seed of an immortal God.* Yea, I desire that 'we may look into the very belly and bowels of this 'Trojan horse, to see if there be not men in it ready 'to open the gates to Romish tyranny, and Spanish 'monarchy: for an *Arminian is the spawn of a Papist*, and if there come the warmth of favour upon 'him, you shall see him turn into one of those frogs 'that rise out of the bottomless pit; and if you mark 'it well, you shall see an Arminian reaching out his 'hand to a Papist, a Papist to a Jesuite, a Jesuite gives 'one hand to the Pope, another to the King of 'Spain, and these men having kindled a fire in our 'neighbour-country, now they have brought some of 'it over hither to set on flame this kingdom also; 'yea, let us further search and consider, whether these 'be not the men, that break in upon the Goods and 'Liberties of this commonwealth, for by this means 'they make way for the taking away of our Religion (58).'—Strange it is, that any one should have the privilege of venting such notorious and palpable untruths in so august an assembly! James Van Harmin, or Arminius, was as far distant from Popery, as Gomarus, or any other of his most zealous opposers. So was the excellent Philip à Limborch, &c. And so were those eminent English Divines in the last century, who dared to make use of their reason, and, after a due examination, embraced Van Harmin's opinions about Predestination and Grace. But the true reason why they, and their doctrines, were condemned in the gross, is because they were unpopular men, and looked upon as tools to the Court. And such was the common cant of the Times. Atheism, Popery, Arminianism, and Heresy, were usually yoked together; tho' in truth Arminianism and Popery have no more connexion with one another than Calvinism and Popery. And, if the Arminians agreeing upon that point with some Papists, is a sign of Popery; so is it, for the very same reason, a sign of Popery in the Calvinists. Since the Calvinists agree therein with the Dominicans and Jansenists, as much as the Arminians do with the Jesuits and Franciscans. And, what is a good or a bad sign, false or true reasoning, in one case, or in one set of people, is equally the same in the other. This, zealots of all parties are not aware of: but, to disguise or blind their knavery, they make it a standing custom to blacken and misrepresent those who are not of the same opinion with themselves. A most ungenerous as well as unjust proceeding! To conclude this note, we shall beg leave to ask, What right Mr J. Calvin, and his followers had, or ever can have, to give laws to the whole Christian Church? and why the other opinions ought not to be tolerated, at least, with meekness and patience?

(58) Rushworth, Part i. p. 645, 646.

[X] *That his life was threatened.*] For a paper was found in the Dean of St Paul's yard to this effect; 'Laud, look to thy self; be assured thy life is 'sought. As thou art the fountain of all wickedness, 'repent thee of thy monstrous sins, before thou be 'taken out of the world, &c. And assure thyself, 'neither God nor the world can endure such a vile 'Councellor to live, or such a whisperer; or to this 'effect.' Upon which the Bishop makes this soliloquy. 'Lord, I am a grievous sinner; but I beseech 'thee, deliver my soul from them that hate me without a cause (59).'

(59) Diary, p. 44.

[Y] *To adorn with buildings.*] He began with the place of his education, St John's college; where he built the inner Quadrangle, (except part of the south-side of it, which was the old Library) in a solid and elegant manner. The first stone was laid 23d July, 1631. He gave also several MSS. to the library, and 500*l.* by will to the college (60). Next, being resolved to free St Mary's church from the inconveniencies and profanation, which the continual keeping of the Public Convocations and Congregations in it must be attended with, (for they were then held in that church,) he erected a stately and most elegant pile at the west end of the Divinity-school and Bodleian library: the lower part whereof, was for the keeping of the Convocations and other public meetings of the University: and the upper part, opening into the public Library, was for the reception of Books; in which are deposited his own MSS. Mr Selden's library, &c. —He had also projected, to clear the great square between St Mary's church and the schools; where now stands the Ratcliff library: and to have raised a fair and capacious room, upon pillars; the upper part to serve for Convocations and Congregations; the lower for a walk or place of conference, in which students of all sorts might confer together, when they resorted to the schools, the library, or upon any other public occasion. But the owners of the houses there not being willing to part with them, he was forced to drop that grand design (61).

(60) Wood, Hist. & Antiq. U[illegible] Oxon. L[illegible] 310, [illegible] lin, p[illegible]

(61) Heylin, p. 379.

[Z] *And to enrich with the most valuable manuscripts, &c.*] He gave, at several times, to the University *Thirteen hundred MSS.* in Hebrew, Syriac, Chaldee, Ægyptian, Æthiopian, Armenian, Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Russian, Chinese, Japonese, Greek, Latin, Italian, French, Saxon, English, and Irish: as the inscription in the Bodleian library testifies (62). An invaluable collection, procured at a prodigious expence *!

(62) Wood, Hist. & Antiq. Lib. ii. p. 53. Diary, p. 56, 59.

* See Sim. Ockley's History of the Saracens, Preface to Vol. I. p. xviii, xix.

[AA] *But it was much exclaimed against by some of the rigid Calvinists.*] Particularly they took exception at the following passage in it. '— In these both 'curious and unhappy differences which have for 'many hundred years, in different times and places, 'exercised the Church of Christ, we will that all 'further curious search be laid aside, and these disputes be shut up in God's promises, as they be generally set forth unto us in holy Scriptures; and the 'general meaning of the Articles of the Church of 'England according to them. And that no man hereafter shall either Print or Preach to draw the Article 'aside any way, but shall submit to it in the plain and 'full meaning thereof: and shall not put his own 'sense or comment to be the meaning of the Article, 'but shall take it in the literal and grammatical sense.'

—So

to Bishops and Lecturers (y) [BB]. Nor was the repair of St Paul's cathedral, which he undertook, better approved of, though much wanted; nay, it was afterwards imputed to him as a crime (z). And so was likewise his consecration of St Catherine-cree church: which he performed January 16, 1630-31 (a) [CC]. About the same time, he undertook to overthrow the most useful and charitable Feoffment, which some persons had newly formed, of buying Impropriations [DD], for the maintenance of Lecturers (b). Upon the decline of Archbishop Abbot's health and favour at Court, Bishop Laud's concurrence, if not over-forwardness, in the very severe prosecutions carried on in the high-commission and star-chamber, against several peevish and ill-natured scribblers, or simple preachers, &c. [EE], did him great prejudice in most peoples minds. But his prosecution

(y) Heylin, p. 178, 188, &c. Rushworth, Vol. II. p. 30.

(z) Hist. of his Troubles and Tryal, p. 245, 256, &c. Heylin, p. 294. Rushworth, Vol. II. p. 410, 462, 719.

(a) Rushworth, Vol. II. p. 76, 77. Hist. of his Troubles and Tryal, &c. p. 339, 340, &c.

(b) Heylin, p. 187, 198. Fuller's Church Hist. book xi. p. 136, 143. Hist. of his Troubles and Tryal, p. 371, &c. Rushworth, Vol. II. p. 150.

—So alarmed at it were the Calvinist Divines, that they drew up a Petition, wherein they complained of 'the Restraints they were laid under by his Majesty's forbidding them to preach *the saving Doctrines of God's Free Grace in Election*, and *Predestination to Eternal Life*, according to the seventeenth Article of the Church, &c (63).' And the Parliament meeting soon after, this Declaration occasioned several speeches in the House of Commons, wherein it appears to have been greatly misunderstood and misrepresented (64). After which the Commons, to be even with the King and the Declaration, entered into this uncommon Vow. 'We the Commons in Parliament assembled, do claim, protest, and avow for Truth, the sense of the Articles of Religion, which were established by Parliament in the thirteenth year of our late Queen Elizabeth, which by the publick Act of the Church of England, and by the general and currant Expositions of the Writers of our Church, have been delivered unto us. And we reject the sense of the Jesuits, and Arminians, and all others wherein they differ from us (65).' A notable piece! full of Intolerance; should not the Commons, instead of confining the interpretation of the Articles to the Calvinistical sense alone, and to that which was put upon some of them by that exploded nonsense the Lambeth articles; have rather examined, or taken time to examine, whether the Interpretation which the Arminians gave of the Five Points, was not more consistent with God's Nature and Attributes, nor more agreeable to the true Design of St Paul, and other places of Scripture, than that of St Austin, and his followers the Calvinists? That would have been acting like rational Persons, and true Protestants.—But it is to be remembred, that this Vow was no Act of Parliament.

(63) Prynne, Cant. Doom, p. 165.

(64) Rushworth, Vol. I. p. 645, &c.

(65) Idem, p. 649.

[BB] *As were also some Instructions - - - relating to Bishops and Lecturers.*] The 1st and 2d injoyned the Bishops residence in their several Sees. 3d. That they give charge, That the Declaration for settling all Questions in difference, be strictly observed by all parties. 5th. With regard to the Lecturers, That in all Parishes the afternoon Sermons be turned into Catechising by question and answer: That every Lecturer do read divine service according to the Liturgy, in his surplice, and before the lecture: That where a Lecture is set up in a market-town, it may be read by a company of grave and orthodox Divines near adjoyning; and that they preach in their gowns, and not in cloaks: That if a Corporation do maintain a single Lecturer, he be not suffered to preach 'till he profess his willingness to take upon him a Living with cure of souls, within that incorporation; and that he do actually take such benefice so soon as the same shall be fairly procured for him (66).

(66) Heylin, p. 189.

[CC] *And so was likewise his consecration of St Catherine-Cree church.*] Great exceptions were taken at the formality thereof, as Mr Rushworth testifies (67): and, among other things, it was made one head of accusation against him at his Tryal, 'That at the beginning he took up dust, and threw it in the air, and after used divers curses: and that *Spargere cinerem* is in the form of consecration used in the Pontifical.' But the Archbishop declared, in his own vindication, that 'there was no throwing up of dust, no curses used throughout the whole action: nor, (says he) did I follow the Pontifical, but a copy of learned and reverend Bishop Andrews, by which he consecrated divers churches in his time; and that this is so, I have the copy by me to witness it, and offer'd to shew it. No;' said the Counsel against him, 'but the Treason is, To seek by these ceremonies, to overthrow the Religion established.' To which the Archbishop replied, 'Nor was that ever sought by me: and God of his mercy preserve the true Protestant religion amongst us, 'till the consecration of churches, and reverence in the church, can overthrow it; and then I doubt not, but by God's blessing, it shall continue safe to the world's end (68).'

(67) Vol. II. p. 76.

(68) Tryal, p. 340.

[DD] *Of buying Impropriations.*] This design was first set on foot about the year 1626, by Dr Preston and other Puritans. And their resolution was, to set up stipendiary Lectures in all or most Market-towns, especially Burghs. For the maintenance of which, they proposed to buy such Impropriated Tithes as remained in lay-hands, by a standing collection among well-disposed and charitable persons. To that end they erected a Feoffment, or kind of Corporation, amongst themselves, consisting of *Twelve* persons, *viz.* Four Divines, Dr William Gouge, Dr Richard Sibbs, G. Ofspring, J. Davenport: Four Lawyers, Ralph Eyre, S. Brown, C. Sherland, John White: Four Citizens of London, John Geering, Richard Davis, George Harwood, Francis Bridges: to whom was added afterwards Rowland Heylyn, Alderman of London, by the name of Treasurer to the Company, that they might have a casting vote among them, as occasion served. So successfully did they go on, that it was verily believed, within fifty years rather Purchases than Money would have been wanting; the Impropriations being then generally bought at or under twelve years purchase (69). But Bishop Laud looking upon that project with a jealous eye, as dangerous both to Church and State, caused it to be overthrown by an Information in the Exchequer, because it was not confirmed by letters-patent. He says, he 'was clearly of opinion, that this was a cunning way, under a glorious pretence, to overthrow the Church government by the feoffees getting into their power more dependency of the Clergy, than the *King*, and all *the Peers*, and all *the Bishops* in all the Kingdom.' He adds, that 'this way did not stand either with his judgment or conscience. 1. Because little or nothing was given by them to the present Incumbent, to whom the Tythes were due, if to any. 2. Because most of the men they put in, were persons disaffected to the Discipline, if not the Doctrine too of the Church of England. 3. Because no small part was given to school-masters, to season youth *ab ovo*, for their party: and to young students in the universities, to purchase them and their judgments to their side. 4. Because all this power to breed and maintain a faction, was in the hands of twelve men, who were they never never so honest, and free from thoughts of abusing this power to fill the Church with *Schism*, yet who should be successors, and what use should be made of this power, was out of humane reach to know (70).' But this very last reason should have induced the Archbishop not to overthrow that charity; for, if at one time it was in schismatical hands, it might at another time have devolved into quite other hands; and greatly increas'd the revenues of the Church, which was his Grace's favourite scheme.

(69) Fuller's Church History, as above, B. xi. p. 136.

(70) Troubles and Tryal, p. 372, 373.

[EE] *Against several peevish and ill natured scribblers, &c.*] Particularly one Alexander Leighton, who had published 'An Appeal to the Parliament, or Sion's Plea against the Prelacy.' Wherein he terms the Prelates men of blood, and enemies to God and the State; and affirms, that we do not read of greater persecutions, or higher indignity done upon God's people, in any nation, than in this island; that the Prelacy is antichristian and satanical, and the Bishops ravens and pye-maggots that prey upon the State; therefore he advises to kill them all, by smiting them under the fifth rib. Kneeling at the Sacrament he calls the received spawn of the Beast. And he styles the Queen a Canaanite, the daughter of Heth, an idolatress. He commends

tion of the King's Printers, for leaving out *Not* in the Seventh Commandment in the Engliſh Bibles, could be liable to no juſt objection *(c)*. On the 13th of May 1633, he ſet out from London, to attend King Charles who was going to be crowned in Scotland: the 15th of June, he was ſworn a Privy-Counſellor for that kingdom; and on the 26th of July came back to Fulham *(d)*. During his ſtay in Scotland, he formed the reſolution of bringing that Church to an exact conformity with the Church of England; and the King committed the framing of a Liturgy to a ſelect number of Scotiſh Biſhops [*FF*]. ' Having, as Fuller expreſſes it *(e)*, endeavoured to ſupplant Archbiſhop Abbot, whom ' he could not be contented to ſucced;' upon his death in Auguſt 1633, our Biſhop was appointed his ſucceſſor in the Archbiſhopric of Canterbury [*GG*]. That very morning, viz. Auguſt 4, there came one to him at Greenwich, ſeriouſly (and that avowed ability to perform it) with the offer of a Cardinal's hat: which offer was repeated again the 17th of the ſame month. And his anſwer, both times, was, ' That ſomewhat dwelt within ' him, which would not ſuffer that, 'till Rome were other than it is *(f)* [*HH*].' September 14, he was elected Chancellor of the univerſity of Dublin *(g)*. One of his firſt acts, after his advancement to the Archbiſhopric, was an injunction, October 18, purſuant to the King's letter, That no clergyman ſhould be ordained Prieſt without a Title *(h)* [*II*]. At the ſame time came out his Majeſty's Declaration about Lawful Sports *(i)* [*KK*]; which the Archbiſhop was charged with having revived and enlarged *(k)*; and that brought a great odium upon him, among the Sabbatarians and other Puritans, though, as he obſerves, ' at Geneva, after evening prayer, the elder men bowl, and the ' younger

(*c*) Heylin, p. 215. Hiſt. of his Troubles and Tryal, p. 290.

(*d*) Diary, p. 48. Heylin, p. 223, &c. See Guthry's Mem. p. 16.

(*e*) Church Hiſt. book xi. p. 128.

(*f*) Diary, p. 49.

(*g*) Ibid. p. 50.

(*h*) Heylin, p. 239, &c. Ruſhworth, Vol. II. p. 214.

(*i*) Heylin, p. 241. 290. Ruſhw. as above, p. 192, 459.

(*k*) See his Tryal, p. 342, &c. Oldmixon, p. 120. Heylin, p. 245.

commends him that killed the Duke of Buckingham, and encourages others to do the like, &c. For this libel he was fined 10,000*l.* pilloried, whipt, had his ears cut off, and his noſe ſlit (71). Too ſevere a puniſhment, for one who rather deſerved to be lodged in Bethlem hoſpital! — Nath. Bernard, Lecturer of St Sepulchre's, London, was alſo queſtion'd in the High-commiſſion, for delivering, in a ſermon before the univerſity of Cambridge, ſmart paſſages againſt the introducing of Pelagian errors and Romiſh ſuperſtitions into our Church. His Text was 1 Sam. iv. 21. He was fined 1000*l.* and ſuſpended; and refuſing to recant, was impriſoned (72).—Mr. Charles Chancy, Vicar of Ware, was likewiſe queſtioned in the ſame court, for ſaying in a ſermon, ' That Idolatry was admitted into ' the Church; and that there is much Atheiſm, Popery, ' Arminianiſm, and Hereſy crept into the Church (73).' —To which may be added the proſecution of Henry Sherfield, Eſq; Recorder of Saliſbury, for his ignorant zeal, in breaking ſome painted glaſs in the windows of St Edmund's church in that city (74).

[*FF*] *And the King committed the framing of a Liturgy to a ſelect number of Scotiſh Biſhops.*] It is to be remembred, that at the firſt alteration of Religion in the Kirk of Scotland, the Scots petitioning Qu. Elizabeth for aid to expel the French out of their country, obliged themſelves by the ſubſcription of their hands to embrace the Liturgy, rites, and ceremonies of the Church of England †. According to which, an ordinance was made by the Scotiſh Reformers, that in all pariſhes of that realm the Common prayer ſhould be read weekly on Sundays and other feſtival-days. But, during K. James's minority, the Liturgy was thruſt out by the Calviniſtical faſhion of extemporary Prayers. That Prince, after the reſtoration of Epiſcopacy, took alſo proper meaſures for the reſtoring of the Engliſh ſervice-book in Scotland. It not being done at his death, his ſucceſſor K. Charles I. called upon the Scotiſh biſhops to have it done. Accordingly they diſpatched to Court, in 1629, Dr John Maxwell, one of the preachers in Edenborough, afterwards Biſhop of Roſs. The King referred him to Dr Laud then Biſhop of London, with this meſſage, ' That it was his Majeſty's pleaſure, that he [Biſhop ' Laud] ſhould receive inſtructions from ſome Biſhops of Scotland concerning a Liturgy for that ' Church; and that he was employed from Dr Spotſwood Archbiſhop of St Andrews, and other Prelates ' there about it. Bp Laud told him, he was clear of ' opinion, that if his Majeſty would have a Liturgy ' ſettled there, it were beſt to take the Engliſh Liturgy without any variation, that ſo the ſame ſervice-book might be eſtabliſhed in all his Majeſty's ' dominions: which he thought would have been a ' great happineſs to the State, and a great honour and ' ſafety to Religion. To this Dr Maxwell replyed, ' that he was of a contrary opinion, and that not he ' only, but the Biſhops of that kingdom thought their ' countrymen would be much better ſatisfied, if a Liturgy were framed by their own Clergy, than to ' have the Engliſh Liturgy put upon them; yet he ' added, that it might be according to the form of our ' Engliſh Service-book (75). The King inclined to ' have the Engliſh Service-book eſtabliſhed in Scotland: and in this condition Bp Laud held that buſineſs, for two if not three years at leaſt. Afterwards the Scotiſh Biſhops ſtill preſſing the King, ' that a Liturgy framed by themſelves, and in ſome ' few things different from ours, would reliſh better ' with their countrymen; they at laſt prevailed with ' his Majeſty, to have it ſo, and carried it againſt Bp ' Laud, notwithſtanding all he could ſay or do to the ' contrary. Then his Majeſty commanded him to ' give the Biſhops of Scotland his beſt aſſiſtance in this ' work. He obeyed with no ſmall reluctance: but ' whereſoever he had any doubt, he did not only acquaint his Majeſty with it, but writ down moſt of ' the amendments or alterations in his Majeſty's preſence (76).' *The Scotiſh Biſhops who framed the* Liturgy, *were* Dr Spotſwood, *Archbiſhop of St Andrews;* Dr Patrick Lyndſey, *Archbiſhop of Glaſgow;* Dr James Wedderburne, *Biſhop of Dumblane;* Dr John Guthrie, *Biſhop of* Murray; Dr John Maxwell, Biſhop of Roſſe; and Dr Walter Whiteford, Biſhop of Brechin (77).

[*GG*] *Our biſhop was appointed his ſucceſſor in the Archbiſhopric of Canterbury.*] News came to Court, Auguſt 4, of the Archbiſhop's death; and the King reſolved preſently to give the Archbiſhopric to Biſhop Laud: which he did Aug. 6. He was elected Aug. 19. and confirmed Septemb. 19 (78).

[*HH*] *And his anſwer both times was,* &c.] Mr Whitelock aſſigns the following reaſon for his refuſal (79); becauſe he was, ' as high already as England could advance him, and he would not be ſecond to any in another kingdom.'

[*II*] *That no clergyman ſhould be ordained Prieſt without a Title.*] That is, without a certainty of ſome immediate maintenance; and not be reduced to the neceſſity of becoming itinerant, and (as too often happens) indigent and ſcandalous, Miniſters. A *ſufficient Title* for Orders, by Canon 33, is, a Preſentation to an eccleſiaſtical preferment actually void; ſome cure, or miniſter's place, vacant, either in a cathedral or collegiate church; a Fellowſhip or Chaplainſhip in a college; or the being a Maſter of Arts in either univerſity of five years ſtanding, and living there at his own charge.—The end of the Injunction now given, was to hinder the Lecturers which were at that time ſo much in faſhion, from getting into orders; a Lecture not being admitted as a Canonical Title: and likewiſe to reſtrain private gentlemen, not qualified by law, from keeping trencher chaplains in their houſes, as Dr Heylin expreſſes it (80).

[*KK*] *His Majeſty's Declaration about Lawful Sports.*] See Qu. Elizabeth's Licence to John Seconton, to uſe ſome playes and games upon nine ſeveral Sundays, &c. publiſhed by T. Hearne, in the preface to his edition of Camden's Annals of Qu. Elizabeth, p. 28.

[*KK*] *To*

(71) Ruſhw. Vol. II. p. 55, &c. Vol. III. App. p. 29. He is there called a Romiſh Catholick. See alſo Whitelock, p. 15.

(72) Ruſhw. Vol. II. p. 32, 140, &c.

(73) Idem, p. 34. See alſo p. 316.

(74) Idem. p. 153, &c. Troubles, &c. p. 331.

† Buchanan Hiſt. Scot. L. 19.

(75) See King Charles's large Declaration concerning the late Tumults in Scotland, &c. Lond. 1639, fol. p. 16, &c.

(76) Heylin, p. 222. and Hiſt. of the Archbiſhop's Troubles and Tryal, p. 168, 169.

(77) King Charles's large Declaration, as above. Heylin, p. 304. and Animadverſions on Fuller's Hiſt. p. 226. Ruſhw. Part ii. p. 293, 321, 731. Neal's Hiſtory of the Puritans, Vol. II. p. 312.

(78) Diary, p. 49. and Le Neve, as above, p. 9.

(79) Memorials, &c. as above, p. 18. but ſee p. 101.

(80) Heylin, p. 239. Ruſhw. Vol. II. p. 213, &c.

(l) Tryal, p. 343.

(m) Heylin, p. 278, 345. Fuller's Church History, book xi. p. 141. Hist. of his Troubles and Tryal, p. 341, &c.

(n) Heylin, p. 269, 273, 280, 295, &c. 347. Whitelock, p. 25. Hist. of his Troubles and Tryal, p. 261.

(o) Heylin, p. 218, 260, &c. 377. Hist. of his Troubles, &c. p. 165, 374.

(p) Rushw. Vol. II. p. 273. Heylin, p. 343, 345.

(q) Heylin, p. 253. Fuller, as above, p. 149. Hist. of his Troubles and Tryal, p. 297.

(r) Heylin, p. 265, 286, &c. Hist. of his Troubles and Tryal, p. 251. Rushw. Vol. II. p. 269.

(s) Diary, p. 51. Heylin, p. 284.

(t) Lord Clarendon's History, edit. 1732, 8vo. Vol. I. p. 149.

(u) Idem, p. 100.

'younger train (l);' and our good Puritan neighbours the Dutch profane the Sunday with plays and interludes, and count themselves blameless. However, very blameable is certainly such a practice: and so were the vexatious prosecutions of such clergymen as refused to read the Declaration aforesaid in their churches (m). In the years 1634, 1635, &c. the Archbishop, by his Vicar-general, performed his Metropolitical Visitation; wherein, among other things, the Churchwardens in every parish were injoined, To remove the Communion-table from the middle, to the east end of the chancel, altar-wise [*KK*]; the ground being raised for that purpose: and to fence it with decent rails, to avoid prophaneness. Those that refused to do so, were prosecuted in the high-commission or star-chamber-courts (n). In that visitation, the Dutch and Walloon congregations were summoned to appear; and injoined, such as were born in England, to repair to the several parish churches where they inhabited, to hear divine service and sermons, and perform all duties and payments required in that behalf: and those of them, ministers or others, that were aliens born, to use the English Liturgy, translated into French or Dutch (o) [LL]. Many, rather than comply, chose to leave the kingdom, to the great detriment of our manufactures (p). This year, the Archbishop did the poor Irish clergy a very important service, by obtaining for them from the King, a grant of all the impropriations that were then remaining in the Crown (q). He also improved and settled the revenues of the London-clergy in a better manner than they were before (r). February 5, 1634-5, he was put into the great Committee of Trade, and the King's revenue, and, the 14th of March following, appointed one of the Commissioners of the Treasury [MM], upon the death of Richard Weston Earl of Portland: besides which, he was, two days after, called into the foreign Committee (s); and had likewise the sole disposal of whatsoever concerned the Church (t). But he fell into very warm disputes with the Lord Cottington Chancellor of the Exchequer, who took all opportunities of imposing upon him (u) [NN]. After having continued a year Commissioner of the Treasury,

[*KK*] *To remove the Communion table from the middle, to the east end of the chancel, altar-wise.*] At the time of our Reformation from the errors of Popery, on purpose to divert people's minds from considering the Lord's-supper as a Sacrifice; the name of *Altar* was turn'd into *Table*, and it was ordered to be removed from the east end to another part of the chancel. This appears from one of Bishop Ridley's Injunctions, in 1550; being in these words: 'Whereas in divers 'places, some use the Lord's Board, after the form of 'a Table, and some of an Altar, whereby dissention 'is perceived to arise among the unlearned; there'fore wishing a godly unity to be observed in all 'our diocess; and for that the form of a Table may 'more move and turn the simple from the old super'stitious opinions of the Popish mass, and to the right 'use of the Lord's-supper, We exhort the Curats, 'Churchwardens, and Questmen, to erect and set up 'the Lord's Board, after the form of an honest Table, 'decently covered, in such place, of the Quire or 'Chancel, as shall be thought most meet by their 'discretion and agreement, so that the Ministers, with 'the Communicants, may have their place separated 'from the rest of the people (81).' Accordingly the Altars were thus removed in most places. But Archbishop Laud observing, that by this situation they were liable to several prophanations; as for instance, That the Churchwardens kept their accounts, and dispatched parish-business upon them; Schoolmasters taught boys to write upon them, who laid their hats, satchels, and books thereon: many sat, and lean'd irreverently against them during sermon-time; dogs piss'd against them, and otherwise defiled them; Glasiers mending windows there, knock'd them full of nail-holes, &c. (82); the Archbishop, I say, observing this, ordered the Tables to be remov'd close to the east-wall, with the ends north and south, and to be rail'd in to avoid the like prophanations. But this alteration was attended with violent and unreasonable opposition on one hand, and too severe prosecutions on the other. And all might have been easily prevented or accommodated only by this plain expedient; that is, by setting out the Communion-table, on Sacrament-days, in the middle or some convenient place of the Chancel, and keeping it at other times within rails where the Altar had stood; conformably to Qu. Elizabeth's injunctions (83). But in those miserable Times there was no Moderation on either side.

(81) Burnet's Hist. of the Reform. Part ii. p. 158. and Collect. of Records, p. 205.

(82) Heylin, p. 269, 272. See also p. 309, &c. and his Observat. on Lestrange's Hist. of King Charles I. p. 82, 133, &c.

(83) Burnet, as above, p. 399.

[LL] *To use the English Liturgy, translated into French or Dutch.*] The reasons he assigns for intermeddling with those Congregations, are, '1. That 'their living as they did, and standing so strictly to 'their own Discipline, wrought upon *the party* in Eng'land, which were addicted to them, and made them 'more averse, than otherwise they would have been, to 'the present Government of the Church of England. '2. That by this means they lived in England, as if 'they were a kind of God's *Israel* in *Egypt*, to the 'great dishonour of the Church of *England*, to 'which at first they fled for shelter against persecu'tion. - - - - But by this favour which that Church 'received, it grew up and incroached upon us, 'till it 'became a Church within a Church, and a kind of 'state within a state. And this (says he) I ever 'held dangerous, how small beginning soever it had.— '3. That they live here, and enjoy all freedom, and 'yet for the most part scorn so much as to learn the 'language, or to converse with any, more than for ad'vantage of bargaining. And will take no Englishman 'to be their apprentice, nor teach them any of their 'manufactures. 4. That for Religion, if after so many 'descents of their children born in the land, and so Na'tive Subjects, these children of theirs should refuse 'to pray and communicate with the Church of Eng'land, into whose bosom their parents fled at first for 'succour; I thought then (says he) and do still, that no 'state could in safety, or would in wisdom endure it. 'And this *concerning their Children*, was all that was 'desired of me—(84).'

(84) Hist. of his Troubles and Tryal, p. 165.

[MM] *Appointed one of the Commissioners of the Treasury.*] Dr Heylin gives us the following account of his promotion to that post. 'About the year '1631, he first discovered how ill his Majesties Trea'sury had been managed between some principal of'ficers of his Revenue, to the enriching of themselves, 'and the impoverishing of their Master. But the 'abuses being too great to be long concealed, his 'Majesty is made acquainted with all particulars, 'who thereupon did much estrange his countenance 'from the principal of them. For which good ser'vice to the King none was so much suspected by 'them as Archbishop Laud, against whom they began to 'practise, endeavouring all they could, to remove him 'from his Majesties ear, or at the least to lessen the 'esteem and reputation which his fidelity and upright 'dealing had procured him. But still he kept his 'ground, and prevailed at last.' - - - For, upon the death of Weston Earl of Portland, he was appointed a Commissioner of the Treasury, jointly with 'Sir Fr. 'Cottington Chancellor of the Exchequer, J. Cooke, 'Esq; and Sir Francis Windebank, Principal Secretaries 'of State, and certain others; who with no small 'envy looked upon him as if he had been set over 'them for a Supervisor (85).'

(85) Heylin, p. 284, 285.

[NN] *He fell into warm disputes with Cottington, who took all opportunities of imposing upon him.*] The Lord Clarendon gives a flagrant instance of it; and with such circumstances as seem almost improbable. The substance of it is thus: K. Charles I. 'who 'was excessively affected to hunting, and the sports of 'the field, had a great desire to make a great park, 'for red as well as fallow deer, between Richmond 'and

(w) Heylin, p. 284, 285. Lord Clarendon, as above, p. 91.

(x) Diary, p. 47, 53.

Treasury, and acquainted himfelf with the myfteries, and the advantages of it [O O], he procured the Lord-Treafurer's ftaff for Dr William Juxon (w); who had, through his intereft, been fucceffively advanced to the Prefidentfhip of St John's college, Deanery of Worcefter, Clerkfhip of his Majefty's clofet, and Bifhopric of London (x). But that fudden and unexpected promotion greatly difcontented many of the Laiety [P P]. Befides

'and Hampton-court, where he had large waftes 'of his own, and great parcels of wood, which 'made it very fit for the ufe he defign'd it to: but as 'fome parifhes had commons in thofe waftes, fo, many 'gentlemen and farmers had good houfes, and good 'farms intermingled with thofe waftes, of their own 'inheritance, or for their lives, or years; and without 'taking them into the park, it would not be of the 'largnefs, or for the ufe propos'd. His Majefty defir'd 'to purchafe thofe lands, and was very willing to give 'more for them than any body elfe would, if they had 'been to be fold; and fo he employ'd his own Surveyor, and other of his officers to treat with the 'owners. The major part were in a fhort time prevailed with, but many very obftinately refufed; ef'pecially a gentleman who had the beft eftate there, 'with a convenient houfe and gardens; and the King 'being as earneft to compafs it; it made a great noife, 'as if the King would take away mens eftates at his 'own pleafure. Bifhop Juxon, who was Treafurer, and 'the Lord Cottington, Chancellor of the Exchequer, 'were, from the firft, very averfe from the defign, not 'only for the murmur of the people, but becaufe 'the purchafe of the land, and the making a brick-'wall about fo large a parcel of ground (for it is 'near ten miles about) would coft a greater fum of 'money, than they could eafily provide, or than they 'thought ought to be facrificed to fuch an occafion: 'and the Lord Cottington (who was more follicited 'by the country people) took the bufinefs moft to heart, 'and endeavour'd by all the ways he could, and by 'frequent importunities, to divert his Majefty from 'purfuing it, and put all delays, he could well do, in 'the bargains which were to be made; 'till the King 'grew very angry with him, and told him "He was "refolv'd to go through with it, and had already "caufed Brick to be burn'd, and much of the wall "to be built upon his own land:" upon which Cot-'tington thought fit to acquiefce. The building of 'the wall before people confented to part with their 'land, or their common, look'd to them as if by de-'grees they fhould be fhut out from both, and in-'creas'd the murmur and noife of the people, who 'were not concern'd as well as of them who were: 'and it was too near London not to be the common 'difcourfe. Archbifhop Laud (who defir'd exceed-'ingly that the King fhould be poffefs'd as much of 'the hearts of the people as was poffible, at leaft that 'they fhould have no juft caufe to complain) meeting 'with it, refolv'd to fpeak of it to the King; which 'he did; and receiv'd fuch an anfwer from him, that 'he thought his Majefty rather not inform'd enough 'of the inconveniences and mifchiefs of the thing, 'than pofitively refolv'd not to defift from it. Where-'upon one day he took the Lord Cottington afide, 'and, according to his natural cuftom, fpake with 'great warmth againft it, and told him, "He fhould "do very well to give the King good counfel, and to "withdraw him from a refolution, in which his ho-"nour and juftice was fo much call'd in queftion." 'Cottington anfwer'd him very gravely, "That the "thing defign'd was very lawful, and he thought the "King refolv'd very well, fince the place lay fo conve-"niently for his winter exercife, and that he fhould by "it not be compell'd to make fo long journeys, as he "us'd to do, in that feafon of the year, for his fport, "and that no body ought to diffwade him from it." 'The Archbifhop inftead of finding a concurrence 'from him, as he expected, feeing himfelf reproach'd 'upon the matter for his opinion, grew into much 'paffion, telling him, "Such men as he would ruin "the King, and make him lofe the affections of his "fubjects; that for his own part as he had begun, "fo he would go on to diffwade the King from pro-"ceeding in fo ill a counfel, and that he hop'd it "would appear who had been his counfellor." Cot-'tington glad to fee him fo foon hot, and refolv'd to 'inflame him more, very calmly reply'd to him, "That he thought a man could not, with a good con-"fcience, hinder the King from purfuing his refolu-"tions, and that it could not but proceed from "want of Affection to his perfon, and he was not "fure that it might not be high-treafon." The 'other, upon the wildnefs of his difcourfe, in great 'anger afk'd him, "Why? from whence he had re-"ceiv'd that doctrine?" he faid with the fame tem-'per, "They who did not wifh the King's health, "could not love him; and they who went about to "hinder his taking recreation, which preferv'd his "health, might be thought, for ought he knew, guilty "of the higheft crimes." Upon which the Arch-'bifhop in great rage, and with many reproaches 'left him, and either prefently, or upon the next op-'portunity, told the King "That he now knew who "was his great counfellor for making his park, and that "he did not wonder that men durft not reprefent any "arguments to the contrary, or let his Majefty know "how much he fuffer'd in it, when fuch principles "in divinity, and law, were laid down to terrify "them;" and fo recounted to him the conference he 'had with the Lord Cottington, bitterly inveighing 'againft him and his doctrine, mentioning him with 'all the fharp reproaches imaginable, and befeeching 'his Majefty, "That his counfel might not prevail "with him," taking fome pains to make his conclu-'fions appear very falfe and ridiculous. The King 'faid no more, but "My Lord, you are deceiv'd, "Cottington is too hard for you; upon my word, he "hath not only diffwaded me more, and given more "reafons againft this bufinefs, than all the men in "England have done, but hath really obftructed the "work by not doing his duty, as I commanded him, "for which I have been very much difpleafed with "him: you fee how unjuftly your paffion hath tranf-"ported you." By which reprehenfion the Arch-'bifhop found he had been much abus'd, and refented 'it accordingly (86).' As this fame *Park* has occafioned much difcourfe of late; and as the account here given fully difplays the Archbifhop's difpofition; and amply confirms what it is brought to prove; we hope the reader will not be difpleas'd with this extract.

(86) Lord Clarendon, as above, p. 100, &c.

[OO] *And acquainted himfelf with the myfteries and the advantages of it*] That great place, he found, was then honeftly worth *feven thoufand pounds a year*, without defrauding the King, or abufing the fubject. And obferving, that feveral Treafurers of late years had raifed themfelves from very mean and private fortunes to the titles and eftates of Earls, which he conceived could not be done without wrong to both; therefore he refolved to recommend fuch a man to the King for next Lord Treafurer, who having no family to raife, no wife and children to provide for, might better manage the incomes of the Treafury to the King's advantage than they had been formerly. And fuch a man in his opinion was Dr Juxon (87).

(87) Heylin, p. 285.

[PP] *But that fudden and unexpected promotion greatly difcontented many of the Laicty.*] My Lord Clarendon informs us (88), 'That the eyes of all men 'were at gaze who fhould have this great office; and 'the greateft of the Nobility, who were in the chiefeft 'employments, look'd upon it as the prize of one of 'them; when on a fuddain the ftaff was put into the 'hands of the Bifhop of London, a man fo unknown, 'that his name was fcarce heard of in the kingdom.— 'This inflam'd more than were angry before, and no 'doubt did not only fharpen the edge of envy and 'malice againft the Archbifhop (who was the known 'architect of this new fabric) but moft unjuftly indif-'pos'd many towards the Church itfelf; which they 'look'd upon as the gulph ready to fwallow all the 'great offices.'—'In doing thereof,' as Dr Heylin obferves (89), 'the Archbifhop was generally conceived 'neither to have confulted his own prefent peace nor 'his future fafety. Had he ftudied his own prefent 'peace, he fhould have given Cottington leave to put 'in for it, who being Chancellor of the Exchequer 'pretended himfelf to be the next in that afcendent. 'And had he ftudied his own fafety and prefervation 'for the times to come, he might have made ufe of the 'power by recommending the ftaff to the Earles of 'Bedford, Hertford, Effex, the Lord Say, or fome 'fuch man of popular nobility, whofe intereft might

'have

(88) Hiftory, as above, p. 99.

(89) P. 285.

fides the parochial vifitations, the Archbifhop vifited alfo the cathedrals, and procured new ftatutes for them, or reformed and improved their old ones. He infifted moreover upon vifiting the univerfities as metropolitan; which, after fome conteft, was adjudged to him as his right: but the troubles coming on, he vifited them not (y). In order to preferve, and collect together, all the Records in the Tower that concern the clergy; he was at the charge of having them all fairly tranfcribed in a large book of vellum: and it being brought to him finifhed June 10, 1637, he depofited it in his library at Lambeth, for the fervice of pofterity (z). For fome years, he had fet his heart upon getting the Englifh Liturgy introduced into the Church of Scotland; and fome of the Scotifh Bifhops had, under his direction and encouragement, prepared both that book and a collection of Canons for public fervice [QQ]. The Canons were publifhed in 1635; but the Liturgy came not in ufe 'till July 23, 1637. On that day, it was firft read in St Giles's church in Edinburgh; when it occafioned a moft violent tumult among the perverfe and ignorant multitude, fpirited up by the nobility, who were lofers by the reftitution of Epifcopacy [RR], and by the minifters who loft their claffical government (a). Our Archbifhop having been the great promoter of that affair, was reviled for it in the moft abufive manner; and both he and the book were charged with downright Popery [SS]. The extremely fevere profecution carried on about the fame time in the Star-chamber, chiefly through his inftigation, againft Prynne, Baftwick, and Burton (b) [TT], did him alfo infinite prejudice (c), and expofed him to numberlefs libels and reflections (d): though he endeavoured to vindicate his conduct, in a fpeech delivered at their cenfure, June 14, 1637; and which was publifhed by the King's command. Another rigorous profecution carried on, with his concurrence, in the Star-chamber, was againft Bifhop Williams [VV]; who was condemned July 11 this year, in a fine of 10,000 pounds, and

(y) Diary, p. 53. Heylin, p. 274, 277, 30 . Rufhw. Vol. II. p. 324, &c Hift. of his Troubles, &c. p. 307.

(z) Diary, p. 54, 69.

(a) Rufhw. Vol. II. p. 385, &c. Heylin, p. 224, 279, 304, &c. 327. The King's large Declaration concerning the late Tumults, p. 17, 21, &c.

(b) See above, the articles BASTWICK and BURTON.

(c) Lord Clarendon, as above, Vol. I. p. 199, &c. Rufhw. Vol. II. p. 380, &c. Whitelock, as above, p. 22, 26. Hift. of his Troubles and Tryal, p. 252, 309.

(d) Diary, p. 54, 55. Heylin, p. 337.

'have been of ufe to him in the change of times. But 'he preferred his Majefty's advantage before his par-'ticular concernments, the fafety of the publick be-'fore his own.'

[QQ] *And a collection of Canons.*] The reader may fee the heads of thefe Canons in Dr Heylin's Hiftory of our Archbifhop (90). Befides other exceptions made to them, it was a fatal inadvertency, as Lord Clarendon obferves (91), that thefe Canons, neither before nor after they were fent to the King, had been ever feen by any Affembly of the Kirk, which was oblig'd to the obfervation of them; nor fo much as communicated to the Lords of the Council of that kingdom: tho' Archbifhop Laud had caution'd the Scotifh bifhops not to propofe any thing in this bufinefs that fhould be contrary to the laws of the land. And it was as ftrange that they fhould be publifhed near two years before the Liturgy; when fome of them requir'd a punctual compliance with it,—before they knew what it contain'd.

[RR] *Spirited up by the nobility who were lofers by the reftitution of Epifcopacy.*] In K. James the 1ft's minority, the lands of all the Cathedral Churches and religious Houfes, which had been fettled on the Crown by act of parliament, were fhared amongft the lords and great men of that kingdom (by the connivance of the Earl of Murray and fome of the Regents) to make them fure unto that fide: and they being thus poffeffed of the fame lands, with the Regalities and Tythes belonging to thofe Ecclefiaftical Corporations, lorded it with pride and infolence enough in their feveral territories (92). Upon the reftoration of Epifcopacy, the poffeffors of the forefaid revenues began to fear they fhould be taken from them for the maintenance of the Bifhops; and the more as the Bifhops 'pretended highly to the Tythes and Impropri-'ations (93);' and firft a Revocation, and then a Commiffion for taking the furrendries of them at the King's pleafure, had been newly fet on foot.—Befides, fome of the Bifhops were put into places of the greateft Profit, and of the higheft Truft and Authority.—This, efpecially among the Nobles and perfons of the higheft confequence, appears to have been the true reafon of the ftrong oppofition made to the reftoration of Epifcopacy in Scotland; and the Caufe of the many Evils brought by the Scots upon this Kingdom.

[SS] *And both he and the Book were charged with downright Popery.*] He was particularly fo charged, and with the higheft aggravations poffible, in the *Charge of the Scottifh Commiffioners againft Canterburie*; printed in 1641, 4to, inferted in the Archbifhop's Troubles and Tryal, and anfwered paragraph by paragraph (94). An Abftract of it is in Rufhworth (95).—The curious Reader may fee exactly, wherein this Scotifh Liturgy agreed with, and wherein it any way differed, even in the leaft inftance, from, the Englifh Liturgy; in a book intituled, "The Alliance of Divine "Offices, &c. by Hamon Leftrange, Efq;" folio.

[TT] *Againft Prynne, Baftwick, and Burton.*] W. Prynne Efq; was twice profecuted in the Star-chamber. The firft time was in 1633, for his book intituled '*Hyftrio maftyx*, The Players Scourge and 'Actors Tragedy:' for which he was fined 5000 *l*; pilloried; had his ears cut off; and was otherwife cruelly ufed. The fecond time was in 1637, for a pamphlet intituled, 'A divine Tragedy, containing 'a Catalogue of God's late judgements upon Sabbath-'breakers;' and another pamphlet called 'Newes 'from Ipfwich.'—John Baftwick M. D. was alfo profecuted in the High-commiffion and Star-chamber in 1637, for thefe three Books, *Elenchus Papifticæ Religionis, & Flagellum Pontificis & Epifcoporum Latialium: Apologeticus ad Præfules Anglicanos*: and his *Letany*.—And Henry Burton B. D. Rector of St Matthew's Friday-ftreet, was, the fame year, profecuted in the fame court, for two fermons preached by him Novemb. 5, 1636, on Prov. xxiv. 21, 22. wherein he inveighed againft the Innovations in the Church; and which he printed under this title, 'Two Sermons 'for God and the King:' with an 'Apologie of an 'Appeal' from the Archbifhop to the King. They were all three fined 5000 *l*. a piece, condemned to lofe their ears, and to perpetual imprifonment. Tho' the Archbifhop acted only as a member of that court, yet the whole blame was laid upon him (96). In a Speech delivered at their cenfure, he makes this Declaration, 'I can fay it clearly and truly, as in the *prefence of* '*God*, I have done nothing as a *Prelate*, to the utter-'moft of what I am confcious, but with a fingle heart, 'and with a fincere intention for the good *Govern-*'*ment* and *Honour* of the *Church*; and the main-'tenance of the *Orthodox Truth* and *Religion* of *Chrift* 'profeffed, eftablifhed, and maintained in this *Church* 'of *England* (97).'

[VV] *Another rigorous profecution carried on with his concurrence—was againft Bifhop Williams.*] This great Prelate happening to difpleafe the Duke of Buckingham, was not only turned out of his place of Lord-keeper, but grew, by the Favourite's means, entirely out of favour with the King; fo that he was, if poffible, devoted to deftruction. The firft ftep to it, was a profecution begun againft him in 1627, for 'Re-'vealing the King's fecrets, contrary to his oath as 'privy-counfellor:' upon the information of Sir John Lamb, and Dr Sibthorp, for words fpoken at his own table in their prefence. The Bifhop putting a demurrer, and a ftrong plea againft the Bill, ftopt or delayed proceedings for about ten years. Whereupon, the Attorney general, fearing a defect of teftimony, let fall this firft bill, and preferred a fecond againft him for tampering with the King's witneffes; and upon this fecond Information it was, that he

(90) P. 280, &c.

(91) Vol. I. p. 104. See Rufhw. Vol. II. p. 206. Heylin, p. 281.

(92) Spotfwood's Hift. Heylin, p. 224, 327. King Charles's large Declaration concerning the late Tumults, p. 6, &c.

(93) Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, by Dr Burnet, p. 29, &c. King's large Declaration, as above, p. 326.

(94) P. 87, &c.

(95) Vol. III. P. 1370, &c.

(96) See W. Prynne's New Difcovery of the Prelates Tyranny, &c. Lond. 1641, 4to. Rufhw. Vol. II. p. 220. and Vol. III. App. p. 69.

(97) Edit. 1637, 4to. p. 5.

and to be imprisoned in the Tower during the King's pleasure; and suspended the 24th of the same month, from all his ecclesiastical functions (*d*). Upon another information, he was sentenced [*WW*], February 14, 1638-9, to pay the King 5000 pounds more, and the Archbishop 3000 pounds. And Lambert Osbaldeston, master of Westminster-school, styled his confederate, was fined 5000 pounds to the King, the same sum to the Archbishop; deprived of all preferments; condemned to imprisonment during the King's pleasure; to stand in the pillory, and have his ears nailed thereto (*e*). In order to prevent the printing and publishing of what our Archbishop thought improper books, he procured a decree to be passed in the Star-chamber, July 11, 1637, to regulate the trade of printing; whereby it was injoined, that the master-printers should be reduced to a certain number; and, that none of them should print any books, 'till they were licensed either by the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Bishop of London, or by some of their chaplains; or by the Chancellors or Vicechancellors of the two universities (*f*). He fell into the Queen's displeasure, October 22 this year, by speaking with his usual warmth to the King, at the Council-table, concerning the increase of Papists, their frequent resort to Somerset house, and the unsufferable misdemeanors of some of them, in perverting his Majesty's subjects to Popery (*g*). January 31, 1638-9, he wrote a circular letter to his Suffragan-Bishops; wherein he exhorted them and their clergy, to contribute liberally towards the raising of the army, which the King was assembling, in order to bring the rebellious Scots to obedience (*h*). For this he was called an Incendiary; but he declares, on the contrary, that he laboured for peace so long, 'till he received a great check; and that, in the Council, his counsels alone prevailed for peace and forbearance (*i*). In 1639, he employed one Mr Petley to translate the Liturgy into Greek: and at his recommendation it was, that Dr Joseph Hall Bishop of Exeter composed his learned treatise, of Episcopacie by Divine Right, asserted (*k*). On the fifth of December the same year, he was one of the three Privy-Counsellors (*l*) that advised the King to call a Parliament in case of the Scotish rebellion: at which time a resolution was taken to assist the King in extraordinary ways, if the Parliament should prove peevish, and refuse supplies (*m*). A new Parliament being summoned, met April 13, 1640: and the Convocation the day following. But the Commons launching out into extravagant complaints against the Archbishop; and insisting upon having grievances redressed before they granted any supply, the Parliament was unhappily dissolved May the 5th (*n*). The Convocation however continued sitting, which the Archbishop was not satisfied with, 'till he was determined by the opinion of the Lord Keeper Finch and several eminent lawyers; and by a precedent in the year 1586. The reason of their continuance, was, that having agreed to give the King six subsidies, payable in six years, and amounting in the whole to a hundred and twenty thousand pounds; but the act not being made up at the dissolution of the Parliament, his Majesty was unwilling to lose so considerable a sum: therefore he granted them a new commission under the broad-seal, according to statute 25 Henry VIII. cap. 19, by virtue of which they sat 'till the 29th of May (*o*). In this Convocation seventeen Canons were made [*XX*]. But, both the Canons and the sitting of the Convocation, were imputed afterwards to the Archbishop as a most enormous crime (*p*) [*YY*]. And on him also

(*d*) Diary, p. 54. Rushw. Vol. II. p. 416, &c. Philips, as above, p. 198, 213.

(*e*) Rushw. Vol. II. p. 803, &c. Heylin, p. 323, 324, &c.

(*f*) Heylin, p. 340, 341. Rushw. Vol. II. p. 450. and Vol. III. App. p. 306.

(*g*) Diary, p. 55. and Heylin, p. 337, 338.

(*h*) Heylin, p. 357.

(*i*) Hist. of his Troubles and Tryal, p. 76.

(*k*) Heylin, p. 374.

(*l*) The two others, were the Earl of Strafford, and Marquis of Hamilton.

(*m*) Diary, p. 57. and Hist. of his Troubles, &c. p. 230.

(*n*) Hist. of his Troubles, p. 78. Rushw. Vol. III.

(*o*) Hist. of his Troubles, p. 79, 80. and Rushw. Vol. III. p. 1172, 1186, 1205, &c.

(*p*) See his Troubles and Tryal, p. 79, 240, 280, 282, 283. Rushw. Vol. III. p. 1328. and Vol. IV. p. 99—112, 196,, &c.

he was so severely treated (98). As for the other, see the following note.

[*WW*] *Upon another information he was sentenced.*] This second sentence was grounded only upon three Letters found in a box in the Bishop's house at Bugden, and written to him by Mr Osbaldeston in 1633: wherein mention was made of the great Leviathan, the *little Urchin, the little meddling Hocus Pocus.* By which two last names it was insisted upon, that Mr Osbaldeston meant Archbishop Laud, tho' he protested to the contrary, and declared that he meant one Dr Spicer (99). This last sentence therefore was, if possible, much harder than the other.

[*XX*] *In this Convocation seventeen Canons were made.*] The titles of them were, 1. Concerning the regal Power. 2 For the better keeping the day of his Majesties most happy inauguration. 3. For suppressing the growth of Popery. 4. Against Socinianism. 5. Against Sectaries. 6. An Oath injoyn'd for the preventing of all Innovations in doctrine and government. 7. A declaration concerning some Rites and Ceremonies. 8. Of preaching for Conformity. 9. One book of Articles to be used at all parochial visitations. 10. Concerning the conversation of the clergy. 11. Chancellors patents. 12. Chancellors alone not to censure any of the clergy in sundry cases. 13. Excommunication and Absolution not to be pronounced but by a Priest. 14. Concerning commutations, and the disposing of them. 15. Touching concurrent jurisdictions. 16. Concerning Licences to marry. 17. Against vexatious citations.—The oath in Canon the 6th was in these words: 'I A. B. do swear, That 'I do approve the Doctrine and Discipline or Go'verment established in the Church of England, as 'containing all things necessary to salvation; and that 'I will not endeavour by myself or any other, directly 'or indirectly, to bring in any Popish Doctrine, con'trary to that which is so established; nor will I ever 'give my consent to alter the Government of this 'Church by Archbishops, Bishops, Deans and Arch'deacons, &c. as it stands now established, and as by 'right it ought to stand, nor yet ever to subject it to 'the usurpations and superstitions of the see of 'Rome (100).'—Against these Canons, and the Oath *et cætera*, as it was called, many violent speeches were made in the ensuing Parliament (101); tho', really, any one that would sit down and read them calmly and impartially, could not find them All liable to the severe censure they underwent. But the true reason why they were so exclaimed against, is, Because a resolution was then taken to destroy the points they endeavoured to establish.

[*YY*] *Were imputed afterwards to the Archbishop as a most enormous crime.*] For which see the places in his Tryal referred to in the margin above. And in the next Parliament, Dec. 15, 16. the Commons resolved, 'That the clergy of England convented in any Convocation or Synod, or otherwise, have no power to make any Constitutions, Canons, or acts whatsoever in matter of Doctrine, Discipline or otherwise, to bind the Clergy or the Laity of the land, without common consent of Parliament. That the several Constitutions and Canons ecclesiastical, treated upon by the Archbishops, Bishops, and clergy of the Provinces of Canterbury and York, and agreed upon with the King's Majesties Licence, in their several Synods begun at London and York 1640, do not bind the clergy or laity of this land, or either of them. That those Canons

(98) Heylin, p. 163, 252, 323. Rushw. Vol. II. p. 416, &c. See Abp Laud's Speech, p. 438, &c.

(99) Rushw. as above, p. 803, &c.

(100) Nalson, Vol. I. p. 545, &c.

(101) Rushw. Vol. III. p. 1349, &c. Nalson. Vol. I. p. 505, &c.

alſo many laid the blame and odium of the Parliament's diſſolution. So that zealous John Lilburne, W. Prynne's ſervant, cauſed a paper to be poſted, May 9, upon the Old Exchange, animating the apprentices to ſack his houſe at Lambeth, the Monday following. On that day, above 500 of them aſſembled in a riotous and tumultuary manner: but the Archbiſhop having had previous notice, ſecured the houſe as well as he could, and retired to his chamber at Whitehall, where he remained ſome days. One of the ringleaders was hanged, drawn, and quartered, the 21ſt of the ſame month, being condemned for treaſon, upon the ſtatute 25 Edw. III. becauſe ſo great a number were aſſembled, in a warlike manner, with a drum, and with unlawful intents (*q*). In Auguſt following, a libel was found in Covent-Garden; animating the apprentices and ſoldiers to fall upon him, in the King's abſence, that is, during his ſecond expedition into Scotland (*r*). The Parliament that met November 3, 1640, not being better diſpoſed in his favour, but for the moſt part bent upon his ruin; *ſeveral angry ſpeeches were made againſt him in the* Houſe of Commons (*s*) [*ZZ*]. *No wonder that his ruin ſhould be ſought and reſolved* upon, *when he had ſo many and ſo powerful enemies: namely, almoſt the whole body of the Puritans: too many of the Engliſh nobility and others: and the bulk of the Scotch* nation. The Puritans, who reputed and called him the ſole author of the Innovations; of the Troubles, and over-rigorous Proſecutions againſt the moſt noiſy, obſtinate, and buſy of them: the Nobility, who were diſobliged by his warm and incautious manner, and by his graſping at the odious office of Prime-Miniſter; odious, becauſe on him all faults and miſcarriages are generally laid: and the Scots, driven to a pitch of fury and madneſs, by the reſtoring of Epiſcopal government, and the introduction amongſt them of the Engliſh ſervice-book. Therefore, he was not only examined December 4, in the Earl of Strafford's caſe; but December 16, when the Commons came to debate about the late Convocation and Canons, he was repreſented as the author of them; and a committee put upon him to enquire into all his actions, and to prepare a charge againſt him. The ſame morning, in the Houſe of Lords, he was named as an incendiary, in an accuſation put in by the Scotiſh commiſſioners. Two days after, December 18, Denzill Holles, Eſq; ſecond ſon to the Earl of Clare, carried up to the Lords, in the name of the Commons, the impeachment againſt him of high-treaſon; deſiring he might be forthwith ſequeſtred from Parliament, and committed; and the Commons would, within a convenient time, reſort to them with particular accuſations and articles. Soon after, the Scotiſh commiſſioners preſented alſo to the Upper Houſe the charge againſt him, tending to prove him an incendiary. Whereupon he was immediately committed to the cuſtody of Mr James Maxwell, Gentleman-Uſher of the Black Rod (*t*). After he had continued ten weeks in his cuſtody, Sir Henry Vane, jun. brought up, February 26, from the Commons to the Lords, fourteen articles againſt him; which they deſired time to prove in particular, and that he might in the mean while be kept ſafe. Accordingly Mr Maxwell conveyed him in his coach to the Tower, March 1, 1640-41, amidſt the inſults and reproaches of the mob (*u*). His enemies, of which the number was great, began then to give full vent to their paſſions and prejudices, and to endeavour to ruin his reputation [*AAA*]. In March and April 1641, the Houſe of Commons ordered him, jointly with all

(*q*) Diary, p. 57, 58. Whitelock, p. 34. *Nalſon's impartial Collection, Vol. I. edit.* 1682, p. 343. Heylin, p. 425.

(*r*) Diary, p. 59.

(*s*) Journals of the Houſe of Commons. Ruſhw. Vol. IV. p. 122, 195. Nalſon, as above, p. 690, 771. Heylin, p. 415, &c.

(*t*) Diary, p. 60. and Tryal, p. 86, &c. 144. Nalſon, as above, Vol. I. p. 691.

(*u*) Diary, p. 60, 61, and Tryal, p. 148, 174.

Canons and Conſtitutions do contain in them many matters contrary to the King's prerogative, to the fundamental laws and ſtatutes of the realm, to the right of Parliament, to the property and liberty of the ſubjects, and matters tending to ſedition, and of dangerous conſequence (102).'

(102) Ruſhw. Vol. III. p. 1365.

[*ZZ*] *Several angry ſpeeches were made againſt him in the Houſe of Commons.*] Particularly one, Decemb. 18, by Harbottle Grimſton, Eſq; in which are theſe virulent expreſſions: — ' We are now fallen ' upon the great man, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, ' look upon him as he is in highneſs, and he is the *ſtye* ' of all peſtilential *filth* that hath infected the ſtate ' and government of this commonwealth: look upon ' him in his dependances, and he is the man, the ' only man, that hath raiſed and advanced all thoſe, ' that together with himſelf have been the authors and ' cauſers of all our ruines, miſeries, and calamities we ' now groan under. Who is it but he only that hath ' brought the Earl of Strafford to all his great places ' and imployments; a fit ſpirit and inſtrument to act ' and execute all his wicked and bloody deſigns in ' theſe kingdoms? Who is it but he only that brought ' in Secretary Windebank into this place of ſervice, of ' truſt, the very broker and pander to the whore of ' Babylon? Who is it, Mr Speaker, but he only that ' hath advanced all our Popiſh Biſhops? I ſhall name ' but ſome of them, Biſhop Manwaring, the Biſhop of ' Bath and Wells, the Biſhop of Oxford, and Biſhop ' Wren, the leaſt of all theſe birds, but one of the ' moſt unclean ones.—' Who is it, Mr Speaker, but ' this great Archbiſhop of Canterbury, that hath ſitten ' at the helm, to ſteer and to manage all the projects ' that have been ſet on foot in this kingdom this ten ' years laſt paſt: and rather than he would ſtand out, he hath moſt unworthily trucked and chaffered in the ' meaneſt of them; as for inſtance, that of Tobacco, ' wherein thouſands of poor people have been ſtripped ' and turned out of their Trades, for which they have ' ſerved as apprentices: we all know he was the com- ' pounder and contracter with them for the Licences, ' putting them to pay fines and a fee-farm-rent to uſe ' their Trade. — Mr Speaker, we all know what he ' hath been charged withall here in this houſe, ' crimes of a dangerous conſequence, and of a tranſ- ' cendent nature, no leſs than the ſubverſion of the ' Government of this kingdome, and the alteration ' of the Proteſtant Religion: and this is not upon bare ' information only, but much of it is come before us ' already upon clear and manifeſt proofs, and there is ' ſcarce any grievance or complaint come before us in ' this place, wherein we do not find him intermen- ' tioned, and as it were twiſted into it, like a buſie ' angry waſp, his ſting is in the tail of every thing.— ' Mr Speaker, he hath been the *great and common* ' *enemie of all goodneſs and good men*, and it is not ' ſafe that ſuch *a Viper* ſhould be near his Majeſties ' perſon, to diſtil his poyſon into his ſacred ears, nor is ' it ſafe for the commonwealth, that he ſit in ſo emi- ' nent a place of government being thus accuſed; we ' know what he did in the Earl of Strafford's caſe: ' this man is the corrupt fountain that hath infected ' all the ſtreams, and 'till the fountain be purged, ' we can never expect or hope to have clear chan- ' nels, &c. (103)' — Theſe are the rhetorical flouriſhes in this invective. The whole of it is aggravated and ungenteel; ſome falſe; and the reſt unworthy to come from the mouth of Mr Grimſton, a gentleman, or a Chriſtian. But ſuch was the ill-humour of thoſe violent times, when no Candour and very little Juſtice could be expected.

(103) Nalſon, Vol. I. p. 690.

[*AAA*] *And to endeavour to ruin his reputation.*] For that purpoſe, numberleſs Libels and Ballads againſt him

all those that had passed sentence in the Star-Chamber against Burton, Bastwick, and Prynne, to make satisfaction and reparation to them, for the damages they had sustained by their sentence and imprisonment (w). And he was fined 20,000 pounds for his acting in the late Convocation (x). On the 21st of December foregoing, the Archbishop had also been condemned by the House of Lords to pay 500 pounds to Sir Robert Howard, for false imprisonment (y) [B B B]. The 25th of June, 1641, he sent down to Oxford, his resignation of the Chancellorship of that university; to be published in Convocation. In order to take from him the disposal of all his benefices, the House of Lords sequestred, the 23d of October following, his jurisdiction, putting it into the hands of his inferior officers; and injoined, that he should give no benefice that was in his disposal, without first presenting to the House the names of such persons as he nominated to it, to be approved of by the House before collation or institution (z). The 20th of January 1641-2, the Lords ordered his arms at Lambeth-palace, which had cost him above three hundred pounds, to be taken away by the Sheriffs of London. Before the conclusion of that year, in pursuance of a resolution of Parliament, all the rents and profits of his Archbishoprick were sequestred for the use of the Commonwealth: and his house was plundered of what money it afforded, by two members of the House of Commons (a). What was very hard, when he petitioned afterwards the Parliament for a maintenance, he could not obtain any; nor even the least part of above two hundred pounds worth of his own wood and coal at Lambeth, for his necessary use in the Tower (b). On the 25th of April 1643, a motion was made in the House of Commons, at the instance of Hugh Peters and others of that stamp, to send, or transport, him to New-England; but that motion was rejected. And, on the 9th of May, his goods and books in Lambeth-house were seized; and the goods sold scarce for the third part of their value. All this, before he had been brought to any tryal: which was condemning him unheard. Seven days after, there came out an Ordinance of Parliament, injoining him, to give no benefice, void, or to be void, without leave and order of both Houses (c). The thirty-first of the same month, W. Prynne, by a warrant from the close Committee, came and searched his room, and even rifled his pockets; taking away his Diary, private Devotions, and twenty-one bundles of paper which he had prepared for his own defence. Prynne promised a faithful restitution of them within three or four days, but he never returned quite three of the bundles of papers. In the mean time, the Archbishop not complying exactly with the ordinance abovementioned, all the temporalities of his Archbishoprick were sequestred to the Parliament, June 10; and he was suspended from his office and benefice, and from all jurisdiction whatsoever (d). After he had continued above three years a close prisoner, he was at length brought to his tryal [C C C], which commenced March 12, 1643-4, and lasted twenty

(w) Prynne's New Discovery of the Prelates Tyranny, &c. p. 138. Nalson, Vol. I. p. 783, 78[illegible].

(x) Rushw. Vol. IV. p. 3[illegible], 23[illegible]. Nalson, Vol. I. p. 807.

(y) Diary, p. 60. and Troubles and Tryal, p. 146.

(z) Diary, p. 62. Troubles, &c. p. 183.

(a) Diary, p. 64. Troubles and Tryal, p. 187, 196, 197.

(b) Troubles, &c. p. 198, 203, 204, 211.

(c) Ibid. p. 20[illegible]. and Diary, p. 6[illegible]. Rushw. Vol. V. p. 320.

(d) Troubles, &c. p. 20[illegible], 206, 207, 413.

him swarmed in the cities of London and Westminster, without controul; and even were put into the hands of the members of both houses of Parliament, without the least restraint or disapprobation. Ludicrous and abusive pictures were also made of him; whereby he was represented in a cage, fastened to a post by a chain at his shoulder; or in a cage with a Jesuit; and the King's fool standing by and laughing at them; and such low ribaldry (104). One Henry Walker, a poor scribbler, was very busy in that scandalous work; and some of his pamphlets against the Archbishop are now lying before me. One intituled, 'The Report of the 'Bishop of Canterburie's Dream.' Another, 'Canterburie's Pilgrimage: in the testimony of an accused 'Conscience for the bloud of Mr Burton, Mr Prynne, 'and Doctor Bastwicke.' And another, 'A new play 'called Canterburie his Change of diot.' Besides others innumerable, wherein he is occasionally mention'd.

[BBB] *The Archbishop had also been condemned to pay* 500l. *to Sir Robert Howard, for false imprisonment.*] This case, as related by the Archbishop, was thus; Sir John Villiers, eldest brother to George the great Duke of Buckingham, having taken to his second wife, Elizabeth daughter of Sir William Slingsby in Yorkshire, Kt. she basely forsook his bed, and made herself a prostitute to Sir Robert Howard, fifth son of Thomas Earl of Suffolk (105); by whom she had a child, under the name of Mistress Wright. These things coming to be known, she was brought into the high-commission; and being there found guilty of adultery, Novemb. 19, 1627, was sentenced to do penance, but to avoid that, she withdrew. Afterwards, when the storm was over, Sir Robert conveyed her to his house in Shropshire, where she lived avowedly with him some years, and had by him several children. At last, they grew to that open boldness, that he brought her up to London, and lodged her in Westminster. This was so near the Court, and in so open view, that the King and the Lords took notice of it, as a thing full of impudence, that they should so publickly venture to outface the justice of the realm, in so foul a business. And one day, as the Archbishop came to wait upon the King, his Majesty told him of it, and added, that it was a great reproach to the church and nation; and that he neglected his duty, in case he did not take order for it. The Archbishop answered, she was the wife of a Peer of the Realm; and that without his leave he could not attack her, but that now he knew his Majesty's pleasure, he would do his best to have her taken, and brought to penance, according to the sentence against her. The next day he had the good hap to apprehend both her and Sir Robert; and by order of the high-commission-court, imprisoned her in the Gate-house, and him in the Fleet. But Sir Robert bribing the turn-key of the prison, conveyed the Lady away to France in man's apparel. Thereupon, in the next sitting of the High-commission, the Archbishop ordered him to be close prisoner, 'till he brought the Lady forth. So he continued close prisoner about two or three months. For this the fine abovementioned was imposed upon the Archbishop, as being a most unjust and illegal imprisonment. Whereas the Parliament, had they had any sense of justice and morality, ought to have approved of the Archbishop's proceedings, and severely punished the vile Adultress and Fornicator (106).

[CCC] *He was at length brought to his tryal.*] On the 26th of February 1640 1, Sir Henry Vane carried up from the Commons to the Lords *Fourteen* Articles of Accusation against him: to which the Commons added, in October 1643, *Ten* other Articles. The substance of them was, 1. That he had traiterously endeavoured to subvert the fundamental Laws and Government of the Kingdom of England, and instead thereof to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical Government against law; and to that end had advised his Majesty, that he might at his own will and pleasure levy and take money of his subjects, without their consent in Parliament. 2. That he had advised and procured sermons and other discourses to be preached, printed and published; in which the authority of Parliaments and the force of the Laws of this kingdom were denyed, and an absolute and unlimited power over the persons and estates of his Majesty's subjects

(104) Wood, as above, col. 59.

(105) See Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 432, 280.

(106) Tryal, &c. p. 146, 147.

twenty days, ending the 29th of July 1644 (*e*). Every unprejudiced person, after a cool and serious perusal of the whole proceedings against him, must own that he had not common justice. And, notwithstanding all the endeavours of his enemies, it plainly appears, that nothing he had either said or done was treason, by any known established law of this kingdom (*f*). The tryal being over, it remained now that he should be left to the verdict of the House of Peers, or of a Middlesex-jury; but, to all appearance, his prosecutors durst not venture it upon that issue. Therefore they proceeded to what must be called a cruel, if not an illegal, method; that is, an ordinance for his *Attainder*: which was first read in the House of Commons November 13, passed the sixteenth, and immediately sent up to the Lords. There it stuck 'till the beginning of January 1644-5, when by the violence of the Earl of Pembroke, and the threatnings of the mob's coming down to force them, it was passed the fourth of that month, in a very thin house (*g*) [*DDD*]. By

(*e*) See his Troubles and Tryal.

(*f*) See his Tryal, p. 422, &c.

(*g*) Ibid. p. 441, 442. Heylin, p. 494.

subjects was maintained and defended, not only in the King, but also in himself and other bishops, above and against the law. And that he had, in like manner, endeavoured to advance the power of the Council-table, the Canons of the Church, and the King's prerogative, above the Laws and Statutes of the realm. 3. That he had, by letters, messages, *&c.* to Judges and other ministers of justice, interupted and perverted the course of Justice in the Courts at Westminster, and elsewhere. And, to advance the canons of the Church and power ecclesiastical, had opposed and stopt the granting writs of Prohibition. 4. That he had sold justice to those that had causes depending before him, and had taken unlawful gifts and bribes. 5. That he had trayterously caused a book of Canons to be composed and published, and to be put in execution; in which were many matters contrary to the King's prerogative, to the fundamental laws and statutes of the realm, to the right of parliament, to the propriety and liberty of the subject, *&c.* And had caused a most dangerous and illegal Oath to be therein made and contrived. 6. That he had assumed to himself a papal and tyrannical power, both in ecclesiastical and temporal matters: and claimed the King's ecclesiastical jurisdiction, as incident to his Episcopal and Archiepiscopal office in this kingdom, denying the same to be derived from the Crown of England. 7. That he had indeavoured to alter and subvert God's true Religion by law established in this realm, and instead thereof to set up Popish superstition and idolatry: and to that end had declared and maintained divers Popish doctrines and opinions; and urged and injoyned divers Popish and superstitious ceremonies; and cruelly persecuted those who opposed the same, and vexed others who refused to conform thereunto. 8. That he had intruded upon the places of divers great officers, and others; whereby he procured to himself the nomination of sundry persons to ecclesiastical Dignities, and the recommendation of Chaplains to the King, who were Popishly affected, or otherwise unsound and corrupt both in doctrine and manners. 9. That his own Chaplains were such, and he having committed the licensing of Books to them, by that means, divers false and superstitious Books had been published. 10. That he had endeavoured to reconcile the Church of England with the Church of Rome: and for that purpose had consorted and confederated with divers Popish priests and Jesuits, (particularly one Sancta Clara, alias Damport [or rather Davenport,] and one Monsieur St Giles;) and kept secret intelligence with the Pope: and had permitted and countenanced a Popish Hierarchy to be established in this kingdom. 11. That he had caused divers learned, pious, and orthodox Preachers to be silenced, suspended, deprived, *&c.* without any just and lawful cause; whereby he had hindered the preaching of God's word, caused divers of his Majesty's loyal subjects to forsake the kingdom, *&c.* And that he had caused the Feoffement for buying of Impropriations, for the maintenance of Preaching in several Churches to be overthrown. 12. That he had suppressed and abrogated the Privileges and Immunities granted to the French and Dutch Churches in this kingdom. 13. That he had plotted and endeavoured to stir up war and enmity between the Kingdoms of England and Scotland, and to that purpose had laboured to introduce into Scotland divers Innovations both in Religion and Government, all or the most part tending to Popery and Superstition: and for their [i. e. the Scots] refusing to submit to such Innovations, he advised his Majesty to subdue them by force of arms; and, by his own authority, did procure several persons, and enforced the Clergy, to contribute towards the maintenance of that warre; and when his Majesty had made a Pacification betwixt the two Kingdoms, the said Archbishop did censure that Pacification as dishonourable to his Majesty, and incense his Majesty against his Subjects of Scotland, that he did thereupon by advice of the said Archbishop enter into an offensive war against them. 14. That, to preserve himself from being questioned for these and other his traiteous courses he had laboured to subvert the rights of Parliaments, and the antient course of Parliamentary proceedings, and by false and malicious slanders to incense his Majesty against Parliaments (107). The Counsel assigned to the Archbishop, were, John Herne, Chaloner Chute, the excellent Matthew Hale, afterwards Lord Chief Justice, and Richard Gerrard, Esquires. And the managers against him, were these; John Wylde Serjeant at Law, John Maynard, Robert Nicholas, and Samuel Browne, Esquires, and William Prynne, Sollicitor (108). The Archbishop, even by the confession of his enemies, 'made as full, as gallant, as pithy a defence, and spake as much for himself as was possible for the wit of man to invent: and that with so much art, vivacity, oratory, audacity, and confidence, without the least acknowledgment of guilt in any thing (109).'—He complains of the bad usage he received from W. Prynne, with regard to the management of the evidence against him.—'Tis well known (says the Archbishop) he [Prynne] kept a kind of school of instruction for such of the witnesses as he durst trust, that they might be sure to speak home to the purpose he would have them. And this an utter Barrister, a man of good credit knows; who in the hearing of men beyond exception, said, The Archbishop is a stranger to me, but Mr Prynne's tampering about the witnesses, is so palpable and foul, that I cannot but pity him and cry shame of it (110).' He observes also, what sort of Witnesses were in general employed against him, 'Many of the Witnesses (saith he) brought against me in this business are more than suspected sectaries and separatists from the Church, which by my place I was to punish, and that exasperated them against me, whereas by law *no Schismatick ought to be received against his Bishop* (111). And many of these are Witnesses in their own causes, and pre-examined before they come in court. At which pre-examination I was not present, nor any for me, to cross-interrogate (112).—*A Pack of such witnesses* were never produced against any man of my place and calling; messengers and pursevants, and such as have shifted their religion to and again; pillory-men and bawds, *&c.* (113)'—It plainly appears, that he fell a Sacrifice to the Revenge of the Scotish nation. For his Tryal was hastened, or retarded, according to the motions of their army in England (114). And Mr Ludlow frankly owns, that he was 'beheaded for the encouragement of the Scots (115).'

[*DDD*] *In a very thin House*] There were only six Lords that concurred in it; namely, Henry Earl of Kent, Philip Earl of Penbroke, William Earl of Salisbury, Oliver Earl of Bullingbroke, Dudley Lord North, and William Lord Grey of Warke (116). And indeed, after the exclusion of the Bishops, and the willing or forced absence of the loyal Royalists, the attending Peers were seldom twenty; and oftener did not exceed twelve or fourteen; and frequently did not come up to that small number (117). Of this hardship the Archbishop complains in the following words: 'Though my hopes under God were upon the Lords, yet when my Tryal came on, it did somewhat

(107) From the Articles printed at that time. See also the Archbishop's Tryal. and Rushworth, and Lord Clarendon, Vol. IV. p. 572.

(108) Rushw. Vol. V. p. 821, 825, &c. and Wood, as above, col 60. and Tryal, p. 216.

(109) Prynne's Canterbury's Doom, p. 462.

(110) Troubles and Tryal, p. 219.

(111) Cod. L. i. tit. 5. l. 12. & 21.

(112) Tryal, p. 414.

(113) Ibid. p. 417.

(114) See Heylin, p. 482, 438, 491.

(115) Memoirs, edit. 8vo. Vol. I. p. 83.

(116) Heylin, p. 494.

(117) See the Tryal, p. 217, 442. Lord Clarendon, Vol. IV. p. 572.

By that ordinance, he was to suffer death as in cases of high-treason; but, upon his repeated petition, the sentence was altered to beheading: which he suffered with great composure, January the tenth, on a scaffold erected upon Tower-hill; being aged seventy-one years, four months, and three days. He was buried in the church of All-hallows Barking, London; but his remains being afterwards taken up, were deposited in the chapel of St John's college in Oxford, July 24, 1663 (*h*). Such was the tragical end of William Laud Archbishop of Canterbury! As to his person, he was low of stature, but well and strongly made; and of a ruddy and chearful countenance. In his temper, and natural disposition, he was full of fire and vivacity, which too often degenerated into choler and passion, and made him not to have so strict a guard over his words and actions as he ought to have had (*i*). He was a man of strict integrity, sincere and zealous; regular in his life, chaste, sober, and temperate, and humble in his private deportment. But in some respects he was indiscrete and obstinate, eagerly pursuing matters that were either very inconsiderable or mischievous (*k*). The rigorous prosecutions in the Star-Chamber and High-Commission-Courts are generally imputed to him; though every unprejudiced person will think they ought not to be imputed to him alone [*EEE*]. As he heartily hated the Puritans [*FFF*], so he was as heartily hated by them. He formed the airy project, of bringing all the inhabitants of Great-Britain and Ireland to an exact Uniformity in Religion and Worship (*l*). An impracticable project, often attempted without success. An impracticable project especially among the *free* people of England, whom either Conscience, or Education, or Perverseness and Obstinacy, cause and induce to have different sentiments and opinions, in most points, especially in religious matters. The pressing of some ceremonies, and other like things, which he imagined to be the only means for this Uniformity, brought him under the odious imputation of Popery, and of being Popishly affected: but how just or well-grounded that imputation was, we shall examine in the note [*GGG*]. He was more busy in temporal affairs and matters of state,

(*h*) Troubles and Tryal, p. 453. Wood, as above, col. 70.

(*i*) See Sir Edw. Dering's Speeches, p. 5.

(*k*) Heylin, p. 507. Fuller's Church History, book xi. p. 216, &c. Bishop Burnet's Hist. of his own Time, edit. 1753, 8vo. Vol. I. p. 67.

(*l*) See his Tryal, p. 224.

'somewhat trouble me to see so few Lords in that 'great house. For at the greatest presence that was 'any day of my hearing, there were not above Four-'teen, and usually not above Eleven or Twelve. Of 'these, one third part at least, each day took or had 'occasion to be gone, before the charge of the day 'was half given. I never had any one day the same 'Lords all present at my defence in the afternoon, 'that were at my charge in the morning: some lead-'ing Lords scarce present at my charge, four days of 'all my long Tryal, nor three at my defence: and 'which is most, no one Lord present at my whole 'Tryal, but the Lord Gray of Wark, the Speaker, 'without whose presence it could not be a House (118).'

[*EEE*] *Tho' every unprejudiced person will think they ought not to be imputed to him alone.*] Most of these acts were not his singly, but joint-acts of the courts of Star chamber, High-commission, &c. in which he was only one. Therefore 'tis very injurious to charge him wholly with the guilt of them; as his adversaries have done. Unless all the violences and iniquities of a reign are to be charged upon the Prime Minister. And if so, wo be to them that are in authority, and the unhappiest of men are they! — What has been observed here, is what the Archbishop pleaded in his own defence. 'I have (saith he) a long time found 'by sad experience, that whatsoever some men dislik-'ed, was presently my doing.' And, 'I humbly con-'ceive, that I ought not by law, nor can by usage of 'Parliamentary proceedings, be charged single for 'those things which are done in publick courts (119).'

[*FFF*] *As he heartily hated the Puritans.*] Dr Heylin assigns the following reason for his hatred and aversion for the Puritans, and his endeavours to check and discountenance them. 'Seeing the Puritanes grown so 'strong, even to the endangering of our Peace, both 'in Church and State, by the negligence and remiss-'nesse of the former Government, he thought it ne-'cessary to shew some countenance to the Papists, that 'the ballance being kept even between the parties; 'the Church and State might be preserved (as indeed 'they were) in the greater safety. And this appear-'eth to be his chiefe inducement in it, in regard that 'when the Protestant party was grown strong enough, 'to stand and goe without such crutches, he then de-'clared himselfe openly against that Faction (120).' But, as they carried too far their hatred against him, even by bringing him to the block; so did he likewise molest and prosecute them too severely for their notions, often nonsensical and absurd, but covered with the cloke of Conscience. That sent great numbers of them abroad to New-England, and the Summer-islands; but the Government, either fancying that their flying away thinn'd this nation too much, or form'd too strong a body of Dissenters abroad; by a fatal policy restrained them, by Proclamation, from going out of the Kingdom, without a licence (121). And, by that means, Oliver Cromwell, John Hamden, Sir Arthur Haslerigg, and others equally violent and disaffected, (no less than eight ships-load,) were hindred from going to New-England, even when they were embark'd (122).

[*GGG*] *But how just or well-grounded that imputation was, we shall examine.*] It was pressed upon him at his Tryal, with the greatest aggravations, on the following grounds; Because he put up colour'd glass with pictures in his chapel-windows; had a Bible with Popish pictures; and some pictures of the same kind in his gallery; used copes and bowings in churches; assumed a Papal power; and other accusations of the like nature: which may be seen at length in his Tryal, with his Answers thereto (123), being too long to transcribe here. The same Imputation was thrown upon him, with the highest acrimony, by Prynne, Bastwick, Burton, and the whole bulk of Puritans in his time; by Sir Edward Peyton (124); and even by Mr de Wicquefort. What the latter says upon that subject, is in these words: *Celuy qui a écrit l'histoire du temps sur de fort bons memoires, dit que l'Archevesque de Canterberry mesme y estoit fort disposé, & resolu de suivre Rossetti à Rome, si le Cardinal Barberin eust voulu l'asseurer d'une pension de quarente huit mille livres* (125); i. e. 'He who writ the history of those times upon very good memoires, says, that the Archbishop of Canterbury himself was much inclined thereto, [i. e. to alter the established Religion, *d'y faire changer la Religion dominante,*] and resolved to follow Rossetti [the Popish agent here] to Rome, if Cardinal Barberini would have insur'd him a pension of 48000 livres.' But as Mr Wicquefort doth not name the author of that *History*, nor of his *Memoires*; and that the compiler of them might have been W. Prynne, or as violent and prejudiced a writer; we leave therefore the candid and unprejudiced reader to judge of the Credibility of that story — On the other hand, let us hear what persons who were at least no admirers of the Archbishop, say concerning his being a Papist, or Popishly affected. 'He so little thought, says Sal-'monet (126), of restoring the Catholick Religion 'there [i. e. in England,] that on the contrary he 'hoped, by that outward face or shew, which he 'gave every thing, and that very much resembled the 'primitive times of the Church, to invite the Ca-'tholics of that Kingdom into the Church of England, 'and to break that Bond of Unity which keeps them 'fixed to the only Chair of St Peter.' *Il pensoit si peu a y restablir la Communion Catholique, qu'au contraire il esperoit par cette face exterieure qu'il donnoit a toutes choses, & qui ressembloit fort a celle des premiers temps de l'Eglise,—d'attirer les Catholiques de ce Royaume-là a la Communion Anglicane, & de rompre*

(118) Tryal, p. 217, 218.

(119) Tryal, p. 107, 252. See also p. 245, 253, 415, 437.

(120) Heylin's Observat. on H. Lestrange's Hist. of King Charles I. edit. 1656, 8vo. p. 172.

(121) See Rushworth, Vol. II. p. 409, 410, 721.

(122) Life of Ol. Cromwell by B. Pengelly, edit. 1731, p. 3.

(123) Tryal, p. 159, 224, 284, 310—318, 324, 327, 329, 331, &c. 338, 341, 357, &c. 363, 366, 375, 377, 378, 389, 390, 391, &c. 435, &c.

(124) Divine Catastrophe of the House of Stuarts, edit. 1731, p. 5.

(125) L'Ambassadeur & ses Fonctions, edit. 1682, 4to. p. 25.

(126) Histoire des Troubles de la Grande-Bretagne, edit. 1661, p. 26.

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ſtate, than his predeceſſors in the See of Canterbury of later times had been (*m*): and even thought he could manage the place and office of Prime-Miniſter, without the leaſt condeſcenſion to the arts and ſtratagems of the Court, and without any friendſhip, or ſupport, than what a pious life, and his unpoliſhed integrity, would reconcile to him: which was an unſkilful meaſure in a licentious age (*n*); and ill judged in him, who was unfit for a Court, having never learned to diſſemble. The Lord Clarendon concludes his character with this candid obſervation (*o*), ' That his Learning, Piety, and Virtue, have ' been attained by very few, and the greateſt of his infirmities are common to all; even to ' the beſt of men.' An account of his benefactions [*HHH*], and of what he writ or publiſhed [*III*], is given in the notes.

(*m*) Whitelock, p. 34.

(*n*) Lord Clarendon, Vol. I. p. 65, 90.

(*o*) Vol. IV. p. 574.

ce lien d'Unité qui les tient attachez a la chaire unique de St Pierre.—Arthur Wilſon, in his own Life (127), tells us, that being at Bruges in 1637, he had a diſcourſe with one Dr Weſton, of which theſe are ſome of the particulars. — ' The little Archbiſhop of Canterbury he could not endure I pull'd a book out of ' my pocket, written by the Provincial of the Engliſh ' Friers, Johannes de Sancta Clara, which tended to ' reconcile the Church of England and the Church of ' Rome, if we would come up a ſtep to them and ' they come down a ſtep to us. I know the man ' (ſaith Weſton) he is one of Canterbury's trencher-' flies and eats perpetually at his table; a creature of ' his making. Then (ſaid I) you ſhould better ap-' prove of my Lord of Canterbury's actions, being he ' tends ſo much to your way. No, (reply'd he) he ' is too ſubtle to be yok't; too ambitious to have a ' ſuperiour He'll never ſubmit to Rome. He means ' to frame a motley Religion of his own, and be lord ' of it himſelf.'—And by two Teſtimonials of Mr Jonathan Whilton, and John Evelyn Eſq; it appears, That the Archbiſhop was look'd upon at Rome as ' the greateſt enemy of the Church of Rome, in Eng-' land; and the greateſt champion of the Church of ' England.' — ' And that the Engliſh Papiſts there ' looked upon him as one that was a great enemy to ' them, and ſtood in their way; whilſt (adds Mr Eve-' lyn) one of the blackeſt crimes imputed to him, was ' his being Popiſhly affected (128).' — The ſentiments of the judicious Hiſtorian, Rapin de Thoyras, upon the preſent ſubject, are the laſt I ſhall mention. ' The ' Preſbyterians (ſaith he) had taken it into their heads ' that a project was formed to re-eſtabliſh the Roman ' Religion in England. - - - - They imagined that the ' King's miniſters, the Council, Biſhops, and particu-' larly the new Archbiſhop of Canterbury, were the ' Authors of this project. - - - - For my part, I verily ' believe, neither the King, nor the Archbiſhop, nor ' the Miniſters for the moſt part ever formed ſuch a ' deſign. At leaſt in all that has been ſaid upon this ' ſubject, I have not met with any proof which to ' me ſeemed, I will not ſay ſtrong enough to convince ' me, but even to have the leaſt probability. Never-' theleſs 'tis certain this opinion prevailed more and ' more among the people, and the Preſbyterians uſed ' their endeavours to gain it credit. I don't know ' whether they believed it themſelves, or whether they ' only thought it would be for their Advantage to ' throw this Reproach upon the Church of England, ' that they might ſtrengthen their party, in which ' they ſucceeded at length, even beyond their ex-' pectations (129).'

(127) Publiſhed in Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, Vol. II. book 12. p. 22. He has much the ſame account in his Life of King James I.

(128) See the Archbiſhop's Troubles and Tryal, p. 616.

(129) Rapin's Hiſt. of Engl. 8vo edit. Vol. X. p. 273. and folio edit. Vol. II. p. 278, 290.

[*HHH*] *An account of his Benefactions.*] Beſides what he did for Oxford, as mentioned above in notes [*Y*] and [*Z*] he founded an Arabick Lecture in that Univerſity; which began to be read Aug. 10, 1636: he procured a large Charter for Oxford, to confirm their ancient privileges, and obtain for them new ones: he alſo procur'd a new Charter for the college near Dublin, and a body of new Statutes: he ſet up a Greek preſs in London, for printing the Library MSS. and intended to have done the like at Oxford: he undertook to have the Statutes of all the Cathedral Churches of the new foundations ſettled; but it was done only for Canterbury: he undertook, likewiſe, to have Commendams annexed to all the ſmall Biſhopricks, and thoſe if poſſible Sine-cures: which was effected for Briſtol, Peterborough, St Aſaph, Cheſter, and Oxford; upon which laſt was ſettled the Impropriation of Cuddeſden, and a new Houſe built by the then Biſhop Dr Bancroft: he obtained the advowſon of the living of St Laurence in Reading, for St John's college in Oxford: he founded an Hoſpital in Reading, and endowed it with revenues to the amount of 200 *l.* a year: and alſo procured a Charter, and a mortmain, for that town.—He intended moreover, to have a fund ſettled for buying in Impropriations; and for increaſing the Stipends of poor Vicars (130).

(130) Diary, p. 68. Heylin, p. 379, 380. and in other places.

[*III*] *And of what he writ or publiſhed.*] What he publiſhed himſelf, was, 1. ' Seven Sermons,' preached on public occaſions, in the years 1621, 1622, 1625, 1626, and 1628, and printed ſingle in thoſe reſpective years in 4to, reprinted together at London in 1651, 8vo. 2. ' Conference between him ' and Fiſher the Jeſuite.' fol. Lond. 1624. Printed again in 1637 and 1673. It was publiſhed at firſt under the name of R. B. i. e. Richard Baylie of St John's college, then Chaplain to the Biſhop, afterwards Preſident of the ſaid college. It was reckoned the exacteſt maſter-piece of Polemique Divinity of any extant at that time (131). And Sir Edw. Deering, his profeſſed adverſary, could not help owning (132), that the Biſhop had in this book muzzled the Jeſuit, and ſhould ſtrike the Papiſts under the fifth rib, when he was dead and gone—and that it ſhould be his epitaph. 3. ' Anſwer to the Remonſtrance made by the ' Houſe of Commons in 1628. 4. ' A ſpeech deli-' vered in the Star-chamber, on Wedneſday, the 14th ' of June, 1637, at the cenſure of John Baſtwick, Henry Burton, and William Prinn; concerning pretended Innovations in the Church, Lond. 1637, 4to.— The following pieces of his were publiſhed by others. 5. ' Annotations or Memorables of K. James I.' Publiſhed by W. Prynne, in 1644, and inſerted in Ruſhworth (133). 6. ' The Diary of his life. Together with the Hiſtory of his Troubles and Tryal.' Publiſhed in 1695, fol by the learned Henry Wharton. In the ſame volume are inſerted, The Archiſhop's ſpeech, ſpoken at his death, upon the ſcaffold on Tower-hill, Jan. 10, 1644. (It was alſo printed in 1645, by one Hind, and inſerted in *Mercurius Ruſticus.*) The Archbiſhop's laſt Will. His Anſwer to the ſpeech of the Lord Say and Seal, touching the Liturgy. His annual accounts of his Province, preſented to the King, in the beginning of every year; with the King's marginal notes. His annotations on Rome's Maſter piece, or the Plot revealed by Andreas ab Habernfield. Letter to Sir Kenelm Digby; with three other Letters.— The Diary had been partly publiſhed in Septemb. 1644, by W. Prynne; but altered, mangled, and corrupted in a moſt ſhameful manner; and adulterated with malicious gloſſes, and the moſt uncharitable reflexions (134). 7. In 1700, a ſecond volume of his Works was publiſhed in folio, containing, An Hiſtorical account of all material Tranſactions relating to the univerſity of Oxford, from his being elected Chancellor in 1630, to his reſignation of that office in 1641. His Anſwer to the Lord Say and Seal's ſpeech, upon the Bill about Biſhops power in civil affairs and courts of judicature, an 1640. The ſpeech mentioned above at N°. iv. 8. *Officium quotidianum:* or a Manual of private Devotions written by him, was publiſhed at Lond. 1650, and 1663, 8vo. 9. A ſummary of Devotions, Lond. 1667, 12mo printed according to his own copy. 10. In a volume of Tracts, I find, ' A letter ſent from him then priſoner in the Tower to the Vice chancellor, Doctors, and the reſt of the Convocation at Oxford, intimating his humble Deſires to his Majeſty, for a ſpeedy reconcilement between him and his high court of Parliament, 4to 11. Several letters of his are printed in the Cabala; in Dr Parr's Collection of Letters to and from Archbiſhop Uſher; and eighteen in Latin, in *G. J. Voſſij & clarorum virorum ad eum Epiſtolæ*, Lond. 1690, collected by Colomeſius; of which the excellent P. Limborch gives this character (135). *Sed imprimis admirabilem ſe oſtendit reverendiſſimus Archiepiſcopus Cantuar. Gulielmus Laudus, ob cauſam religionis a fervidis zelotis ſecuri percuſſus; qui adeo graviter impetitus, tot calumniis oneratus, in familiariſſimis ad Voſſium epiſtolis, nullum con-* *tra*

(131) H. Leſtrange's Hiſt. of King Charles I. edit. 1656, fol. p. 178.

(132) Preface to his Speeches, p. 5.

(133) Vol. I. p. 155.

(134) See preface to the Archbiſhop's Tryal; and the Tryal, p. 412. and Wood Ath. as above, col. 64, &c.

(135) In præfat. ad Præſtantium ac Eruditorum Virorum Epiſtol. Eccleſiaſt. &c. edit. 2.

tra ferocissimos inimicos maledictum profert, sed ad Servatoris sui exemplum, cum malediceretur, non maledixit, & cum peteretur non comminatus est, sed maledicentibus benedixit, & pro persequentibus se ardentissimè precatus est. Hic ab immani Criminatione, quâ ab infensissimis inimicis coram toto orbe palam & odiose est traductus, quasi Papatum in Ecclesiam Anglicanam reducere moliretur, adeo plenè purgatur, ut ne ipsa quidem διαβολὴ *quicquam quod admordeat reperire possit. Extant hic continuatæ ipsius flagitationes, vel decies in Epistolis ejus repetitæ, ut Vossius provinciam Baronium confutandi in se suscipiat, adeo quidem ut id urgere nunquam destiterit.*

*** Since this article was sent to the press, the following observations have occurred, which may serve to illustrate the note [T], and further clear the Archbishop from having altered the Coronation-oath.

In 1642 the Parliament was endeavouring to compel the King to give his assent to such Bills as should be offered to him; and endeavoured to prove, that he was obliged by his Coronation-oath so to do ..... which would, indeed, be divesting the King of his share in the Legislature, if he could not put his negative upon the Bills offered to him for his assent, when he saw it proper or necessary; as the two Houses can ..... Several Remonstrances passed upon that subject, between the King and Parliament (136), in one of which (137) is this passage .... 'That it [the 'Coronation-oath] hath been ordinarily so taken, appeares by a memorandum upon record at the Coronation of Richard II. wherein the heads of the oath 'being set downe (138), that clause of the oath, concerning the King's strengthening such Lawes as the 'people *have* chosen or *shall* choose (the matter is 'not great whether way it be rendred, so it bee understood alwayes that the Lawes refer in that clause 'to the Royall assent, as a thing future and not passed) '(as they doe) is rendered thus; *Ac de faciendo per ipsum Dominum Regem eos esse protegendos, & ad honorem Dei, corroborandum quas vulgus juste & rationabiliter eligerit*; which expression with that 'qualification, which the people should justly and reasonably choose, cleerly relates to new Laws that 'should be chosen by the people; and in all the alterations of the forme of the Oath, that we can find, 'excepting that which was taken by his Majesty, *and his Father King James*, (wherein the word *choose* is 'wholly left out, as well hath chosen as will choose) 'that clause is understood of new Laws to be made, 'as in that oath which Henry the eighth corrected 'and interlined with his own hands (whereof there 'is a copy amongst the Memorials of the Archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth) the clause in 'question, that is, [and affirm them which the folk 'and people have made and chosen] is interlined by 'him thus, instead of Folk, he put nobles and people, 'and after the words *made and chosen*, he added, *with my consent*. And in the oath of *Edward* the sixth, 'which is to be seen at Lambeth also; the Lord Protectour and the other co-executors holding it necessary to correct the ceremonies and observances used 'at the Coronation of the Kings of this realme, in respect of the tedious length of the same, and also for 'that they conceived, that many points of the same 'were such, as by the laws of this realm, at that present were not allowable (as is there expressed) they 'altered several clauses in the oath, and the clause in 'question they changed into this following: [Doe 'you grant to make no new Laws, but such as shall 'be to the honour and glory of God, and to the good 'of the commonwealth, and that the same shall be 'made by the consent of your people, as hath bin 'accustomed] By all which it cleerly appears, that 'in that clause of the Oath; *Et ad honorem Dei corroborandum quas vulgus eligerit*; His Majesties royal 'assent to new Laws was generally understood to be 'meant.'

From this extract it appears, That the alteration in the Coronation-oath, was made in that of K. James I. as well as in that of K. Charles I. and therefore was not made by Bishop Laud.

And from the French Oath upon record, as taken by King Edward II. and Edw. III. it is evident, that by *elegerint* was intended *shall have chosen*. It is thus, 'Sire grantes vous a tenir & garder les leys & 'les custumes drooitureles lesquiels la communaute de 'vostre Royaume *aur eslu*, & les defenderer & afforcerer al honneur de Dieu a vostre poaire (139).'

(136) See Husbands's Collection, Vol. I. 4to. p. 263—&c. 686, &c.

(137) Ibid. p. 706.

(138) Rot. Claus. R. 2. No. 44.

(139) Husbands, as above, p. 71

LEAKE [Sir JOHN], a brave and successful Admiral, was son of Captain Richard Leake, Master-Gunner of England, and grandson of Mr Richard Leake, descended from the Leakes of Derbyshire (*a*). He was born in June 1656 at Rotherhithe in Surry. Being well instructed in Mathematics and Gunnery by his father [*A*], with a view to the Navy, he entered early into the service as a Midshipman; and, in this station, distinguished himself under his father at the memorable engagement between the English and Dutch fleets in 1673 [*B*], being then only 18 years of age. Upon the conclusion of that war,

(*a*) His grandfather was bred to the sea; and, upon the breaking out of the civil wars, sided with the Parliament, and had a commission in their fleet under the command of the Earl of Warwick. Life of Sir John Leake, Knight, by Stephen-Martin Leake, Esq; Clarencieux King of Arms, edit. 1750, 8vo. p. 1.

[*A*] *His father.*] Was born in 1629 at Harwich, and being bred to the sea, was first engaged during the civil wars by paternal authority in the Parliament service. But this was a force upon his inclination, and he took the first opportunity to desert, and engaging some of the seamen in the same design, they went away with the boat in the night; by this means escaping the vigilance of his father, who suspecting his design, discovered them almost as soon as the boat was put off, and several guns were fired to stop or sink it; but they got safely on shoar. Had Mr Leake been taken, he would not have been spared by his father, who was very zealous, and died soon after in defence of the cause he had espoused. His son having thus escaped, went a volunteer in the King's service, and after the ruin there, went into the Dutch artillery, where he improved himself in gunnery and engineering, to which he had a particular genius. As soon as he could safely, he returned to England, and entring into the merchants service, had the command of a ship several voyages up the Mediterranean; during those, Henry and John, his two elder sons were born. At the Restoration he was made Master-gunner of the Princess, a frigate of 50 guns; and in the first Dutch war distinguished his skill and bravery, particularly in two extraordinary actions; one against 15 sail of Rotterdam men of war, and another, in 1667, against two Danes in the Baltick (1). In both, the commanding officers of the Princess being killed or desperately wounded, the command, according to the rules of the Navy at that time, fell to the Gunner. He expected a Captain's commission for the latter service against the Danes; but that command being given to another before he came home, upon his arrival the Duke of York, then Lord High Admiral, signed a warrant, dated June 8, 1667, to the Commissioners of the Navy, to pay him 30 *l.* 'till an opportunity offered for his farther preferment; and the 13th of August following he was appointed one of his Majesty's Gunners within the Tower of London, in consideration (as the warrant expresses it) of his good and faithful service to his Majesty during the war with the French, Danes, and Dutch, both by sea and land; whence it seems he had served in the army as well as the navy (2).

[*B*] *He distinguished himself in the engagement in* 1673.] His father, in May 1669, was promoted from the Princess frigate to be Gunner of the Royal Prince, a first rate man of war; in which he was engaged with his two sons abovementioned in this battle, which happened August 10th, between Sir Edward Spragg and Van Trump: the Royal Prince having all her masts shot away, near 400 of her men killed and disabled, and most of her upper tier of guns dismounted. As she lay thus like a wreck for some time, a great Dutch man of war came down upon her with two fire-ships, either to burn or carry her off, and the Captain-lieutenant, Mr (afterwards Sir) George Rooke, thinking it impossible to defend her, ordered the men to save their lives, and the colours to be struck. Mr Leake hearing this forbad it, ordered the Lieutenant off

(1) See an account of both these actions, in a pamphlet intitled, *The old and true way of manning the Fleet, and how to retrieve the Glory of the English Arms by Sea*, edit. 1707, 4to. fol. 15. They are likewise mentioned in *Columna Rostrata*, but by mistake ascribed to Captain Dawes in the Elizabeth.

(2) Life of Sir John Leake, ubi supra, p. 2.

war, ſoon after, he engaged in the Merchants ſervice, and had the command of a ſhip two or three voyages up the Mediterranean. But his inclination lying to the Navy, he did not ſtay long out of it; for, though he refuſed a Lieutenant's commiſſion *, yet, upon the advancement of his father in a little time to the command of a yatcht, he gladly accepted the offer of ſucceeding him in the poſt of Gunner to the Neptune [C], a ſecond rate man of war. This was about the year 1675, and the times being peaceable, he remained in this poſt without any promotion (b), 'till the latter end of King James's reign in 1688, when his father procured him a commiſſion (c) to command the Firedrake fire-ſhip [D]. He was continued in this command at the Revolution; and the ſignal ſervice he did in it at the battle of Bantry-Bay [E] in 1689, recommended him to a commiſſion, which he received two days after from the Admiral [Herbert, afterwards Earl of Torrington], to command the Dartmouth; and being ordered immediately (d), with ſome other ſhips, to convoy ſome victuallers into Londonderry in Ireland, that deſparate deſign was carried into execution chiefly by his means [F]. The Commander of the land forces, Major-

* See remark [C].

(b) In the Navy; for, in 1677, he was appointed mate to his father, then made Maſter Gunner of England. Ibid. p. 7.

(c) It was dated September 24 that year. Ibid. He was in this ſhip, in the fleet under the Lord Dartmouth, when the Prince of Orange landed, after which he joined the reſt of the Proteſtant officers in an addreſs to that prince, p. 11.

(d) The very day that the command was given him, viz. May 3, the battle being fought on the firſt. Ibid.

off the Quarter deck, and took the command upon himſelf. The Royal Prince, ſays he, ſhall never be given up to the enemy, while I am alive to defend her; and calling his two ſons, of whom Henry was his firſt mate, he told them his reſolution, and that if if they followed his example, he did not doubt of ſucceſs. The undaunted ſpirit of the Gunner inſpired the whole ſhip's company with reſolution; they returned with alacrity to the fight, and under the direction of their valiant Gunner and his two ſons, ſunk both the fire ſhips, and obliged the man of war to ſheer off. Thus, after a long and deſperate defence, half burnt, and reduced almoſt to a wreck, they ſaved the Royal Prince, and brought her to Chatham, to the admiration of all that ſaw her. But this good fortune of Mr Leake was much allay'd by the death of his eldeſt ſon, Henry, who, imitating his father's virtue, fell a ſacrifice to his glory, being ſlain in the battle very near him (3).

(3) This action is likewiſe mentiond in *The old and true Way*, &c. Sir Jacob Ackworth, late Störekeeper, had a painting of this action taken from a drawing by Sir John Leake, in the poſſeſſion of Samuel Percival, Eſq; Secretary to the Navy.

[C] *He was made Gunner of the Neptune.*] His father had ſucceeded to this place from the Royal Prince, but did not continue in it long before he was preferred to the command of a yatcht, and made alſo Maſter-gunner of White-hall. Upon the father's promotion it was a natural ſtep for the ſon to ſucceed him; beſides, this was the beſt preferment he could hope for in that time of peace, when few commiſſion'd-officers were employ'd, and none had then half pay but ſuch Captains as in the late war had commanded firſt and ſecond rates: whereas a Gunner was in conſtant whole pay, tho' he never went out of harbour; and maſter-gunner of a great ſhip was a poſt of much greater reputation than it has been eſteemed ſince. Thoſe officers wore their ſwords on ſhore, kept company with the commiſſioned officers, and were much reſpected by all. For theſe reaſons it was, that Sir John had refuſed to be a Lieutenant; beſides that he was well aſſured of a command from the poſt of Gunner (4).

(4) His Life, ubi ſupra, p. 7. His Gunner's warrant was dated May 21, 1677.

[D] *His father procured him the Firedrake fire-ſhip.*] His father having obtained, in 1677, a grant for life of the office of Maſter-gunner of England, and being likewiſe appointed Store-keeper of the ordnance at Woolwich, had by theſe poſts full ſcope for his genius. Accordingly his invention was perpetually at work, and among other things, he invented the Cuſhee piece, ſo called, becauſe intended to be placed at the forcaſtle of a ſhip, as a piece of that name is placed in a galley; but inſtead of ſhot was to fire-ſhells and carcaſſes. This was a favourite invention, and having anſwered his deſign in theory, he only wanted to put it in practice, and when K. James II. reſolved to fit out a ſtrong fleet to prevent the invaſion from Holland in 1688, the Captain took that occaſion, (being in a time of peace, the firſt that had offered) to propoſe the trial of his Cuſhee piece, which was readily granted. And the Firedrake fire-ſhip being order'd for that ſervice, his ſon John, for the better execution thereof, was appointed commander. In the mean time this, which was uſed as a means for his preferment, was unhappily attended with the death of his younger and only brother Edward, who was blown up at Woolwich as he was preparing the compoſition for the Cuſhee ſhells (5).

(5) Ibid. p. 5, 6, 7.

[E] *He did ſignal ſervice at the battle of Bantry-bay.*] With it he ſet on fire one of the French ſhips commanded by the Chevalier Coetlogon, whereby part of her was blown up, and ſhe narrowly miſſed being wholly conſumed. Father Daniel, (6) ſpeaking of this engagement, ſays it was by a cannon-ball; not knowing what it was, nothing of that nature having been uſed before, but it wholly diſabled her for farther ſervice; and ſeveral other ſhips receiv'd damage by the ſame means (7). But notwithſtanding it ſeems to have anſwered ſo well as to have done honour to the inventor; yet whether he thought it too deſperate and deſtructive to be brought into uſe, or hating it for his brother's ſake, who loſt his life by it, 'tis certain he did not recommend it, and the writer of his life could not find it was ever uſed afterwards.

(6) In Hiſtoire de France.

(7) P. 13.

[F] *Carried into execution chiefly by his means.*] When the fleet ordered upon this ſervice arrived with the forces off Lough-Foyle, the Admiral, Sir George Rook, ordered Captain Leake with the Dartmouth, Greyhound, and King's-Fiſher ketch, to join the land-forces under Major-general Kirk, it being found impracticable to relieve the town but by ſea, and theſe ſhips being the ſmalleſt were moſt proper to go up the river; and the King had before ordered the ſwallow upon the ſame ſervice, and four ſail were ſtationed off the harbour's mouth, to aſſiſt and ſecure them from any attempt of the enemy by ſea. On the 16th of June Capt. Leake (8) run up the lough. The Swallow and merchant-ſhips following him, and came to an anchor about a mile and an half below Culmore-caſtle, a little above which caſtle, in the narrow part of the river, the Duke of Berwick had contrived a ſtoccado, (*viz.* a bomb of timber joined by iron chains, and ſtrengthen'd by a cable twelve inches thick twiſted round it) at each end whereof were redoubts with heavy cannon; ſeveral boats were likewiſe ſunk, and ſtoccadoes with ſpikes drove into the river, ſo that the whole ſeemed impenetrable: beſides, the Duke had lined both ſides of the river with 2000 muſketeers (9). The General [Kirk] therefore held a council of war on board the Swallow; and, conſidering how the enemy had blocked up and ſecured the river, it was judged impracticable for the ſhips to force a paſſage to the town, and reſolved to ſtay 'till the land-forces were augmented, and then make a deſcent. But Providence brought the beſieged a more ſpeedy deliverance from their extreme miſeries by Captain Leake. He was ſenſibly touched with their ſufferings, and reſolved to attempt their relief, tho' he could have no other men of war to aſſiſt him. The Swallow, which was the only one there, being too large to go up the river, he only borrowed the Swallow's long-boat to aſſiſt in cutting the bomb. He concerted the manner of the attack thus. That himſelf leading the van, ſhould engage the caſtle and batteries, whilſt they in the mean time ſhould paſs by, and run with full ſail againſt the boom in order to break it; and the boats, being well-manned and prepared for the work, were immediately to join them, and uſe their beſt endeavours to cut the boom aſunder and haul the ſhips through, and the evening was judged the moſt proper to make the attack. Theſe diſpoſitions were no ſooner made than carried into execution, and about ſeven in the evening of the ſame day, the 28th of July, Captain Leake got under ſail with the Dartmouth and made towards the river, being followed by the victuallers, the Mountjoy of Derry, and the Phœnix of Colerain; but under the great diſadvantage of having but little wind to paſs the batteries, or to carry them with any force againſt the boom; but the circumſtances of the town would not admit of any delay. Whilſt theſe meaſures were taking for their relief, the Reverend Mr Walker was preaching to the garriſon, encouraging them by the many inſtances of Divine Providence in their favour ſince the beginning of the ſiege, to hope for a ſpeedy deliverance; and, as if

(8) Sir George Rooke was failed from his ſtation on that coaſt in queſt of ſome French ſhips that had taken two Engliſh veſſels, and were gone to the Iſle of Mull with forces.

(9) See the Life of the Duke of Berwick.

Major-General Kirk, who saw the action, was so highly pleased with the conduct and bravery of it, that he gave Mr Leake a company in his own regiment, which he enjoyed many years after he was a Flag-officer (*e*). The importance of rescuing Londonderry by this means from the hands of King James, raised the Captain likewise in the Navy; and the Dartmouth being paid off, he had the command given him of the Oxford, a fourth rate of 54 guns; and May the fourth the following year, 1690, was promoted by the Admiral to that of the Eagle, a third rate of seventy guns. While he held this command, he was very instrumental in clearing that Admiral from the charge of misconduct, in his engagement with the French fleet off Beachy-Point [*G*]. In 1692, the distinguished figure Mr Leake made in the famous battle of La Hogue, procured him the particular friendship of Mr (afterwards Admiral) Churchill (*f*); but the Eagle being therein disabled for service, and on that account put out of commission (*g*), for the present he accepted of the Plymouth, a third rate of 60 guns. However, he was preferred the next year, 1693 (*h*), to the Offory, a second rate; in which he continued, behaving on all occasions with great reputation 'till the end of the war; which concluding with the peace of Ryswick, his ship was paid off December 5, 1697 (*i*). In the interim he lost his father [*H*], who died in July 1696, in the 68th year of his age, at Woolwich, where he was buried. The Captain at that time was engaged with the grand fleet in the Soundings; and, in his absence, his friends, upon the view of the ensuing peace, had procured for him his father's places of Master-Gunner of England and Store-keeper at Woolwich [*I*]; but

(*e*) Ibid. p. 17.

(*f*) Captain Leake bravely sustained Mr Churchill after the ship between them had been beaten out of the line, p. 39.

(*g*) Viz. the last day of December; and he was commissioned for the Plymouth the same day, p. 30.

(*h*) July 19.

(*i*) So that, from his first command of the Firedrake fireship in 1688 to this time, making upwards of nine years, he had not been one day out of commission.

if it had been spoken by inspiration, about an hour after sermon, they discovered Captain Leake with the victuallers coming to their relief. The enemy made a most furious fire upon the Dartmouth from Culmore-castle and the batteries, which was received and returned with great bravery. But having passed the castle, the little wind they had failed them, and a dead calm succeeding, the victuallers were stopped by the boom, not having force to break it, and recoiled, the Mountjoy running stern foremost on the shore. The enemy seeing this, gathered in swarms to the water-side, and gave the loudest and most joyful shouts, crying out our ships were taken; at the same time firing their great and small shot, and preparing their boats to board her, and the extreme grief of the besieged, who plainly saw what passed from the walls of the town to see their last hopes disappointed, is not to be expressed. But, by great Providence, the Mountjoy firing her guns, that shock loosened her; so that, by the help of the rising tide, she got clear, tho' with the loss of Mr Brownrigg her commander, who was killed by the enemy's shot. In the mean time the cannon of the Dartmouth had done great execution against the batteries, some of their guns being dismounted and their men hardly able to stand to those that were not: and whilst the enemies were exulting with joy for the success they seemed to have over the Mountjoy, the boat's crew got upon the boom, cut it asunder, and hawled the Phœnix through, and the Mountjoy followed soon after. Captain Leake continuing the fight 'till he saw they had both got in safety to the city, to the inconceivable joy and transport of a garrison which reckoned only upon two days life, there being left for their subsistence but nine lean horses, and a pint of meal to each man, having sustained a siege of 111 days. This brave and successful undertaking, in spite of all the enemy's works to prevent it, and in sight of an army of 30000 men, was performed with inconsiderable loss, and the enemies were so discouraged thereby, that on the last of July they raised the siege in the night with great confusion; and in their retreat, for revenge of the disappointment, blew up Culmore-castle, and made a miserable havock of the country (10).

[*G*] *He was instrumental in clearing the Earl of Torrington*, &c] Sir Ralph Delaval, who had been Vice-admiral in the engagement, was President at the Court-martial held on that occasion, Decemb. 10th, 1690, at Sheerness; but the writer of Sir John Leake's Life, observes, that he, who was one of the judges, influenced the sentence; for when he found the court wavering in their opinion, and it was insinuated that all the eyes of the kingdom were upon them expecting justice, [to condemn the admiral] and that even both threats and promises were likewise used to work upon the members of the court to find him guilty, Captain Leake generously undertook his cause, examined every particular of his Lordship's conduct, and so fully justified him, that he brought over the majority to acquit him, and to confirm that sentence under their hands, when the ministry returned it to be reconsidered. This therefore was fit to mention here, as a noble instance of Sir John Leake's integrity (11).

(10) Sir John's Life, p. 13 to 17.

(11) Life, p. 20 to 23. The Dutch author of Hist. de Guil. III. Roy d'Angleterre, and Bishop Burnet, blame this sentence; but Dr Kennet, in his History of England, tells us, that the conduct was commended by the French officers in England after the peace; and 'tis well known, the Court-Martial's sentence was confirmed in Parliament, which Bishop Burnet, in his zeal, seems to forget.

[*H*] *He lost his father.*] We have already taken notice of his inventing the *Cushee*. Besides which, he contrived to fire a mortar by the blast of a piece, which has been used ever since, being done before with great hazard, by setting fire to the fusee first, and then to the mortar. He was likewise the principal contriver of what the French called Infernals (12), used at the bombardment of St Malo's in the year 1693. Mr Leake had a surprizing genius in all manner of fiery productions, so as to excel all the engineers of his time, having frequent trials of skill with French and Dutch Gunners and Engineers in the Warren at Woolwich, at which King Charles and the Duke of York were often present, and he never failed to baffle all his competitors; nor was he less skilled in Pyrotechny, or the art of making all kinds of compositions of fire-works, of which also he made frequent trials with equal success (13). When he died, our Captain was his only surviving son, and had then a wife and a child by her, a boy. Yet the old man having a daughter, Elizabeth, made her whole and sole executrix of his will, leaving to his son only one moiety of his books and instruments, the other moiety to his daughter's son; by which it appears, says the above-mentioned author, that his resentment for the ill success of his Cushee-piece, continued to the last, though Captain Leake was always a dutiful and affectionate son (14).

(12) See a particular description of these in Daniel's Hist. de la Mil. Fr. & De Larret Hist. de France sous Louis XIV.

(13) Ibid. p. 6.

(14) P. 37.

[*I*] *His friends procured him his father's places.*] To compass this they had obtained, without the Captain's knowledge, a Letter from Admiral Russell to Lord Romney, Master general of the Ordnance, in these terms:

'My Lord,

'I am desired by Captain Leake to recommend 'him to your Lordship's favour to succeed his father 'lately dead, who was Master-gunner of England. He 'has been for many years his first Mate; he is a man 'that I can answer for his knowledge in the Art of 'Gunnery, courage and fidelity; at present he is Cap'tain of the Offory, a very honest and good man; 'thus far I can answer for on my own knowledge; 'and a man that will be very diligent in his office. I 'must now ask your Lordship's pardon for the trouble 'I have given you; but would not refuse a friend to 'recommend him to your favour; I promise my self 'he will not fare the worse, since it comes from,

Chippenham, July 8, 1696.

'My Lord,

'Your Lordship's

'most faithful,

'and humble servant,

'E. Russell (15).'

(15) P. 38.

Mr Leake observes that the Captain had only kept the first Mate's place in complaisance to his father, designing to throw it up whenever he died, as he now actually did.

[*K*] *Commander*

but he declined that offer, rather refusing to apply to his friends (*k*) for a Commissioner's place in the Navy. However, upon opening his mind to Admiral Churchill, that friend prevailed with him not to think of quitting the sea, and soon brought him into action there again procuring him a commission for the Kent, a third rate of 70 guns, which he entered upon May 5, 1699 (*l*). This ship being discharged the 22d of February following, he continued out of commission a year afterwards. But, on the 28th of February 1700, entered on board Commander of the Berwick, a third rate of 70 guns; whence, upon the prospect of a new war, he was removed to the Britannia (*m*), the finest first rate in the Navy to go to sea in. Of this ship then he was appointed, January 22, 1701, first Captain of three under the Earl of Pembroke, newly made Lord High-Admiral of England. This was the highest station he could have as a Captain, and higher than any private Captain ever obtained either before or since (*n*). But, upon the Earl's removal (*o*), soon after the accession of Queen Anne to the throne, Mr Leake's commission under him becoming void, May 27, 1702, he accepted of the Association, a second rate, 'till an opportunity offered for his farther promotion, which was not long; for, upon the declaration of war against France, he received a commission, June 24 that year, from Prince George of Denmark, appointing him Commander in Chief of the ships designed against Newfoundland [*K*]. He arrived there with his squadron in August, and destroying the French trade and settlements, restored the English to the possession of the whole island. Upon his return home, he was appointed Rear-Admiral of the Blue on the ninth of December, and Vice-Admiral of the same squadron March the first following (*p*). He rode out the great storm in November 1703, without receiving any extraordinary damage [*L*]. In February 1704, he received the honour of knighthood (*q*), and was engaged under Admiral Rook in taking Gibraltar; soon after which he particularly distinguished himself in the general engagement off Malaga [*M*] the same year. In 1705, he relieved Gibraltar, and destroyed some of the enemy's ships [*N*]. In February he

(*k*) These were Admiral Russell, Sir George Rooke, and Sir Cloudesley Shovel, besides Mr Churchill, p. 39.

(*l*) Mr Churchill, soon after Captain Leake's application, was made one of the Lords of the Admiralty, p. 40.

(*m*) This was procured too by Adm. Churchill, in three days after the Berwick was paid off, p. 42.

(*n*) Ibid.

(*o*) He was removed to make way for Prince George of Denmark.

(*p*) See his Life, book ii. chap. 2.

(*q*) This honour had been offered him upon his return from Newfoundland, but he then declined it. Ibid. p. 56.

[*K*] *Commander in Chief of the Expedition to Newfoundland.*] He owed this Commission to his friend Mr Churchill, who being appointed one of the Council to Prince George, on his being made Lord High-Admiral May 23d, sent Captain Leake the following letter dated June 9th.

I have proposed to the Prince your going to command a squadron to Newfoundland; you will be a Chef de Squadron. *I hope it will be agreeable to you. I desire you would keep this to yourself, and let me hear from you the next post.*

I am your friend and servant,

George Churchill.

This is a true friend's letter, substance without ceremony. Mr Martin Leake observes (16), that this gentleman being little of a seaman himself, was the more struck with admiration at Captain Leake's skill that way, and thought it a credit to him to have such a one to recommend, and was particularly happy that the Captain always answered his recommendation. In the present expedition 51 ships were taken and destroyed, whereof 29 were taken, amounting to 3235 tons, and 209 guns, and of them 16 were brought to England, 6 were sent to Lisbon, 5 sold at St John's in Newfoundland, one of 120 tons and 12 guns was left for the security of the harbour, and the others sent to France with the prisoners. The remainder, to the number of 22, were burnt with their cargoes, as well as great part of the cargoes that escaped, who were glad to get away half laden, or any how to avoid the fate of the rest; besides the burning and destroying Trepassi, St Mary's, Collonet, Great and Little St Laurence, and St Peter's, all very considerable settlements of the French; and Mr Churchill's kindness was so much the greater, as it gave our Commander an opportunity of putting a considerable sum of money in his pocket by the sale of the captures, and particularly of gaining the favour of the nation, by doing it a signal service, without any great danger of not succeeding; all the real fame he acquired thereby arose from his extraordinary dispatch and diligence in the excution.

(16) P. 411.

[*L*] *He rode out the great storm without any extraordinary damage.*] This was a happiness that no other ship in the fleet could pretend to, and on that account well deserves notice, as an instance of that good fortune for which he was so much distinguished. However, at the same same time, it must be observed, that his good fortune, at least in this particular, was owing, under Providence, in some measure to his prudent foresight in providing against the worst the day before, when it blowing very hard, the Admiral and his Captain made a snug ship, veering out their long service to two cables and two thirds, and doing every thing that might enable them to ride out a hard storm; by which proceeding they saved all, without cutting away a mast, or using any extraordinary means, and not only saved themselves, but the Lieutenant, Captain Cook, and 70 men of the Stirling-Castle wreck, and the Cockswain of the yawl of the Mary, the ship in which Admiral Beaumont was lost (17).

(17) P. 69.

[*M*] *Distinguished himself in the general engagement off Malaga.*] Sir John, who commanded the leading squadron of the van, having, with *six ships only*, drove that of the enemy, consisting of thirteen, out of the line of battle, so much disabled that they never returned to the fight, dispatched his Captain to Sir Cloudesley Shovel, who commanded the whole van, proposing to push that of the enemy 'till he either broke their line, or obliged the center to draw off; but the motion was not approved by Sir Cloudesley, who, on the contrary, seeing some of our ships in the center, retired out of the line [for want of shot] made use of the opportunity (given him by this defeat of the enemy's van) to close that line by supplying the places of the retired ships. This piece of seamanship made a great figure in that Admiral's character: but the writer so often here quoted, speaking of Sir John Leake's bravery and conduct in this battle observes, 'That, after having forced the enemy's van, and drawn away the battle from Sir Cloudesley, he proposed the only means to relieve our center and make the confederates victorious. But Sir Cloudesley did not comprehend it, and therefore did not approve it: so that, instead of pushing the enemy's van 'till he broke their line, or obliged their center to draw off, which was the shortest way to victory, the battle was lingered out 'till night had put an end to it. The greatest part of our van remaining spectators only. There is surely some skill, continues this author, in sea as well as land-actions, and in some instances they resemble each other; but if to beat one third of the enemy's line offered no opportunity of advantage, I think there is no such thing. What could the French desire more, than to retire where they were weakest, and continue the battle where they were strongest; to retreat from a disadvantage, and press where they had the advantage, whilst we acted directly contrary? Whatever praise therefore has been attributed to Admiral Shovel, for his seamanship (as it is called) in closing the line, 'tis obvious his incapacity was the loss of a victory (18).

(18) Life, B. ii. Ch. v.

[*N*] *He relieved Gibraltar.*] The French by sea, and the Spaniards by land, had laid siege to Gibraltar, soon after the confederates had got possession of it, who had been left in no condition to maintain it long. Sir John therefore (being left with a squadron for the winter-

(r) P. 142.

he received a commiſſion, appointing him Vice-Admiral of the White (r), and in March relieved Gibraltar a ſecond time; and taking and deſtroying the French ſquadron there, ſecured that important place from any further attempts of the enemy [O]. The ſame year he was

winter-guard of theſe parts) uſed all poſſible means to get from Liſbon to their aſſiſtance; and in the mean time kept up the ſpirits of the garriſon, by a conſtant expectation of him, carrying on a regular correſpondence, notwithſtanding the utmoſt precaution of the enemy's ſhips in the Bay to prevent it. Arriving there on the 29th of October, two French men of war of 36 guns each, a frigate of 16, a fire-ſhip of 24, a ſtore-ketch laden with powder and ſhells, two Engliſh prizes, and a tartan, beſides many other ſmaller veſſels, as barco-longoes, *&c.* all, at his coming into the Bay, the French immediately run aſhore and burnt. There was likewiſe the *Eſtoile*, a French frigate of 30 guns, which got out of the Bay, but, being chaſed by the *Swallow*, was taken, and brought in ſoon after; ſo that not one of them eſcaped. He arrived ſo opportunely for the beſieged, that two days would in all probability have ſunk them beyond hope. For the enemy, by the help of rope ladders, found means to climb up the rocks, and got upon the mountain through a way that was thought inacceſſible, to the number of 500 Spaniards, where they had remained ſeveral days. At the ſame time they had got together a great number of boats from Cadiz and other parts, to land 3000 men at the New Mole. Theſe, by making a vigorous aſſault on the ſea-ſide, were deſigned to draw the garriſon to defend that attack, whilſt the 500 concealed men ruſhed into the town: there being alſo a plot (as was diſcovered ſome days afterwards) for delivering it up; but this was prevented by Sir John's ſeaſonable arrival. For the men upon the hill now deſpairing of ſucceſs, tho' they had bound themſelves by an oath not to fall into the enemy's hands; yet hunger drawing them out of their ambuſcade, they were diſcovered the day after Sir John's arrival; whereupon he detached out of the fleet 500 marines and ſeamen to aſſiſt the garriſon, whilſt Colonel Barr with 500 men marched out of the town, and attacked them with ſuch vigour, that notwithſtanding their oath, 190 common ſoldiers with a Colonel, Lieutenant-colonel, a Major, and 30 Captains, Lieutenants, and Enſigns, were glad to take quarter, the remaining part, more deſperate, to the number of 200, were killed on the ſpot, the reſt who endeavoured to make their eſcape by the ſame way that they came fell head-long down the rock; ſo that it was believed few, if any, returned to the camp. The next day Sir John ſent a flag of Truce to the Marquis de Villadarias and the Baron de Pointi to treat about the exchange of priſoners, and the day following he received a letter from his Highneſs the Prince of Heſſe-Darmſtadt, Governor of the garriſon.

'*I cannot expreſs*, ſays he, *the ſatisfaction of your 'appearance ſo opportunely before this place with the 'ſquadron of ſhips under your command, having been 'the entire reaſon of ſaving it from the attempt of the 'enemy, who were to attack us at that very night of 'your entrance in many places at once with a great 'number of men, which with our ſmall garriſon we 'had not been able to have held it out againſt ſuch a 'ſuperior force* (19).'

(19) Ibid. Ch. vi.

[O] *He relieved Gibraltar a ſecond time*, &c.] Before his departure the firſt time, he had procured 2000 recruits from England, which were put into the town in the beginning of December, 1704, and on the 23d he ſet ſail for Liſbon, where receiving advice that the ſiege being continued, great ſuccours were ſent to it by land from the Spaniard, and that the French had inveſted it with a large fleet by ſea under Baron Pointi, He ſent 300 ſoldiers in the Leopard and Roebuck, and as much powder and ordnance ſtores as they could take in, about the end of January, and in a few days after diſpatched a tranſport with powder and ſtores thither. March the 6th he ſet ſail for that place, and on the 10th attacked five ſhips of the French fleet coming out of the Bay, of whom two were taken, two more run aſhore and were deſtroyed, and Baron Pointi died ſoon after of the wounds he received in the battle. The reſt of the French fleet having intelligence of Sir John's coming, had left the Bay the day before his arrival there, *viz.* March 31, 1705. He had no ſooner anchored, but he received the following letter from the Prince of Heſſe.

'Sir,

'I expected with great impatience this good opportunity to expreſs my hearty joy for your great and 'good ſucceſs at this your ſecond appearing off this 'place, which I hope hath been the final ſtroke to'wards our relief; the enemy ſince five days having 'begun to withdraw their heavy cannon, being the 'effects only to be aſcribed to your conduct and care. ''Tis only to you the public owes and will owe ſo 'many great and happy conſequences of it: and I in 'particular cannot enough expreſs my hearty thanks 'and obligations I lie under.

'I am, with great ſincerity and reſpect, *&c.*

'GEORGE, Prince of Heſſe.'

His Highneſs alſo preſented him with a gold cup on the occaſion. This blow ſtruck a panick all along the whole coaſt, of which Sir John received the following account in a letter from Mr Hill, Envoy at the court of Savoy. *I can tell you*, ſays he, *your late ſucceſs againſt Monſieur Ponti, put all the French coaſt into great diſorder and conſternation, as if you were come to ſcour the whole Mediterranean. All the ſhips of war that were in the road of Toulon hauled into the harbour, and nothing durſt look out for ſome days.* The effect of Sir John's arrival at Gibraltar, March 31ſt, was, that the enemy in a few days entirely raiſed the ſiege and marched off, leaving only a detachment at ſome diſtance to obſerve the garriſon. Our loſs in the whole ſiege was only one tranſport and the Terror bomb. Of the enemy were deſtroyed and taken one ſhip of 86 guns, one of 74, one of 66, one of 56, and two of 36, one of 30, two of 24, and one of 16, beſides merchant-ſhips, and ſmaller veſſels, and above 500 men killed, and 1200 taken priſoners. This was the proportion of the loſſes on each ſide by ſea; and by land it appeared, upon a moderate computation, *that* of the French and Spaniards could be little leſs than 10000, whereas the loſs of the beſieged did not exceed 1200 either killed or by ſickneſs. Notwithſtanding what is ſaid by Father Daniel of the taking of Gibraltar, that the behaviour of the Engliſh ſeamen therein was, beyond example, brave, (which ſeems to be ſpoken chiefly with a deſign to cover the wretched politicks of the French, in leaving ſo ſtrong frontier ſo much unguarded) Mr Martin Leake obſerves, that tho' the taking of Gibraltar was certainly a brave enterprize, yet it will bear no compariſon with that of preſerving it afterwards. It was an eaſy matter for the grand confederate fleet to ſurprize the place at a diſadvantage with a ſmall garriſon: but to preſerve the ſame town, with a ſmall ſquadron, under all poſſible diſadvantages, againſt the united force of France and Spain, by land and ſea, was an act of the moſt conſummate ſkill and bravery. This could not have been effected but by the mutual endeavours and harmony of the Prince of Heſſe and Sir John Leake. Our Author having thus done juſtice to the former for his ſhare in the action, he proceeds to that of Sir John, which he obſerves was much greater, as the whole care and preſervation of the place depended upon him. It was from him only their relief could be expected, and his reputation depended upon it; and what fatigues and difficulties did he overcome to accompliſh it? He wanted every thing neceſſary to further him; and all that ſhould have aſſiſted him, prevented and perplexed him. His own credit was the only means to procure him every thing he wanted, and his reputation at ſtake for the event: we have few ſuch inſtances in the Engliſh hiſtory. We have hardly had an inſtance where the ſea and land officers agreed together in any expedition; but none where an Admiral and a General have agreed like the Prince and Sir John, who ſacrificed all private views and paſſions with a diſintereſted regard and ſtedfaſt perſeverance for the publick good. No difficulties, no dangers, no fatigues, no advantages, no punctillioes, could diſunite them; but they acted as by a ſympathy of nature, ariſing from a like generoſity and bravery of mind. It was this that crowned their endeavours with a glorious ſucceſs, which will be remembred

was engaged in the reduction of Barcelona (s); after which, being left at the head of a squadron in the Mediterranean, he concerted an expedition to surprize the Spanish galleons in the bay of Cadiz; but this proved unsuccessful by the management of the Confederates [P]. In 1706 he relieved Barcelona, reduced to the last extremity [Q], and thereby occasioned

(s) His Life, book ii. chap. 9.

membred whilst Gibraltar remains a part of the British possessions: and *that*, it is to be hoped, will be as long as trade and navigation continue to flourish, and the power of the British navy can maintain that conquest (20).

(20) Ibid. chap. viii.

[P] *The expedition concerted against the galleons proved unsuccessful by the management of the Confederates.*] Among the many difficulties Sir John had to struggle with, those occasioned by the joint and seperate interests of the Portuguese and Dutch were none of the least, and the opposition given by those allies to this design of surprizing the galleons, for which our Admiral had positive orders (21) from the Prince of Denmark, is a remarkable instance thereof. These galleons were outward bound, and contained more of the wealth of those two nations than of Spain. For this reason all possible obstructions were thrown by both to retard the expedition, and when nothing else proved sufficient to check his motions, and he was, actually under sail from the Bay of Wares he was stopped near the bar by several shot from St Julian's castle, on pretence of an embargo, which he had procured himself, to facilicate the attempt. This accomplished the business: for in that 24 hours, which were spent in getting off the embargo, the galleons being got out of the harbour with a fair wind, were proceeded too far at sea to be overtaken. Thus it was a hard task to perform the publick service, between the joint and separate intrigues of the Portuguese and Dutch; which must some how or other interfere upon every occasion, and consequently to act for the general benefit, was to make them both enemies. Two such allies therefore were enough to have ruined, and would have ruined, any admiral that had not been attended with such extraordinary success as Sir John was (22).

(21) Such orders are not left to the determination of a Council of War, but to be put in execution without delay.

(22) Life, Ch. xi.

[Q] *He relieved Barcelona, reduced to the last extremity, and by that means occasioned the siege to be raised.*] The siege being raised May 2d, 1706, N. S. was attended with a total eclipse of the sun, which did not a little increase the enemy's consternation, as if the Heavens concurred to defeat and put to shame the designs of the French, whose monarch had assumed the sun for his device. In allusion to this, the reverse of the medal struck by Queen Anne, on this occasion, represented the sun in eclipse over the city and harbour of Barcelona. As to the action itself, King Charles, afterwards Emperor of Germany, annually commemorated this deliverance by a publick thanksgiving on the 27th day of May as long as he lived. But as some persons (23) have attributed to the Earl of Peterborough the honour of bringing this relief to the city, Mr Martin Leake has endeavoured to set this affair in its true light, in justice to our Admiral. In this design leaving Dr Freind's account as no better than a romance, and sufficiently corrected by Mr Boyer (24), he considers the Gazette of June 6th, 1706, in which a particular narrative of this relief is inserted, to do justice as it was said to Sir John Leake; and the same account has likewise been followed by Mr Lediard (25). It runs thus: *The 7th instant* [*N. S.*] *the Earl of Peterborough came on board and took upon him the command of the fleet, as admiral. A letter came that day from the King of Spain, dated the 4th, in very pressing instances for relief. Within two hours after the receipt of his Majesty's letter arose a very fine and fresh gale, and brought the fleet with all the forces and recruits from England and Ireland before Barcelona, the 8th instant in the afternoon.* What is said of the King of Spain's letter is manifestly false; for this letter of the 4th instant was received the day before the fleet arrived at Barcelona, and his Lordship did not come on board 'till the morning four hours before their arrival, and about three leagues from the place; and then assumed the honour only of wearing the Union flag, as Admiral; but took no command upon him, striking it again in Barcelona road as soon as they came thither. This therefore was contributing no more to the relief of the city, than if his Lordship had gone thither with his flag flying at the head of his barge. His coming to an anchor before the town in this manner did not the least facilitate the motions of the fleet. For all the measures for their relief had before been concerted, and in a manner executed. Since Sir John Leake had detached Admiral Byng and Admiral Wassenaer to make a sail before the fleet; and they had anchored in the road, and actually thrown a good body of forces into the place before one half of the fleet knew the Lord Peterborough was on board; who indeed, upon his arrival was pleased to approve of what had been done: and as to the previous orders which his Lordship took upon him to give for landing the troops, they were happily so little regarded, that there is not the least notice taken of them in any of the councils of war. Nay, it appears that Barcelona was relieved, if not directly contrary to his Lordship's method, yet not pursuant to it. For notwithstanding some troops he had got ready in small embarkations off Veneras and Matero, to take the opportunity, as himself said, of throwing them into Barcelona under the protection of the fleet. Yet, as it is evident that his Lordship knew nothing of the enemies designs upon that place three days before they had actually invested it, so five days after he knew it was besieged, his Lordship was of opinion for landing all the succours in the kingdom of Valencia, and twenty days after by no means nearer than Terragona (26); whence probably the place never had been relieved if his Lordships orders had been obeyed. Neither can this pretended merit be derived from his being Admiral at that time, and his coming on board, as the Gazette expresses it, and taking upon him the command of the fleet, as Admiral, which can only be implyed by his hoisting the Union flag, for he did no other act as such. For his Lordship was not *de facto* Admiral of the fleet at that time; whence the action appears to be a base affront to Sir John Leake, and a poor attempt to steal away the Laurel; not only in hoisting his flag on board of Sir John's own ship [the George], an action without any precedent, but especially as his Lordship was conscious his authority was questioned both by the King of Spain and all the officers of the fleet. Sir John indeed, tho' he resented this affront, yet very prudently passed it over at the time, being intent to promote the service he was upon; and even in his letter to acquaint his Royal Highess with the relief of Barcelona, he takes no notice of it, but let the matters subside 'till the next opportunity, which was the 15th of May, when, having occasion to give his Highness an account of his further proceedings, he writes thus: 'I forgot, says he, in my last to acquaint you, that my Lord Peterborough came on board me, when I was within three leagues off this place [Barcelona], and hoisted his flag for that day by virtue of his former commission, which I was not willing to dispute; tho' I cannot believe I shall be altogether discharged from my former orders, 'till the arrival of Sir Cloudesley Shovel (27), I shall take the best care I can as well of the fleet, as not to have any disputes with his Lordship about that matter. But his business a shore has taken up his time so much, that he has been pleased to leave every thing to me hitherto, tho' now I believe he intends to hoist his flag on board the Somerset to go by sea to Valencia.' Having given a full answer to the Gazette Mr Leake proceeds to correct a late writer (28), who gives the following account of Sir George Byng's share in this action, *viz. That in hastening the squadron he used such diligence and activity, and joined the fleet with such unexpected dispatch, that the saving the city was intirely owing to it.* In reply to this Mr Leake observes, that by Captain Price, who arrived at Lisbon with a squadron of English and Dutch the 3d of April, Sir John received a letter, dated the 24th of February from Sir Thomas Hardy. *They are hurrying*, says he, *what they can to get Sir George Byng to come to your relief; but he artfully got a grant to go out in the Royal Anne, else I believe he had come with these ships.* So that it seems the squadron was detained 'till the Royal Anne was equipped and manned to Sir George's liking, and was the more remarkable as dispatch was necessary, and no other flag had a first-rate; this was the hastning diligence and the

(23) Particularly Dr Freind, in his Account of the Earl of Peterborough's Conduct in Spain.

(24) In his Life of Queen Anne, p. 239, fol.

(25) In his Naval History, for the year.

(26) Impartial Enquiry, p. 102, 169, & seq.

(27) My Lord had a joint commission with Sir Cloudesley, and therefore, according to the rules of the Navy, could not act separately from him, and he accordingly procured a new commission.

(28) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. III.

sioned the raising of that siege by King Philip; and presently after he reduced the city of Carthagena. Proceeding thence to those of Alicant and Joyce, they both submitted to him, and he concluded the campaign of that year with the reduction of the city and island of Majorca. Upon his return home, Prince George of Denmark presented him with a diamond ring of 400 pounds value; and he had the honour of receiving a gratuity of 1000 pounds from the Queen, as a reward for his services (*t*). Upon the death of Sir Cloudesly Shovel in 1707, he was advanced to be Admiral of the White, and Commander in Chief of her Majesty's fleet (*u*). In this command he returned to the Mediterranean, and surprizing a convoy of the enemy's corn, sent it to Barcelona, and thereby saved that city and the confederate army from the danger of famine in 1708; soon after convoying the new Queen of Spain to her consort King Charles, he was presented by her Majesty with a diamond ring of 300 pounds value. From this service he proceeded to the island of Sardinia; which being presently reduced by him to the obedience of King Charles (*w*), that of Minorca was soon after surrendered to the fleet and land forces [*R*]. Having

(*t*) Ibid. chap. xiii, xiv, xv.

(*u*) Ibid. book iii. chap. 1.

(*w*) Ibid. chap. ii, iii, iv.

the unexpected dispatch. Had Sir John been in the same situation he would have gone in any ship of the squadron for expedition-sake; and if Sir George had used the same dispatch, he had joined the fleet when Captain Price did, and probably the French fleet had been surprized in Barcelona road; and when he came to Lisbon he stay'd three days there, tho' the wind was fair for sailing all the time. The Irish convoy was what Sir John had most occasion for; had they joined sooner he had relieved Barcelona sooner; and as they joined him five days before the place was relieved, Sir John would have taken the same measures and have done just as he did, tho' Sir George with his squadron had not joined him (29).

(29) Life of Sir John Leake, Ch. xii.

[*R*] *Minorca surrendered to the fleet and land-forces.*] Mr Boyer tells us (30), that 'the conquest 'of Minorca was intirely owing to Major-general 'Stanhope, since he was the first projector, and had 'the principal share in the execution of the de'sign; having proposed it to Sir John Leake, and 'finding him backward to engage in it, prevailed 'upon King Charles to exert his power, and to com'mand three ships of war to whatever service the Bri'tish General should think proper, with which the 'Admiral readily complied.' Mr Martin Leake looks upon this relation to be very injurious to Sir John Leake, and endeavours to vindicate him from the censure in every article thereof. First, as to the author of the project, he observes that the design was mentioned by King Charles in a letter to Sir John Leake from Barcelona, dated June 14th, 1706. *I trust*, says his Majesty, *in your zeal and attention for my service, and that you'll soon begin the operations of the sea, remembring the islands, particularly Port-Mahon, is that which is most agreeable for my interest and the common cause.* It does not appear that Lord Stanhope had proposed this design before that time; nay, that he was so far from having the first intention, or indeed any thought of himself to attempt it, that what he did therein was in pursuance of orders he received from England, in consequence of the application made by his Catholic Majesty to the Queen, for having a squadron to winter in the Mediterranean; and set about it in 1708, as a matter which (as he expresses it in a letter to Sir John Leake, of August 24, that year) *The ministry laid such a stress upon.* Hence it appears that this design had been projected by King Charles and Sir John in 1706, and came, as indeed it was most natural, from the fleet, which every day were made sensible of the benefit that harbour would be from the inconveniencies they suffered from the want of it; and by Sir John's letters to the Earl of Peterborough and Mr Stanhope, dated July the 28th (31), and the resolutions of the council of war taken with regard to Minorca the 19th and 21st of July, 1706 (32), it is obvious the Admiral intended the conquest of that island in that campaign, and would certainly have accomplished it, could he have procured the assistance of a few land-forces from the Earl of Peterborough. 'I will not, however, continues our author, so roundly 'assert of Sir John, what Mr Boyer does of General 'Stanhope, that he was the first projector (tho' I think 'he was). But I may say, that if he was not the 'first, he had had his eye very early upon it, and was 'the first who made his Catholic Majesty truly sensible 'of the importance of that conquest to the allies in 'the war; and insinuated to the Lord High Admiral 'the benefit it might prove to the British nation, if it 'was in their custody, both in war and peace.'

(30) In his Life of Queen Anne for this year.

(31) The letters were sent from before Alicant, and the words in the first are, 'The fleet is in a condition to proceed upon that service, the relief of Turin, or any other your Lordship shall please to direct.' Those in the second are, 'I desire you'll please to assure his Majesty, that if the fleet is not employ'd to go for Italy, the next expedition we shall undertake shall be for the Islands, if the Earl of Peterborough can spare the forces that are under Brigadier Gorge's command at this place; for the marines that are in the fleet are not sufficient to undertake the siege of Port-Mahon.

(32) In the Councils of War it was determined, after the reduction of Alicant, to consider about the measures necessary to be taken in relation to Majorca and Minorca.

Secondly, That Sir John Leake was not backward to come into the design, is evident, in that when Mr Stanhope proposed it, desiring the assistance of the fleet and marines, he laid aside the expedition he was going upon against the Pope, and the transportation of the troops from Naples; and, calling a council of war the same day, resolved to give the General all possible assistance, as judging it to be more for the common benefit of the allies, than any other service that could be undertaken, and accordingly he carried it into execution. For, having sent the resolution of the council of war with this short answer to Mr Stanhope, 'That he would be at Minorca as soon as him:' he sailed directly with the fleet thither, and not finding the General there, he dispatched ships to Barcelona and Majorca, to hasten him and forward the troops. He waited seven days for Mr Stanhope, and two more before the forces joined him, which yet would not have been done so soon had he not sent ships to hasten and assist in the embarkation. In the interim he blocked up the enemy, cut off all supplies, and made some preparations for the landing of the forces, which was effected without loss, as well as their cannon and mortars, within half gun-shot of the castle by the seamen; who likewise mounted the cannon upon the batteries with little or no assistance from the soldiers, and the gunners of the fleet were employed to manage the guns upon the batteries. The marines made no small part of the land-forces, and fort *Fornella* was reduced by the ships without the assistance of the soldiers, as indeed all the island submitted without any previous act of the land-forces, except the castle of St Philip, which was conducted with success by the General. But the action was not otherwise considerable than by the consequence, for the next morning after the first battery was opened, the enemy beat a parley, and capitulated with the loss on our side of only 40 men killed or wounded; whence it is evident that the General, tho' he had *a principal share*, yet he had not *the principal share* in this enterprize. He did, indeed, upon receiving his orders from England, immediately propose to the Commodore of the cruizing squadron, then on the coast of Catalonia, the transportation of some troops from thence for Minorca; for which having no leave from the Admiral, (who, when those ships were sent to that port, knew nothing of these late orders from England) and some danger to the navy, being justly apprehended in the attempt, they could not comply. But they sent two ships at the General's request to Majorca with troops, &c. and dispatched an express for orders to the Admiral, presuming upon his consent thereto. These are the ships that the historian by mistake says, *General Stanhope prevailed upon K. Charles to exert his power over, and command to whatever service the British General should think proper*; an assertion which shews the writer to be wholly ignorant of military œconomy, and the nature of the confederated forces: since by these the King of Spain could have no such power to exert over a single ship of the Queen's, unless such ship had previously been put under his Majesty's direction by the Admiral. But this writer has made his Catholic Majesty exert his authority, before he had proposed the matter to the Admiral, and had been refused; whereas, supposing such a power in King Charles, there was no room to exert it but upon that necessity; and as to the pretended backwardness, the contrary thereof is here made apparent. So that it seems foisted in, in order to raise the reputation of the General, as if he had

Having brought the campaign to so happy a conclusion, Sir John returned home, where, during his absence, he had been appointed one of the Council to the Lord High-Admiral, and likewise elected Member of Parliament both for Harwich and Rochester (*x*). In December the same year, he was made a second time Admiral of the fleet. In May 1709, he was constituted Rear-Admiral of Great-Britain, and appointed one of the Lords of the Admiralty in December following (*y*). In 1710, he was put at the head of that commission, but declined the post [*S*]. The same year he was chosen a second time Member of Parliament for Rochester, and was made Admiral of the fleet the third time in 1711, and again in 1712, when he conducted the English forces to take possession of Dunkirk (*z*); and, before the expiration of the year, the commission of Admiral of the fleet was given to him a fifth time. He was also chosen representative for Rochester a third time (*a a*). Upon her Majesty's death, August 1, 1714, his post of Rear-Admiral was determined, and he was superseded as Admiral of the fleet (*b b*) the fifth of November following. In 1715, King George the First granted him a pension (*c c*) of 600 pounds a year [*T*]. After this he lived privately, and building a little box at Greenwich, he spent part of his time there, retreating sometimes for variety to a country-house, which he had at Bedington in Surrey (*d d*). When a young man, he had married a daughter of Captain Richard Hill (*e e*) of Yarmouth. This gentlewoman brought him one son, an only child, whose misconduct [*U*] had given him many years a great deal of uneasiness. Except in this instance, Sir John passed his life with great tranquillity and in perfect health, only a defluxion of his eyes was sometimes troublesome. In August 1719, he was seized with an apoplectic disorder, but it went off without any visible ill consequence. Upon the death of his son, which happened in March following (*f f*), after a lingering incurable disorder, that had prepared the father for the event; yet he discovered a more than ordinary affliction [*W*]; and an issue between his shoulders, which had been cut some time,

(*x*) He made his choice for the latter. In this station he was one of those who voted Dr Sacheverell guilty. [illegible], p. 409.

(*y*) [illegible] Chap. vi.

(*z*) It is observable, that he had the good fortune to begin the war with the first remarkable instance of success, the expedition to Newfoundland, and to close it with this last remarkable issue of a long course of success.

(*a a*) His Life, Chap. vii, viii, ix. On his third election at Rochester, at the request of the corporation, he gave them his picture, which was hung up among other Admirals in the Town-hall.

(*b b*) By Matthew Aylmer, Esq; His Life, p. 448.

(*c c*) The sign manual for it was dated July 30, p. 452. and said to be given as a mark of his royal favour, in consideration of Sir John's long and faithful services.

(*d d*) P. 455, 456.

(*e e*) Who was lost on the sand, called Lemon and Oar, in the Gloucester, of which he was then Captain, attending the Duke of York to Scotland in 1682. p. 458.

(*f f*) At the age of 38 years, p. 458.

had made the conquest in spight of the Admiral; whereas, had he been averse to it, it could never have taken effect. But as there was no such power assumed by his Catholic Majesty, or any such backwardness in the Admiral as is pretended; so the extraordinary merit, as well as contrivance, Mr Boyer would attribute to General Stanhope, appears to be nothing else but a trophy of his own imagination, to raise the character of his hero (33). Upon the whole then it must be concluded, that the Historian has transgressed the rule of *Ne quid falsi dicere audeat*, in his assertion, that the taking of Minorca was entirely owing to General Stanhope. It was a joint action in which the land and sea-commanders amicably concurred, and no preference can perhaps be given to either, without doing an injury to the other: and the words, *Insulas Majorcam, Minorcam, Sardiniam, & Ivicam ad deditionem compulit*, are with equal truth and justice inserted in the epitaph intended to the memory of Sir John Leake (34), as those on the monument in honour of Earl Stanhope erected in Westminster-abbey.

[*S*] *He declined the post of First Commissioner of the Admiralty.*] He was put into this post upon the resignation of Lord Orford, which was one instance of the change of the ministry; Sir John refusing the post continued still first in the new commission, tho' not First Commissioner. By this means he avoided the hazard of that post, being not accountable more than any of the rest for the proceedings of the Board, tho' he sat in the chair and represented the First Commissioner. In the beginning of August, 1713, the Earl of Strafford was appointed First Commissioner; but being abroad, all the management still lay upon Sir John, tho' after this but the second in the Commission.

[*T*] *A pension of* 600 *l. a year.*] In the universal change that was made in every branch of the public affairs, upon the accession of King George I. Admiral Leake could not expect to be excepted. He continued to preserve his honour and gratitude for the memory of his royal mistress after her decease, and spared not to testify it, and never went to Court. This behaviour was easily construed into a disinclination to serve the present Sovereign: and tho' his historian assures us, this was a groundless aspersion, and that he desired still to continue in the service; yet the pretence of the contrary was made a handle for getting him off with this short pension, which was no more than had been given to Sir Stafford Fairbourne, who had been only Vice-admiral; whereas, by the constant usage, pensions are always equivalent, at least to the half-pay which of Admiral of the fleet is the clear 50 shillings *per* day. The partiality was the more obvious, because Mr Aylmer, who succeeded Sir John as Admiral, (being junior to him in that post) only once before commanding *in* that station, *in* 1710, at home; having before that been a Vice-admiral, and never done any service worthy memory, was immediately put upon half-pay as Admiral, and paid arrears as such from the year 1710, tho' Sir John was actually Admiral all that time. Mr Martin Leake imputes this, which he calls an ungenerous act, to the then Lords Commissioners; for, says he, Sir John's actions were well known to his Majesty; and he would as readily have consented to a suitable as to an unsuitable pension, had their Lordships proposed it. Sir John resented this proceeding as what he had not deserved, and was hardly prevailed with to accept the pension, which, being full-taxed and ill paid, did not amount to 500 *l.* a year (35).

[*U*] *His son's misconduct.*] It seems his grandfather Leake cast his nativity at his birth, and pronounced he would be very vicious, very fortunate, and very unhappy; that he would get a great deal of money, but squander it all away and die young (36). This prediction is as clear a testimony of the old man's temper, (with regard to his son's match) as it proved true of the child. For Mr Leake informs us (37), that, being made a Captain in the navy very young, in a few years he got more by prizes than his father did in his whole life. He married disgracefully, and, having spent all about the time that his father retired, depended upon him for a support.

[*W*] *A more than ordinary affliction.*] This extraordinary degree of grief was more surprizing, as Sir John, upon consideration of his son's hopeless temper, made his Will in February, 1717-18, whereby devising his estate to trustees for the use of his son, during life; he had settled it after his death, without issue, upon Captain Martyn and his heirs. This gentleman was first recommended to Sir John by both the fathers, between whom a friendship had subsisted for many years (38); and from being early Sir John's pupil, entered into the sea-service, where he chose to be with his friend, tho' in an inferior post, rejecting all other means of preferment. Being a midshipman at the battle of Bantry-Bay, in 1689, he had his thigh broke by a cannon-ball. Upon which his Captain, [afterwards Sir] Cloudesley Shovel, promised to provide for him; yet, immediately on his recovery, he went on board the Dartmouth, Captain Leake, whereby he lost several years in his promotion to a command: he was his Lieutenant almost all the while Sir John was a Captain, and became still more closely united to him by marrying his wife's sister. The only separation afterwards was in 1697, when Captain Martin commanded a bomb to Newfoundland; and in 1702 by the like command at Cadiz and Vigo; having in the former signalized his seamanship, and in the latter his bravery, he obtained the Launceston frigate, in which he was

(33) Life of Sir John, B. iii. Ch. v.

(34) By Mr Martin Leake; the whole of which is inserted at the end of Sir John's Life.

(35) Life, p. 453.

(36) P. 456.

(37) Ibid.

(38) Sir John Leake's father had contracted a friendship in Holland with Captain Martin's grandfather, and is continued in the two families from that time, p. 457.

time, and relieved his eyes, dried up soon after that loss. This symptom was not regarded, no ill effect appearing from it immediately. But, in the beginning of August, he found his back troublesome, occasioned by a pimple in that place; this growing worse in a few days, proved to be a mortification; and when cutting was proposed as the only remedy, he was very averse to the use of that method, being perswaded he should not long survive it, and declared he was content to die rather by the distemper than the operation. Notwithstanding, for the satisfaction of his friends, he submitted chearfully, and went through it with the utmost resolution; but all means proving ineffectual, he died in his house at Greenwich on the morning of August the first, 1720, in the 65th year of his age; and, on the 30th of that month, his body was conducted thence in a manner suitable to a Rear-Admiral of England, to the parish-church of Stepney, and there deposited in a family-vault, under a monument which he had erected some years before upon the death of his wife (gg). We shall give his character in remark [X].

(gg) His Life, B. iii. Ch. ix.

was cruizing in the channel, when Sir John being appointed Rear Admiral of the Blue, made choice of him for one of his Captains; and in this station he continued 'till the end of the war the inseparable companion of Sir John's fortune.

[X] *His character.*] This is drawn at length by his historian (39); the substance of which is, that as to his person he was of a milddle stature, well-set and strong, a little inclining to corpulency, but not incommodiously so. His complexion was florid, his countenance open, his eyes sharp and piercing, and his address both graceful and manly. He had a good constitution, hardly knowing what it was to be sick. Though he drank his bottle freely, yet he was never disguised, or impaired his health by it. His disposition was naturally chearful and good-humoured, free and open, unless before strangers a little reserved at first, but it soon disappeared. Tho' he had no classical learning, yet, having very good natural parts, few men expressed themselves more properly either in writing or speaking. His passions, tho' strong, yet never betrayed him into any indecency, his heat was soon pacified and ready to forgive; no man being more humane. In his dress he was neat and plain, never very fine; being as free from vanity as from pride, which knew him not. He was certainly one of the best seamen this island has produced, being a perfect master both in theory and practice. He likewise understood ship-building, gunnery, fortification, and the discipline of the land-service, wanting only practice to have made him a good land-officer and engineer. His courage was of the keener sort, without being rash. He would endure the fatigue of any difficulties, and had great presence of mind in any danger, being of opinion that the bravest man would always carry it. In councils of war, where it was too often insinuated, that an undertaking was impracticable if we had not a great superiority, or there was nothing but honour to be gained by it, Sir John usually replied, *Let us make it practicable*; and before he proposed any enterprize, was well prepared to answer all objections, and even to carry it immediately into execution. This prudent forecast, on which he laid all his undertakings, drew a great deference to his opinion, and made him fortunate in all his designs; which being executed with great vigour, were attended with *that* glorious success that justly gained him the characteristic epithets of the *the brave and fortunate Admiral.* As he never was proud of his own fortune, so he never envied that of others, nor attempted to supplant them: he set himself wholly to perform the business he was engaged in, and in every station acquitted himself with fidelity and the greatest modesty, being rather too backward to serve his own friends. He hated every thing that was mean or mercenary, and in his whole life never pursued an enterprize with any by-end to himself. He disregarded both riches and grandeur. He shunned the honour of knighthood for some time, and refused the post of First Commissioner of the Admiralty: he refused to be a peer. As to his politic principles, he was for the establishment both in Church and State. No man was more sensible of the benefits to this kingdom, by the Protestant succession, in the house of Hanover; at the same time he retained a dutiful and most grateful regard to the memory of Queen Anne, as the best of Women, the best of Queens, and the best of Mistresses. In private life no man was a better husband, a better father, or a more sincere friend, never happier than in his family; and among his particular acquaintance he had a generosity which took pleasure in serving others. Few men were freer from vice of all kinds, even that of swearing, so generally practised among sea commanders in his time, he was rarely guilty of: and, to conclude, he was not only morally but christianly virtuous. He had a just sense of religion, causing Divine worship to be duly observed, and countenanced it by his own example. He frequently communicated; and, continues his historian, I have reason to believe, he used private prayers, having found such among his papers in his own hand-writing, adapted to the different circumstances of his life To sum up all; he was a virtuous, humane, generous, gallant, man, and one of the greatest admirals of his time, as his actions demonstrate: and one thing can be said of him, which can be said of no other Admiral, that he never betrayed one mistake, or had his conduct once censured.

(39) P. 459 to 463.

P

LEE [Nathaniel], a Dramatic Poet of the XVIIth century, was the son of a clergyman of the established Church [A], who placed him at Westminster-school, under the care of the famous Dr Busby, from whom he received the first rudiments of classical learning. To compleat his studies, he was removed thence to Trinity-college in Cambridge (a), and admitted a scholar upon the foundation in 1668. He commenced Bachelor of Arts the same year (b); but not succeeding to a fellowship, he quitted the university, and tried to push his fortune at Court. However, he had not been long in this pursuit, when, meeting with no substantial favours, he found it necessary to make some advantage of his wit and genius by writing for the Stage. Upon which his first tragedy, called

(a) Lives of the Poets, by Gildon, Jacob, and Cibber.

(b) From the college books, communicated by Mr Christ. Smart, A. M. Fellow of Pembroke-hall in that university.

[A] *Son of a clergyman of the established Church.*] As we have nothing certain concerning our author's father, the following conjecture is left to the discretion of the reader. Mr Andrew Marvel, in the 2d part of his Rehearsal transpros'd (1), mentions one Mr Lee, curate to Dr Samuel Parker, (against whom that book was wrote) Minister of Ickham and Chartham in in Kent, Arch deacon of Canterbury, and by King James the second made Bishop of Oxford (2). This Divine, in a treatise on Ecclesiastical Polity, speaking of the Non-conformists of his time (3), says, *'Tis better to submit to the unreasonable impositions of* Nero *and* Caligula, *than to hazard the dissolution of the state.* This doctrine Mr Marvel very justly explodes; and having with much wit, run a parallel between the Doctor and his favourite Caligula, in many instances concludes it thus: ' Then as Caligula had his images in the ' synagogues, so have you your curates at Ickham ' and Chartham; for they *having no power*, you know, ' *are no better than statues and images of authority.* ' But Mr Lee, of Ickham, in particular, is so like ' you that, &c.' Whether this last named clergyman was our author's father, or not, cannot now be determined; but from the name and the time, 1673, it is far from being impossible.

(1) Rehearsf. transpr. p. 167. 4to. 1673.

(2) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II.

(3) P. 215.

[B] That

called *Nero Emperor of Rome*, appeared in 1675; and in the dedication he gave some strong hints, that he had then been for some time a disappointed dangler at Court. It is not known whether he commenced player before or after he began to write, but that he tried his talents that way without success is most certain [*B*]; as it is also, that he was soon convinced of his inabilities, and quitted the stage as an actor. He therefore had recourse to his pen, and that being his chief support, he produced a new play every year upon an average, from 1675 to 1681 (*c*). Many of these shew him to be often possessed with the true poetic enthusiasm, insomuch, that he might justly have said with Ovid, *Est Deus in nobis*, &c. but he had the misfortune not to keep within those bounds. It is not known precisely when he first began to be transported into the excess of this divine fury [*C*]; but he did not lose his senses to that degree, as to be taken into Bedlam, 'till November 11, 1684 (*d*), having wrote his tragedy called *Constantine* that year. After a confinement of almost four years in the hospital [*D*], he was discharged thence April 23, 1688 (*e*), being so well recovered (*f*), that he produced his play, called the *Princess of Cleve*, the ensuing year; which was followed by the *Massacre of Paris* in 1690. This was his last performance, and he did not long survive it. He died, as it is said, in a frolic by night in the street, and was interred in the parish of St Clement Danes near Temple-Bar (*g*). He was then in very low circumstances, his chief dependance being a weekly pension of ten shillings, allowed him from the theatre royal, which Colley Cibber, Esq; then a young comedian in that company, remembers his frequently coming to the play-house to receive (*h*). He had, as a writer, a warm and strong imagination, the fire of which often hurried him into a too verbose and figurative stile, and filled his plays with bombast expressions. But when he kept clear of the turgid and pompous, he is allowed to have a great deal of power in the pathetic stile; he had a noble fire and elevation, and the tender breathings of love, beyond many of his contemporaries; a great master in the art of moving the passions, especially that universal one, Love, which none ever felt more intimately, described more gracefully, nor ever moved the breasts of his audience with stronger palpitations (*i*). These excellencies recommended him to persons of the first rank both in understanding and quality, as the Earls of Dorset, Mulgrave, Pembroke, and the Duchesses of Portsmouth and Richmond, who respectively patronized most of his theatrical pieces [*E*]; his dramatic talents drew also a very high character from the celebrated Mr Addison [*F*]. 'Tis true, the witty Earl of Rochester [Wilmot], in some passages

(*c*) Besides these, he joined with Mr Dryden in two more, viz. *Oedipus* and *The Duke of Guise*.

(*d*) From the date of the warrant in the books of the hospital.

(*e*) Ibid.

(*f*) 'Tis said, however, he never recovered his senses perfectly.

(*g*) Jacob's Lives of the Poets, Vol. I. among the interments, edit. 1724.

(*h*) Cibber's Apology.

(*i*) His *Rival Queens* particularly excels this way, and *Theodosius* also.

[*B*] *That he tried his talents that way - - - - - is most certain.*] Colley Cibber, Esq; now (1752) Poet Laureat, in his Apology for his Life (4), on enquiring into what are the talents necessary to form an Actor, occasionally mentions our author. 'Lee (says 'he) - - - - - was so pathetic a reader of his own 'scenes, that I have been informed by an actor, who 'was present, that while *Lee* was reading to Major '*Mohun* at a rehearsal, *Mohun*, in the warmth of his 'admiration, threw down his part, and said, Unless 'I were able to *play* it, as well as you *read* it, to 'what purpose should I undertake it! And yet (con'tinues the Laureat) this very author, whose elocu'tion raised such admiration in so capital an actor, '*when he attempted to be an* Actor *himself*, soon quit'ted the stage, in an honest despair of ever making 'any profitable figure there.'

(4) P. 95.

[*C*] *It is not certain when he began first to shew the excess*, &c.] There is a tradition, that he first lost his senses, or, at least, the disorder in him was first discovered, on writing a particular line, or rather passage, in one of his plays; which might perhaps be that famous description of madness in his *Cæsar Borgia*.

To my charm'd ears no more of woman tell;
Name not a woman and I shall be well:
Like a poor Lunatic that makes his moan,
And for a while beguiles his lookers-on;
He reasons well, his eyes their wildness lose,
He vows the keepers his wrong'd sense abuse;
But if you *hit the cause that hurts his brain*,
Then his teeth gnash, he foams, he shake his chain,
His eye-balls roll, and he is mad again.

If we may venture to form any judgment from several expressions in our author's various dedications, indigence seems to have been the chief cause of his disorder, and that he has described his own condition in the third, fourth, and fifth, of the above lines.

[*D*] *He was almost four years in Bedlam.*] His condition there was bad enough, if it be not aggravated to a caricatura in a satire on the Poets, where the author describes it thus:

There in a den removed from human eyes,
Possess'd with muse the brain-sick poet lies,
Too miserably-wretched to be nam'd
For plays, for heroes, and for passion fam'd;
Thoughtless he raves his sleepless hours away
In chains all night, in darkness all the day:
And if he gets some intervals from pain
The fit returns; he foams and bites his chain,
His eye-balls roll, and he goes mad again.

[*E*] *His theatrical pieces.*] Mr Theoph. Cibber thinks the tragedy of Junius Brutus is not only the best of Lee's, but one of the most moving plays in our language. The story of which he gives as follows: 'Junius Brutus engages in the just defence of the in'jured rights of his country against Tarquin the Proud; 'he succeeds in driving him out of Rome. His son 'Titus falls in love, and interchanges vows, with the 'tyrant's daughter; his father commands him not to 'touch her, nor to correspond with her; he faithfully 'promises; but his resolutions are baffled by the insi'nuating and irresistible charms of Teraminta; he 'is won by her beauties, he joins in the attempt to re'store Tarquin, the enterprize miscarries, and his 'own father sits in judgment upon him, and condemns 'him to suffer. The interview between father and 'son is inexpressibly moving, and is only exceeded by 'that between his son and Teraminta. Titus is a 'young hero, struggling between love and duty; Te'raminta an amiable Roman lady, fond of her husband, 'and dutiful to her father. There are (concludes he) 'throughout this play, we dare be bold to affirm, as 'affecting scenes as ever melted the hearts of an au'dience (5).'

[*F*] *From the celebrated Mr Addison.*] That elegant writer observes, That (6) 'among our modern 'English poets, there was none who was better turned 'for Tragedy than our author; if, instead of fa'vouring the impetuosity of his genius, he had re'strained it, and kept it within proper bounds. His 'thoughts are wonderfully suited to Tragedy, but 'frequently lost in such a cloud of words, that it is 'hard to see the beauty of them. There is an infi'nite fire in his works, but so involved in smoke, 'that

(5) Cibber's Lives of the Poets, Vol. II. p. 230, 231. edit. 1753.

(6) Spectator, Vol. I. No. 39.

paſſages of his poems, bore pretty hard upon our author [*G*]; yet in others he paid a juſt tribute of acknowledgment to Mr Lee's genius [*H*]. He wrote eleven plays, which were all acted as ſoon as finiſhed; but his *Rival Queens*, and *Theodoſius, or the Force of Love*, are the only ones that ſtill keep poſſeſſion of the ſtage.

'that it does not appear in half its luſtre. He frequently ſucceeds in the paſſionate parts of the tragedy, but more particularly where he ſlackens his efforts, and eaſes the ſtile of thoſe epithets and metaphors, in which he ſo much abounds.'

[*G*] *Bore pretty hard upon our author.*] The paſſage of reproof here referred to, is Lord Rocheſter's alluſion to the tenth ſatire of the firſt book of Horace; where, ſpeaking of the Tragedy of *Sophoniſba*, that nobleman ſays (7),

(7) Rocheſter's Works.

When Lee, *makes temp'rate* Scipio *fret and rave,*
And Hanibal, *a whining am'rous ſlave,*
I laugh; and wiſh the hot-brain'd, fuſtian fool,
In Buſby's *hands, to be well laſh'd at ſchool.*

[*H*] *Acknowledgment to Mr Lee's genius.*] The acknowledgment of the ſaid Peer to our author's merit, is in the ſatire wrote in imitation of Sir John Suckling's Seſſion of the Poets; where his lordſhip takes notice of his *Gloriana*, or the Court of Auguſtus, as follows (8):

(8) Id. p. 111.

Nat. Lee *ſtepp'd in next in hopes of a prize;*
Apollo *remember'd he had hit once in thrice:*
By the rubies in's face he cou'd not deny,
But he had as much wit as wine cou'd ſupply;
Confeſs'd, that indeed, he had a muſical note,
But ſometimes ſtrain'd ſo hard, that it rattled i' th' throat.
Yet own'd he had ſenſe; and t' encourage him for't,
He made him his Ovid, *in* Auguſtus's *Court.*

Mr *Evelyn*, in his imitation of *Ovid*'s Elegy, *Ad invidos*, carries his regard for the *Rival Queens*, wrote by our author, very high; tho' perhaps, the play he has coupled it with (*Otway*'s Don Carlos) will not perhaps add any great weight to his opinion. The lines are theſe:

When the aſpiring Grecian *in the Eaſt,*
And haughty Philip *is forgot i 'th' Weſt,*
Then Lee's *and* Otway's *works ſhall be ſuppreſs'd* (9).

(9) Collection of Poems by Mr Tate, 8vo. p. 90.

P

LELAND, LEILAND, or LEYLANDE [JOHN], the famous Engliſh Antiquary, was born in London [*A*], but in what pariſh, or year, doth not appear [*B*]. It is, however, moſt probable, that it was about the end of King Henry the Seventh's reign (*a*). Having, when very young, loſt both his parents, he met with a moſt generous patron in Mr Thomas Miles (*b*); who not only took care of his maintenance, but alſo to have him carefully educated at St Paul's-ſchool, under the famous William Lily (*c*) [*C*]. When fit for the univerſity, he was ſent to Chriſt's-college in Cambridge [*D*]; where having ſtudied ſome years with great induſtry and ſucceſs, he then removed to Oxford (*d*), and became a member of All-Souls-college; but whether he was upon the foundation doth not appear (*e*). After having greatly improved himſelf at home, he travelled to Paris, for his further improvement eſpecially in the Greek language; and became acquainted with the learnedeſt men in France [*E*], whoſe converſation and inſtructions rendered him an accompliſhed ſcholar (*f*). Upon his return, entering into Holy Orders, he was preſented to the Rectory of Poppeling, or Popering, in the marches of Calais (*g*). And King Henry VIII. who had made him one of his chaplains, admiring his learning, conſtituted him his Library-keeper (*h*), and dignified him with the title of his Antiquary; a title which no one enjoyed before or ſince (*i*). In the year 1533, a commiſſion was granted him under the Great Seal [*F*], impowering him to make a ſearch after England's antiquities, and peruſe the libraries of all cathedrals, abbies, priories, colleges, &c. as alſo all places wherein records, writings, and ſecrets of antiquity were repoſited (*k*). In purſuance of which, obtaining a ſpecial diſpenſation July 12, 1536, to keep a Curate at Poppeling, and to make his reſidence in England, or elſewhere, at his liberty; he ſpent above ſix years in travelling about England [*G*], and making collections for

(*a*) Vita Lelandi, præfixa ejus Commentariis de Scriptoribus Britann. edit. Oxon. 1709, 8vo.

(*b*) Vide Lelandi Encomia, &c. edit. 1589, 4to. p. 26.

(*c*) Vita, &c. ut ſupra.

(*d*) G. Burtoni Corollarium Vitæ J. Lelandi, at the end of Leland de Scriptoribus Britannicis.

(*e*) Encomia, &c. p. 9, 27. & de Scriptoribus Brit. p. 84.

(*f*) Vita Lelandi, ut ſupra. & De Scriptoribus Britan. p. 256. & Encomia, &c. p. 27.

(*g*) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721. Vol. I. col. 82.

(*h*) J. Pits de Illuſtrib. Angliæ Scriptoribus, ætas XVI. No. 988. Vita Lelandi, ut ſupra.

(*i*) See Camden's Life, by Dr T. Smith, p. 28. prefixed to Camden's Letters, edit. 1691, 4to.

(*k*) Wood, Ath. ut ſupra, col. 82, 83.

[*A*] *Was born in London.*] This he expreſsly declares: — *Londinum, natale ſolum meum*: — Syllabus Dict. Antiquar. ad calcem Genethliac. Eaduerdi Principis Cambr. (1) and in ſeveral other parts of his works.

(1) In the ninth volume of his Itinerary, edit. T. Hearne, p. xlii.

[*B*] *But in what pariſh, or year, doth not appear.*] However, he informs us himſelf (2), that he was born the of

(2) Encomia, &c. ut ſupra. p. 31.

[*C*] *Educated at St Paul's ſchool, under the famous William Lily.*] For thus Mr Leland tells us himſelf (3).

(3) Encomia, &c.

——Inſtructor Lilius ille fuit.

[*D*] *He was ſent to Chriſt's-college in Cambridge.*] He informs us himſelf of this particular, in theſe words:—*teſtis optimus eſſe poſſum ut qui* Grantæ, *in Collegio Chriſti nomini ſacro, bonis artibus operam dederim* (4). - - - - Fuller adds, That he was Fellow of that college *.

(4) Comment. de Scriptoribus Britan. edit. Oxon. 1709, 8vo. p. 84. Vide etiam Encomia, &c. p. 9, 27.

* Hiſt. of Cambridge, p. 90.

[*E*] *And became acquainted with the learnedeſt men in France.*] Namely, Jacobus Faber Stapulenſis, Gulielm. Budæus, Paulus Æmilius, Joh. Ruellius, Franciſcus Silvius Ambianus, &c. (5) or, as their true names were, *Jaques le Fevre d'Eſtaples, Guillaume Budé, Paul Emile, Jean Ruelle*, and *Francois Du Bois* — During his ſtay in France, he perfected himſelf in the Latin and Greek languages; and learned French, Italian, and Spaniſh.

(5) Vita Lelandi, ut ſupra.

[*F*] *A commiſſion was granted him under the Great Seal.*] Of which commiſſion take the following account in his own words; being the beginning of his New-year's gift to King Henry VIII. 'Whereas it pleaſid your Highnes upon very juſte conſiderations to encorage me, by the autorite of your moſte gratius commiſſion yn the xxv. yere of yowr proſperus regne, to peruſe and diligently to ſerche al the Libraries of Monaſteries and Collegies of this yowre noble Reaulme, to the intente that the Monumentes of auncient Writers as welle of other Nations, as of this yowr owne Province mighte be brought owte of deadely darkenes to lyvely lighte, and to receyve like thankes of the Poſterite, as they hoped for at ſuch tyme as they emploied their long and greate ſtudies to the publique wealthe; yea and farthermore, that the holy ſcripture of God might bothe be ſincerely taughte and lernid, al maner of Superſtition and craftely coloured Doctrine of a Rowte of the Romaine Biſhopes totally expellid oute of this your moſt catholique Reaulme, &c. (6)'

(6) Leland's New-year's-gift, printed at the beginning of the firſt volume of his Itinerary, p. xviii, xix.

[*G*] *He ſpent above ſix years in travelling about England*] He gives his Majeſty the following account of his Travels, in the ſame Addreſs to him. —'Al my other Occupations intermittid I have ſo travelid

for the History and Antiquities of this nation (*l*) [*H*]. In the year 1545, he presented an addreſs to King Henry VIII. under the title of ' A Newe Yeares Gifte ;' wherein, after a ſhort relation of his travels and his collections, he acquaints his Majeſty, that he had ' digeſtid into foure bookes,' an account of the illuſtrious writers in this Realm, ' with theire lyves and monumentes of lerning :' and alſo lays before him a ſcheme of what he intended further to do. Promiſing a draught or map of England on a ſilver plate ; a deſcription of the ſame kingdom, within twelve months, wherein would be reſtored the ancient names of places in Britain ; then, the Antiquities, or civil Hiſtory of this nation, in as many books as there are ſhires in England and Wales, viz. fifty ; a Survey of the Britiſh Iſles in ſix books ; and, finally, an account of the Nobility of Britain in three books. During the diſſolution of the monaſteries, he ſaw with very great regret what havock was made of manuſcripts, and all ancient monuments of learning, which were in danger of utterly periſhing, if no remedy was uſed. Therefore, he wrote a letter to Thomas Cromwell then Secretary of State ; wherein he intreats him, to give him aid and aſſiſtance, in bringing to light many antient authors, and ſending them to the King's library ; who, as he knew well, had no little eſteem for them (*m*) [*I*]. On the third of April 1542, he was preſented to the Rectory of Haſeley in Oxfordſhire ; and in 1543, the King gave him a Canonry in King's-college (now Chriſt-church) in Oxford ; and, about the ſame time, the Prebend of Eaſt and Weſt Knoll in the cathedral church of Sarum : but the canonry of Chriſt-church he loſt in 1545, upon the ſurrender of that college to the King, and inſtead of it had no penſion allowed him as other Canons had, but preferment elſewhere (*n*). After having made his large collections, he retired to his houſe in St Michael le Querne London, in order to digeſt them ; and to compoſe the books he had promiſed the world. But either too hard ſtudy, or ſome other cauſe unknown [*K*], deprived him of his underſtanding, and threw him into a phrenzy. His diſtemper being made known to King Edward VI. and his Council, his Majeſty did, on the 21ſt of March 1550, grant the cuſtody of him to his brother John Laylond ſenior : impowering him, for his maintenance, to receive the profits of Haſeley, Poppeling, and Eaſt and Weſt Knoll abovementioned (*o*). Mr Leland never recovered the uſe of his reaſon, but died April 18, 1552, and was buried in the church of St Michael le Querne, London

(*l*) Idem, ibid. and Pat. 28 Hen. VIII. p. 1.

(*m*) Wood, as above, col. 83.

(*n*) Ibid.

(*o*) Ibid.

' travelid in yowr Dominions booth by the Secoſtes ' and the midle partes, ſparing nother labor nor ' coſtes, by the ſpace of theſe vi yeres paſte, that ' there is almoſte nother cape nor bay, haven, creke ' or peere, river or confluence of rivers, breches, ' waſchis, lakes, meres, fenny waters, montaynes, ' valleis, mores, hethes, foreſtes, chaſes, wooddes, ' cities, burges, caſtelles, principale manor-placis, ' monaſteries, and colleges, but I have ſeene them ; ' and notid yn ſo doing a whole worlde of thinges ' very memorable (7).'—

(7) Ibid. p. xxii, xxiii.

[*H*] *And making collections for the Hiſtory and Antiquities of this Nation*] ' He enter'd upon this ' journey with an unuſual willingneſs, being very ' apprehenſive that 'twould conduce much to the Ho- ' nour of this Nation and to the common Benefit of ' learning. He carried on his Travels, without in- ' termiſſion, for ſeveral years, in which time he went ' over moſt parts of England and Wales ; and he was ' ſo inquiſitive in his Remarks, that being not content ' with what the Libraries of the reſpective Houſes, to ' which he apply'd himſelf, afforded, nor with what ' was recorded in the windows and other monuments ' belonging to Cathedrals, Monaſteries, &c. he wan- ' der'd from place to place where he thought there ' were any footſteps of Roman, Saxon, or Daniſh ' buildings, and took particular notice of all the *Tu-* ' *muli*, Coyns, Inſcriptions, &c. which he happen'd to ' light upon ; though with reſpect to the Coyns and ' Inſcriptions it is to be wiſh'd that he had not only ' mention'd but been alſo very nice and exact in de- ' ſcribing them, and in putting down all the words and ' letters that were viſible on them. It muſt be ac- ' knowledg'd that in ſome of the Inſcriptions he has ' done this part very punctually, but for the Coyns he ' has fail'd in it, thinking it enough to tell us that ' there had been any dug up, without ſetting down ' any of the words or letters, or aſſigning the Emperors ' to whom they belong'd. But this will be reckon'd a ' ſmall omiſſion, if it be conſider'd that this ſort of ' knowledge had made but little advances at that ' time, and that what he did in the other parts of his ' journey was prodigious. For whereas there was ' then a large ſtock of MSS extant (however ſtrangely ' diminiſh'd ſoon after, when the grand Diſſolution ' fell out) he gave himſelf the trouble not only of in- ' ſpecting the books, but of taking exact catalogues, ' and of tranſcribing from them whatſoever paſſages ' he judg'd might ſerve to give any manner of light ' to the Hiſtory and Antiquities of this kingdom : nay ' ſo curious was he that when he could not with his ' own eyes find Materials by which to diſcover the ' Foundation of any Houſe, the riſe and fate of any ' Family, or the time when and the manner how any ' accidents of moment happen'd, he would aſk of per- ' ſons that were any ways likely to inform him, and ' upon their authority put down Memorandums con- ' cerning ſuch particulars ; yet with this caution, that ' he never fail'd to diſtinguiſh ſuch Authorities from ' the others which were more certain, and leſs lyable ' to ſuſpicion and cenſure. Sometimes he noted the ' bigneſs and form of the Monuments, and ſet down ' the ornamental figures that were about them. 'Tis ' pity he had not obſerv'd the ſame method always, ' and drawn with a pen either by his own hands, or ' by the hands of one that underſtood that buſineſs ' perfectly well, all the old Statues, Altar-pieces, and ' other pieces of Antiquity of that kind, which 'tis ' certain would have been of admirable ſervice. - - - - ' Theſe Travels being carry'd on with indefatigable ' Induſtry, and Mr Leland having conſtant Acceſs to ' the Libraries and other repoſitories of the Religious ' Houſes, he amaſs'd together an immenſe heap of ' Collections (8) ;' which make up his *Itinerary*, and his *Collectanea*, of which an account is given below.—In his travels, he had an opportunity of preſerving many good authors, that, otherwiſe would have periſhed, to the great detriment of learning : ſome of them he placed in the King's Library, and ſome remained in his cuſtody (9).

(8) Tho. Hearne's preface to Vol. I. of Leland's Itinerary, p. 5, 6, 7.

(9) See his New-year's-gift.

[*I*] *Who, as he knew well, had no little eſteem for them.*] He goes on, in the ſame letter, with the following words :—' It would be a great profit to ſtudents ' and honour to this realm ; whereas now the Ger- ' mans perceiving our deſidiouſneſs and negligence, do ' ſend daily young ſcholars hither, that ſpoileth them, ' and cutteth them out of Libraries, returning home ' and putting them abroad as Monuments of their ' own country, &c. (10).

(10) Wood, as above, col. 83.

[*K*] *But either too hard ſtudy, or ſome other cauſe unknown.*] The cauſe of his madneſs is aſcribed, by the Papiſts, to his ' having degenerated from the an- ' cient Religion (11) ;' and by others, to his not being able to perform what he had promiſed ; or, according to others, his poetical wit made him ſo conceited, that it was the chief reaſon of his phrenzy (12).

(11) Pits de illuſtribus Angliæ Scriptoribus, p. 743.

(12) Wood, as above, col. 83.

London (p) [L]. An account of what he publiſhed [M], and of what he left in manuſcript [N], is given below in the notes. So valuable were his manuſcript collections found, that King Edward VI. thought them worth his notice and care; and accordingly ordered his tutor, Sir John Cheke (one of the greateſt lights of learning in this nation) to take them into his cuſtody. Sir John, after having peruſed them, gave the four volumes of the *Collectanea* to Humphrey Purefoy, Eſq; afterwards one of the Privy-Council to Queen Elizabeth in the north parts of England: and his ſon Thomas Purefoy, of Barwell in Leiceſterſhire, made a preſent of them, in 1612, to the famous Antiquary William Burton of Lindley, Eſq; The ſeven volumes of the *Itinerary* came alſo into the ſame Mr Burton's poſſeſſion, after having paſſed, it ſeems, through Lord Paget's and Sir William Cecil's hands: and, in 1632, Mr Burton depoſited them all into the Bodleian library at Oxford (with a fair tranſcript of ſome parts of them), except one volume, which having been lent out by Mr Burton, did not come to that library 'till long after, when it was given by Mr Charles King of Chriſt-church, a moſt ſkilful and learned Antiquary. Some others of his manuſcripts came into the poſſeſſion of Sir Robert Cotton, who lodged them in his excellent Library (q). Of theſe Works of Mr Leland, great uſe has been made, by J. Bale in his Catalogue of Engliſh Writers; Mr Camden in his Britannia; William Burton, Eſq; in his Deſcription of Leyceſterſhire; Sir William Dugdale in his Antiquities of Warwickſhire, and Baronage of England; and by moſt of our other learned Antiquarians. As to Mr Leland's character; we are aſſured, that he 'was an extraordinary perſon, having (beſides his being a great maſter in poetry and oratory) attained 'to a good ſhare of knowledge in the Greek, Latin, Welſh, Saxon, Italian, French, 'and Spaniſh languages (r):' ſo that he was born for the ſervice and honour of his country (s). And one of his contemporaries 'boldly affirms, that England never ſaw, and 'he believes ſhould never ſee, a man to him in all things to be compared,' with regard to his ſkill in the Antiquities of Britain. 'For undoubtedly, ſays he, he was in theſe 'matters wonderful and peerleſs, ſo that as concerning them, England had yet never a 'greater loſs (t).'

(p) Ibid.

(q) Wood, as above, col. 84, 85. and Hearne's preface to the firſt vol. of the Itinerary, p. 12, 13, 14.

(r) Nicolſon's Engliſh Hiſt. Library, edit. 1714, fol. p. 155. and J. Bale de Scriptorib. Brytan. cent. 8. No. 81.

(s) Fuit non ſolum urbis Londinenſis, verum etiam totius Britanniæ lumen, decus, & ornamentum ſingulare. Pits, ubi ſupra.

(t) Preface to Leland's New-year's-gift, as publiſhed by J. Bale in 1549, 8vo.

[L] *And was buried in the church of St Michael le Querne, London.*] That church ſtood at the weſt end of Cheapſide, between the late Conduit there and Pater-noſter-row. It was burnt down in the great fire, and the ſite of it laid out to enlarge the ſtreet. The living is united to that of St Vedaſt, Foſter-lane (13).

(13) Stow's and Strype's Survey of London, edit. 1720, book iii. p. 191.

[M] *An account of what he publiſhed.*] This is an exact liſt of it, according to the order of time in which the ſeveral pieces were publiſhed. 1. *Næniæ in mortem Thomæ Viati equitis incomparabilis.* [i. e. An Elegy on the death of Sir Thomas Wiat, Kt.] Lond. 1542, 4to, reprinted by Mr Hearne, at the beginning of the ſecond volume of Leland's Itinerary. 2. *Genethliacon illuſtriſſimi Eaduerdi Principis Cambriæ, Ducis Coriniæ, & Comitis Palatini. Syllabus & interpretatio antiquarum Dictionum quæ paſſim in libello lectori occurrunt.* [A Poem on the birth of Edward Prince of Wales, &c. with an explanation of the ancient names of places uſed in that poem.] Lond. 1543. 4to, reprinted in the 9th volume of his Itinerary. 3. *Aſſertio inclytiſſimi Arturij, regis Britanniæ. Elenchus antiquorum nominum*, Lond. 1544, 4to, tranſlated into Engliſh, and publiſhed under this title, 'Ancient 'Order, Societie and Unitie laudable of Prince Arthur 'and his knightly Armorie of the Round Table; 'with a threefold Aſſertion, Engliſhed from Leland 'by R. Robinſon 1582.' 4. Κυκνειον Ασμα. *Cygnea Cantio. Commentarij in Cygneam Cantionem indices Britannicæ Antiquitatis locupletiſſimi.* [A Swan's ſong, with a Commentary on the ſame.] Lond. 1545, 4to, reprinted in 1658, 12mo, and in the 9th volume of the Itinerary. 5. Εγκωμιον της Ειρηνης. *Laudatio Pacis.* [The Praiſe of Peace.] Lond. 1546, 4to, a Latin poem. Reprinted by Mr Hearne in the fifth volume of our author's *Collectanea*. 6. His 'Newe 'yeares Giſte to King Henry the VIII. in the 37 'yeare of his Raygne,' mention'd above, was printed in his life-time, Lond. 1549, 8vo, by John Bale, with notes; who added thereto of his own, *A Regiſter of the names of Engliſh writers, whom the ſecond part of his work*, De Scriptorib. Britanniæ, *ſhall comprehend.* Mr Hearne has re-printed the 'Newe yeares Gifte' in the firſt volume of the Itinerary.

[N] *And of what he left in manuſcript.*] What he left in manuſcript conſiſted of, A collection of Epigrams, and ſmall pieces, in verſe; of his Itinerary through moſt parts of England, in 7 volumes, quarto; of four volumes of Collections, in folio; and other leſs pieces, the chief of which have been publiſhed at different times, in the following order. 1. His Epigrams, and other ſmall poetical pieces, were publiſhed in 1589, by Tho. Newton of Cheſhire, under this title, *Principum ac illuſtrium aliquot & eruditorum in Anglia virorum Encomia, Trophæa, Genethliaca, & Epithalamia*, Lond. 4to. 2. Mr Anthony Hall publiſhed in 1709, the fourth volume of his Collections, containing the lives and characters of moſt of the eminent writers of England, and intitled it, *Commentarij de Scriptoribus Britannicis, auctore Joanne Lelando Londinate*, Oxon. 1709, 2 volumes 8vo, commonly bound in one *. J. Bale tranſcribed a great part of this work, in his *Scriptorum Brytanniæ Catalogus*, and mentions Mr Leland with due commendations. J. Pits quotes it alſo often, without ever having ſeen it: for, what he pretends to have taken from thence, he plainly took at ſecond hand from Mr Bale (14). 3. 'The Itinerary of John Leland the Antiquary,' was publiſhed by the induſtrious Thomas Hearne, Oxford 1710, &c. 9 volumes 8vo. A ſecond edition was reprinted in 1745, with improvements and additions; the original MS. having been re-examined with the moſt ſtrict care, many places ſupplied and amended, and many paſſages reſtored to their proper places (15). 4. The ſame induſtrious perſon publiſhed alſo Mr Leland's Collections, under this title, *Joannis Lelandi Antiquarii de Rebus Britannicis Collectanea. Ex autographis deſcripſit edidítque Tho. Hearne A. M. Oxonienſis, qui & Appendicem ſubjecit, totumque opus (in VI volumina diſtributum) Notis & Indice donavit*, Oxon. 1715, 8vo.—5. One of Mr Leland's ſmaller pieces, was, *Nænia in mortem Henrici Duddelegi Equitis*, An Elegy on the death of Sir Henry Duddley: firſt printed by Mr Hearne, in his edition of John Roſſe. 6. And he hath printed the following, in the ſixth volume of Leland's Collectanea, viz. *Bononia Gallo-maſtyx in laudem victoriæ feliciſſimi Henrici viii Anglici, Franciſci, Scotici*, &c. i. e. upon K. Henry the VIIIth's taking Boulogne in the year 1544. 7. And this in the fifth volume of the ſame work, *Codrus, ſive laus & defenſio Gallofridi Arturii Monumetenſis contra Polydorum Vergilium.* A defence of Geffrey of Monmouth againſt Polydore Vergil.—The few other pieces he finiſhed, remain in manuſcript in the Cottonian (16) and other libraries.—As for the many other books aſcribed to Mr Leland by Biſhop Bale, and J. Pits, moſt them had no exiſtence but in thoſe writers imagination; or elſe were only intended by Mr Leland, who had made no kind of progreſs in them.

* In Mr Aubrey's Surrey, this edition is ſaid to be full of the groſſeſt errors, as well as large omiſſions. Vol. III. p. 241.

(14) See Nicolſon's Engliſh Hiſtorical Libr. edit. 1714, fol. p. 155, 156.

(15) See Advertiſements prefixed to Vol. I. and VIII.

(16) Julius, C. vi. 1. Vitellius, B. ix. 27.

C

LESLIE

LESLIE, or LESLEY [CHARLES], a learned writer in the XVIIth, and beginning of the XVIIIth, century, was the second son of Dr John Leslie, Bishop of Clogher in Ireland (*a*) [*A*]. After having been educated in Grammar-learning at Inniskilling in the county of Fermanagh, he was admitted, in 1664, a Fellow-commoner in Dublin-college, where he continued 'till he commenced Master of Arts. Then he came and entered himself in the Temple at London, and for some years studied the Law; but at length growing weary of the dryness and intricacy, as well as the iniquity and chicanery, of the contentious part of that profession, he relinquished it, and applied himself to Divinity. In 1680 he entered into Holy Orders, and in 1687 became Chancellor of the cathedral of Connor; about which time he rendered himself particularly obnoxious to the Popish party in Ireland, by his zealous opposition to their absurd and wicked doctrines, and their indefatigable industry in promoting them. For, Roger Boyle Bishop of Clogher dying in 1687, Patrick Tyrrel was made titular Popish Bishop, and had the revenues of the See assigned him by King James. He set up a convent of Friars in Monaghan, and fixing his habitation there, held a public visitation of his clergy with great solemnity. Some subtile Logicians attended him in this visitation, and he was so insolent as to challenge the Protestant clergy to a public disputation. Mr Leslie undertook the task, which he performed to the satisfaction of the Protestants, and the indignation and confusion of the Papists; though it happened, as it generally does at such meetings, that both sides claimed the victory. He afterwards held another public disputation with two celebrated Popish Divines, in the church of Tynan, in the diocese of Armagh, before a very numerous assembly of persons of both religions; the issue of which was, that Mr John Stewart, a Popish gentleman, solemnly renounced the errors of the Church of Rome. As the Papists had got possession of an Episcopal income, they ingrossed other offices too, and a Popish High-Sheriff was appointed for the county of Monaghan. This proceeding alarmed all the gentlemen in that county; who depending much on Mr Leslie's knowledge as a Justice of Peace, they repaired to Him, then confined by the gout to his house. He told them, 'That it would be as illegal in them to permit the Sheriff to 'act, as it would be in him to attempt it.' But they insisting, that Mr Leslie should appear in person on the Bench at the approaching quarter-sessions, they all promised to act as he did; so he was carried there in great pain and with much difficulty. Upon inquiry whether the pretended Sheriff was legally qualified, he answered pertly, 'That he was of 'the King's own religion, and it was his Majesty's will that he should be Sheriff.' Mr Leslie replied, 'That they were not inquiring into his Majesty's religion, but whether 'he had qualified himself according to law for acting as a proper officer. That the law 'was the King's will, and nothing else to be deemed such; that his subjects had no other 'way of knowing his will but as it is revealed to them in his laws, and it must always 'be thought to continue so, 'till the contrary is notified to them in the same authentick 'manner.' Wherefore the Bench unanimously agreed to commit the pretended Sheriff for his intrusion and arrogant contempt of the Court. Mr Leslie committed also some officers of that tumultuous army, which the Lord Tyrconnel raised for robbing the country (*b*). Hitherto Mr Leslie had acted consistently, as a Divine and a good Magistrate. Happy man, if his life had ended here! But having strongly imbibed the doctrines of Passive Obedience and Non-resistance, they so biassed his judgment, as that at the Revolution he refused to take the oaths to King William and Queen Mary; on which account he was deprived of his preferments, being esteemed the head, or at least a man of the greatest

(*a*) Wood Ath. edit. 1721. Vol. II. col. 1157, &c. Works of Sir James Ware, with Continuat. by Walt. Harris, Esq; Vol. III. edit. Dublin, 1746, p. 282. and T. Salmon's Chronolog. Hist. edit. 1733, 8vo. p. 442.

(*b*) W. Harris, as above.

[*A*] *Was the second son of Dr John Leslie, Bishop of Clogher in Ireland.*] This prelate was descended from the ancient family of his name, and born at Balquhaine in the north of Scotland. His education for some time was at Aberdeen and then at Oxford. Afterwards he travelled into Spain, Italy, and Germany; but continued longest in France, where he made himself master both of the most polite and abstruse parts of learning. He spoke French, Spanish, and Italian, with the same propriety and fluency as the natives; and was so great a master of the Latin, that it was said of him, when he was in Spain, *Solus Lesleius Latine loquitur*, 'Leslie is the only man that 'can speak Latin.' He continued 22 years abroad, and during that time was at the siege of Rochelle, and the expedition of the isle of Rhé with the Duke of Buckingham. He was all along conversant in courts, where he learned that address, which gave a peculiar grace even to his preaching. These accomplishments procured him the favour of many Princes abroad, and at home he was happy in that of King Charles I. who admitted him into his Privy-council both in Scotland and Ireland; in which stations he was continued by King Charles II. after the Restoration. His chief preferment in the Church of Scotland was the bishoprick of Orkney or of the Isles, from whence he was translated to Raphoe, June 1, 1633, and was the same year admitted into the Privy-council of Ireland. He not only recovered a considerable part of the revenues of his bishopric of Raphoe, which had been seized and engrossed by several gentlemen; but also built a stately palace in his diocese for himself and his successors, contriving it for strength as well as beauty; which proved to be useful afterwards in the rebellion of 1641, and preserved a good part of that country. The good bishop exerted himself as much as he could in defence of the Royal cause; and endured a siege in his castle of Raphoe, before he would surrender it to Oliver Cromwell, being the last that held out in that country. He then retired to Dublin, where he always used the Liturgy in his family; and even had frequent Confirmations and Ordinations. After King Charles's restoration, he came over to England, and hastened with so much zeal to see his Majesty, that he rode from Chester to London, which is 182 miles, in twenty-four hours. On the 17th of June, 1661, he was translated to the see of Clogher; and 'tis said, was offered a better, which he refused, being resolved to end his labours among those with whom he had suffered, and where his influence was most beneficial. He died in 1671, aged a hundred years and more, having been above 50 years a Bishop, and being then reckoned the ancientest Bishop in the world. His death happened at his seat called Castle-Lesley, alias Glaslough; and he was there buried in a church of his own building, which he procured by act of parliament to be made the parish-church. He was a very temperate man, and extremely generous (1).

(1) Wood, Athen, ut supra, and Walt. Harris's edit. of Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. I. Dublin, 1739, p. 189, 190.

[*B*] *An*

greateſt abilities, among the Nonjurors. In 1689, when troubles began to ariſe in Ireland, he withdrew with his family into England; and ſet about writing ſeveral political pieces, to ſerve the cauſe and party he had embraced (c). The firſt was, ‘ An Anſwer ‘ to a book intitled, *The State of the Proteſtants of Ireland under the late King James's Go-* ‘ *vernment* [*B*]. Of the reſt an account is given below [*C*]. He became alſo a ſtrenuous champion for the Church of England againſt the Quakers [*D*], and other diſſenters

(c) Ibid.

[*B*] *An Anſwer to a book intitled,* The State of the Proteſtants, &c.] That book intitled, *The State of the Proteſtants of Ireland under the late King James's government; in which their carriage towards him is juſtified, and the abſolute Neceſſity of their endeavouring to be freed from his government, and of ſubmitting to their preſent Majeſties is demonſtrated;* was written by Dr William King, then Biſhop of Derry, afterwards Archbiſhop of Dublin, and publiſhed at London in 1691, 4to, and the year following in 8vo, with additions. In the introduction, the learned author gives an explication of the doctrine of Paſſive Obedience; and obſerves, that a King, who deſigns to deſtroy a people, abdicates the government of them. And in the *firſt* chapter of the book he endeavours to ſhew, that it is lawful for one Prince to interpoſe between another Prince and his ſubjects, when he uſes them cruelly. In the *ſecond*, that King James II. deſigned the deſtruction of his ſubjects. In the *third* chapter he treats of the King's actual progreſs in their deſtruction. In the *fourth* chapter he aſſerts, that there remained no proſpect of deliverance for the Proteſtants in Ireland but from King William, &c.—Mr Lesley's Anſwer, which is a very angry one, was publiſhed at London, in 1692, 4to. He begins it, with obſerving, that Dr King's book ‘ is calcu- ‘ lated for the deſtruction of mankind, by ſetting up ‘ ſuch principles as countenance eternal rebellions, and ‘ afford pretences for war and confuſion to the end of ‘ the world; and makes ſettlement and peace imprac- ‘ cable among men (2).’ Then he proceeds to examine firſt the *Principles* of Dr King's book, and next, the *Matters of fact*. With regard to the latter, ‘ I ‘ cannot (ſays he) ſay that I have examined into every ‘ ſingle matter of fact which this author relates; I ‘ could not have the opportunity; but I am ſure I ‘ have the moſt material; and by theſe you will eaſily ‘ judge of his ſincerity in the reſt, which could not ‘ all come to my knowledge. But this I can ſay, ‘ there is not one I have enquired into, but I have ‘ found it falſe, in whole, or in part, aggravated or ‘ miſrepreſented, ſo as to alter the whole face of the ‘ ſtory, and give it perfectly another air and turn. ‘ Inſomuch, that though many things he ſays were true, ‘ yet he has hardly ſpoke a true word, that is, truly ‘ and nakedly, without a warp (3).’ He afterwards obſerves, that Dr King ‘ owes his life to the King's ‘ mercy. Was not he accuſed (ſays he) for holding ‘ correſpondence, and giving intelligence to the rebels ‘ (as they were then called) both in England and Ire- ‘ land: and was it not true.’—He adds that he had been ‘ told by Proteſtants in Dublin, that King James ‘ had once ſo good an opinion of Dr King, that he ‘ had him frequently in private, and truſted him in ‘ his affairs 'till at laſt he found him out (4).’ And he affirms, that no man was or could be a higher aſſerter of *Paſſive Obedience* than Dr King had been all his life, even at the beginning of the Revolution; ‘ and ‘ that he told a perſon of honour, from whoſe mouth ‘ (ſays Mr Lesley) I have it, that if the Prince of ‘ Orange came over for the crown, or ſhould accept ‘ of it, he prayed God might blaſt all his deſigns. ‘ That there was no way to preſerve the honour of our ‘ religion, but by adhering unalterably to our loyalty. ‘ That it would be a glorious ſight to ſee a cart full ‘ of clergymen going to the ſtake for Paſſive Obe- ‘ dience, as the primitive Chriſtians did. That it ‘ would prove the ſupport and glory of our religion, ‘ but that a rebellion would ruin and diſgrace it. He ‘ ſaid, if it were no more than that declaration, which ‘ he had ſubſcribed, of *its not being lawful upon any* ‘ *pretence whatſoever to take arms againſt the King,* ‘ &c. he would dye a hundred deaths rather than do ‘ it (5).’ Mr Harris obſerves, that in this piece, Mr Leſlie ſhews himſelf as averſe from the Principles and Practices of the Iriſh and other Papiſts, as he was from thoſe of the author, whom he endeavours to refute (6).

(2) P. 1.

(3) P. 73.

(4) P. 105, 106.

(5) P. 113.

(6) P. 283.

[*C*] *Of the reſt* of his political works, *an account,* &c.] They all came out without his name. The beſt liſt of them is given by Walter Harris, Eſq; (7) in the following words: 1. ‘ *Caſſandra,* (but I hope not) ‘ telling what will come of it; wherein the new Aſ- ‘ ſociations are conſidered.’ No. 1. and 2. Lond. 1703, 4to. Alluding to Caſſandra's predictions during the ſiege of Troy (which none would believe) and the Aſſociations entered into at the beginning of Queen Anne's reign. 2. ‘ Rehearſals.’ A paper publiſhed at firſt once a week, afterwards twice, in a folio half ſheet, by way of dialogue on the affairs of the times: begun in 1704, and continued for ſix or ſeven years. They plead for Non-reſiſtance; and derive all Government wholly from God.(8). 3. ‘ The wolf ſtripped of his Shepherd's cloath- ‘ ing, in anſwer to Moderation a virtue.’ Lond. 1704, 4to, The pamphlet it anſwers was written by James Owen *. 4. ‘ The Biſhop of Sarum's [Burnet's] pro- ‘ per defence from a ſpeech ſaid to be ſpoken by him ‘ againſt occaſional conformity.’ Lond. 1704, 4to. 5. ‘ The new Aſſociation of thoſe called moderate ‘ Churchmen, with the moderate Whigs and Fana- ‘ ticks, to undermine and blow up the preſent Church ‘ and Government; occaſioned by a Pamphlet intitled, ‘ The Danger of Prieſt-craft.’ Lond. 1705, 4to. 6. ‘ The new Aſſociation. Part. II.’ 1705, 4to. 7. ‘ The Principles of Diſſenters concerning Tole- ‘ ration and occaſional Conformity,’ Lond. 1705, 4to. 8. ‘ A warning for the Church of England.’ Lond. 1706, 4to. Some have doubted whether theſe two pieces were his. 9. ‘ The good old Cauſe, or lying ‘ in Truth; being a ſecond Defence of the Biſhop of ‘ Sarum from a ſecond ſpeech, &c.’ Lond. 1710. For this a warrant was iſſued out againſt Mr Lesley. 10. ‘ A Letter to the Biſhop of Sarum in anſwer to a ‘ Sermon preached by him a little after the Queen's ‘ death, in defence of the Revolution.’ Lond. 1715 (9). 11. ‘ Salt for the Leech.’ 12. ‘ The Anatomy of a ‘ Jacobite.’ 13. ‘ *Gallienus redivivus.*’ 14. ‘ *Delenda Carthago.*’ 15. ‘ A Letter to Mr Molyneux, ‘ on his *Caſe of Ireland's being bound by the Engliſh* ‘ *Acts of Parliament* (10).’ 16. ‘ A Letter to Julian ‘ Johnſon:’ i. e. to Mr Samuel Johnſon, author of Julian the Apoſtate, by whom he means K. James II. 17. ‘ Several tracts againſt Dr Higden, and Mr Hoad- ‘ ley’ the preſent Biſhop of Wincheſter; one of which, in vindication of Biſhop Blackall, is intitled, ‘ The ‘ beſt Anſwer that ever was made, and to which no ‘ Anſwer will be made,’ &c. In one of thoſe tracts, Mr Leſlie introduceth a Hottentot, diſputing with Dr Higden and Mr Hoadley. Some have alſo aſcribed to our author a ‘ Hiſtory of the Revolution;’ but Mr Harris was informed that it is none of his.—He is poſitively ſaid to have written ‘ An Account of the ‘ Maſſacre of Glencoe,’ in 1692 (11), being I ſuppoſe the ſame that is inſerted in the Appendix to vol. II. of Boyer's Hiſtory of King William (12).

(7) As above, p. 285, 286.

(8) See Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Time, edit. 1753, 8vo. Vol. IV. p. 278, 279.

* See Calamy's Abridgment of R. Baxter's Life, Vol. I. p. 661.

(9) See above the article BURNET [GILBERT].

(10) See the article MOLYNEUX [WILLIAM].

[*D*] *Againſt the Quakers.*] His controverſy with the Quakers was occaſioned by his lodging in the houſe of a preacher and writer of that perſuaſion. He converted him and his wife, who had been baptized before the birth of Quakeriſm in England; but he baptized their children who were married. His books in that controverſy were, 1. ‘ The Snake in the ‘ Graſs; or Satan transformed into an Angel of ‘ of Light,’ Lond. 1697, 8vo. 2. ‘ A Diſcourſe prov- ‘ ing the divine Inſtitution of Water-baptiſm; where- ‘ in the Quakers Arguments againſt it are collected ‘ and confuted; with as much as is needful concerning ‘ the Lord's ſupper.’ Lond. 1697, 4to. 3. ‘ Some ‘ ſeaſonable Reflections upon the Quakers ſolemn Pro- ‘ teſtation againſt George Keith's proceedings at Tur- ‘ ners-hall, April the 29th, 1697.’ Lond. 1697. 4. ‘ Satan diſrobed from his diſguiſe of Light; or the ‘ Quakers laſt ſhift to cover their monſtrous Hereſies ‘ laid fully open; in a reply to Thomas Elwood's ‘ Anſwer to George Keith's Narrative of the pro- ‘ ceedings at Turners-hall, June 11th, 1696,’ Lond. ‘ 1698,

(11) N. Tindal's Continuat. of Hiſtory of England, Vol. I. folio edit. 1744, p. 218. in the note.

(12) Page 3, &c.

dissenters [E]. And writ several good books, in defence of Christianity in general, and of the Protestant religion in particular; namely, against the Deists [F], and Jews [G]; and against the errors of Socinians [H] and Papists [I]. The few other pieces he wrote or

'1698, 4to. To which are added some gleanings, 'with other farther improvements.' 5. 'A Defence 'of a book, intitled, The Snake in the Grass. In 'reply to several Answers put out to it by George 'Whitehead, Joseph Wyeth, &c. In two parts. To 'which is added, A Collection of several Papers relating to the foregoing Discourse,' Lond. 1700, 8vo. 6. 'A reply to a book intitled, *Anguis flagellatus*, or 'a Switch for the Snake; the *Opus palmare* of the 'Quakers; being a second Defence, or the third and 'last part of the Snake in the Grass. Shewing that 'the Quakers are plainly self-condemned in this their 'last Answer; and therefore it is to be hoped that this 'will put an end to that controversy. To which is 'added an Appendix of Papers relating to the foregoing Discourse,' Lond 1702, 8vo. 7. 'Primitive 'Heresy revived in the Faith and Practice of the people called Quakers: wherein is shewn in seven Particulars, that the principal and most characteristick 'Errors of the Quakers were broached and condemned 'in the days of the Apostles, and the first 150 years 'after Christ. To which is added, a friendly Expostulation with Mr Pennupon account of his Primitive Christianity lately published,' Lond. 1698, 4to. 8. 'The present state of Quakerism in England. 'Wherein is shewed, that the greatest part of the 'Quakers in England are so far converted as to be 'convinced; upon occasion of the relaps of Samuel 'Crisp to Quakerism. Offered to the consideration of 'the general yearly meeting of the Quakers in London in Whitson-week, 1701.' 9. Under this head we may also place our author's 'Essay concerning the 'divine Right of Tythes,' Lond. 1700, 8vo. 'The 'subject of Tythes being (as he observes in the preface to that book) the great Diana of the Quakers.'

[E] *And other dissenters.*] He observes, in the Preface just now mentioned (13), That his 'controversie with the Quakers had led him into subjects of 'different natures, and engag'd him among other 'parties. As when they began to be convinced concerning the *necessity* and *benefit* of the sacraments of 'Baptism and the Lord's-supper; but stuck upon the '*Administrator*, to whom they should go for it: to 'satisfie them in this, forc'd me (saith he) directly 'upon the cause of Episcopacy; this concerned 'other Dissenters. And received a very angry Answer from one who stiles himself a Presbyterian. 'Wherein I could find nothing to reply to but Passion 'and personal reflections, therfor I let it sleep.' What he published under this head was only, 10. 'A 'Discourse shewing who they are that are now qualified to administer Baptism and the Lord's Supper: 'wherein the cause of Episcopacy is briefly treated.' —Unless we should add thereto, 11. 'The History 'of Sin and Heresy, attempted from the first war 'that they raised in heaven, through their various success and progress upon earth, to the final victory over 'them, and their eternal condemnation in hell: in 'some meditations upon the feast of St Michael and 'all Angels.' Lond. 1698, 4to. Upon this occasion, Mr Harris takes notice (14), that 'as Mr 'Leslie observed, that every one of the numerous converts he made from Quakerism were desirous of returning to Presbytery, from whence they had last 'sprung, he was obliged to treat the subject of Church-government, to direct them to those who alone have 'power to administer the sacraments; and his Essay 'on the divine Right of Tythes, to shew, who they 'are that have a just claim to live by the altar, what '*quantum* they are intitled to, and by what tenure 'they ought to hold it.'

(13) Page 1.

(14) As above, p. 284.

[F] *Against the Deists.*] What he published against them, is intituled, 12. 'A short and easie Method with 'the Deists, wherein the Certainty of the Christian 'Religion is demonstrated by *infallible proof* from '*four Rules*, which are *incompatible* to any *Imposture* 'that ever yet has been, or that can *possibly* be,' Lond. 1699, 8vo. 13. 'A Vindication of the short and 'easy Method with the Deists. In answer to a book 'lately published with this title, *viz. A Detection of 'the true meaning and wicked design of a book, intitled,* A plain and easy Method with the Deists; '*wherein it is plainly proved, that the Author's four 'Marks are the marks of the Beast, and calculated only 'for the cause and service of Popery.*'—The four Rules mentioned above, are these: '*First*, That the *matters 'of Fact* be such, as that mens outward senses, their '*Eyes* and *Ears*, may be judges of it. *Secondly*, That 'it be done *Publickly*, in the face of the world. '*Thirdly*, That not only publick *Monuments* be kept 'up in memory of it, but some outward *Actions* to be 'performed. *Fourthly*, That such *Monuments* and 'such *Actions* or *Observances* be *instituted*, and do *commence* from the *Time* that the *matter of Fact* was 'done.'—In this book, our author 'was confined to 'the close way of putting the cause upon one medium 'or topick of Reason by a person of the first quality, 'who refused to enter into any discussion of the argument on other terms. And when he had established the Facts of our Saviour's Miracles by the 'four Marks insisted on in that treatise, he perswaded 'a Gentlewoman of great worth to copy it, and it 'wrought with her the effect proposed, as it afterwards did with the great man, for whose consideration it was originally put into that light.' The *Vindication* of that piece was occasioned by a blasphemous libel, and drew on a further treatise, called, 14. 'The Truth of Christianity demonstrated, in a Dialogue betwixt a Christian and a Deist Wherein the 'Case of the Jews is likewise considered.' Lond. 1711. 8vo —wherein he gives four additional Marks, 'which 'make such a demonstration, as no other subject but 'Christianity is capable of. (15).'

(15) W. Harris, as above, p. 283.

[G] *And Jews.*] The treatise he published against them bears this title, 15. 'A short and easie Method 'with the Jews. Wherein the Certainty of the Christian Religion is demonstrated by infallible proof 'from the *Four Rules* made use of against the Deists, 'shewing that these *Four Rules* do oblige the Jews as 'much or more than the Deists to the Acknowledgment of Christ. With an Answer to the most material of their Objections and Prejudices against 'Christianity.' This is dated, at the end, *Good friday*, 1689, and the 4th edition of it was published in 1715. —Mr Harris informs us, that 'the application of the '*Four Marks* above-mentioned to the Jews, proceeded from his Conferences with an eminent Jew, 'who confessed, that all his objections were answered, and that he intended to own his conviction; 'but he died soon after, during Mr Leslie's absence, 'and to his great regret (16).'

(16) W. Harris, as above, p. 283.

[H] *The errors of Socinians.*] Against them he published, 16. 'The Socinian Controversy discussed, 'in six Dialogues: Wherein the chief of the Socinian 'Tracts published of late years are considered,' Lond. 1708. 17. 'An Answer to *Remarks on the first Dialogue against the Socinians.*' 18. 'A Reply to the 'Vindication of the Remarks upon the first Dialogue 'on the Socinian controversy.' 19. 'An Answer to 'the *Examination* of the last Dialogue, relating to 'the Satisfaction of Jesus Christ.' 20. 'A Supplement in answer to Mr *Clendon's Tractatus Philosophico-Theologicus de Persona*; or, a Treatise of the 'word Person.' The choleric Mr Clendon had spoken, in his Preface, very contemptuously and abusively of our author, which forced him to this Reply. — But, amongst our Author's valuable pieces against Socinianism, we must not reckon one which he published against the excellent Archbishop Tillotson, with the following long title: 'The charge 'of Socinianism against Dr Tillotson considered, in 'examination of some Sermons he has lately published 'on purpose to clear himself from that imputation. 'By way of dialogue between F. a friend of Dr T's, 'and C. a Catholic Christian. To which is added 'some Reflections upon the second of Dr Burnet's '*Four Discourses concerning the Divinity and Death of 'Christ*, printed in 1694. To which is likewise annex'd a Supplement upon occasion of a *History of 'Religion* lately published, supposed to be wrote by 'Sir R. H—D. Wherein likewise *Charles Blount's* 'great Diana is considered; and both compared with 'Dr Tillotson's Sermons. By a true son of the 'Church †.'

† See Dr Birch's Life of Archbishop Tillotson, p. 322, 324.

[I] *And Papists.*] The pieces he published against them, were, 21. 'Of private Judgment and Autho- 'rity

or publiſhed are mentioned below in the note [*K*]. In the mean time, Mr Leſlie's writings, and his frequent viſits to the Courts of St Germains and Bar le Duc, had rendered him obnoxious to the Government. But he became more ſo upon the publication of ' The Hereditary Right of the Crown of England aſſerted ;' of which he was the reputed author (*d*). Finding himſelf then under a neceſſity of leaving the kingdom, he repaired to the Pretender at Bar le Duc, where he was allowed to officiate in a private chapel after the rites of the Church of England (*e*); and took much pains to convert the Pretender to the Proteſtant religion [*L*], but in vain (*f*). To promote his intereſt, when a great ſtir was made about him in England, Mr Leſlie wrote a letter from Bar le Duc to a Member of Parliament in London [*M*], dated April 23, 1714, which was printed and diſperſed among his adherents (*g*). All their hopes being diſappointed by the quelling of the rebellion in 1715, and the Pretender being obliged to withdraw into Italy, Mr Leſlie attended him thither: where he continued 'till about the year 1721. But finding nothing but diſappointments, and having undergone many difficulties, he returned to his native country, and died the 13th of April, 1722, at his own houſe at Glaſlough in the county of Monaghan (*h*). As to his character; the famous Mr Bayle ſtiles him, ' A man of ' great merit and learning; and tells us, that he is the firſt who wrote againſt the errors ' of Bourignon in Great-Britain. His books (adds he) which he publiſhed againſt the ' Quakers are much eſteemed, and eſpecially his treatiſe of the Snake in the Graſs (*i*).' Mr T. Salmon obſerves, that his works ' muſt tranſmit him to poſterity, as a man ' throughly learned, and truly pious (*k*).' But a better and more diſintereſted judge (*l*) informs us, that Mr Leſlie made ſeveral converts from Popery; and ſays, that ' notwith- ' ſtanding Mr Leſlie's miſtaken opinions about Government, and a few other matters, ' he deſerves the higheſt praiſe for defending the Chriſtian religion againſt Deiſts, Jews, ' and Quakers, and for admirably well ſupporting the doctrines of the Church of Eng- ' land againſt thoſe of Rome.'

(*d*) See Boyer's Hiſt. of Queen Anne, edit. 1735, fol. p. 658.

(*e*) T. Salmon's Chronol. Hiſt. p. 442.

(*f*) W. Harris, as above, p. 283.

(*g*) Boyer's Hiſt. of Queen Anne, p. 697. and N. Tindal's Contin. of Hiſt. of Engl. folio edit. Vol. II. p. 357.

(*h*) T. Salmon, as above, p. 441. and W. Harris, p. 283.

(*i*) Mr Bayle's Dictionary, under the article BOURIGNON [ANTOINETTE], note [S].

(*k*) Ubi ſupra, p. 442.

(*l*) W. Harris, p. 283, 284.

' rity in matters of Faith.' 22. ' The Caſe ſtated ' between the Church of Rome, and the Church of ' England; wherein is ſhewed that the Doubt and ' Danger is in the former, and the Certainty and ' Safety in the latter Communion. In a Dialogue. ' With an Appendix of Papers.' Lond. 1713, 8vo. 23. ' The true notion of the Catholick Church, in an- ' ſwer to the Biſhop of Meaux's Letter to Mr Nelſon : ' to which is prefixed the Letter itſelf.'

[*K*] *The few other pieces he wrote or publiſhed are mentioned in the note*] They were the four following; 24. ' A Sermon preached in Cheſter againſt ' Marriages in different communions.' Lond. 1702, 8vo. This ſermon being communicated to Mr Dodwell before it was printed, produced a Diſcourſe from him upon the ſame ſubject. 25. ' A Diſſertation concerning the Uſe and Authority of Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory. ' In a Letter to Mr Samuel Parker on his Abrigd- ' ment of Joſephus.' 26. ' The Caſe of the Regale ' and of the Pontificate ſtated, in a Conference con- ' cerning the Independency of the Church upon any ' Power on earth, in the exerciſe of her purely ſpiri- ' tual Power and Authority,' Lond. 1702, 8vo. With ' an Appendix of Papers relating to it.' 27. ' A Sup- ' plement in anſwer to a book, intituled, *The Regal* ' *Supremacy in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs aſſerted, in a Diſ-* ' *courſe occaſioned by the Caſe of the Regale and Pon-* ' *tificate*.' Theſe two pieces were occaſioned by the controverſy between Dr Wake, Dr Hody, and Dr Kennet, on one ſide; and Dr Atterbury, and his friends, on the other; concerning the Authority of Chriſtian Princes over the Church. • And by the *Regale* Mr Leſley means, the right which is in the King, to be the *Civil head* or *governor*, and to exerciſe the power of the *Civil Sword*, in all cauſes and over all perſons, as well eccleſiaſtical as temporal. But he thinks it utterly inconſiſtent for him to be the *Eccleſiaſtical Head* or *Governor*, and to have any ſort of Eccleſiaſtcal Power or Authority. — Therefore, by the *Pontificate*, he means the *Independence of the Church*, not only on heathen but Chriſtian Magiſtrates, as an original, inherent, and divine Right, with which Chriſt has inveſted her, and which ought always to be maintain'd (17). The 27 laſt-mentioned pieces were collected together by the author and publiſhed in 1721, in two volumes in folio.

(17) Caſe of the Regale, &c. p. 1, 6. and preface, p. vi.

[*L*] *And took much pains to convert the Pretender to the Proteſtant Religion.*] The late Lord Bolingbroke ſays, ' That the Pretender had ſent for Mr ' Leſley over; that he allowed him to celebrate the ' Church of England ſervice in his family; and that ' he had promiſed to hear what this Divine ſhould re- ' preſent on the ſubject of Religion to him.—But ' Leſley was ill-uſed by the Chevalier, who was far ' from keeping the word which he had given, and ' on the faith of which Mr Leſlie had come over to ' him. He not only refuſed to hear him himſelf, but ' ſheltered the ignorance of his Prieſts, or the badneſs ' of his cauſe, or both, behind his authority, and ab- ' ſolutely forbid all diſcourſe concerning religion *.'

* Bolingbroke's Letter to Sir W. Wyndham, p. 265, 266, 271, 272.

[*M*] *A Letter from Bar le-Duc to a member of Parliament in London.*] This piece began with a fine deſcription of the Pretender's perſon and character.— ' his graceful mien, magnanimity of ſpirit, devotion ' free from bigotry, application to buſineſs, ready ap- ' prehenſion, ſound judgment, and affability; ſo that ' none converſed with him, but what were charm'd ' with his good ſenſe and temper.'—Then, after mentioning the proceedings in Parliament againſt him, and dwelling ſome time upon his birth, it went on thus :— ' And becauſe the greateſt hurt any King of Eng- ' land can do to the Church of England, is putting bad ' Biſhops upon her; this being a corrupting the foun- ' tain; therefore, to avoid all jealouſies, he was wil- ' ling, during his reign, ſo far to *wave his prerogative* ' in the nomination of Biſhops, Deans, and all other ' eccleſiaſtical preferments in the gift of the Crown: ' that Five Biſhops ſhould be appointed (18), of which ' the Archbiſhop of Canterbury for the time being al- ' ways to be one; who, upon any vacancy, might ' *name* Three perſons to him, of whom he would ' chuſe one. And the Church of England, as by law ' eſtabliſh'd, ſhould be ſecur'd in the ſole poſſeſſion, ' not only of all the Churches, but of the Univerſities, ' and even Schools. And, as a further mark of his fa- ' vour, he remitted, during his time, the Tenths and ' Firſt fruits, payable by the Biſhops and Clergy to the ' Crown.'—[But *theſe* had been granted before by ' Queen Anne, for the benefit of the Clergy.]—This romantic propoſal was either miſunderſtood or miſrepreſented by the Examiner of the ſcheme of Church-power in the Codex (19), who thus repreſents it.— That ' Leſley had prevailed upon the Pretender, to of- ' fer a temper with regard to the *Supremacy*, from ' which great effects were expected. It was, that if ' the people of England would reſtore him to, what ' he calls the throne of his anceſtors, He, in return, ' *would part with the Supremacy*, the great ſtum- ' bling-block to Papiſts and High-churchmen—which ' ſhould be veſted in a committee of the Engliſh ' clergy; whereof the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, for ' the time being, to be always one.'

(18) But by whom, was the queſtion.

(19) P. 63.

L'ESTRANGE [Roger] (*a*), descended from an ancient and reputable family seated at Hunstanton Hall [*A*] in the county of Norfolk, was the youngest son of Sir Hamond L'Estrange, Bart. a zealous Royalist during the disputes between Charles the First and his Parliament [*B*]; in which he was eagerly followed by this his son, who was born at Hunstanton on the 17th of December, 1616 (*b*). His father took care to give him a very liberal education, which was compleated probably at Cambridge. He was between two and three and twenty, before he embarked in the troubles of the times [*C*], his first public step being his attendance on King Charles in his expedition to Scotland in 1639 (*c*); and he ever after espoused the royal cause, for which he was a remarkable sufferer, and once in imminent danger of losing his life [*D*]. For, in the year 1644, soon after the Earl of Manchester had reduced the town of Lynn in Norfolk, to acknowledge the power of the Parliament, Mr L'Estrange, thinking he had some interest in the place, as his father had been Governor, laid a scheme for surprizing it; and received a commission from the King [*E*], constituting him Governor thereof in case of success: but his design being betrayed by two of his confederates, he was seized, tried, and imprisoned, as mentioned in the notes. The Judge-Advocate observing, that *Mr L'Estrange's commission was not the commission of a soldier, to raise and conduct any strength or men of war, but a commission of meer bribery and corruption* [*F*], *to make a party with money and preferment*

(*a*) Most of the particulars relating to this article were communicated by Hamond L'Estrange, of Bury St Edmunds in Suffolk, Esq;

(*b*) Vid. his monument in the church of St Giles in the Fields, Middlesex.

(*c*) The Apology of Roger L'Estrange, Lond. 1660, 4to. Truth and Loyalty vindicated, &c. Lond. 1662, 4to.

[*A*] *Seated at* Hunstanton-hall.] Hunstanton was originally only a tower, built by Edmund, King of the East-Angles, who ascended that throne in the year 855, during the time that Ethelred ruled as sole or chief Monarch over the united Heptarchy (1). The legendary and monkish writers of that period, tell us Edmund built the tower for a place of retirement whilst he studied to get by heart the whole book of Psalms (which book, the Monks of St Edmund's-Bury pretended to be in possession of many years afterwards) (2). Canute the Dane, when King, gave this tower, as being part of the royal demesne to Aelfric, or Alfric, Bishop of Elmham, who died in the year 1038 (3); having first given Hunstanton to the Monks of Edmund's-Bury, who continued in possession thereof 'till after the Conquest; when William the Conqueror conferred it on the Albignys, or Aubignys, from whom it came to the L'Estranges, Barons of Knocking. In the reign of Edward II. John L'Estrange, Baron of Knocking settled Hunstanton on his younger brother Hamond L'Estrange, from whom descended Sir Thomas L'Estrange, Knt, who in 1429, the 7th of Henry VI. was made Deputy of Ireland; also Roger L'Estrange, Sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk, 2 Henry VII. 1487; and Nicholas, who, on the 1st of June 1629, in the 5th Charles I. was created a Baronet.

(1) Matth. Westm. Florileg. Franc. 1601, fol. p. 159. Flor. Wigorn. p. 584.

(2) Blomfield's History of Norfolk.

(3) Matth. Westm. ubi supra.

[*B*] *A zealous Royalist during the dispute between* Charles *the First, and his subjects in the 17th Century.*] Sir Hamond's house being plundered and his estate sequester'd by the Parliament's forces, under the Earl of Manchester, who drove away all his deer, sheep, and cows; he retired to Lynn, which was about 14 miles from his seat, and was Governor of that place when the above Earl first invested it by way of siege (4), having surprized it for the King a little time before.

(4) Ludlow's Memoirs, Lond. 1751, fol. p. 27.

[*C*] *Before he embarked in the troubles of the times.*] This we learn from his own works; in one part of which he expresses himself thus, '*To begin with the beginning of the War and of my Story* (5):' and in another thus: 'From the first expedition of the Scots, in 1639, to this instant, I never declined any hazard, travail, or expence, within the compass of my nature or power, in reference to my duty to the royal interest (6).'

(5) Sir Roger's Apology, 1660, 4to.

(6) Truth and Loyalty vindicated, &c. 1662, 4to.

[*D*] *In imminent danger of losing his life.*] This he informs us of in the following manner: 'My judgement led me to the King's party, and that I served without any other aim or benefit than the discharge of my duty. In 1644, I was betrayd by a brace of villains (by name Leman and Haggar) upon a treaty to surprize Lynn Regis: the former of these had been at Oxford, and there solicited and obtained the promise of a command at sea; and both of them were bound up under an oath of secrecy and fidelity, as rank as words could make it. Being seized, and his Majesty's Commission found about me, I was hurried away first to Lynn, thence to London, and there transmitted to the City Court-martial for my tryal (where two prime men were, a salesman, and an ostler); in this extremity nothing was left unsaid that might infame me, and with so strong a confidence too, that the best friends I had were staggered at it. I was at last brought to the Bar, and charged first as a spy, then as a traytor, with all the circumstances of rudeness and severity imaginable: upon that hearing, the Court was inclining to acquit me, it was proposed, and carried, under pretence of favour to me, that judgment might be deferred, and two days longer given me for the advantage of my defence; in this interim they had packed a committee, and then condemned me as a traytor, many persons contributing to this vote that never heard one syllable of my tryal. My sentence being passed, I was then cast into Newgate; whence I dispatched a petitionary appeal to the Lords, the time appointed for my execution being the Thursday following: but, with great difficulty, I got a reprieve for fourteen days, and after that, prolonged for a farther hearing. In this condition of expectancy I lay almost four years a prisoner, with only an order betwixt me and the gallows. I am the more particular in this, because I have so many honourable witnesses to prove the truth of every syllable I say (7).'

(7) Apology, &c. Letter from H. L. Esq;

[*E*] *And received a commission from the King.*] The Commission ran in the following words:

'CHARLES R.

'We having received from our trusty and well-beloved Roger L'Estrange, declarations of the good affection of divers of our well-affected subjects of our counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, and particularly of our town of Lynn, as also some overtures concerning the reducing of our said town of Lynn; We have thought fit forthwith to return our Royal Thanks unto our said well-affected Subjects, and particularly to give our said trusty and well-beloved Roger L'Estrange these encouragements to proceed in our service and principally in the work of reducing the said town of Lynn. First, That in case that attempt shall be gone through withal, he the said Roger L'Estrange shall have the government of the place. Secondly, That what engagement shall be made unto the inhabitants of the said place, or any other person capable of contributing effectually to that service by way of reward either in employment in his Majesty's navy or forts, or in monies not exceeding 5000 *l.* the service being performed, shall be punctually made good unto them. Thirdly, That they shall in this work receive what assistance may be given them from our nearest garrisons. Fourthly, That when our said town shall be reduced unto our obedience, we shall forthwith send thither such a considerable power as shall be sufficient to relieve and preserve them, We being at present (even without this) fully resolved to send a considerable power to encourage our faithful subjects in those parts, and to regain our Rights and Interests there.

Oxford, November 28th, 1644. 'By his Majesty's Command.

'George Digby (8).'

(8) Truth and Loyalty, &c. Letter from H. L. Esq;

[*F*] *A commission of meer bribery and corruption.*] The silence observed by all the writers of King Charles the First's Life and Reign, touching this transaction, would tempt one to think they looked upon it in the same

(d) Idem. *ment (d)*, pronounced ſentence of death upon him. After which he was ſent to Newgate, from whence he applied to the Lords, and had ſome friends there and in the Houſe of Commons, who together obtained an order of reprieve, under which he lay 'till he found means to make his eſcape [*G*] beyond ſea; where he continued 'till about the latter end of Auguſt, 1653 (*e*); when, upon the Long Parliament's being routed by Oliver, he returned into England, and preſently advertiſed the Council at Whitehall, 'That finding 'himſelf within the Act of Indemnity (*f*), he thought it convenient to give them notice 'of his return.' Soon after he had given them ſuch notice, he was ſerved with an order to attend that Board (*g*) [*H*], which he did accordingly; and after near a month's attendance, and making application to Oliver Cromwell in perſon [*I*], he was diſmiſſed. This appearance at the Protector's Court was much urged againſt him after the Reſtoration by ſome of the Cavaliers; who, having heard he had once played in concert where Oliver was preſent, they nick-named our author Oliver's Fiddler [*K*]. He was alſo charged with

(e) Truth and Loyalty, &c. Letter from H. L. Eſq;

(f) This act was chiefly carried by Cromwell's intereſt the latter end of 1652, juſt before he diſſolved the Long Parliament.

(g) Idem.

ſame light with the Judge-Advocate; for though they have all preſerved many minuter incidents, not one of them make any mentions of this, or any of its conſequences.

[*G*] *Means to make his eſcape.*] In a treatiſe of his, dedicated to *the Lord's of his Majeſty's moſt honourable Privy Council* (8), we are acquainted with ſome farther particulars relating to this unlucky ſituation of his affairs as follow: 'In 1644, I was condemned to die 'for his Majeſty; Dr Mills, then Judge-Advocate, and 'now [in 1661] Chancellor to the Biſhop of Norwich, pronouncing my ſentence: when in priſon, I 'was viſited by Mr Thorowgood and Arrowſmith, 'two of the ſynod, who very kindly offered me their 'utmoſt intereſt, if I would but make ſome petitionary 'acknowledgment, and ſubmit to take the Covenant; 'which I refuſed. In order to my reprieve, I wrote 'ſeveral letters to the Earl of Northumberland, Earl 'of Stamford, and others of the nobility, from which 'noble perſons I received all juſtice and favour. 'In the Houſe of Commons I was particularly obliged '(among others) to Sir John Corbet *, and Sir Henry 'Cholmondley, who can bear me witneſs, that I uſed 'no unworthy means to ſave my life. But reprieved 'I was; in order to a further hearing in appearance, 'though effectually, during pleaſure. After thirty 'months ſpent in vain endeavours, either to come 'to a hearing, or to put myſelf into an exchangeable condition; I printed a ſtate of my caſe and de- 'dicated my charge and defence, as an appeal from 'the Court-martial to the Lords and Commons, en- 'tituled *L'Eſtrange's Appeal from the Court martial* '*to the Parliament*.' And in another part of the ſame treatiſe he ſays thus: 'After I had received my 'ſentence, I threw a paper amongſt them (for I was not 'ſuffered to ſpeak) adding withal, that it was my defence, 'which a Wiltſhire gentleman burnt. I was thence 'conveyed to Newgate, where, after almoſt four years 'impriſonment (with my Keeper's privity) I ſlipt into 'Kent, and after the diſſolution of that affair, with 'much difficulty I got beyond the ſea.'

(8) Truth and Loyalty, &c. Letter from H. L. Eſq;

* Sir John was Preſident of the Court-martial by which Mr L'Eſtrange was tried.

The affair here mentioned, was the Kentiſh Inſurrection on the 24th of May 1648; which was chiefly fomented by our author, who had retired to the houſe of Mr Hales, a young gentleman, heir to a great eſtate in that county, who, at the inſtigation of Mr L'Eſtrange (9), firſt encouraged, and afterwards, though totally unexperienced, undertook to head that inſurrection; which, together with the too great precipitancy, was the ruin of their deſign, though their numbers were ſhortly after greatly increaſed, and abler leaders appeared at their head. A conſciouſneſs of his having been too raſh, may be the reaſon why our author mentions this tranſaction only in thoſe ſlight terms, *After the diſſolution of that affair*. For this miſcarriage in Kent, laid the foundation for the routing the Scotch army under the Duke of Hamilton, by Oliver; and for the deſtruction of ſo many of the King's party at Colcheſter; and perhaps, not a little contributed to haſten the determination of deſtroying the King, to prevent any future attempts of that kind in his favour.

(9) Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 103. Whitelock, p. 119, &c. Rapin, fol. Vol. II. B. 21. p. 550, 551. Echard, Vol. II. B. 2. c. 5. p. 643, &c.

[*H*] *An order to attend that Board.*] The order was as follows:

'Wedneſday the 7th of September, 1653.
'At the Council of State at White-hall.

'Ordered,

'That Roger L'Eſtrange be ſent unto to attend 'the Committee of this Council for examinations.

'Ex. *Jo. Thurloe*, Secr.'

[*I*] *Making application to Oliver Cromwell in perſon.*] The detail of this tranſaction is given by our author in the following manner (10). 'From that 'time matters beginning to look worſe and worſe, 'upon what Mr Strickland ſaid to me, (who was one 'of the Commiſſioners appointed for my examination) 'that my caſe was not comprehended in the Act of 'Indemnity; I concluded upon it as my beſt courſe, 'to ſpeak to Cromwell himſelf; as I did at laſt in the 'Cockpit. A while after I prevailed to be called, 'and Mr Strickland, with another gentleman, whoſe 'name I have fogotten, were my examiners; but the 'latter preſſed nothing againſt me: Mr Strickland in- 'deed inſiſted on my condemnation, and would have 'caſt me out of the compaſs of the act, telling me at 'laſt, that I had given no evidence of the change of 'my mind, without which, I was not to be truſted. 'My final anſwer was to this effect; that it was my 'intereſt to change my opinion if I could, *&c.* Some 'few days after this, I was diſcharged according to the 'tenor of the enſuing order.

(10) Truth and Loyalty, &c. Letter from H. L. Eſq;

'Monday the 31ſt of October, 1653.

'At the Council State at White-hall.

'Ordered

'That Mr Roger L'Eſtrange be diſmiſſed from his 'further attendance upon the Council, he giving in 'two thouſand pounds ſecurity to appear when he 'ſhall be ſummoned ſo to do, and to act nothing pre- 'judicial to the Commonwealth.

'Ex. *Jo Thurloe*, Secr.'

[*K*] *They nick named our author Oliver's Fiddler.*] The ſtory as told by Sir Roger is, That in his examination before the Council, meeting with ſeveral difficulties, occaſioned chiefly by Mr Strickland, from whom, as all his friends informed him, he was not to expect the leaſt favour; though he had paid him the civility of a formal viſit in order to ingratiate himſelf a little with him, and had begged of him in vain to be diſpatched, or at leaſt to have leave to viſit his father, then lying at the point of death, as it nearly concerned him, to ſee him, both in point of comfort and intereſt, not having enjoyed that ſatiſfaction for many years: and (that gentleman refuſing his requeſt) he applied on the ſame head to Cromwell, who talked to him *of the reſtleſſneſs of his party*, telling him *that they would do well to give ſome teſtimony of their quiet and peaceable intentions*; adding, *that rigour was not at all his inclination, but that he was but one man and could do little by himſelf*: 'During the dependency of this affair, continues he, I 'might well be ſeen at White-hall; but that I ſpake 'to Cromwell of any other buſineſs than this, that I 'ever ſought or pretended any privacy with him, or 'that I ever ſpake to him after this time I abſolutely 'diſown. Concerning the ſtory of the Fiddle, this, I 'ſuppoſe, might be the riſe of it. Being in St James's 'park, I heard an organ touched in a little low room 'of one Mr Hinckſon's; I went in, and found a pri- 'vate company of ſome five or ſix perſons. They de- 'ſired me to take up a viole and bear a part. I did 'ſo, and that a part too, not much to advance the re- 'putation of my cunning. By and by, without the 'leaſt colour of a deſign or expectation, in comes 'Cromwell. He found us playing, and, as I remem- 'ber, ſo he left us (11).'

(11) Truth and Loyalty, &c.

[*L*] *Expoſtulatte*

with having bribed some of the Protector's people, but that he utterly disclaims, averring he never spoke to Thurloe but once in his life, and that was about his discharge; and that he never gave bribe, little or great, in the family *. He was also charged with having received 600 pounds from Oliver; but this he denied, in a pamphlet called *His Vindication*, &c. and further in that called the *Memento* (b). From this time, 'till the Restoration, he seems to have lived free from any disturbance from the then governing powers; but appears to have been but little taken notice of by Charles the Second or his Ministry, on that Prince's recovering his throne; which made him expostulate loudly and warmly from the Press [L], in behalf of himself and other neglected Cavaliers, who had suffered on account of their attachment to the royal-family and interest during the times of usurpation and confusion. These writings seem not to have produced any great effect with regard to himself at that juncture, though some time afterwards he was made Licenser of the Press, which post he enjoyed 'till near the Revolution: and which appears to be all the recompence he ever received (unless being in the commission of the Peace), though he hints at greater things promised him from the Earl of Clarendon, as appears in the dedication to that nobleman cited in the last note. But this disappointment did not prevent his exerting his talents on behalf of the Crown; for, in 1661, he published a pamphlet, entitled, *Interest mistaken, or the holy Cheat*, &c. in answer to one written by Mr John Corbet a Presbyterian teacher, called, *The Interest of England in the matter of Religion*,

* Idem.

(b) Vid. note [L].

[L] *Expostulate loudly and warmly from the Press.*] In 1660, our author published his Apology, and in August 1661, (though the press date is 1662) he printed a pamphlet entitled *Truth and Loyalty vindicated from the reproaches and clamours of Mr* Edward Bagshaw, *together with a further discovery of the libeller himself, and his seditious confederates. By* Roger L'Estrange. In this piece are many smart strokes at the Court, declaring that *he* verily believed, 'The King 'was betrayed; that many of his favours were surreptitiously obtained, and others abused and misapplied 'by second hands, who were entrusted to dispose of 'them better.' Adding, 'He that saw Cromwell's, 'Bradshaw's, and St John's creatures; nay, and the 'meanest of them, laden with offices and honours, 'might give himself a second thought to understand 'the meaning of it; especially, considering how many 'thousands of loyal subjects were ready to perish for 'want of that which was superfluously scattered among 'scarce so many single persons on the other side;' desiring the King to take it for a general rule, '*That 'the Prince who pinches his subjects bellies will lose 'their hearts.*' Adding, from Sir Francis Bacon, '*That the multiplying the nobility and other degrees of 'quality, doth speedily bring a state to necessity* (12): 'which becomes yet more dangerous, when it happens 'that the ancient Nobility is shrunk into nothing, 'and the new Nobility are raised out of nothing. The 'Court (he says) was dangerously thronged with Parasites; knaves represented to the King for honest 'men, and honest men for villains; a watch upon the 'King's ear, to keep out better information; seditious 'ministers protected and encouraged; libels against 'the King's authority and person dispersed even by 'his Majesty's sworn servants; and to discover treason, was, in some respects to commit it (13).' With respect to these vehement clamours about the distribution of the royal favours, we may say,

(12) Bacon's Essays, Essay 15. Of Seditions and Troubles. But our author has left out the words, 'In an 'over proportion 'to the common 'people.'

(13) Idem. Echard, Vol. II. B. I. c. I. p. 793.

Tempora mutantur, nos non mutamur in illis.

In April 1662, our author published a treatise called the *Memento*, and dedicated it to the Earl of Clarendon; as this piece is not mentioned in any of the printed lists of his works, we insert it here as a curiosity.

'My Lord,

'He that owes more than he is worth, and pays 'as far as he is able, is an honest man; and that is 'my case more ways than one; nor is it possible for 'me to think of my debts, and not of your Lordship's bounties at the same time: under whose roof 'I have received so many benefits; in the establishment of that felicity I reckoned my self as sure 'as in the possession of it: I did, my Lord, and I 'must do so still as sure; for I am the same I 'was, and to suppose your Lordship's good opinion 'either begun or ended without reason, were to subject your wisdom or stability to a question.

'Since so it is, my Lord, that I cannot suspect your 'kindness without an injury to your honour, nor let 'your obligations sleep without some testimony of my 'thankfulness, vouchsafe to know, my Lord, that after 'more than twenty years spent in serving the royal 'interest, near six of them, in goals, and almost four 'under a sentence of death in Newgate; Fortune has 'been so kind as to leave me yet a bottle of ink and 'a heap of paper, out of which pitiful remains I make 'your Lordship, a present of a book, *&c.* I must now 'proceed to acquaint your Lordship, that beside the 'honour of your protection, I have great need of your 'interest and favour; which yet I dare not beg, for 'fear of offending your readiness to do me all reasonable justice without it: in truth, it is not for a 'man of my nature or condition to thrive by begging; 'for he that is both poor and honest, carrys a double 'clogg: especially in this age, (my Lord) when, heaven and hell apart, 'tis a greater scandal and misfortune to be indigent than to be treacherous. But 'there are, my Lord, that do not stick to say I am 'both; and I forgive with all my soul, the worst 'that ever was said of me with good intention to the 'King. It is not long since I troubled your Lordship with a paper upon this subject; to which, 'with leave, I shall add a word or two.

'Some will needs have it, that I do not sufficiently 'deny the six hundred pounds. My Lord, I do so far 'deny it, that I wish that penny or penny's worth, 'which, to the best of my knowledge, I ever received 'from any creature of the rebel's party, or by any 'order from them, or any of them, may rise against 'me at the day of Judgment. There is a farther rumour, as if Captain Whitlock should have sent me 'word that he would justify it: whereas I never heard 'a syllable from him to that purpose; nor the world 'shew the least colour for the truth of that report. 'Let me be pardoned, my Lord, if I conceive this 'address not altogether impertinent; for if it did belong to you to condemn me, while you but thought 'me guilty, your Lordship is certainly obliged in honour to acquit me, when you know me innocent. 'In this particular, my Lord, I think you are bound 'to do me right; but in what follows I totally depend on your favour. There is a pitiful creature, 'one Bagshaw (a Chaplain to the Earl of Anglesey) 'the author of the Animadversions upon the Bishop of 'Worcester's * Letter; this fellow, when his hand 'was in against the Bishop, lends me a lash too, for 'my practices with Cromwell: your Lordship would 'do me a peculiar honour, to procure that he might 'be called before the Council, to make good his 'charge; where, if I prove not him *that* villain that 'he pretends I am, let me suffer for it.

* Dr Morley.

'April 11th, 1662. 'My Lord,

'I am

'your Lordship's

'most obedient Servant,

'Roger L'Estrange.

[M] In

Religion, unfolded in the Solution of three Questions, &c. London, 1660, 8vo [*M*]: and the same year came out his *Relapsed Apostate*, and the supplement thereto (*i*); and his *Caveat to the Cavaliers*, and his *Modest Plea for the Caveat and it's Author*. In 1663, he set up a news-paper, called *The Public Intelligencer, and the News*; the first of which came out on Monday the thirty-first of August, and the second on Thursday the third of September in that year: and continued to be published twice a week [Mondays and Thursdays], 'till Friday the 19th of January, 1665, when he laid it down on the design then concerted, of publishing the London Gazette [*N*]; the first of which papers made it's appearance on Saturday the fourth of February following (*k*). In 1681, he published his answer to *The Appeal from the Country to the City*, written by Charles Blount, Esq; (*l*) [*O*]: and had before that printed *Tyranny and Popery lording it over the Consciences, Lives,*

(*i*) Wood's Athenæ Oxon. Vol. II. col. 674.

(*k*) Ath. Oxon.

(*l*) See the article BLOUNT [CHARLES], in the second volume of this work, p. 836. note [*D*].

[*M*] *In answer to one written by Mr John Corbet . . . . . . London*, 1660, 8*vo*.] Mr Anthony Wood says (14), *Corbet in his book justifies the Presbyterian cause of* 1641, *excludes the Royal party that served the late King* [*Charles I.*] *from having any hand in the restoring of this* [*Charles II.*]; *revives the pretended misdemeanors of the Bishops, as occasioners of the last war; maintains the actings of the Presbyterians according to the Covenant; makes the two Houses participate the Sovereignty, and denies the lawfulness of the English ceremony*, &c. A second edition of our author's Answer was printed in 1662. Corbet's book was likewise answered by a pamphlet first printed in 1676, under the title of *The Presbytrians unmasked*; and again in 1681, by the name of the *Dissenters disarmed*: both times anonymous, but supposed to be wrote by Mr Samuel Thomas, Chantor of Christ-Church, Oxon. Mr Baxter, in one of his sermons calls this last author *A shameless writer, who published a bloody invective against Mr* Corbet's *pacificatory book called* The Interest of England, *as if it had been written to raise a war* (15).

(14) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 674.

(15) Baxter's Sermons, p. 31. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 674.

[*N*] *He laid it down on the* London Gazette's *coming out*.] Mr Wood gives an account of this paper in his *Athenæ Oxonienses*, as follows: '*Mercurius Politicus*; comprising the sum of foreign intelligence, 'with the affairs now on foot in the three nations of 'England, Scotland, and Ireland. . . . . . These Mercuries came out weekly every Wednesday, in two 'sheets, 4to, commencing with the 9th of June, 1649, 'and ending with the 6th of June, 1650. At which 'time, being Thursday, he began again with number I, 'from Thursday June 6th, to Thursday June 13th, '1650. Beginning . . . . . . *Why should not the Commonwealth have a Fool as well as the King had*, &c. '*Now appeared in print* (saith a certain writer (16)) '*as a weekly champion of the new Commonwealth, and 'to bespatter the King* (Charles II.) *with the basest of 'scurrilous raillery, one Marchmont Nedham, under the 'name of Politicus, a Jack of all sides, transcendently gifted in opprobrious and treasonable droll, and 'hired therefore by Bradshaw, to act the second part of 'his starch'd and more solemn treason . . . . . Who began his first Diurnal, with an invective against Monarchy and the Presbyterian Scotch Kirk, and ended it 'with an Hosanna to Oliver Cromwell, who in the beginning of June returned by the way of Bristol from 'Ireland to London*. These *Mercurii Politici* (wherein were many discourses against Monarchy, and in 'behalf of a free State; especially in those that were 'published before Oliver Cromwell gaped after the 'supremacy) were constantly carried on 'till about the 'middle of April, 1660, when then (as several times 'before) the author was prohibited by order of the 'Council of State. By virtue of which order, Henry 'Muddiman and Giles Dury were authorised to publish their Inteligence every Monday and Thursday, 'under the titles of *Parliamentary Intelligencer* and '*Mercurius Publicus*, which continued (Dury soon 'after giving over) 'till the middle of August 1663, 'and then Roger L'Estrange published the Intelligence twice every week in quarto sheets, under the 'titles of *The public Intelligencer* and *The News*. The 'first of which came out the 31st of August, and the 'other on the 3d of September, an. 1663. These 'continued 'till the 29th of January, 1665, at which 'time L'Estrange desisted, because in November going before were other kinds of news-papers published 'twice every week in half a sheet in folio. These 'were called the *Oxford Gazette*, and the first commenced the 7th of November, 1665, the King and 'Queen with their Courts being then at Oxon. Those 'for a little time, were written, I think, by Mr Henry 'Muddiman: but when the said Courts removed to '*London*, they were entitled and called *The London* '*Gazette*; the first of which that was published there, 'came forth on the 5th of February following, the 'King being then at White-hall.' This last date, must be either a mistake in the diligent Antiquary, or an error of the press; for the 5th of February that year was Sunday, the Dominical letter being A: and as the first came out at Oxford on a *Tuesday*, so the first at London was published on *Saturday*, which have ever since been the days of publication of that paper.

(16) Heath's Chronicle, under the year 1650.

[*O*] *Written by Charles Blount, Esq*;] This piece was wrote and published during the height of the ferment raised by the Popish plot, and to prepare the way for the Exclusion Bill, the main drift of it being to recommend the Duke of Monmouth to the people. It is wrote with great acrimony against the Court, and the then measures of the ministry, in such terms as these: 'Now, Gentlemen, (speaking to 'the Citizens of London) lest any among you should 'be ignorant, either of your enemies, or their designs, 'both against the King and Kingdom . . . . . they are 'young beggarly officers, courtiers, over-hot churchmen, and Papists: the young officer, or soldier's interest, makes him wish for a standing army; the 'Courtier endeavours to advance taxes, oppressive and 'illegal impositions; the over-hot Churchmen wish 'well to Popery, in hope of a cardinal's cap, or at 'least the command of some abbey, priory, or other 'ecclesiastical preferment, whereof the Roman Church 'hath so great plenty. These are the men who exclaim against our Parliament's proceedings, in relation to the Plot, as too violent, calling these times 'by no other name but that of Forty, or Forty-one; 'when, to amuse his sacred Majesty, and his good people, they again threaten us with another Forty-'eight: and all this is done under-hand to vindicate 'the Catholic party, by throwing a suspicion on the 'Fanatics. These are the Episcopal Tantivies, who 'make even the very Scriptures pimp for the Court; 'who out of *Urim* and *Thummim* can extort a sermon 'to prove the not paying of tithes and taxes to be the 'sin against the Holy Ghost; and had rather see the 'kingdom run down with blood, than part with the 'least hem of a consecrated frock, which they them-'selves made holy.' And a little after, having endeavoured to prove it was the Papists who brought King Charles the first to the block, he adds, 'Their interest 'does unavoidably excite them to murther his sacred 'Majesty: for first, they know he cannot long subsist 'without a considerable sum of money, which he must 'receive either from the party or from the Parliament: 'now, for them to supply him with so vast a sum, is a 'charge, that (you may well imagine) they would de-'sire to get rid of it if they could, tho' by the King's 'death. On the other side, for the Parliament to 'supply him with money, *that* they know cannot be 'done but by taking off the heads of their faction, 'excluding their Succession, and consenting to such 'laws as must of necessity ruin them: besides, his 'Majesty has already permitted the executing so many 'of their party, as they never can nor will forgive it.' Speaking also of the danger arising from the execution of so black a design, he says, *The greatest danger will proceed from a confusion, and want of some eminent and interested persons, whom you may trust to lead you up against a* French and Popish *army; for which purpose no person is fitter than his Grace the Duke of* Monmouth, *as well for quality, courage, and conduct, as for that his life and fortune depend upon the same bottom with yours: he will stand by you, therefore you ought to stand by him. And remember, the old rule is*, 'He who has the worst title ever makes the best

'King

Lives, Liberties, and Estates, both of King and People. In the same year came out his own Appeal [*P*]; and after the dissolution of Charles the Second's last Parliament, he begun to

(17) Appeal from the Country, &c. 1679, 4to. p. 3, 4, 5, &c.

'King (17).' Which our author answers thus: 'Does 'he suppose this confusion upon the death of the 'King; or the burning of the City; or before or 'after? or has he consulted either the illustrious per'son, or the honourable City (that he makes so 'bold with) to know whether or not the one would 'accept of such a commission upon the appellant's 'terms, or the other offer it? The character that 'he is pleased to bestow upon his Grace for his qua'lity, courage, and conduct, is not unknown to any 'man that ever so much as heard of his name: but 'the appellant never so much as considers, that all 'these glorious circumstances are point blank con'tradictions to his designs. How can he imagine that 'so brave a person can ever stoop to so mean a 'thought, and suffer himself by a prostitute libel to be 'inchanted out of his honour, reason, and allegiance? 'or that the most eminent city of Christendom for 'purity of religion, loyalty to their prince, power, 'good government, wealth and resolution, should be 'cajoled out of all these blessings and advantages by 'the jesuitical fanaticism of a dark-lanthorn pam'phlet? But to what end is all this clutter? The 'appellant has a mind (it seems) to change his 'Master, &c. (18).'

(18) Answer to the Appeal from the Country, &c. p. 38.

[*P*] *He published his own Appeal*] This came out under the following title. *L'Estrange* his Appeal. *Humbly submitted to the King's most excellent Majesty, and the three Estates assembled in Parliament, London* 1681, 4*to* In this tract our author observes that, '*If the matter in question had been the single case of* L'Estrange, *nothing could be more ridiculous than the vanity of his appeal; but as his case stands complicate with other circumstances, that import no less than the honour, the justice, and the very security of the Government, it is no longer a private apology but a publick duty.*' He then proceeds to the distribution of his subjects under particular heads; 'The first point (says he) shall 'be the subject matter of those swarms of libels that 'have taken me in their way to the King and the 'Church. *Secondly*, To vindicate and discharge my'self from those calumnies. *Thirdly*, To lay open 'the quality of the libellers; and the true reason of 'their rancour against me, in despite of all pretensions 'to the contrary. *Fourthly*, To set forth their de'signs and practices upon the dignity and safety of 'the Government, and upon the public peace. And, '*lastly*, A modest deliberation how far in honour, jus'tice, and policy, it may concern any prince or state 'whatsoever, to support, countenance, and protect the 'assertors of their laws, rights, privileges, against the 'bold and seditious attempts of the enemies of the 'Constitution (19).' He then gives us the charge against him, consisting of six articles: 1. *That he had turned the* [Popish] *Plot into ridicule; and put an affront upon King, Lords, and Commons, in so doing.* 2. *That he had countenanced a Sham-plot; and endeavoured to turn it upon the* Presbyterians. 3. *That he had made it his business to lessen the credit of the King's witnesses.* 4. *That he had comprehended all the states, orders, and divisions of men, both Lords, Citizens, and Commons of England, under the opprobrious names of* Cit *and* Bumkin. 5. *That he had scandalously misrepresented all the late* Petitions [for holding the Parliament], *and the promoters of them.* 6. *That his writings created misunderstandings, and tended to the embroyling of the Kingdom* (20). The first he answers by several quotations from his own writings on that subject, which shew that he treated it in a serious and becoming manner; and in one instance professes an implicit faith. 'As to the Popish Plot, that is sworn by 'the King's witnesses, *I lay my faith at their feet*, 'without any further inquiry or dispute.' He refutes the second article of the Charge, by shewing his consistency of behaviour from 1661 to 1681; and to prove that consistency, cites the following passage from the Epistle Dedicatory to his *Holy Cheat*, published in the former year. 'They [the Presbyterians] cast the 'blood and guilt of the late war upon his Majesty; 'make his adherents traytors; place the Supreme au'thority in the two Houses; subject the law to an or'dinance; the Government to a faction; and ani'mate the schismatiques to serve his Majesty in be'ing, as *they* did his father (21).' In reply to the third calumny of discrediting the witnesses for the Crown, he produces the following paragraphs. 'They are, 'wonderful things Dr [*Oates*] which you have done 'already; and I am persuaded that you are yet re'served for more wonderful things to come, when 'Truth shall deliver herself from the rubbish of op'pression and slander; and in despite of envy, and 'imposture, render your name as famous to posterity, 'as your virtue has made it to the present generation. 'And this I write with little less than the genius of a 'Prophet (22).' And a little after, addressing himself to the same person. 'Who was it but you that so 'effectually laid open the intrigues of the Priests and 'Jesuites, with the Schismatiques in the late Re'bellion? That shewed his Majesty so plainly who 'they were that dethroned and murdered his father; 'and painted the whole conspiracy so to the life, that 'one might wink and see through it? Who but you, 'Sir, to trace them down to this very instant, thro' all 'their disguises and cabals, fomenting a rebellion in 'Scotland with the Presbyterians; incendiaries in *Lon*'*don*, with the Millenaries; and up and down tam'pering with the crew of the sectaries? Who was it 'but you that first found out the conspiracy itself, and 'then the conspirators? Who but you, the eminent 'instrument in opening of the combination (23)?' And further, 'I believe the plot, and as much as 'every *good subject* ought to believe, or as man in his '*right wits* can believe: nay, I do so also believe it, 'that in my conscience you yourself, Doctor, do not 'believe more of it than I do (24).' When it is remembered that Charles the second never believed any part of the Popish Plot; but was reduced by a powerful faction, headed by Lord Shaftesbury, to take away the lives of many, whom in his own conscience he did not believe in the least guilty: the art of our author's ironical turn in the above passages must be very conspicuous; but whether that will justify his modesty, in offering them as a justification to the other party, may admit a question: but in the succeeding reign he saw his prophecy fulfilled, with respect to *Oates*, and many other of those busy meddlers. He uses the same methods of quotations to clear himself from the fourth and fifth articles of the Charge; and to the sixth, which charges his writings with creating misunderstandings, &c. he gives the following answer: 'If it be so, I 'have been extremely out in my measures all this 'while, to be still creating of misunderstandings, in the 'very act of endeavouring either to rectify, or to pre'vent them; and to endanger the peace of the King'dom in the design of preserving it. If to assert the 'Law and the Government against all opposers; if 'to lay open the malice and calumny of so many 'bold libels against his Majesty's person, authority, 'and government; if to maintain the Apostolical order 'and the constitutions of the Church against schism; 'and the powers and privileges of the State against 'all principles of sedition; if to inculcate reverence 'and obedience towards our superiors; if to recom'mend the blessings and duties of unity in a due sub'mission to the provisions that are made for the up'holding of order both in Church and State; if the 'bending of all my thoughts and applications to these 'ends, be to create misunderstandings, and breed ill 'blood in the hearts of his Majesty's liege people; 'then am I guilty of the matter charged upon me in 'this article, and no otherwise (25).' He then proceeds to the third branch of his defence, the quality of the libellers, the chief of whom were Henry Care, Miles Prance, and Titus Oates: 'The Ægyptian Lo'custs (he says) were nothing to this plague of our 'English scarabs, that devour not only the fruit but 'the honour of the land; and render the English na'tion, as much as in them lies, a laughing-stock to all 'our neighbours round about us. It is not that I am 'angry with Harry Care for the delicate back-strokes 'he gave me in *Prance's last Narrative*, by his inven'tion for the setting up of a correspondence between 'Mrs Cellier * and myself; a person whose face I 'never saw in my whole life time, that I know of, ''till (before the Council) about a week or ten days 'after the publishing of that book: 'tis true it was as 'false and as shameless a contrivance as possible; but 'why should I expect better from him, when God Al'mighty

(19) L'Estrange his Appeal, &c. p. 1.

(20) Id. p. 2.

(21) L'Estrange's Appeal, &c. p. 6.

(22) Id. p. 7. Further Discovery on the Plot, p. 21.

(23) Id. p. 8.

(24) Id. ibid. Further Discovery, &c. p. 2.

(25) L'Estrange's Appeal, &c. p. 20.

* The Directress of the famous Meal-Tub Plot, so called, from the several papers containing the scheme being found in a meal-tub at her house, 26 Octob. 1679. Vid. Echard's History of England, under that year and title.

to publish his *Observators*, the design of which were, to vindicate the measures of the Court, and the character of the King, from the charge of being Popishly affected: which he did with such vehemence, that it raised him many enemies, who endeavoured, not withstanding his known loyalty, to render him obnoxious to the Government, by charging him with disaffection; in supporting and aggravating which charge, none was more busy than the noted Miles Prance [*Q*]. But our author made shift to weather all those storms during the reign of Charles the Second, and was considerably taken notice of by his successor; who, in the first year of his reign, conferred the honour of knighthood on him [*R*]. From this time we know but little of him, further than that, in 1687, he was

'mighty has written the signal of what he is in the 'very visage of the animal (26)?' He then examines the grounds of their malice against him, shews it was because he had been a violent adversary to the Presbyterians and the measures of 1641; and asserts *he had never put pen to paper* then, *but either in his own defence, or in the vindication of the Public*; enters into a detail of his writings and their design, and con ludes this head thus: 'I know very well that I am charged 'for writing more than my share, when the true reason of it was, that others wrote less; and in effect, 'it was more than one man's work to attempt what I 'have done. But upon a sense that the thing was of 'absolute necessity for some body to do; and finding 'other people more cautious than I thought was either 'needful or expedient, in so public a case, I engaged 'myself further than my neighbours; and not without 'the foresight of these outrages which I knew I was 'to draw upon myself: neither is this the first time 'that I have sacrificed all other considerations to my 'duty (27). Some will have it (continues he) that I 'have been set on by the promises and temptations 'of advantages and rewards; which is an imagination so far from the truth of this matter, that, 'all things considered (saving my veneration and humble acknowledgments to his Majesty, who hath been 'very gracious to me) I do positively aver, that the 'King has not a subject in the three kingdoms that 'has suffered harder measure, and more contrary to law 'and justice than I myself have done; and all this without the ballance of any other recompence than a little court holy-water, and fair words. Besides, that 'in the worst of times, I did the same thing thro' all 'difficulties and hazards (28).' He next enters into the tendency of the writings he opposed; particularly *The Plea to the Duke's Answers*; *The Impartial Proceedings*; *The Appeal from the Country*; *The Political Catechism*; *The Growth of Popery* (29); and *The Freeholders Choice*; and insists their doctrines are treasonable. Lastly, he enters into consideration, *how far in* Honour, Justice, *and* Policy, *it may concern any* Prince *or* State *whatsoever to* support, countenance, and protect *the* assertors *of their* laws, rights, and privileges, *against the* bold *and* seditious *attempts of the* enemies *of the* Constitution. On this head he observes, that rewards and punishments are the two main pillars of government; that neglecting them is like letting a house fall for want of repair; but inverting them, by the magistrate's rewarding where he should punish, and punishing where he should reward, is like a man's pulling down his house with his own hands, be the form of government what it will: since nothing can be more dangerous, *than to shew an honest man that he has nothing to* hope, *or a knave, that he has nothing to* fear. He lays it down as a maxim, that supporting and protecting those who assert the government, is not any benignity or respect to the person asserting, but common justice to a principle of government itself; without which no government can be of long continuance. 'For (says he) all public services are accompanied 'with hardship and pain, as they are follow'd with 'envy and detraction. 'Tis nothing for a man to 'go down hill, especially when he sees profit, pleasures, and preferment at the bottom; and that in 'such a course he does but follow the byass of his 'own appetites and corruptions: but it is another case 'for flesh and blood to lie beating of it out a whole 'age against wind and tide; and when he has conquered that difficulty, to be cast upon the rocks, and 'there abandoned at last. Or, to follow my first 'allegory, it is but a cold comfort for a man to lie 'striving thirty or forty years, to gain the top of a 'hill, only upon a barren instinct of honour or virtue; and when he comes there, to have only the 'choice either of a gaol, or of a gibbet, for his last 'retreat. The duty of persevering is nevertheless 'binding for the difficulty of the attempt; but yet, 'according to the measures of human frailty, the 'French King himself, perhaps, would find it an hard 'matter to levy an army of fifty or threescore thousand men (out of all his dominions) of that complexion.' He adds, '*That when the honourable House of Commons shall come to know him better by his actions, open dealings and professions, than the world then did by the* fiddlers *and the* rascals *that the* paltry news-papers *had represented him to be*; *he makes no doubt but they would think him worthy some reparation from the authors of those scandals*; *and out of a regard to the honourable blood that runs in their own veins, would consider the case of another gentleman as their own, and not suffer men of name and family to be blamed at such a rate by the sons of the* people (30).' He next enters into a detail of his persecutions, chiefly arising from Dr Oates, who first charged him before the Council with confederating with Dr Tonge to impeach the validity of Oates's testimony; next with high-treason, for conspiring against the King's witnesses, Oates, Bedloe, Prance; and, lastly, for being Popishly affected: to prove this, Prance swore (31) that he had seen our author three or four times at mass at Somerset-house, about two years before, and doing there as other people did; but would not say he had seen him receive. 'Whereupon (says our author) I did with the most horrid solemnity of imprecation imaginable, declare myself to be of the 'Church of England; and that I had never entered 'into any Popish chapel, or been present at any 'mass, since his Majesty's return; which protestation I 'do here again resume, intending by these words, *his 'Majesty's return*, the King's blessed Restoration in 'the year 1660. I cannot but note a great abatement in Prance's reckoning; for I am assured that 'Prance swore in the company of Care, Curtis, and 'some othe people, that he had seen me at mass, at 'least, or about, an hundred times.' He concludes the whole thus: 'This disgust could never have laid 'hold of me in a better time; for I am really as sick 'of the world as peevishness itself can be of me. And 'having stood all proofs, both of my fidelity to my 'master, and of my integrity in despite of my enemies, I'll e'en betake myself to the quietest way of 'making my escape out of an impious and trepanning 'world into a better (32).'

[*Q*] *The noted Miles Prance.*] The reverend Mr Echard says (33), That Dr Sharp told him, when Archbishop of York, that whilst he was Rector of of St Giles in the Fields, in the County of Middlesex, our author, Mr Baxter, and Miles Prance, on a certain sacrament-day all approached the communion-table together, Mr L'Estrange at one end, Prance at the other, and Baxter in the middle: that these two, by their situation, were administred to before our author, who, when it came to his turn, taking the bread in his hand, asked the Doctor if he knew who that man (pointing to Prance) on the other side of the rails was; to which the Doctor answering in the negative; Mr L'Estrange replied, *That is Miles Prance*; *and I here challenge him, and solemnly declare before God and this congregation, that what that man has sworn or published concerning me is totally and absolutely false*; *and may this sacrament be my damnation if all this declaration be not true.* The reverend author cited, adds, 'Prance was silent, Mr Baxter took special notice of 'it, and Dr Sharp declared, *He would have refused 'Prance the sacrament had the challenge been made in 'time.*'

[*R*] *Conferred knighthood on him.*] This honour was accompanied with the following declaration in public.

(26) Id. p. 21, 22.

(27) Id. p. 22 ad 28.

(28) Id. ibid.

(29) Vid. article of MARVEL [ANDREW].

(30) Id. p. 32, 33.

(31) Id. p. 35.

(32) Id. p. 37.

(33) Echard's History of England, Vol. III. B. 3. c. 2. p. 1081.

was obliged to lay down his *Observators*, now swelled to three volumes, as he could not agree with the Toleration proposed by James the Second, though in all other respects he had gone the utmost lengths, even to writing strenuously in defence of the dispensing power claimed by that infatuated prince; which, perhaps, was one reason why he was by some accused of having become a proselyte to the Church of Rome. This accusation gave him much uneasiness; and, to obviate it, he drew up a solemn declaration, directed to Sir Nicholas L'Estrange [S]; on the truth of which he received the Sacrament at the time of publishing the same, which is supposed to be some time in the year 1690 (*m*). By this declaration we find he was married; but who his lady was, or what issue he had by her, more than the daughter therein mentioned (unless John L'Estrange, one of the witnesses thereto, was his son), we know not; nor can say any thing further, than that he died the 11th of December 1704, wanting but five days of eighty-eight years of age, and was buried in the church of St Giles in the Fields [T], in the county of Middlesex. He was author of many political tracts, and translated several things from Greek, Latin, and Spanish; the chief of which are as follow: *Roger L'Estrange his Apology. Truth and Loyalty vindicated, &c. The Memento. The Reformed Catholic. The Free-born subject. Answer to the Appeal, &c. Seasonable Memorial. Cit and Bumkin, in two parts. Further Discovery. Case put. Narrative of the Plot. Holy Cheat. Toleration discussed. Discovery on Discovery. L'Estrange's Appeal, &c. Collections in defence of the King. Relapsed Apostate. Apology for Protestants.* Richard *against* Baxter. *Tyranny and Popery. Growth of Knavery.* L'Estrange *no Papist, &c. The Shammer shammed. Account cleared. Reformation reformed. Dissenters Sayings,* two parts. *Notes on* College *. *Zekiel and Ephraim. Papist in Masquerade. Answer to the second Character of a Popish Successor. Considerations on Lord* Russel's *Speech.* All these were printed in 4to. *History of the Plot. Caveat to the Cavaliers. Plea for the Caveat and it's Author.* These were in folio †. His translations were, *Josephus's Works. Cicero's Offices. Seneca's Morals. Erasmus's Colloquies. Æsop's Fables. Quevedo's Visions. Bona's Guide to Eternity.* And *Five Love-Letters from a Nun to a Cavalier.* Besides all these, he wrote several news-papers and occasional pieces. The late Mr Thomas Gordon, author of the *Independent Whig*, and translator of *Tacitus*, &c. has been very severe in his remarks on our author's writings, and particularly on his stile (*n*). But one of our author's contemporary writers (*o*) observes, that those who shall consider the number and greatness of his books, will admire he should ever write so many; and those who have read them, considering the stile and method they are writ in, will more admire he should write so well (*p*).

(*m*) Letter from Hamond L'Estrange, Esq;

* That is, Stephen College, commonly then called the Protestant Joiner, whose story may be seen in Mr Echard's and other general histories of England.

† The two last were written in answer to a Cordial for the Cavaliers, and the Reply by James Howell, Esq; See his article in note (*kk*).

(*n*) Discourses on Tacitus, Disc. I. sect. xv. p. 57. 1737, 8vo. N. B. Sir Roger had preceded Mr Gordon in translating Tacitus jointly with some other persons.

(*o*) Mr William Winstanley.

(*p*) The Lives of the most famous English Poets, or the Honour of Parnassus, &c. Lond. 1687, 8vo. See also Cibber's Lives of the Poets, in that of L'Estrange.

public. 'That it was in consideration of his eminent and unshaken loyalty to the Crown in all extremities; and, as a mark of singular satisfaction, his Majesty has in his present as well as his past services, with repeated declarations of his Royal grace and bounty towards him (34).'

(34) Id. p. 1050.

[S] *A solemn declaration directed to Sir* Nicholas L'Estrange.] This declaration also was made at or just before his receiving of the communion, and is entitled, 'Sir Roger L'Estrange's Declaration of his Faith; occasioned by his daughter's changing her religion, after marrying a Papist without his consent;' and is supposed to have been made about the year 1690 (35). It is as follows:

(35) Letter from Hamond L'Estrange, Esq; by whose care the said Declaration was first made public, about 30 years ago.

'Sir,

'The late departure of my daughter from the Church of England to the Church of Rome wounds the very heart of me; for I do solemnly protest, as in the presence of God Almighty, that I knew nothing of it: and for your farther satisfaction, I take the liberty to assure you, upon the faith of a man of honour and conscience, that as I was born and brought up in the communion of the Church of England, so I have been true to it ever since, with a firm resolution, with God's assistance, to continue in the same to my Life's end.

'Now, in case it shall please God, in his Providence to suffer this *scandal* to be revived upon my memory when I am dead and gone, make use, I beseech you, of this paper in my justification, which I deliver as a sacred truth. So help me God.

'Signed in the presence of us, 'Roger L'Estrange.

'John L'Estrange,
'Richard Sure.' 'To Sir Nicholas L'Estrange, Bart.'

[T] *In the church of St* Giles *in the Fields.*] Upon the middle pillar, on the north side of which church, is the following inscription:

'Sir Roger L'Estrange, Knt,
'Born 17th of December, 1616,
'Dyed 11th of December, 1704,
'Anno Ætatis suæ 87.'

In 1705, a gentleman of Cambridge published a copy of verses on his death; entitled *Luctus Britannici.* He was in the Commission of the Peace for Westminster, or Middlesex, during the reigns of King Charles the second, and his brother; but probably did not continue so after the Revolution, as Queen Mary seemed to shew great contempt of him, making the following anagram on his name:

Roger L' Estrange,
Lying strange Roger (36). Z

(36) From the information of a lady now living, 1752.

LEWIS [John], a late learned Divine, Historian, and Antiquary, was born the 29th of August, 1675, at Bristol; his father being a wine-cooper in that city. He had his education in Grammar-learning in the free-school at Winbourn in Dorsetshire. From thence he went to Oxford, and was admitted a Scholar in Exeter-college. After having taken one degree, he was ordained, in 1698, by Henry Lord Bishop of London, and was some time Curate to the Reverend Mr Russell, Rector of St John's Wapping. In the year 1699, Lord-Chancellor Somers gave him the rectory of Acris in Kent: and in the year 1705, he was appointed Minister of Meregate, or Margate, in the isle of Thanet. He resigned Acris in 1706, upon his being collated by Archbishop Tennison to the Rectory of Saltwood in Kent, with the chapel of Hyth annexed. The same year, his Grace gave him also the Rectory of Eastbridge in the said county, of which the church is

ruinous. In 1708, the same munificent patron collated him to the vicarage of Minſtre in the Iſle of Thanet; whereupon he reſigned Saltwood and Hyth. And in 1719, Archbiſhop Wake conſtituted him Maſter of Eaſtbridge-hoſpital in the city of Canterbury. Theſe are all the preferments he had. He reſided at Margate from the year 1705 'till the time of his death, which happened on January 16, 1746-7. He was buried in the chancel of Minſtre-church, with his wife, who was the youngeſt daughter of Robert Knowler, Gent. of Herne in the county of Kent. She died twenty-ſeven years before him, leaving no iſſue. They lie under a black marble ſtone, with an inſcription [*A*], which he left and ordered to be inſcribed (*a*). In the years 1706, and 1711, 1712, &c. he publiſhed a few ſmall pieces [*B*]. But, in the year 1720, he put out a work that had coſt him a good deal of labour and time, namely, The Life of Dr Wicliffe [*C*]. And in 1731, he publiſhed the Tranſlation of the New Teſtament into Engliſh, by the ſame learned author [*D*]. The ſame year, he publiſhed a new edition of the Life and Death of Sir Thomas Moore, Knight, by William Rooper, Eſq; [*E*]. He was alſo author of the following curious books, which are ſufficient demonſtrations of his very great induſtry and learning; namely, the Hiſtory and Antiquities of the Iſle of Thanet: the Hiſtory of the Abbey and Church of Faverſham: the Hiſtory of the Riſe and Progreſs of Anabaptiſm in England: the Life of Mr William Caxton: the Life of Dr Reginald Pecock: a Diſſertation on the Antiquity and Uſe of Seals in this Kingdom: a Defence of the Communion-office and Catechiſm of the Church of England, againſt two Popiſh Miſſionaries [*F*]. Beſides which, he left ſeveral pieces in manuſcript [*G*], mentioned below in the note.

(*a*) From Memoirs communicated by a relation of his.

[*A*] *With an inſcription.*] Conſiſting only of theſe few words, *H. S. S. Reliquiæ Mariæ Lewis, et Joannis quondam Vicarii hujus Eccleſiæ, qui obiit* 16 *Jan. A. D.* 1746. *Ætatis ſuæ* 72.

[*B*] *In the years* 1706, *&c. he publiſhed a few ſmall pieces.*] Namely, I. 'Companion for the afflicted.' Lond. 1706. 8v°. II. 'Apology for the Clergy of the Church of England.' Lond. 1711. 8v°. III. 'The Church Catechiſm explained, by way of Queſtion and Anſwer; and confirmed by Scripture Proofs.' &c. Lond. 1712. 12m°. Extracted chiefly from Biſhop Williams's Expoſition of the Church Catechiſm. IV. 'Two Letters in defence of the Engliſh Liturgy and Reformation.' Lond. 1717. 8v°.

[*C*] *The Life of Dr Wicliffe.*] The whole title of that book is, V. 'The Hiſtory of the Life and Sufferings of the Reverend and learned John Wicliffe D. D. Warden of Canterbury hall, and publick Profeſſor of Divinity in Oxford; and Rector of Lutterworth, in Leiceſterſhire, in the reigns of King Edward III. and King Richard II. Together with a Collection of Papers relating to the ſaid Hiſtory, never before printed.' Lond. 1720. 8v°. To which is added, A ſupplement from copies of ſeveral MSS. in the Bodleian library, and the library of Trinity college near Dublin; communicated by Dr Martin fellow of Merton college in Oxford, and Dr Timothy Goodwin Biſhop of Kilmore in Ireland: with corrections and additions to the foregoing part. He made further additions to it afterwards; of which we ſhall take notice in note [*G*] when we come to mention the ſeveral pieces he left behind him in manuſcript.

[*D*] *The Tranſlation of the New Teſtament into Engliſh, by the ſame learned author.*] This is intituled, VI. 'The New Teſtament of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, tranſlated out of the Latin vulgat. by *John Wickliffe*. S. T. P. Prebendary of *Auſt*, in the Collegiate Church of *Weſtbury*, and Rector of *Lutterworth* about 1378. To which is prefix'd, A Hiſtory of the ſeveral Tranſlations of the Holy Bible, and New Teſtament, &c. into Engliſh, both in manuſcript and print; and of the moſt remarkable Editions of them, ſince the invention of printing.' Lond. 1731. fol. This book ſeems to be very accurately printed; and the initial letters were caſt on purpoſe to reſemble thoſe in the manuſcript. Some time after, he reviſed and enlarged the curious Preface, and printed it by itſelf in one volume 8v°. under the title of, VII. 'A complete Hiſtory of the ſeveral Tranſlations of the Holy Bible, and New Teſtament, into Engliſh, &c.' Lond. 1739.

[*E*] *A new Edition of the Life and Death of Sir Thomas Moore*, &c.] T. Hearne had printed an Edition of it in 1716. But our author having got from a neighbouring Gentleman, a MS. written in the hand commonly uſed in King Henry VIII. and Queen Elizabeth's reign; more complete and perfect (as he thought) than the other, as repreſenting intelligibly what in Hearne's edition is downright nonſenſe; of which he gives ſome inſtances (1); VIII. He therefore gave this new edition of that Life. And added ſome notes at the bottom of the pages, and ſeveral Letters of Sir Thomas More, and others, at the end.

(1) See preface, p. 21—24.

[*F*] *He was alſo author of the following curious Books, &c.*] They were publiſhed in the following order, and ſize. IX. 'The Hiſtory and Antiquities of the Iſle of Thanet or Tenet,' &c. firſt printed in 1723. A ſecond edition came out in 1736. 4to. X. 'The Hiſtory of the Abbey and Church of Faverſham,' &c. Lond. 1727. 4to. XI. 'The Lyfe of Mayſter Wyllyam Caxton of the Weald of Kent, the firſt Printer in England.' &c. Lond. 1737. 8v°. XII. 'Hiſtory of the Riſe and Progreſs of Anabaptiſm in England.' Lond. 1738. 8v°. XIII. 'A Diſſertation on the uſe and Antiquity of Seals in England.' Lond. 1740. 8v°. a pamphlet. XIV. 'A Defence of the Communion-office and Catechiſm of the Church of England, from the falſe and groundleſs Charge of their favouring the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation; brought againſt them by two of the preſent Popiſh Engliſh Miſſionaries in their late Books, entitled, *Paſtoral Inſtructions*, &c. printed A. D. 1713. and *A plain Anſwer to Dr Middleton's Letter from Rome*, printed A. D. 1741. Addreſſed to the inhabitants of London and Weſtminſter.' Lond. 1742. 8v°. a pamphlet. XV. 'The Life of Dr Reynold Pecock, Lord Biſhop of St Aſaph and Chicheſter in the Reign of King Henry the VIth. being a ſequel to the Life of Wicliff.' 1744. 8v°. XVI. 'A brief Diſcovery of ſome of the Arts of the Popiſh Proteſtant Miſſioners in England.' Lond. 1750. 8v°.

[*G*] *He left ſeveral pieces in manuſcript.*] The following pieces, in Mr Lewis's own hand-writing, were lately in the poſſeſſion of Mr Thomas Oſborne, Bookſeller in London. 1. Principles and Practices of certain Moderate Divines of the Church of England, formerly called by their enemies Latitudinarians, and now Low-Church-men (greatly miſunderſtood) truly repreſented and defended. Which is almoſt literally the ſame as the title of a Book, printed in 1670 by Dr Edward Fowler, afterwards Biſhop of Glouceſter. 2 Brief Apology for thoſe Divines of the Church of England, who have oppoſed the Notion of the Bread and Wine in the Euchariſt being a propitiatory Sacrifice. 3. The Doctrine of the Invalidity of Lay-Baptiſm no Doctrine of the antient Chriſtian Church: To which is added an Appendix, wherein is ſhewen the primitive Doctrine of the Chriſtian Prieſthood. 4. Addreſs to thoſe who doubt the lawfulneſs of Infant-Baptiſm. 5. Treatiſe on the Church ſervice. 6. Treatiſe concerning Prieſtly habits and veſtments, and proceedings againſt Puritans thereupon; with ſome Reflections upon Peirce's *Vindiciæ Fratrum Diſſentientium*. 7. Impartial Repreſentation of the State of Religion in England, with reſpect to Infidelity, Hereſy, Profaneneſs and Immorality. 8. Treatiſe on the part the Papiſts acted in encouraging our Diviſions. 9. Vindication of himſelf againſt the Quakers of his pariſh. 10. Additions to Dr Wicliffe's life.— All the above were in *folio*.— 11. Life of Wicliffe, manuſcript, with a Gloſſary explaining the old and obſcure words in Dr Wicliffe's writings. 8v°. 12. A

tranſlation

translation of the same into Latin 8vo. 13. He left also a new, and very copious, Preface to his History of the Life and Sufferings of Dr Wicliffe: 8vo. an *Extract* out of which, relating to one *Grimwood of Hitcham*, mentioned by Mr J. Foxe, and for which he hath been severely reflected upon, we shall lay here before the Reader. ' —— In my former preface (saith Mr Lewis) - - - I particularly took notice of the story of Grimwood' which Anthony Wood the Oxford Antiquarian has made so much use of to disparage and discredit this noble work. For this purpose I quoted from Mr Strype what he says to shew that what Mr Fox has said of it was not an egregious falsity, as Mr Wood has censured it to be. The whole of this matter of fact is as follows.

(2) Acts and Monuments, edit. 1631, Vol. III. p. 955.

Mr Fox tells us, (2) that one Grimwood of Hitcham in the County of Suffolk having sworn falsely at the Lent-assizes at Bury, before Sir Clement Higham, against one John Cooper of Watsam in the same county, to prove him guilty of treasonable words spoken against Queen Mary, ' in the harvest after as he was in ' his labour stacking up a goffe of corne, having his ' health, and fearing no peril, suddenly his bowels fell ' out of his body, and immediately most miserably he ' died.'

(3) Tit. Action sur le Case.

Serjeant Rolle in his *Abridgement des plusieurs cases*, &c. (3) tells us, that, ' in Fox's book of Martyrs is an ' account of one Greenwood of Suffolk, who was reported to have perjured himself before the Bishop of ' Norwich in testifying against a Martyr in Queen ' Mary's reign, and that after he came to his house, ' *puis il vient a son maison*, by the just judgment of ' God his bowels rotted from his belly *ses bowels rotted de son venter* for an exemplary punishment of perjury. One Prit being newly made Parson of the Parish where Greenwood dwelled, and not well knowing his Parishioners, preaching against perjurie cited ' this story, and it chanced that Greenwood was alive ' and at church, and afterwards brought an Action on ' the case against the Parson.'

Sir George Croke Justice of the King's Bench tells us, (4) that 27 Eliz. Coke cited this case: that ' Parson ' Prick in a sermon recited a story out of Foxe's Martyrology, that one Greenwood being a perjured person ' and a great persecutor had great plagues inflicted upon him, and was killed by the hand of God; whereas in truth he never was so plagued, and was himself ' present at that sermon: And he thereupon brought ' his action upon the case for calling him a perjured ' person.'

(4) Reports, part 2. p. 91.

Anthony Wood charges Fox upon this with ' committing a most egregious falsity, in reporting that one ' Grimwood of Higham in Suffolk died in a miserable ' manner for swearing and bearing false witness against ' one John Cooper of Watsam in the same county, for ' which he lost his life.'

The reader can't but observe how these several accounts vary from Mr Fox. Rolle and Crooke call him *Greenwood*. Fox says his name was *Grimwood*. Wood tells us he lived at Higham; Fox calls the name of the parish Hitcham. Rolle reports that Greenwood was perjured before the Bishop of Norwich; Fox himself tells us that it was before Sir Clement Higham at Bury at a Lent-assize. Rolle says it was against a Martyr in Queen Mary's time that this false evidence was given. Fox tells us, that Cooper suffered for pretended treason: Rolle relates that after Greenwood, as he calls him, came to his house this judgment overtook him; Fox says it was not 'till the harvest after when he was seized in the open field. Nay the accounts in the Law books differ, in that Rolle calls the parson by the name of Prit; Croke says his name was Prick.

But notwithstanding these variations, it is, I believe true, that such an Action upon the Case was brought by one Greenwood against a Parson. The Question is, how far Fox's History is affected by it. Now Mr Strype assures us, (5) that Mr Roger Morris a careful enquirer after such matters told him, that this relation of Grimwood's judgment was true: tho' the judgment did not fall upon that *Grimwood* or *Greenwood* who sued the minister, but on another of the same both Christian and surname as was well known afterwards.' C

(5) Annals, Vol. I. 2d edit. p. 252, &c.

LHWYD, or LLHWYD [EDWARD] [*A*], a late learned and industrious Antiquary (but whether related to, or descended from, that other eminent Antiquary, Humphrey Lhuyd [*B*], we do not learn), was born in Wales [*C*], about the year 1670 (*a*). His father, according to some (*b*), was Edward Llhwyd of Kidwelly in Caermarthenshire; but, according to others (*c*), Charles Lhuyd, of Llanvorda in the county of Salop, Esq; a gentleman of the family of Gogertham in Caerdiganshire, which have had the honour of Baronets for many descents. Our author having spent his younger years in grammar and classical learning, to qualify himself for the university (*d*), was admitted, in the latter end of the year 1687, at the age of seventeen, into Jesus-college in Oxford (*e*); and was created Master of Arts July 21, 1701. And having, under the direction of the learned Dr Plot, diligently applied himself to the study of Natural History, and particularly of Fossils, he was, in 1690, upon the resignation of the said Dr Plot, appointed in

(*a*) This we collect from his age, at the time of his admission in the university.

(*b*) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721. Vol. II. col. 1094.

(*c*) Annual List, at the end of Boyer's History of Queen Anne, p. 48.

(*d*) Annual List, at the end of Boyer's History of Queen Anne, as above.

(*e*) Wood, Ath. ut supra.

[*A*] *Lhwyd, or LLhwyd,*] His name is otherwise frequently written *LLoyd*, or *Floyd*: but not by himself. See the places in the Philosophical Transactions referr'd to below.

[*B*] *Humphrey Lhuyd.*] This learned Antiquarian was the son of Robert Lhuyd, alias LLoyd, or Rossenhall, of Denbigh, in Denbighshire, by Joan his wife, daughter of Lewis Pigott. He was born in Denbigh, and educated at Oxford; but of what college he was a member doth not appear, 'till the year 1547, when he was a commoner of Brazen-nose college, having then taken the degree of Bachelor of Arts. He took that of Master in 1551, at which time he studied Physic. Afterwards retiring to his own country, he lived mostly within the walls of Denbigh castle, and practised as a Physician, being esteemed a well-bred gentleman. He was a person of great eloquence, an excellent Rhetorician, a sound Philosopher, a most noted Antiquary; nay, in Mr Camden's judgment, (1) one of the best Antiquarys in his time. The several pieces written by him, were, 1. An Almanack, &c. 2. *Commentarioli Britannicæ Descriptionis fragmentum.* Colon. Agrip. 1572. Of which a new edition was published by the learned Mr Moses Williams. Lond. 1731. 4to. And it was translated into English by Tho. Twyne, who intitled it, *The Breviary of Britain.* Lond. 1573. 8vo. 3. *De Monâ Druidum insula, antiquitati suæ restitutâ.* In a letter to Abraham Ortelius Apr. 5. 1568. 4. *De Armamentario Romano.* These two last are printed at the end of *Historiæ Britannicæ Defensio*, written by Sir John Prise. Lond. 1573. 4to. 5. *Chronicon Walliæ, à Rege Cadwalladero, usque ad Ann. Dom.* 1294. MS. in the Cottonian Library (2). He also translated from Latin into English, 6. ' The Judgment of Urines.' Lond. 1551. 8vo. 7. The History of *Cambria*, now called Wales, from Caradoc of Lancarvan, the Registers of Conway and Stratflur; with a continuation, chiefly extracted from Mat. Paris, Nic. Trivet, &c. But he died before it was quite finished. However, Sir Henry Sidney Lord President of Wales having procured a copy of it, employed Dr David Powel to fit it for the press, who published it under this title, 'The Historie of *Cambria*, now called Wales: a part of the ' most famous yland of Brytaine; written in the Brytish ' language above two hundred years past: Translated ' into English By H. Lhoyd Gent. corrected, augmented, and continued out of Records and best approved ' Authors, by David Powel D. D.' Lond. 1584. 4to. Our Author translated also, 8. ' The Treasure of ' Health, containing many profitable medicines: written by Peter Hispanus.' Lond. 1585. To which were added, ' The causes and signs of every Disease, ' with the Aphorisms of Hippocrates.' He died about the year 1570, and was buried in the church of Whitechurch near Denbigh (3).

(1) Britannia, in the 1st chap.

(2) Caligula, A. 6.

(3) Wood Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 164, 165.

[*C*] *Was born in Wales*] He calls himself ' a native of that country,' in a letter to the learned Editor ' of Camden's Britannia, inserted in that book (4).

(4) See the edition, in 1722, p. 695.

[*D*] *Are*

in his room Keeper of the Aſhmolean Muſæum at Oxford *(f)*. The chief bent of his ſtudies, and his greateſt delight, was to ſearch into the languages, hiſtories, and cuſtoms, of the original inhabitants of Great-Britain. In purſuance of which diſpoſition, he travelled ſeveral times through all Wales, and into Cornwall, Scotland, Ireland, and Baſſe-Bretagne. Many curious obſervations in Natural Hiſtory, Botany, &c. which he made in thoſe travels, and communicated to ſome of his friends, are inſerted in the Philoſophical Tranſactions [*D*]. But, the chief fruit of his travels was his *Archæologia Britannica*, of which an account is given in the note [*E*]. They alſo enabled him to communicate ſeveral large and valuable additions concerning Wales, to the learned editor of Camden's Britannia; which he moreover reviſed afterwards for the new impreſſion *(g)*. None was better qualified than him to give a Hiſtory and Deſcription of that Principality [*F*]; but he did not live to go through that good deſign. In March 1708-9, he was elected by the univerſity of Oxford Eſquire-Beadle of Divinity, a place of conſiderable profit; which however he enjoyed but a few months: for he died June 30, or July 1, 1709 *(h)*. His intimate acquaintance, Mr Hearne, gives this character of him. He was a man of indefatigable induſtry, and of an enterprizing and daring genius, whom no difficulties or hardſhips could deter or frighten from proſecuting his worthy and laudable deſigns; and therefore,

(f) Boyer and Wood, as above.

(g) See preface to Camden's Britannia, by Biſhop Gibſon.

(h) T. Hearne's preface to Vol. II. of Leland's Itinerary; and from private memoirs.

[*D*] *Are inſerted in the Philoſophical Tranſactions.*] Viz. In numbers 334, 335, 336, and 337. Among other obſervations of his inſerted in N°. 334. (5) he takes notice, That Sir William Williams had ſeveral Welſh manuſcripts, but which were chiefly modern copies out of Hengwrt ſtudy in Merionydſhire (6). The moſt valuable of them, were the works of Talieſyn, Anewryn, Gwawdydh, Myrdhyn ab Morvyryn, and Kygodio Elaeth, who lived in the 5th and 6th centuries. In N°. 335. (7) he writes, that he ſaw a ſtately mount, at a place near Drogheda, in Ireland; having a number of huge ſtones pitched on end round about it, and a ſingle one on the top. Under that mount was a cave 20 feet high, ſupported by pillars of rude ſtones, as thoſe of Abury in Wiltſhire. There were found in the cave ſeveral bones, and part of a ſtag's or elk's head. From whence they gueſſed, that it was ſome place of ſacrifice, or burial, of the ancient Iriſh. Near the top of the mount was found a gold coin of the Emperor Valentinian. And in No. 336. (8) he obſerves, that he met, in Ireland, with ſeveral of our old Britiſh monuments, called Kaer, Karn, Cromlech, &c. [i. e. Druidical temples, or altars] and that the Iriſh diſtinguiſhed them by the ſame names.

(5) P. 462, &c.

(6) Belonging to Rob. Vaughan, Eſq;

(7) P. 503.

(8) P. 524, &c. See Camden's Britannia, with Mr Lhwyd's notes, or improvements, in Wales, edit. 1722, p. 759.

[*E*] *But the chief fruit of his travels was his Archæologia Britannica.*] He publiſhed it under this title, '*Archæologia Britannica*, giving ſome Account, additional to what has been hitherto publiſhed, of the Languages, Hiſtories, and Cuſtoms of the original Inhabitants of Great Britain: From Collections and Obſervations in Travels through Wales, Cornwal, Bas-Bretagne, Ireland, and Scotland. By Edward Lhwyd M. A. of Jeſus college, Keeper of the Aſhmolean Muſæum in Oxford. Volume firſt. Gloſſography.' Oxford 1707. fol. This Gloſſography is divided into ten ſections. 1. The comparative Etymology, conſiſting wholly of parallel obſervations relating to the origin of Dialects, the affinity of the Britiſh with other languages, and their correſpondence to one another. 2. A comparative Vocabulary of the original languages of Britain and Ireland; being a ſort of a Latin Britiſh-Iriſh Celtic Dictionary. 3 An Armoric Grammar, by Julian Manoir, Jeſuite; Engliſhed out of French by Moſes Williams, ſublibrarian at the Aſhmolean Muſæum. 4. An Armoric-Engliſh Vocabulary, Engliſhed by the ſame. 5. A Collection of Welſh words omitted in Doctor Davies's Dictionary. 6. A Corniſh Grammar. 7. A Catalogue of Britiſh manuſcripts. 8. A Britiſh Etymologicon, or the Welſh collated with the Greek and Latin, and ſome other European languages. By David Parry A. B. of Jeſus college, 9. A brief Introduction to the Iriſh or antient Scotiſh language. 10. An Iriſh-Engliſh Dictionary; with a large Preface in the Iriſh language. This Preface and likewiſe the Welſh preface to the Britiſh Etymologicon, are tranſlated into Engliſh, and printed at the end of Biſhop Nicolſon's Iriſh Hiſtorical Library. (9) —— Mr Lhwyd left alſo in manuſcript a *Scotiſh or Iriſh-Engliſh Dictionary*; which Mr David Malcolme, a Miniſter of the Church of Scotland, undertook to print by ſubſcription; and publiſhed propoſals for it at Edinburgh, July 26. 1732. The title he gave that book was, 'Mr Lhwyd's antient Scotiſh or Iriſh-Engliſh Dictionary, with additions, as alſo the Elements of the ſaid language, with neceſſary and uſeful informations: for propagating more effectually the Engliſh language, and for promoting the knowledge of the antient Scotiſh or Iriſh, and very many branches of uſeful and curious learning.' In the propoſals, Mr Malcolme affirms, that, 'the ancient Scotiſh or Iriſh is *a moſt valuable Dialect of the Celtic*; and, beſides its internal beauties, is of incredible uſe to illuſtrate the antiquities, languages, laws, &c. of many other nations; more eſpecially, thoſe of Italy, Greece, Paleſtine or Canaan, beſides other places of Aſia, Europe, Africa, and America.' [Which is what very few will believe.] He further aſſerts 'that the anceſtors of the Scots were the firſt inhabitants of South-Britain, and that Galgacus, the Caledonian general, who flouriſhed in the reign of the Emperor Domitian about A. C. 84. was a Scotiſh prince, and not a Pict.' This book was to have conſiſted of above thirty ſheets in 8vo. but it has not yet ſeen the light.——To return to the *Archæologia*; that excellent Antiquary, Mr William Baxter, gave a good account of it in a letter to Sir Hans Sloane, which was inſerted in the Philoſophical Tranſactions (10). And, in a letter to the author, he highly extols his great care, incredible diligence, and exact judgment in that work. Telling him, it was the work of an age, rather than of a few years: That it gave great light to the Hiſtory and Antiquities of Britain; and was an honour and ornament to his ancient country.—*Dii boni! quantâ curâ, quam incredibili diligentiâ, quam denique limato imo trutinato judicio vel reconditiſſimos vetuſtiſſimarum Linguarum theſauros ex imis tenebris atque ultimâ oblivione eruiſti! Quis non credat ſæculi opus magis quam ætatulæ tuæ?* ——*Tu facem prætendiſti clariſſimam Antiquitatibus Britanniæ atque Hiſtoriæ, & quod ſummum eſt, ornâſti patriam antiquam, eamque longè inſigniorem atque commendatiorem poſteris tradidiſti* (11).

(9) Appendix, No. ii. and iii.

(10) No. 311.

(11) This letter is inſerted in Mr Baxter's Gloſſarium Antiquitat. Roman. edit. 1731, 8vo. p. 410, &c.

[*F*] *None was better qualified than he to give a Hiſtory and Deſcription of that Principality.*] This is rightly obſerved by the author of *the Engliſh Topographer*, ſuppoſed to be the very learned Dr R. Rawlinſon. 'The moſt able, ſaith he, and learned head, from whom the world might have expected an Hiſtory and Deſcription of this his native country, is now, to the loſs of the learned world, laid low in the duſt. Mr *Edward Lhwyd*, the Reader, will eaſily perceive is pointed at, who had frequently traverſed theſe parts, and whoſe Induſtry and Abilities are too well known to be here mentioned. The valuable collections he made, came afterwards into the poſſeſſion of the late Sir Thomas Sebright of Beach-wood in Hertfordſhire Baronet (12).' Mr Carte gives the following account of thoſe Collections. 'Mr Lhwyd had the uſe of all Mr *Vaughan*'s Collections, and having with inceſſant labour and great exactneſs employ'd a conſiderable part of his life in ſearching into the Antiquities of the *Welſh*, had peruſed or collected almoſt all that was ancient or valuable in their Manuſcripts, tranſcribed all the old Charters of their Monaſteries that he could meet with, examined into the Antiquities of *Ireland*, *Armoric Bretagne*, and other countries inhabited by the ſame people, compared them together, and made his Obſervations upon the whole, but dyed before he had digeſted them in the form of a Diſcourſe upon the original Inhabitants of theſe Iſlands *.'

(12) The Engliſh Topographer, edit. 1720, 8vo. p. 271.

* Account of materials for an Hiſtory of England.

[G] In

therefore, as nothing uncommon and fit to be noted could escape his inquiry; so he would never rest satisfied 'till he came to a view of it himself (*i*). An account of his works, not already mentioned, is set down below [*G*].

(*i*) Account of some Antiquities between Windsor and Oxford, in Leland's Itinerary, Vol. V. p. 144.

[*G*] *An account of his works not already mentioned.*] The following pieces of his are inserted in the Philosophical Transactions, besides those already set down in note [*D*] 1. ' Account of the *Lapis Amianthus*, or *Linum fossile asbestinum*, (i. e. incombustible linen,) found in Llan Fairyng Hornwy, in the northern parts of the isle of Anglesey (13). 2. *Epistola—de Lapidibus aliquot perpetuâ figurâ donatis*, &c. i. e. A letter concerning some regularly figured stones found in Oxfordshire, and the neighbouring parts (14). 3. A letter to Dr M. Lister, giving an account of Locusts observed 20 Oct. 1693, in Marthery parish in Penbrokeshire; and about green worms on a hill in the parish of Mean Clochog, in the year 1601 (15). 4. Part of a letter to Dr Lister, containing a farther account of the fiery exhalation at Harlech in Merionethshire, dated Aug. 23. 1694 (16). 5. Account of an extraordinary shower of hail at Ponty pool in Monmouthshire 6 June 1697 (17). 6. Roman, French, and Irish inscriptions, and antiquities in Scotland and Ireland (18). 7. Some remarks on Fossils (19). 8. Some observations on Languages (20). What he says upon that point, is to this effect. ' Mr ' Pezron's notion of the Greek, Roman, *Celtick* Languages, being of one common origine, agrees exactly ' with my observation: But I have not advanced so ' far, as to discover the *Celtick* to be the *mother Tongue*; ' though perhaps he may not want good grounds (at ' least plausible arguments) for such an assertion. The ' *Irish* comes in with us, and is a dialect of the *old Latin*, as the *British* is of the *Greek*: But the *Gothick* ' or *Teutonick*, tho' it has also much affinity with us, ' must needs make a band apart.'———9. Another piece of our Author's, in Latin, upon British figured stones, was published by him, under this title, *Lithophylacii Britannici Ichnographia. Sive Lapidum aliorumque Fossilium Britannicorum singulari figurâ insignium, quotquot hactenus vel ipse invenit, vel ab amicis accepit, Distributio Classica; Scrinii sui Lapidarii Repertorium cum locis singulorum natalibus exhibens, additis aliquot rariorum figuris ære incisis; cum Epistolis ad clarissimos viros de quibusdam circa Marina, Fossilia & Stirpes minerales præsertim notandis.* Lond. 1699. There were only 120 copies of this book printed, and those at the expence of the Earl of Dorset, Lord Somers, Lord Halifax, Sir Isaac Newton, Dr Lister, Dr Tancred Robinson, Sir Hans Sloane, Francis Aston, Esq; and Dr Geoffroy: so that it is now very scarce. And as it is very scarce, the following view of it will not be disagreeable to the Reader. It is disposed then under these *thirteen* classes. *Lapides Chrystallini, iisque affines.* i. e. Chrystalline stones; amongst which he reckons our Bristol-diamonds, and other spars; *selenitæ* or Muscovy-glass, talc, petrifying incrustations, &c. *Lapides corallini*, corallines: *Lithophyta*; under which title are comprehended the mineral impressions of ferns and other plants, upon cole and slate-stones, as well as the resemblances of several parts of the trunks of trees and solid wood: *Fossilia turbinata*; spiral or wreath'd shells of the sea and rivers, whereof the astonishing varieties of the sailors (*nautili*, or *cornua Ammonis*) are the most considerable: *Bivalvia*; fossil-oysters, scallops, cockles, &c. *Crustacea punctualata*; the sea urchin, and star-fish, with the spikes (Dr Plot's *lapides Judaici*) and other parts of both: *Tubulosæ*; the vermicular kind: *Malacostraca*; fossil-lobsters or crabs, or parts of either; very rare: *Ichthyodontes cuspidati*; sharp-pointed teeth of sharks and other dog-fish: *Ichthyodontes scutellati*; the grinders of the same, miscalled by the Ancients *bufonitæ*, or toad-stones, *Siliquastra*, &c. *Xylostea*; bones of fishes, which fall not under the foregoing or following title: *Ichthyospondili*; single *vertebræ* or joynts in the back-bones of fishes, called by some of our rusticks fairy salt-sellers and hour-glasses: *Effigiata anomala, sive incertæ classis*; into which he throws the *belemnitæ* or thunderbolts, *crines veneris*, &c. This draught he only offered as a sketch to be enlarg'd or abridg'd as future observations should direct. The book concludes with six letters in elegant Latin, on the nature and origin of these odd substances; with 21 copper-plates, representing the choicest rarities described in the several foregoing classes. But to return, 10. At the end of Mr William Baxter's Latin Glossary of the British Antiquities (21), are inserted, our Author's Observations on the Names of the Rivers, Mountains, Towns, &c. in Britain. *De Fluviorum, Montium, Urbium, &c. in Britanniâ, Nominibus, Adversaria posthuma.* Lastly, several Letters written by Mr Lhwyd to the great Mr Ray, are inserted among the *Philosophical Letters between the late learned Mr Ray and several of his ingenious Correspondents*; published by the ingenious Dr Derham (22). Lond. 1718. 8vo. Mr Ray had published Extracts of some of them in his *Three Physico-Theological Discourses*; in which work he frequently mentions Mr Lhwyd with great honour. And particularly says of him (23), that he ' hath been most ' diligent in collecting, and curious in observing, *all* ' *Fossils and figured Stones*, of any man he knew, or ' ever heard of.' Dr Musgrave stiles him, likewise the British Varro (24). C

(13) No. 176, p. [illegible]

(14) [illegible] 200.

(15) No. 208, p. 45.

(16) No. 213. p. 223.

(17) No. 229, p. 579.

(18) No. 269, p. 790.

(19) No. 291, p. 1566.

(20) No. 243, p. 280.

(21) Printed at London, 1719, in 8vo.

(22) Between pages 223—301.

(23) Three Physico-theological Essays, edit. 1693, p. 140.

(24) Belgium Britannicum, p. 179.

LIGHTFOOT [John], the learned commentator, was born March 19th 1602, in the rectory-house of Stoke upon Trent in Staffordshire, and put to school at Moreton-Green near Congleton in Cheshire; whence at 15 years of age he was sent to the University, and admitted of Christ's-college in Cambridge, under that eminent tutor Mr William Chappel (*a*) in June 1617. Here applying closely to his studies, he improved himself in classical learning, and in the opinion of his tutor, surpassed all his contemporaries in oratory [*A*], but did not much affect logick; the sharpness and fierceness of the scholastic disputations not suiting with his naturally meek disposition. He staid at college no longer than to take his first degree in arts; and then being only 19 years of age, he first engaged upon terms with his schoolmaster Mr Whitehead, who was now removed to a school at Repton in Derbyshire, and continued in the employ of usher to him about two years; after which, he took orders, and served the cure of *Norton-under-Hales* in Shropshire (*b*). This situation brought him into the acquaintance of Sir Rowland Cotton,

(*a*) Dr Henry More, who was also his pupil, tells us in the preface to his Philosophical Works, that he was a learned, vigilant, skilful, prudent, and pious tutor. He was afterwards Provost of Trinity-college in Dublin and Dean of Cassels, and at last Bishop of Cork and Ross in Ireland. Dr Birch's Life of Milton, p. 3. who was also another of his pupils.

(*b*) An Account of our author's Life, prefixed to his Works, in 2 vols fol. 1684, by Dr Bright.

[*A*] *Surpassed his contemporaries in oratory.*] However just this opinion of his tutor may be, with regard to his college-exercises, yet if we may judge of his talents this way by his public works, his excellence herein lay chiefly in a richness of invention only, and that, for want of judgment, runs frequently to a rank superfetation of stile in English. The extract of his funeral sermon upon his dear friend and patron, Sir Rowland Cotton, is even childishly noisy. He cries aloud, and spareth not his words, which of itself demonstrates nothing so much as the vigorous health and strength of his constitution. However, this perhaps may in a great measure be put to the fault of the times, whence also it is, that we see him frequently running into the same affected quaintness and jingle with his rival and contemporary Dr Fuller. For instance, he begins his Preface to one of his pieces thus, *he that would understand the story of the times, must first know the times of the story.* Yet this is not always the case, for it cannot be denied that he breaks out into a noble eulogium upon his country on occasion of the Polyglott Bible, which we have given in remark [*M*]; and in reasoning he is concise and nervous, but his chief talent is criticism, in which respect he discovers a wit capable of penetrating the abstrusest difficulties.

ton, Knt. of Bellaport (*c*), who made him his chaplain, took him into his family, and engaged him in the ſtudy of Rabbinical learning [*B*]. Our author had hitherto neglected the ſtudy of the Hebrew language ſo much, as to have loſt what little he had learned of it at ſchool: but this loſs was ſoon repaired: the example and converſation of his patron fell in exactly with the bent of his own genius; he conceived an inextinguiſhable ardor for theſe ſtudies (*d*), and when Sir Rowland a few years after removed with his family to reſide in London, Mr Lightfoot could not ſtay behind; he quitted his curacy, and was ſoon with his Hebrew maſter. However, he had not been long in London, before he formed a deſign to travel into foreign parts. In this reſolution he made a viſit to his father, who was now ſettled at Uttoxeter [*C*], and after a ſolemn leave, departing from his parents, he went to Stone. But here he was prevailed with drop his ſcheme of going abroad, and yielding to the importunities of ſome friends, he accepted the place of miniſter to that pariſh, which happened to be vacant at that time. During his reſidence in the family at Bellaport, he had fallen into the acquaintance of a gentlewoman who was daughter to William Crompton of Stone-park, Eſq; and ſoon after his taking poſſeſſion of the living at Stone he married her May 21ſt, 1628. But nothing could divert him from the eager purſuit of his ſtudies, and not long after this ſettlement, having quitted his living, we find him reſiding with his family at Hornſey near London, for the ſake of improving himſelf by the advantage of Sion college library, in Oriental learning; and in 1629 he gave the public a notable ſpecimen of the advancement he had made therein [*D*]. In the ſpring of the following year he removed again into the country, and remained at Uttoxeter 'till September, when he was preſented by Sir Rowland Cotton to the rectory of Aſhley in Staffordſhire. Fixing here, he built a ſtudy in his garden to be removed from the noiſe of the houſe, and ſpent twelve years in ſearching the Scriptures with indefatigable diligence, but yet without neglecting any of the duties of a faithful paſtor. After he had ſatisfied himſelf in clearing up many, if not moſt, of the abſtruſeſt paſſages in the Bible, he procured this rectory for his younger brother, and repaired to London [*E*], where he had not been long, before he was choſen miniſter of St Bartholomew's behind the Exchange [*F*], and being nominated a member of the Aſſembly of Divines at Weſtminſter, he gave his attendance there, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf remarkably in ſeveral of their

(*c*) This ſeat is in the pariſh of Norton-under-Hales.

(*d*) In his dedication before the *Horæ* upon St John he ſays, he was carried to theſe ſtudies *ex innato oeſtro*, and that nothing was ſweeter to him, *iſtis deliciis nihil dulcius delicatiuſque*. His motto written in one of his note-books under his name is, *Shachim Vecharab*, denoting his reſolution to riſe early and ſit up late in the purſuit of theſe ſtudies. See alſo the dedication of his Third Harmony to William Cotton of Bellaport, Eſq; nephew to Sir Rowland, publiſhed in 1650, 4to.

[*B*] *The ſtudy of Rabbinical learning.*] He was incited to it firſt of all by the queſtions which his patron put to him, frequently upon ſuch points as required ſome knowledge this way, whereat being aſhamed to be puzzled, he was reſolved to remove the cauſe. Sir Rowland finding him well diſpoſed, was not wanting to aſſiſt him, and he made a good uſe of that generous kindneſs. The occaſion was particularly lucky for Mr Lightfoot, for beſides the happy diſcovery of his own genius thereby, he could not have found any where a more ſkilful maſter. Sir Rowland had been taught Hebrew in his infancy by the famous Hugh Broughton (1), who often occaſionally lodged, and for ſome conſiderable time altogether reſided at his father's houſe (2). By the care of this inſtructor he not only underſtood but ſpoke the language with eaſe; and there were few places in the Hebrew Bible which he was not able readily to read and render into Engliſh at ſeven or eight years of age.

[*C*] *His father was now ſettled at Uttoxeter.*] He was made Vicar of this place in 1622, having been in orders ſince the year 1602, when he lived at Stoke above-mentioned. He was born in a ſmall village called Shelton, in that pariſh, and died at Uttoxeter July 21, 1658, in the 81ſt year of his age (3). His wife, whoſe maiden-name was Elizabeth Bagnal, was deſcended of a very good family (4) in the ſame pariſh. She died January 24th, 1636, aged 71, having brought Mr Lightfoot four ſons beſides our author, who was the ſecond. The eldeſt, called Thomas after his father, was bred to trade. The third, Peter, was a phyſician, and practiſed at Uttoxeter. Of the fourth, who was a clergyman, ſee Remark [*E*]; the youngeſt, Samuel, was likewiſe in orders.

[*D*] *A ſpecimen of his advancement in theſe ſtudies.*] This piece he intitled Erubhim; or, *Miſcellanies Chriſtian and Judaical, and others penned for recreation at vacant hours.* It is dedicated (5) to Sir Rowland Cotton, who, he obſerves, had a right to the firſt fruits of thoſe ſtudies which had grown from his encouragement and incitation. He was now only 27 years of age, and appears to be well acquainted with the Latin and Greek Fathers as well as the heathen-writers Plutarch, Plato, and Homer. He ſeems to have had too, ſome ſkill in the modern languages, by ſeveral quotations in this book from the Spaniſh tranſlation of the Bible and another Spaniſh author. Soon after receiving the preſent, his patron ſent him a letter of acknowledgment, wherein he tells him he had read his book over, 'That there were many rarities in it; 'and nothing ſo vulgar that he needed to fear it's good 'reception, unleſs it fell into the hands of ſome no'vice or ſtupid dunce; and aſſures him that he joyed 'much in his proficiency (6).'

[*E*] *And repaired to London.*] Mr Stype obſerves, that it is known upon what occaſion he left his living, but ſuppoſes it was his being called to the Aſſembly of Divines, which is not improbable: for tho' that duty did not oblige him to quit the living, yet the non-reſidence which it occaſioned, may well be ſuppoſed to have ſome weight with a conſcientious pariſh-prieſt, and therefore he might be inclined to make uſe of it as an opportunity to provide for his younger brother (7), being himſelf at a great diſtance from all worldly-mindedneſs (8). This motive for reſignation would alſo have the greater force. As his reſiding at London was in a manner neceſſary for printing his works, no doubt can be made that he had ſuch a deſign at this time, ſince he muſt needs have provided the chief materials, and formed the plan of his Harmony before this removal. 'Tis true the juſt-mentioned author fancies he left his living unwillingly, which he collects from a paſſage in his epiſtle before his *handful of gleanings upon Exodus*, where he makes his addreſs to the pariſhioners of St Bartholomew's in theſe words, *That when exiled from his own, they made him theirs*; but, conſidering the Aſiatic turn of our author's ſtile, the whole real force of the metaphor in the word Exile, may be deemed, without any injury to his meaning, to be fairly exhauſted in the ſimple expreſſion of that concern which a good and affectionate pariſh-prieſt (as he was) always feels upon quitting his flock, be the occaſion what it will.

[*F*] *Made Rector of St Bartholomew's.*] While he held this rectory there was a meeting of the London Divines, in which it was propoſed to lay aſide the celebration of Chriſtmas-day by one of the greateſt authority among them, who was very near prevailing with his brethren; when our author took this perſon aſide, and arguing the point with him, particularly inſiſted on the great imprudence of ſuch a ſtep, as it would give a handle to charge them with idleneſs; and to be likely to raiſe great diſturbances among the people, who would ill brook to ſee a cuſtom of ſo long eſtabliſhment laid aſide; and he ſo far prevailed, that when the queſtion was put about celebrating Chriſtmas-day following, whether they ſhould preach that day or no, it was carried in the affirmative (9).

(1) Our author wrote ſome account of Mr Broughton's Life, which is prefixed to his Works in fol. where he calls himſelf a child, in compariſon of that great maſter of Hebrew and Rabbinical learning.

(2) Mr William Cotton, Citizen and Draper of London. See Broughton's life laſt cited.

(3) See his monumental inſcription in the church at Uttoxeter, compoſed by his ſon Peter.

(4) Three of the family were knighted by Queen Elizabeth, for their valour in the wars of Ireland. Strype's appendix to the Life, p. 30. —— Bagnal, Eſq; late of Roehampton in Surrey, was of this family.

(5) The dedication is dated from his ſtudy at Hornſey near London, March 5, 1629, where he expreſly declares, he had now no charge [living] of his own.

(6) Life, ubi ſupra, p. 1.

(7) Viz. his fourth brother, whoſe name was Joſiah.

(8) The author of his Life obſerves, that his circumſtances were not large, and his family ſoon began to increaſe, p. 9. However, as a Divine of the Weſtminſter Aſſembly, he was allowed 4 s. a day for his attendance. Salmon's Chron. Hiſt. for the year 1643, July 1, edit. 1723, 8vo.

(9) Ibid. p. 14.

[*G*] He

their debates * [*G*]. He was likewise appointed to preach before the House of Commons, on occasion of the publick fast March 29th 1643 (*e*); and was presented to the mastership of Katherine Hall in Cambridge (*f*), from the Parliament visitors, which he accepted the same year; as he did also the rectory of Much-Munden in Hertfordshire (*g*), given him before the expiration of that year by the then prevailing Powers. In 1644 he published the first part of his Harmony, together with a scheme of his whole design in that great undertaking [*H*]. As our author was himself learned, so was he a zealous promoter of learning in general. Upon this principle it was, that the following year, when the Enthusiasts openly set themselves to bring all human learning as well as the regular clergy into contempt, he very warmly pressed the speedy settling of the church in the Presbyterian form of government, and even preached publickly against allowing liberty of conscience

* See the article GATTAKER [THOMAS], Vol. IV. p. 2166, in the text.

(*e*) The sermon was printed that year in 4to. the text was Luke i. 17.

(*f*) In the room of Dr William Spurstow, ejected by the visitors.

(*g*) Void by the death of Dr Samuel Ward, Margaret-Professor of Divinity in Cambridge, and Master of Sidney-college there. See more of him in the articles of the Bishops, MONTAGUE, and USHER.

[*G*] *He distinguished himself in their debates.*] Notwithstanding his approbation of the form of church-government by classes and presbyteries, yet our author differed widely from the generality of those divines in many particulars both of doctrine and discipline; and in several of lesser moment he brought them over to his opinion. The following are instances of this: In the debates about what parts of learning candidates for orders should be examined in, he prevailed to have Scripture-chronology one article of that examination, which some were for waving. He carried it, that young men designed for the ministry, and not ministers, should read the service and chapters before sermon. In the administration of Baptism, he opposed the words which were moved to be inserted into the Directory, *viz.* It is lawful and sufficient to sprinkle the child; observing that it was unfit to vote that as lawful only which every one grants to be so. When they came to the vote, whether the Directory should run thus: *The minister shall take water and sprinkle, or pour it with his hand upon the face or forehead of the child*; so many disapproved the exclusion of dipping, that the votes were 24 to 25. Whereupon, the affair being resumed the next day, our author demanded of those who insisted on dipping, the reasons for their opinion; and challenged the whole Assembly (as he had the day before) to shew him in all the old Testament any one instance where the word *Tabhilah* (alledged by them in proof of dipping) used *de sacris & in actu transeunte*, implied any more than sprinkling (10). Hereupon it being thus expressed, that pouring on of water, or sprinkling, in the administration of water, is lawful and sufficient, our author excepted against the words *is lawful*, which was the same he said, as if it should be determined to be lawful to use bread and wine in the Lord's-supper: he moved therefore for it to be expressed thus: *It is not only lawful but likewise sufficient*; which was agreed to. To the words, *There be no feasting on the Sabbath*, he prevailed to have it in this manner: *That the diet on the Sabbath be so ordered, that no servants or others be unnecessarily kept from the public service.* Upon the article of Christ's descent into hell, he carried it to have this clause in the explication, *he continued in the state of the dead.* When the Directory for praying was read over, and they came to that clause freeing us from antichristian darkness, he excepted to the expression as too low: for that antichrist imported no activeness against godliness, and darkness is but a privation; whereupon it was worded *from antichristian darkness and violence.* Again, whereas it was put *for the merits of our High-priest.* This he likewise excepted against, for that the allusion would not hold; for the Jews prayed to God by the mediation of the High-priest, but never by the merits; whereupon *the mediation* was put in. He also carried a point, with regard to the regulation of that assembly: for it being moved, that if any member going out while they were sitting should make his obeysance, when this was even ready to pass, Mr Lightfoot desired that it might not be left upon their records to posterity; that this assembly had need to take order for common reverence and civility; upon which the motion was rejected. Thus that assembly yielded to the force of his arguments in points of lesser concern; but when he courageously shewed his dissent in others, wherein the main support of their cause depended, those Divines were deaf to all his learning; and the excellent arguments which he urged with great spirit in the most masterly manner against their darling notions of lay elders, and the people's election of their ministers, as also in vindication of the use of forms of prayer, proved unavailing (11).

(10) He even declared, that dipping was unlawful as a piece of will-worship. Life, p. 16.

(11) His Life, p. 3, 4, 5. and Strype's appendix, p. 14. and Genuine Remains, &c. article 3.

[*H*] *The first part of his Harmony, with a plan of his whole design.*] The whole scheme was divided into two parts. The body, containing the Harmony of the New Testament; the design of which was, 1. To lay the texts in that order that the nature and progress of the story requires. 2. To give his reasons for the particular disposition he fixes on. 3. To give some account of the difficulties in the language, as he should meet with them. 4. To clear and open the sense all along. The Introduction being the other general part, was to be prefixed to the body as a large preface, which should contain prolegomena of diverse particulars fit to be known, preparatory to the work. He proposed therein to treat largely and thoroughly of these five heads: 1. To fix and ascertain the year of our Saviour's birth. 2. To dispose in their proper places all the dislocations of texts and stories in the Old Testament, which are exceeding many, that such dislocations in the New Testament might be thought less strange. 3. To make a critical description of the Land of Canaan and places adjoining, which would help to the clearer understanding of much of the story of the Gospel. 4. To give a topographical description of Jerusalem, and the Temple, in order to extricate diverse passages of the Gospel from smaller obscurities. 5. To give some history of the state and customs of the Jews in those times when the Gospel began to be preached, out of their own authors. He had laid in many materials, and made a good progress in this undertaking, when finding it increase under his hands to a large bulk, he grew discouraged at the thoughts of never being able to get it printed entire (12). This put him upon epitomizing what he had already written, and determined him to publish his studies by piece-meal, as he did afterwards. But by this means his method was was broken, many of his useful notions suppressed by studying brevity, and all that after saw the light, had no more than the face of a kind of confused harmony. What he published of it the year that we are now upon related both to the prolegomena, and the body of the work. Of the first he published a piece intitled *The Harmony of the Old Testament; or, a Chronicle of the Times, and the order of the Texts of the Old Testament*, &c. Also another tract intitled, *The Harmony, and Chronicon, and order of the New Testament.* These related to the second article of the prolegomena. He next printed a third piece, intitled *The Harmony of the Four Evangelists among themselves, and with the Old Testament, from the Beginning of the Gospels to the Baptism of our Saviour; with an Explanation of the chief Difficulties both in language and sense*, part I. 4to. This respects the body of the work; as also does the second part, from the baptism of our Saviour to the first Passover; and the third part, from the first Passover after our Saviour's baptism to the second, published in 1650, 4to. The chief thing wanting in these is the full text of the four Evangelists, which he had completed, and the MSS. fell into the hands of Mr Strype. The Commentary upon the Acts of the Apostles to chapter xi. inclusive, which he published in 1645. The Temple-service, as it stood in the days of our Saviour, published in 1649; and the Temple, especially as it stood in the days of our Saviour, printed in 1650; and the Chorographical description before his *Horæ Hebraicæ*, or Commentaries on the four Evangelists, relate to the Prolegomena. The *Horæ Hebraicæ*, or Commentaries upon the Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, some chapters in the Epistle to the Romans, and the entire first Epistle to the Corinthians, may be looked upon as belonging to the second article of the body of this grand work. As these were his last, so they are esteemed the best of his performances, and they employed the remainder of his life after the Restoration.

(12) See a particular incident relating to this in remark [Q].

[*I*] He

ence [*I*]. Whilſt he was thus labouring on one hand to get a timely check put to the wild licentiouſneſs of the ſaints [*K*], ſo on the other hand he continued publiſhing, tho' under great difficulties and diſcouragements, ſeveral branches of his Harmony (*h*), all which, were ſo many excellent ſpecimens of the uſefulneſs of learning to true religion. In 1652 he took the degree of Doctor of Divinity, having firſt performed the regular exerciſe for it [*L*]; and being choſen Vice-chancellor of the Univerſity in 1655, he executed that office with an exemplary diligence and fidelity, greatly pleaſed with the happy eſcape of the two learned bodies in the kingdom, from the deſtruction with which they had been lately threatened, by the independent faction then prevailing (*i*) [*M*]. The following year he buried his firſt wife, and ſome time after, entered into a ſecond marriage [*N*]. At the Reſtoration he offered to reſign his maſterſhip of Katherine-Hall to Dr Spurſtow, but upon his declining the acceptance, our author obtained a confirmation from the Crown both of that place and alſo of his living, by the particular recommendation

(*h*) See remark [*U*].

(*i*) His Life, p. 5, 6. He made a long harangue on this occaſion, expreſſive of the wonderful goodneſs of Providence therein, and his own particular thankfulneſs for it. Strype's Appendix, ſect. xi.

[*I*] *He preached againſt Liberty of Conſcience*] This was in a Sermon (13) before the Houſe of Commons at St Margaret's, Weſtminſter, Aug 26, 1645, where, having complimented them for what they had done in platforming claſſes and preſbyteries, *which I verily and cordially believe*, ſays he, *is according to the pattern in the Mount*: he recommends it to them to order a review of the tranſlation of the Bible, and to haſten the ſettling of the Church: after which he declares his opinion with great warmth againſt an unreſtrained Liberty of Conſcience. 'I ſhall not go about, ſays he, 'to determine the queſtion, whether the conſcience 'may be bound or not? tho' for my own ſatiſfaction I 'am reſolved it may, and do hold it a truer point in 'Divinity that *errans conſcientia liganda* than *ligat*; 'but certainly the devil in the conſcience, may be, 'nay he muſt be bound, or elſe you act not according 'to that vigour that Chriſt requireth at your hands. 'It is true indeed what is ſo much talk'd of, that 'Chriſt alone muſt reign in the conſcience; but it is 'true alſo that he does ſo by the power that he hath 'put into the hands of the magiſtrate, as well as by 'his word and ſpirit.' It is evident, by the hiſtory of the times when this was ſaid, that it was wholly pointed at the Anabaptiſts, and independent enthuſiaſts, who, under the pretence of Liberty of Conſcience, oppoſed the ſettlement of the Preſbyterian form of eccleſiaſtical polity now, with as much furious zeal as theſe joining with them had before exerted in pulling down the ancient eſtabliſhed Hierarchy. An univerſal anarchy being their aim, and how well they ſucceeded needs not be mentioned. 'Tis with an eye to ſuch as theſe that we find our author arguing frequently with much zeal againſt ſchiſm and ſeparation from an eſtabliſhed Church, and ſhewing in theſe times the neceſſity of keeping communion even with a national Church that had ſome corruptions in it. Upon the ſame principle we ſee him, in a ſermon at Ely (14), cenſuring the Anabaptiſts and Socinians: 'Two hereſies, eſpecially, (ſays he) miſconſtrue this text, 'Anabaptiſm and Socinianiſm: for I muſt call that hereſie which unchurches all Churches, and ungods God.'

(13) On Revelations, chap. xx. ver. 1, 2.

(14) On Matth. xxviii. 19. printed at the end of the ſecond volume of his Works.

[*K*] *The ſaints.*] *i. e.* The Enthuſiaſts aſſuming this character, under which they pretended to juſtify their ſeparation, and indeed all their wildeſt extravagancies. Our author, after the Reſtoration, ſpeaking of this ſpecial myſtery of their iniquity obſerves, that the Shibboleth of the Gileadites anciently ſounded not more dangerouſly than the title of Saints of late; whereas by this title in ſcripture is meant nothing but Chriſtians in oppoſition to the heathens (15).

(15) His ſermon on the Viſitation at Ely, ubi ſupra.

[*L*] *After performing the regular exerciſe.*] His theſis was upon this queſtion, *Poſt canonem ſcripturæ conſignatum non ſunt novæ revelationes expectandæ?* and he determined next day upon this queſtion, *An mori Chriſti fuerit in redemptionem univerſalem?* His *Concio ad Clerum* was upon 1 Cor. xvi. 22. he printed the ſubſtance of it afterwards in his *Horæ* upon that epiſtle. He has written much in diverſe parts of his works upon the ſubject of his theſis; in which we find it was his opinion, that after the cloſing of the canon, there was neither prophecy, miracles, nor extraordinary gifts in the Church. In the third volume of his works, publiſhed in 1699, there is a treatiſe of the Spirit of Prophecy (16), wherein he ſhews that ſpirit to have entirely ceaſed both among the Jews and Chriſtians, when the canon of their reſpective ſcriptures was completed, as it certainly was at the deſtruction of Jeruſalem; accordingly to this piece our author has ſubjoined a treatiſe of that deſtruction, and of the time when it happened.

(16) 'Tis the ſixth piece in that volume.

[*M*] *Greatly pleaſed with the eſcape from the Independant faction.*] The Polyglott Bible was at this time in the preſs, a grant having been made by Oliver Cromwell, then Protector, for importing the paper duty-free. Our author therefore, who was highly delighted with a work which tended ſo much to the honour of his country, in his ſpeech at the commencement breaks out into a tranſport of joy on that occaſion 'Sic ſub protrito & proculcato Statu Cleri nuper 'Anglicani germinabit, & adhuc germinat, nobile illud 'eruditionis germen editio Bibliorum multilinguium, qua 'quicquid generoſius vix vidit unquam reſpublica Literaria nec quicquam Anglia ſibi honorificentius Opus 'æternæ famæ monumentum memorabile in ſempiterna 'ſecula futurum ſummæ eruditionis, zeli, & in Deo bonorum Protectore fiduciæ Cleri Anglicani jam tunc ſumme 'periclitantis. Macti eſtote viri venerandi & doctiſſimi, 'qui in opere tam magnanimo deſudatis! Pergite quod 'facitis trophæa vobis erigere Patriæque! & perlegant 'ope veſtra omnes gentes ſacra Biblia ſuis linguis, atque iiſdem linguis eadem ope prædicentur fama eruditionis & literarum Gentis Anglicanæ (17).' It muſt be obſerved, that Dr Lightfoot had a conſiderable hand himſelf in perfecting this work: for, beſides his chorographical table prefixed to it, the Samaritan verſion was ſubmitted intirely to his direction, and every ſheet thereof ſent to be reviſed by him before it was printed off (18). At the Commencement here mentioned, an Act was kept for the degree of Doctor of Divinity; and the Profeſſor being indiſpoſed, our Vice-chancellor ſupplied his place. The queſtions were, *Whether the ſtate of Innocency was a ſtate of Immortality?* 2. *Whether eternal life is promiſed in the old Teſtament.* Both which he maintained in the affirmative (19).

(17) His Work, Vol. III. art. 12. where the whole is printed.

(18) See prolegomena to that work, and ſeveral letters between him and Dr Walton on this occaſion, in his Life, p. 6, 7.

(19) Art. 12. in his Works, Vol. III.

[*N*] *He buried his wife and married another.*] His firſt wife was the widow of George Copwood, Gent. of Dilverne in Staffordſhire: her mother was an Aſton of the family of Lord Aſton of Tixal in that county. She was the youngeſt of nine ſiſters, all of whom that lived married into good families in the ſame county. In the church of Stone where our author, as has been obſerved, was ſome time miniſter, there is the portraiture of them all, with three ſons, and their father and mother in braſs. Mrs Joyce, of whom we now ſpeak, by her firſt huſband Mr Copwood had two ſons and one daughter; and by Dr Lightfoot four ſons and two daughters. The eldeſt ſon, John, was chaplain to Dr Bryan Walton, Biſhop of Cheſter, and died ſoon after that prelate. The ſecond, called Anaſtatius Cottonus Jacſonus (theſe laſt additions being made to his name in memory of Sir Rowland Cotton and Sir John Jackſon, two of our author's deareſt friends) was miniſter of Thundridge in Hertfordſhire, and died there leaving one ſon. The third ſon who was called alſo Anaſtaſius, but without the additions, was brought up to a trade in London. The fourth ſon, named Thomas, died young. His daughters were Joyce, married to Mr John Duckfield, Rector of Aſpeden in Hertfordſhire; and Sarah, married to Mr Colclough, a Staffordſhire gentleman. The Doctor had no iſſue by his ſecond wife, Anne, who was likewiſe a widow, and relict of Mr Auſtin Brograve, unkle of Sir Thomas Brograve, Bart of Hertfordſhire, a gentleman well verſed in Rabbinical learning, and a particular acquaintance of our author. This wife alſo died before him (20).

(20) Strype's Appendix, p. 30, 31.

[O] By

dation of Archbiſhop Sheldon [O]. He was likewiſe in great favour with the Lord-Keeper Bridgman, who collated him to a Prebend in the church of Ely [P]. Being of a ſtrong and healthy conſtitution, which was aſſiſted by an exact temperance, he purſued his ſtudies with unabated vigour to the laſt (*k*); and continued publiſhing, notwithſtanding the many difficulties he met with therein [Q]. He ordinarily reſided in the country among his

(*k*) To a friend who admired he did not ſpare his old age, by laying aſide his ſtudies, he anſwered in Latin, *Studendo ſolor ſenectutem.* Appendix, ibid.

[O] *By the recommendation of Archbiſhop Sheldon.*] Preſently after the Reſtoration a grant of his living was obtained by a fellow of ſome college in Cambridge. The Doctor being informed of it by his neighbour in the country, Sir Henry Cæſar, applied to to Archbiſhop Sheldon, who readily and heartily engaged to ſerve him, tho' perſonally unknown to him: and our author took the firſt opportunity of expreſſing his gratitude in a way which muſt needs be very acceptable, as it carried along with it an illuſtrious proof of his deſerving that favour. This was done by dedicating his *Horæ* on St Mark to the Archbiſhop in 1661, where he expreſſes himſelf thus: 'With how 'great concern you pleaded my cauſe before the 'King's Majeſty, before the Lord Chancellor, and 'my Dioceſan, how you conſulted for me, wrote let'ters, laid ſtops that my ruin might not proceed be'yond the poſſibility of a reſtoration,' *&c.* He likewiſe paid his debt of gratitude in the ſame manner to Sir William Morrice (21), Secretary of State, who, unaſked and unſought to, as he acknowleges, was very ſerviceable in procuring the King's favour and letters-patents for him. But he took care in the firſt place to pay his tribute of dutiful acknowledgments to his Majeſty. Before the dedication juſt mentioned, to the Archbiſhop, is prefixed another in a Rabbinical form, which, upon this occaſion, if ever, is excuſable. The inſcription being in theſe words, 'Sacred to God and the 'King, an altar is here to be erected before the porch, 'and thankſgiving to be offered on it for this leiſure 'granted to the ſtudies of learning, for the mercies 'preſerved to me and mine ſnatched from imminent 'ruin. To Jehovah the deliverer, and to Cæſar the pre'ſerver. To Cæſar the things which are Cæſar's, and 'to God the things which are God's.' By this piece we learn that the living of Munden was in the gift of the Crown, his two immediate predeceſſors being preſented by King James and King Charles. 'To theſe, 'ſays he, I ſucceeded very unequally, and more un'happy, that I was not admitted by the ſame right, 'but by that power, that then, while the wars pre'vailed, poſſeſſed all. The weakneſs of this title was 'preſently diſcovered when the King's Majeſty, in 'which we now rejoyce by the happy turn of Provi'dence returned to his own right, the Rectory was 'granted to me who was a ſuitor for it by the royal 'donation. I applied, an obſcure perſon of no note, al'together unworthy, of no merit, wholly unknown to 'the King's Majeſty, and lying eſpecially under a kind 'of accuſation, for it wanted not an accuſation, that I 'was put into the place by that authority that I was. 'Yet twice within two weeks, by the royal fa'vour, I obtained this grant confirmed by his hands, 'and the Great Seal of England; ſo that now I, as 'well as my predeceſſors, have this to boaſt of, that I 'have a King to my patron.' Upon his going to Katherine-hall, after this confirmation, he was met at ſome miles diſtance from Cambridge with great joy by the Fellows of that ſociety. He was indeed a benefactor to that college. The building being old and decayed, he formed a plan of rebuilding it in a more handſome and commodious manner. He gave 20 *l.* towards it, and procured a liberal and generous contribution from the Fellows beſides, good benefactions from others: and the work was begun in his time; but he dying ſoon after, it was finiſhed by Dr Echard, his worthy ſucceſſor. Beſides theſe contributions, Dr Lightfoot had been a benefactor before, by redeeming a piece of land to the college, and therefore is always mentioned at the commemoration of their benefactors. It was an inſtance of the Doctor's modeſty, to declare himſelf *an obſcure perſon of no note and merit, and utterly unknown*; ſince the Polyglott Bible, in which he had ſo great a ſhare, had then been publiſhed ſome years (22). Beſides, he had at this time been a great encourager of Dr Caſtel's Heptaglott Lexicon, as appears by ſeveral letters to him from that learned author; in one of which he ſubmits it to Dr Lightfoot, either to ſuppreſs that deſign or give it life. He alſo aſſiſted Dr Caſtel with his purſe, which that worthy perſon acknowleges as almoſt the only inſtance that he had met with of kindneſs to his ruined and undone condition (23). He was indeed utterly unknown to the King, who, on that account, eaſily granted his living to another: but to the learned world he was far from being a ſtranger, ſince ſeveral foreigners who came to England for aſſiſtance in their Rabbinical ſtudies, made their addreſſes to him as one of the moſt eminent ſcholars in that way (24). As to his demerits, in reſpect to the Crown, it is manifeſt that he had rather ſubmitted to the neceſſity of the times, than been active in oppoſition to his Majeſty, and tho' a little inclined to Puritaniſm (25), yet he had diſcharged his ſeveral duties of Governor in the univerſity, and of a good pariſh-prieſt, ſo as to gain the univerſal love and reſpect of all who had any dealings with him; and by this means, upon the King's return, he had many friends and no enemies at all (26).

(21) In his dedication to him of his Commentaries on the firſt Epiſtle to the Corinthians, in 1664.

(22) Viz. In 1657.

[P] *Collated to a Prebend of Ely by Sir Orlando Bridgman.*] Before Sir Orlando was promoted to the Great Seal, being a Judge and going the circuit in that ſtation, he procured our author to preach as oft as he could at the aſſizes at Hertford (27), being much pleaſed both with the learning of his diſcourſes and his unuſual notions. Several of theſe ſermons are printed at the end of the ſecond volume of our author's works; but Mr Strype could not learn the exact time when he was made Prebendary of Ely. He dedicated his *Horæ* upon St John's Goſpel to this patron, wherein he acknowledges it was owing to his Lordſhip's counſel, aſſiſtance, friendſhip, and bounty, that he was able to proceed in his ſtudies.

[Q] *The difficulties he met with in publiſhing his works.*] It was owing to this that we had not more of his commentaries, which he was urged to publiſh by many of his friends, particularly Dr Worthington, Maſter of Jeſus-college in Cambridge, recommended the Epiſtle to the Hebrews to him as eſpecially ſuiting to his deſign; but he returned this anſwer, '*Exaſciavi 'paucis abhinc annis commentariolum,* &c.' 'A few 'years ſince I prepared a little commentary upon 'the firſt epiſtle to the Corinthians, in the ſame ſtile and 'manner as I had done that on Matthew, but it laid 'by me two years and more; nor can I now publiſh it 'but at my own charge, and to my great diſadvan'tage, which I felt enough, and too much in the edi'tion of my book upon St Mark.' This diſcouragement gave him much grief and concern, of which, together with his unquenchable ardour for theſe ſtudies, he gives a remarkable inſtance in his Preface to the deſcription of the Temple: 'But here by the way '(ſays he) I can't but mention, that I think I can ne'ver forget a handſome and deſerved check that mine 'own heart, meeting with a ſpecial occaſion, did give 'me upon the laying down of the other taſk, and the 'undertaking of this, for my daring to enter either 'upon the one or the other. That very day when 'I firſt ſet pen to paper to draw up the deſcription of 'the Temple, having but immediately before laid 'aſide my thoughts of the deſcription of the land, I 'was neceſſarily called out to go and ſee a piece of 'land but a mile off from my houſe.' He then proceeds to obſerve, 'that he had been owner of this 'piece of land many years, but had never ſeen it, and 'that however he choſe to take directions of the way 'to it, and go alone for meditation ſake; where'upon, having miſſed his way and loſt himſelf, his 'heart took him to taſk, and called him fool, ſo ſtudi'ouſly to ſearch into things remote, and that ſo little 'concerned his intereſt, and ſo neglective of what 'was near him in place, and ſo particularly concerned 'him; and a fool again, to go about to deſcribe to 'others, places and buildings that lay ſo many hun'dred miles off from hence, and under ſo many 'hundred years ruins, and yet not able to find the 'way to his own that lay ſo near. *I could not* (con'tinues he) *but acknowledge the reproof both ſeaſon'able, and ſeaſoned both with truth and reaſon; and it 'ſo far prevailed with me, that it put me upon a reſolu'tion not only to lay by that work that I had newly* 'taken'

(23) This letter is printed at the end of the third volume of his Works in 1699. Our author alſo aſſiſted Mr Poole in the *Synopſis Criticorum.*

(24) Among the reſt were Frederic Miege and Theodore Hawk, who were particularly recommended alſo to Dr Pococke, with whom our author had a correſpondence, as alſo Buxtorf, Dr Marſhall of Lincoln-college, Oxford; Sam. Clerk, Keeper of the Bodleian Library; Dr Bernard of St John's, beſides others, were now and afterwards his correſpondents in the learned way. Appendix, ſect. vi and vii.

(25) This appears from ſeveral parts of his Works; but it is in ſuch inſtances as do not affect either the government or doctrine of the Church, being only in hiſtorical matters.

(26) Strype's Appendix.

(27) His Life, p. 18.

his parishoners, with whom he lived in the most happy harmony and affection [*R*]; so that he usually spent no more time at Ely than was necessary to keep his Prebend. He was on his journey thither for that purpose, when he was seized with a cold, which growing troublesome after his arrival there, he was persuaded to eat a red herring and drink two or three glasses of wine: This small quantity of a strong liquor to which his habit was entirely estranged, gave occasion as was thought (*l*), to his fever's taking an ugly turn, affecting his head with a dozing heaviness. He bore it with great meekness and patience, saying little, only often repeating that he was in the hands of a good God. After he had lain thus comatose near a fortnight, the distemper put an end to his life, December the 6th 1675. His body was interred at Munden near those of both his wives. As to his person, it was comely and of full proportion, his complexion ruddy, and his constitution vigorous. As his countenance was mild, so he was easy of access, grave, but yet affable and communicative. He was of a very meek and tender spirit, often melting into tears (*m*). Very temperate in his diet, he abstained wholly from wine, drinking only water, or chiefly small beer, which he chose to have very new. Not long before he died some booksellers desired him to collect and methodize his works, in order to print them, which he promised to do, but was prevented by his death (*n*). The edition in 1684 has been already mentioned, besides which, there was another edition printed at Rotterdam in 1686 in two volumes folio, containing all his Latin writings, with a Latin translation of those which were written by him in English. At the end of both these editions there is a list of such pieces as he left unfinished. 'Tis the chief of these in Latin, which make up the third volume added to the former two in a third edition of his works in Latin, by John Leusden at Utrecht in 1699, folio. They were communicated by Mr Strype, into whose hands the Doctor's papers came (*o*), and that gentleman, in 1700, published in 8vo, another collection of these papers under the following title, *Some genuine Remains of the late pious and learned John Lightfoot, D. D. consisting of three Tracts*; 1. *Rules for a Student of the Holy Scriptures.* 2. *Meditations upon some abstruser Points of Divinity, and Explanations of divers difficult places of Scripture.* 3. *An Exposition of two select Articles of the Apostles Creed. Together with a large preface concerning the author, his learned debates in the Assembly of Divines, his peculiar opinions* [*S*], *his Christian piety, and the faithful discharge of his ministry.*

(*l*) That was the opinion of his Physicians. Id. sect. xiv.

(*m*) Mr Strype gives this instance of it, that, in reprimanding a young student in his college hall for some offence, his eyes were observed to swim in tears all the while. Ibid. sect. xv.

(*n*) Strype, ubi supra.

(*o*) They were given to him by the Doctor's son-in-law Mr Duckfield.

'*taken in hand that morning, but also to be wiser in my occasions for the time to come, than to neglect and sink my own estate as I had done: And yet within a little time after, I know not how, I was fallen to the same studies and design again, had got my laid-by task again into my hands before I was aware, and was come to a determination to go on in that work; because I had my notes and collections ready by me as materials for it; and when that was done, then to think of the advice that my heart had given me, and to look at mine own business.*' After all, tho' he published the description, yet he could not get the map engraved, notwithstanding he had drawn it very fairly upon vellum. It was published after his death with two others, one of Jerusalem, and the other of the Holy Land, and a chorographical table (by Dr John Williams, afterwards Bishop of Chichester) of the several places contained and described in the two volumes of his works; together with the author's Life, by Dr Bright, in 1684. Dr Lightfoot in a letter to Buxtorf declares, he could scarce find any booksellers in England that would venture to print his works, and that he was obliged to print some of them at his own expence; and Frederic Miege in a letter informed him, that there was not a bookseller in Germany who would freely undertake the impression of his Commentary upon the first epistle to the Corinthians (28).

[*R*] *He usually resided at Munden, &c.*] He never left his living any longer than to perform the necessary residence at Cambridge and Ely, and during that absence would frequently say, *he longed to be with his russet-coats*; he lived very hospitably among them, and was not wanting in acts of charity. He was a constant preacher, and Munden being a large parish, and the parsonage-house a mile from the church, and as he resorted there every Sunday, read prayers and preached morning and afternoon; he frequently continued all day in the church, not taking any refreshment 'till evening-service was over (29).

[*S*] *His peculiar opinions.*] Among these Mr Strype reckons that of the utter rejection of the Jews. In the third volume of his works, tract 19th, is a collection of the promises made to the Jewish Church in the books of the prophets, and which are to be fulfilled in the last times. If we explain his doctrine concerning their final rejection agreeable to the promises made to them, as they appear in that collection, he must mean thereby, only that their conversion shall not happen 'till the end of the world; an opinion which, after St Chrysostom, is held by many divines. In reality our author's opinion was no more than what has been maintained of late by the celebrated Wolfius (30), who argues strongly against any such general calling of the Jews as had been asserted by others, *Viam patere Judæis, inquit, ad Evangelium non minus quam Gentilibus eam vero non notabilem sed successivam apostoli Pauli verbis optime convenire?* 2. His mean opinion of the Septuagint version from the authority of *Massechet Sopherim*, and that it was chiefly done by the Sanhedrim, purposely to impose on the Gentiles, tho' not taken notice of by Dr Prideaux; yet that learned Dean, from the same authority, thinks it not improbable that the translation was performed by five Alexandrian (31) Jews, which Dr Lightfoot also maintains, but confines their undertaking to the Pentateuch. 3. He believed the smallest points in the Hebrew text to be of divine institution; which must be owned has carried him into many absurdities: some of these are remarked by Dr Bright in his Life above-mentioned. 4. Nor less indefensible is his opinion concerning the Keys, that they were given to Peter alone. 5. His opinion is very singular; that the power of binding and loosing related not to discipline, but to doctrine. As is also, 6thly, That peculiar interpretation of those words of God to Cain, *If thou doest not well sin lieth at thy door.* 'Sin (says he) that is not punishment to take hold on thee but a sin-offering lieth at thy door [to expiate thy evil].' To support which sense he observes, that this is the common acceptation of the word חטאת i. e. *Sin*, in the book of Moses. But of these and others of the like sort, he says, *Innocua, ut spero, semper proponens*; and 'tis certain that, notwithstanding his mistakes, if they be such, he is the most ingenious as well as learned of our English commentators, and has furnished all his successors in that way with a great part of the substance of what we find in their remarks. His conjectures are often probable, always ingenious; so that they give almost as much pleasure to the reader as they must have done, and he declared they actually did, to the writer. P

(28) These letters are printed at the end of the third volume of his Works.

(29) His Life, p. 30.

(30) Commentaries upon some of St Paul's Epistles, in 2 vols, 4to. 1733, in that to the Romans.

(31) Connection of the Old and New Testament, Vol. II. p. 37. edit. 1718, 8vo.

LILBURNE [John], the coryphæus of the Levellers, was descended of an ancient family [*A*], and born in 1618 (*a*) at Thickney Puncharden in the county of Durham. He gave early proofs of an excellent memory, a ready apprehension, and a strong imagination; and being a younger son (*b*), and also of a very forward temper, was carried by his father without any grammar learning (*c*) to London, and put apprentice at twelve years of age to Mr Thomas Hewson an eminent wholesale clothier near London-Stone (*d*). In this service he had not been a long while, before, young as he was, he complained to the City-Chamberlain of his master's ill usage; and having carried this point to his satisfaction (*e*), he afterwards spared not to indulge his genius freely. He was naturally of a high-mettled daring spirit, and having been trained up among the Puritans [*B*], he spent several days a week in reading such of their books as were proper to inflame his zeal against the established Hierarchy [*C*]. The event was answerable to his endeavours, he became

(*a*) See below in remark [*Z*].

(*b*) His father had three sons, Robert, John, and Henry. See remark [*I*].

(*c*) We find him frequently declaring he could not read Latin, particularly at his tryal in 1649, p. 22. printed that year in 4to. under the fictitious name of Theodorus Verax.

(*d*) According to his own account, he served his master faithfully six years, which must be expired before he went to Holland in 1636, or the beginning of 1637. Legal and Fundamental Liberties, &c. p. 21. edit. 1649, 4to. where he also observes, that he was put apprentice well nigh 20 years ago, and that his master drove a large wholesale trade. p. 20.

(*e*) He tells us, that he ever after lived in peace with him, and that, in all the days of his calamity with the Bishops, he had the truest and cordialest friend of him that ever servant had of a master, in the day of his trial. Ibid.

[*A*] *Descended of an ancient family*] When our author's cause was pleaded at the bar of the House of Lords in 1640, among other aggravations of the cruelty of the sentence passed upon him by the judges of the Star-chamber in 1637, it was urged by the managers in his behalf, that he was descended from an ancient family in the north*, a town in Northumberland still bearing the name of Lilburne or rather Leisle-bourne, by reason of the water called the Bourne, that was about it; and that the arms belonging to the family, are three water budgets, which is an ancient bearing of arms (1). His father Richard Lilburne, besides the estate at Thickley Puncharden abovementioned, was possessed of lands to a considerable value in the county of Durham. In 1638 he was engaged in a suit at law, for an estate of above 200 pounds a year in that county, wherein issue was joined for a trial by battle; which, as it seems to be the last instance of that ancient custom, and happened to fall in our author's family, may deserve a place in these memoirs. This remarkable cause, after some former hearings, came on the 6th of August 1638 before judge Berkley at Durham, between Ralph Claxton demandant, and Richard Lilburne tenant. The demandant appeared at 10 o'clock in the forenoon by his attorney, and brought in his champion George Cheney in array, who cast his gantlet into the court with five small pence in it. Then the tenant appeared by his attorney, and brought in his champion William Peverel in array, who did the like. After some examination of the proceedings in the cause, the parties and their champions were adjourned 'till three in the afternoon of the same day; when appearing as before with sand bags and battons, some discourse was held of it by the judge, who also examined the champions, and having ordered them into the custody of two bailiffs of the court, adjourned them 'till 8 the next morning; at which time appearing again, they were adjourned 'till three after dinner, and upon their appearing accordingly, were adjourned 'till 8 the following morning, when the champions put in their pledges (as at the court held on the 7th of July preceding) to appear in the court of pleas to be held on the 15th of September next. In the interim, on the 15th of August, his Majesty in council being made acquainted, that there had been several days appointed for determining by battle the question of right which had long depended between *Claxton* and *Lilburne*, for certain lands in the county of Durham, and that by the late appointment the same was to be tried by the said parties champions, December the 22d next, desired that the judges of that circuit, upon conference with their brethren, should be prayed and required to take the same case into due and serious consideration, and, if they could, to find any just way by law how the said combat might be put off, and the cause put into another way of trial; for his Majesty, out of his pious care of his subjects, would have it so, rather than to admit of a battle: but otherwise, since Lilburne had obtained a judgment upon a demurrer against Claxton, and also costs from the board for his vexation; and since that, *Claxton* had brought a new action, upon which *Lilburne* had waged battle; his Majesty would not deny the trial of laws, if it could not be legally prevented. After this, both parties bringing their champions into the court at Durham, having their sand-bags and battons, and so rendered themselves in that fighting posture, when the court upon reading the record, found an error in it by mistake of the the clerk (which some thought wilfully done) whereupon the court would not let them join battle at that time (2). Thus did the court order to avoid battle by deferring the matter, tho' the champions were ever present in court at all meetings to join battle. In further pursuance of his Majesty's earnest desire, there was a consultation of all the judges upon the following point. In a trial by battle upon a writ of right, the tenant waged battle which was accepted, and at the day to be performed. Berkley the justice there examined the champions of both parties, whether they were not hired for money? and they confessed they were, which confession he caused to be recorded, and gave farther day to be advised; and by the King's direction all the judges were required to deliver their opinion, whether this was cause sufficient to de-arraign the battle by these champions; and by *Bramston*, chief Justice; *Davenport*, chief Baron; *Denham*, *Hutton*, *Jones*, *Cook*, and other justices, it was subscribed, that this exception, coming after the battle waged, and champions allowed, and sureties given to perform it, ought not to be received (3). Notwithstanding this opinion, means being still found to defer the trial from year to year, Richard Lilburne presented a petition to the House of Commons, which was read July 24th, 1641, setting forth how often he had joined issue for trial by battle for lands in value of above 200 pounds per annum, and had brought down his champion; but that they were from time to time put off from a trial by combat by the judges, who still found some error in the record, so that the trial could not proceed. Upon which, it was ordered afterwards by the House, that a bill be brought in to take away trial by battle (4).

[*B*] *Trained up among the Puritans*] Mr Wood tells us (5) expresly, that his brother Robert was puritannically educated; and our author suggests, that his own master, Hewson, was a sectary, and that himself frequented the same meeting of those people with his master (6). He observes also upon another occasion, that both his father and uncle George Lilburne, were not only the first that ever he could hear of in the county of Durham, that opposed the King in the point of ship-money, but likewise stood up against the Bishop of of Durham, and the Dean and Chapter there, in the business of innovations: that afterwards adhering to the Parliament, they became Justices of the Peace, Committee-men, Surveyors of Bishops lands, and Sequestrators of Delinquents estates (7).

[*C*] *He read puritannical books*] He tells us himself, that his master keeping only a warehouse, he had spare time enough several days in the week, which he spent in reading the *Bible*, the *Book of Martyrs*, *Luther's*, *Calvin's*, *Beza's*, *Cartwright's*, *Perkins's Molin's*, *Burton's*, and *Rogers's* works, with a multitude of other such like books which he had purchased (8). Lord Clarendon informs us, that our author confessed, that in the melancholy of his imprisonment, and by reading the *Book of Martyrs*, he raised in himself a marvellous inclination and appetite to suffer in the defence and for the vindication of any oppressed truth, and found himself very much confirmed in that spirit; and in that time diligently collected and read all those libels and books, which had anciently as well as lately been written against the Church, from whence, with the venom he had likewise contracted, the impudence and bitterness of their stile, and by practice, brought himself to the faculty of writing like them (9). But tho' it be allowed, that too rigorous a punishment is rather apt to harden than amend the sufferer; yet whatever fallacious glosses

* In a war between the Wardens of the English and Scotish marches, anno 1375, Sir John Gordon entered England, returned with a large booty, and Sir John Lilburne, whom he had defeated and taken. Smollet's History of England, Vol. II. p. 108. Lond. 1757, 4to.

(1) Rushworth's Hist. Collect. Vol. I. part ii. p. 469. edit. 1680, fol. where we see our author stiled John Lilburne, Gent. in the decrees of the Star-chamber. The manager's name, not mentioned by Rushworth, was Cooke, as appears by the account of these proceedings published by our author soon after in fol. who was highly pleased with them, and often quotes them in his writings afterwards. See particularly Hue and Cry after Sir Arthur Haslerig, p. 17.

(2) Mr Rushworth observes, that this proved an omen of what the next year produced, by a greater appearance of a battle, when the King's army was at the camp of Berwick, and the Scots on the other side of Tweed; yet both armies parted also without battle.

(3) Id. Vol. II. part ii. p. 788, 789, 790.

(4) Ibid. part iii. p. 356. edit. 1692.

(5) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 174.

(6) Legal and Fundamental Liberties, &c. p. 21.

(7) A just Reproof to Haberdashers Hall, p. 2, 3, 4, and 17. and A Preparative to a Hue and Cry after Sir Arthur Haslerig. p. 37.

(8) Legal and Fundamental Liberties, &c. ubi supra.

(9) History of the Rebellion, Vol. III. part ii. p. 500, 501, in 8vo.

became of such eminence among those people, as to be consulted upon the boldest of their undertakings while an apprentice, and presently after, was esteemed by them as a person inspired (*f*). Among others, the teacher (*g*) of that congregation which he attended, frequently visiting his master, took notice of the apprentice's extraordinary talents, and highly approving thereof, contracted an intimacy with him, and in 1636, brought him into the acquaintance of Dr Bastwick, then a Star-chamber prisoner in the Gate-house, whom he afterwards constantly visited. At one of these visits, the Doctor reading his *Merry Litany* (*h*), young Lilburne was so much captivated with the anti-episcopal spirit of the piece, that with the author's consent, he carried the manuscript to Holland [*D*], and printing it there (*i*), after a stay of several months, employed in libelling and defaming the Bishops and the Prerogative, he returned home, and continued the same practices in disguise; but being in a little time betrayed by his associate, he was seized and carried before the Council-Board, and the High-Commission-Court, after some examinations (*k*) being referred to the Star-chamber, was, after several examinations there, also found guilty February 13, 1637. of printing and publishing libels and seditious books, particularly one entitled, *News from Ipswich* [*E*]. In all these examinations, stiffly refusing to comply with the ordinary rules of trial (*l*), as contrary to the liberties of a free-born Englishman, he got the nick-name of *Free-born John* (*m*); and being condemned to a severe punishment which was rigorously executed [*F*], he went through it with such a degree of hardiness and unfeeling obstinacy, as obtained him the title of a *Saint* among the Enthusiasts (*n*). After this he was ordered to be imprisoned in the Fleet, 'till he should make his submission, where, tho' he was loaded with double irons on his arms and legs, and put into one of the basest wards, yet he found means to print and publish another libel of his own writing, under the title of *The Christian Man's Trial* [*G*], in 4to, the same year. He

(*f*) See a pamphlet intitled, *The Famers famed*, or, an Answer to two seditious pieces, viz. The just Man in Bonds, and a Pearl in the Dunghill (written by a friend of Lieutenant Col. J. Lilburne, soon after his imprisonment in the Tower, June 23, 1646) by J. Shepheard, part ii. p. 11.

(*g*) Mr Edmund Rozer; our author, calls him his familiar friend and neighbour, and fellow professor with him in religion. See more of him in rem. [*CCC*].

(*h*) A libel, wherein the pride, lust, and abominable acts, of the prelates in private, are pretended to be laid open.

(*i*) The author of Famers famed tells us, that, besides this, he printed many others there (but mentions not their titles), and brought them over to England at his return. p. 11.

(*k*) Compare the Famers famed with Legal and Fundamental Liberties, ubi supra. His associate's name was John Chilliburn, servant to Wharton, his fellow sufferer in the Star-chamber.

(*l*) Viz. to take an oath to answer interrogatories, calling it the oath *ex officio*.

(*m*) Rushworth's Hist. Collect. Vol. I. part ii. p. 403. edit. 1688.

(*n*) Famers famed, as above.

glosses Mr Lilburne might occasionally put upon the matter, with a design, apparently, to expose the bad policy of his Star-chamber judges, it is evident that the enthusiastic spirit, which he here suggests to be raised in him by the melancholy of a prison, had entered into and taken full possession of him long before; which truth also he was not sparing upon other occasions to declare. Thus, in one place (10) he observes, that in the year 1636, when he constantly visited Dr Bastwick in the Gate-house, his zeal was so strongly kindled for him and his cause, that he could willingly have laid down his life for the Doctor's service. And in another piece printed in 1646 (11) he cries out with the same fervent spirit, that 'he had then assuredly known God 'to be his God upwards of ten years, who would enable 'him always to carry his life in his hand, and give it up 'in his righteous cause at a moment's warning, having 'prepared a mansion of eternal glory for him in heaven.'

[*D*] *He went to Holland*] Mr Lilburne frequently in his writings calls this a banishment, for which he also claims reparations, and says that it was occasioned by his true affection to Dr Bastwick, for which he was forced by the Bishops and their catchpoles to fly into the Low-Countries for refuge, just about the time of the Doctor's banishment: 'Where, continues he, I was 'divers months, and where Sir William Boswell the 'King's Ambassador laid for me, as I was informed, 'several designs to put me a ship-board, and send me 'over to England to the Bishops here for my visible ac'tivity there against them, which forced me continual'ly to wear my sword about me (12).'

[*E*] *News from Ipswich*] Mr Prynne, the writer of this libel, suffered much the same punishment for printing and publishing it, by a sentence in the Star-chamber (13), as was inflicted upon our author, who, according to Mr Wood's account was then, or had been a little before servant to the former: 'for, says 'that Antiquarian, about the year 1632, young Lil'burne, upon the dislike of his trade, expressing an in'clination to study the common law, was at his own 'request, as well as that of his friends, taken into Mr 'Prynne's service, who shortly after suffering for his 'Histriomastix, his servant Lilburne took his master's 'part, imprinted or vended a book or books against 'the Bishops, for which, being committed prisoner to 'the Fleet, he was afterwards whipt, &c.' (14) But this account which is *apparently* very loose, was *certainly* taken up from no good authority, as is evident from what is above related out of our author's own books, *that he served his master Hewson faithfully six years almost*. Neither do we find in these or in any of Mr Prynne's works, the least hint concerning this clerkship; a silence, which, considering the various contests that happened between these two antagonists, together with the temper of each, cannot be accounted for upon any other principle than this, that there was no manner of pretence for such a remark. It is not improbable indeed, that Mr Lilburne did not only turn his hand to the printing, but also to the binding of the libels, which were published by him at the time we are now speaking of, and some years afterwards; and this practice no doubt gave rise to Lord Clarendon's observation, that 'he was a book-binder before the 'wars (15),' which opinion was also further countenanced by his never following his proper trade of a clothier, as will be seen in the sequel.

[*F*] *Rigorously executed*] He was probably apprehended in January, being first brought on the 24th of that month to the Star-chamber-office to take the oath abovementioned, and refusing it there again on the 9th of February, sentence was passed then to punish him for a high contempt of the Court, which was accordingly pronounced on the 13th, as follows, that he should be remanded to the Fleet 'till April 18th 1638; when he should be whipt at the cart's tail, from thence to Old-Palace-Yard Westminster, and then set upon the Pillory there for two hours, after which to be carried back to the Fleet, there to remain 'till he conformed to the rules of the Court: also, to pay a fine of 500 pounds to the King, and give security for his good behaviour (16). In the whipping he received above 500 lashes with knotted cords, yet in the execution thereof, he uttered many bold speeches against the tyranny of the Bishops, and continued so to do after his head was in the hole of the Pillory, when, his hands being free, he tossed several copies of pamphlets, said to be seditious, among the people, taking them out of his pocket; and after the Star-chamber, then sitting, had ordered him to be gagg'd, he stampt with his feet. Upon this refractory behaviour, the Court ordered him to be laid alone, with irons upon his hands and legs, in one of the wards of the Fleet, where the basest and meanest sort of prisoners are used to be put. And it was ordered for the future, that all persons to receive corporal punishments from that Court should be searched, and neither writings nor any other thing suffered to be about them, and their hands to be bound; and the Attorney and Sollicitor-general were to examine him concerning his speeches, whether any against the Court of Star-chamber or any member thereof, as also whether any of the pamphlets were seditious (17).

[*G*] *He found means to print another Libel*] After some time there happened a fire in the Fleet, which breaking out near the ward where he lay in double irons, gave a jealousy, that being enraged to desperateness, he had set fire to the prison, regardless of his own death thereby. Hereupon both the neighbouring inhabitants without, and the prisoners within, crying release Lilburne, or we shall all perish, ran and made the warden remove him out of his hold; and after the fire was quenched, a place was provided for him where he had more air (18). Here we have another instance of that

(10) Legal and Fundamental Liberties, p. 21.

(11) Intitled, The oppressed Man's Oppressions, declared in an epistle to Col. Francis West, Lieutenant of the Tower, dated January 30 that year. p. 26.

(12) Legal and Fundamental Liberties, ubi supra. and his petition to the Committee of the House of Commons, Aug. 1, 1648, (praying his reparations may be fixed upon Lord Coventry's estate), printed in the Hue and Cry, p. 20, 21, 22.

(13) See more of it in his article.

(14) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 172.

(15) Hist. of the Rebellion, Vol. III. p. 390. first edition in folio.

(16) His offence was aggravated, in that he printed these books contrary to a decree of the Starchamber, made in July preceding, whereby printing without licence was prohibited.

(17) Rushworth's Hist. Collect. Vol. I. part ii. p. 465, & seq.

(18) Id. ibid.

He continued a prisoner 'till the meeting of the long Parliament, November 3d 1640; when, upon his petition to the House of Commons, he was ordered on the 7th of that month, to have the liberties of the Fleet, and a better apartment there (*o*). In consequence of which, we find him a chief ringleader in the armed mob that appeared at Westminster May 3d 1641, crying out justice, against the Earl of Strafford; and drawing his sword upon Colonel Lunsford (*p*), was apprehended and arraigned the next day of high-treason at the bar of the House of Lords, but dismissed [*H*]; and the same day, May the 4th, the following votes passed the House of Commons. *That the sentence of the Star-chamber against him* [Lilburne] *is illegal, barbarous, bloody, and tyrannical. That reparations ought to be given him for his imprisonment, sufferings, and losses, and that the committee shall prepare this case of Mr Lilburne's to be transmitted to the Lords, with those other of Bastwick, Leighton, Burton, and Prynne* (*q*). As soon as the Parliament voted an army, Mr Lilburne entered a volunteer therein, was a Captain of foot on that side, at the battle of Edge-hill (*r*), October 23d 1642; and remarkably distinguished himself in the engagement on the 12th of November following, at Brentford (*s*): where being taken prisoner by the King's forces, he was carried to Oxford, and brought upon his trial for high-treason, but the sentence was prevented by means of a special declaration (*t*) of the Parliament in his favour, December 17th 1642 [*I*]; after which returning to his party, he was

(*o*) Rushworth, Vol. II. part i. p. 21. edit. 1692.

(*p*) Legal and Fundamental Liberties, p. 22. and his speech, at the opening of his trial in 1649; where he says, it was supposed that Col. Lunsford and his associates intended to cut the throats of the chiefest men then living in the House of Commons. p. 3. His own edition, in 4to. under the fictitious name of Theodorus Verax.

(*q*) Rushworth, in the volume last cited, p. 250. The sentence was also declared null by the Lords, and ordered to be taken out of the records. Ibid. p. 469.

(*r*) England's Birthright, &c. p. 22. edit. 1646, 4to.

(*s*) Our author declares, that about 700 of them withstood the King's whole army for 5 hours, fighting it out to the very sword's point, and the butt-end of the musket. His trial, as above, p. 3. and Lord Clarendon observes, that the two regiments there were reckoned the Parliament's best foot, having behaved eminently well at Edge-hill, and that the King's forces entered the town after a very warm service. Hist. of the Rebellion, Vol. II. part i. p. 74. 8vo. edition.

(*t*) Threatning the Lex Talionis, i. e. to punish the prisoners of the King's party in their hands, in the same manner as Lilburne and the rest should suffer at Oxford. Rushworth, Vol. II. part iii. p. 93.

that resolute and wild fierceness which is the genuine effect of inflamed enthusiasm, and which made Lilburne the idol of his party. During his imprisonment he had many scuffles with the wardens, wherein two of his fingers were so maimed, that he lost the use of them ever afterwards, as he alledges in his petition quoted in note (12). Besides the pamphlet abovementioned, he wrote several others during this imprisonment, as 1. *Come out of her, my People.* 2. *The afflicted Man's Complaint* 3. *A Cry for Justice.* 4 *An Epistle to the Apprentices of London.* 5. *Several Epistles to the Wardens of the Fleet.* 6. *Nine Arguments against Episcopacy.* Afterwards, when Presbytery prevailed, he printed these arguments against that polity, in a piece intitled, An Answer of nine Arguments, written by T. B. Lond. 1645; and they were also in the same view inserted in his Oppressed Man's Oppression declared, p. 21. the following year, as a full answer to Mr Edwards's Gangræna, written in defence of the Covenant.

[*H*] *Arraigned of high-treason but dismissed.*] Our author tells us, that after the battle at Brentford in 1642, when he was a prisoner in Oxford castle, there came to him the Lords *Dunsmore, Maltravers, Newark,* and *Andover,* who told him, among other things, that he should be arraigned for a traytor, for being the chief or general of the apprentices, that came down to Westminster and Whitehall, and forced the House of Peers, and drove away the King from his Parliament, and so begun the wars. Unto which he replied, 'Alas, my 'Lords, you will be far mistaken there; and, continues 'he, I cannot but wonder, that your Lordships should 'so undervalue your own honours and reputations, as 'so much as once now to mention this. Why, sirrah? 'said one of them. Why, my Lord? because your 'Lordships may remember, that the 3d of May 1641, 'the King caused warrants to issue out to apprehend 'me as a traytor for this very thing, and others depending on it, and as a traytor I was apprehended by 'his messengers, one of which that night kept me prisoner as a traytor, and the next morning being the '4th of May 1641, as a traytor I was brought by him 'to Whitehall, where (as I remember) old Sir Henry 'Vane and Mr Nicholas were appointed by the King 'himself to carry my impeachment to the House of 'Peers, at whose bar I that day appeared, and was 'there that day arraigned for my life, and one *Littleton,* the Lord Keeper's kinsman, swore most bitterly 'against me; but upon further examination of witnesses, and hearing with patience my own defence for 'myself, I was by your whole house, who looked upon themselves as the highest judicatory in England, 'honourably and nobly acquitted, as a person innocent 'and free of the King's accusation: of which, my 'Lords, let me plainly tell you, if I were guilty, you 'were a company of unrighteous and unjust judges for 'freeing me from that accusation. But, my Lords, 'being judicially tried therefore, and acquitted by 'yourselves, who (if my memory fail me not, I saw 'all at that trial) and by your house (then extraordinary full as ever I saw it) who judge yourselves the 'highest judicature in England, I am acquitted thereby, my Lords, from any more question about that 'business, although it should be granted I was never so 'guilty of it (19).' We see here that our author on this occasion pleaded before the House of Lords; he takes notice of it himself, and says in excuse, that he did not then understand the jurisdiction of that house, when afterwards, in a similar case, he withstood that jurisdiction even to imprisonment in 1646. This submission was frequently thrown in his dish by his adversaries, to whom his constant answer was this, *When I was a child I spake as a child and acted as a child, but as soon as I became a man I put away childish things.* He also gave upon a particular occasion the following account how he came by that knowledge. That about a month or six weeks before the Lords committed him to prison in 1646, a member of the House of Commons, and one that he believed wished him well, gave him a hint to take care of himself, for that to his knowledge there was a design among some of the Lords (the grounds and reasons of which he then told him) to clap him up by the heels. That upon this warning, he took every opportunity of discoursing with such as he thought knew any thing of the Lords jurisdiction, and found a general concurrence that the 29th chapter of *magna charta* was against it: Upon that he enter'd his protest. That upon further enquiry he found Sir *Edward Coke's* judgment expresly against them; which book he takes notice was published after his first trial before the Lords. And that after he was put into the Tower, being informed by one of his fellow-prisoners of Sir *Simon Beresford's* case in Edward 3d's time, he presently got the record of it by Mr Collet's hands, deputy-keeper of the office in the Tower †.

[*I*] *Saved by a declaration of the Parliament.*] Upon the first day of his trial, the judge [Heath] at his request, not only freed him from close imprisonment, but allowed him pen, ink, and paper, and also a week's time to advise with counsel. The use he made of these favours was to write two letters (in conjunction with Vivers and Catesby his fellow-prisoners) one to the Speaker of the House of Commons, and another to young Sir Henry Vane, setting forth the proceedings against him. These being sent to his wife (20) then at London, with proper instructions, she managed the affair with so much diligence, as to bring down a letter from the Speaker containing the substance of the abovementioned declaration, and delivered it to Judge Heath two days before they were to appear again at the bar, and upon this the farther prosecution of them was staid, our author's wife having heard the judge at his reading the Speaker's letter, say to the company then present, that, '*as to himself, he valued not the threat,* '*but,* said he, *we must be tender of the lives of the* '*Lords and Gentlemen that served the King, and are in* '*the custody of those at Westminster* (21).' Thus the trial was suspended, and not long after, Lilburne made his escape out of the jail, by corrupting the marshal, says, Lord Clarendon, who tells us, he was liberally supplied during his imprisonment with money, by his friends (22).

(19) Legal and Fundamental Liberties, p. 71.

† Oppressed Man's Oppressions declared, p. 15. where a copy of the record here mentioned is inserted.

(20) He had married her some time before in this year 1642, as appears from his Preparative to a Hue and Cry after Sir Arthur Haslerig, toward the end, printed in 1649; where he says, She had been a comfort to him in all his troubles and sufferings for seven years.

(21) See his trial in 1649, published under the fictitious name of Theodorus Verax in 4to. p. 38, 39.

was received in the army with extraordinary marks of joy, and his gallant behaviour rewarded with a purse of 300 pounds by the Earl of Essex (*u*) [*K*]. But that General beginning to press the Scots Covenant upon his followers, the Captain left him (*w*); and going to the army newly raised, under the Earl of Manchester in 1643, obtained from him a commission on the 7th of October that year (*x*), for a Major of foot in the regiment commanded by Colonel Edward King, Governor of Boston in Lincolnshire (*y*). The Major was diligent in putting that garrison into a good state of defence [*L*], and very narrowly escaped with his life at raising the siege at Newark, by Prince Rupert [*M*]. He had quarrelled with his Colonel some time before, and proceeding to lay several accusations against him before the General [*N*]. His Lordship removed the Major from Boston, and made him Lieutenant-

(*u*) Legal and Fundamental Liberties, p. 23.

(*w*) Our author's words are, I left him [Essex] for his persecuting for non-taking the Covenant. Ibid. But 'tis certain too, that Cromwell had a hand in it, since to him Lilburne constantly ascribes his obtaining the majority from the Earl of Manchester. See remark [*M*].

(*x*) *The Earl of Manchester's army was raised in August.* Salmon's Chron. Hist. in this year.

(*y*) Resolved Man's Resolution, p. 32.

(22). On the other hand, our author himself declares he was exchanged by the Parliament (23), and that he lost 5 or 600 pounds during this imprisonment out of his own estate (24); he also complains heavily of Smith the jailor's cruelty to him, especially at the time when he lay dangerously ill of a fever (wherein he lost the hair of his head) and for which, as his manner was, he afterwards repaid him with a stroke of his pen, calling him a mercilesss Turk (25). Lord Clarendon likewise to the same purpose observes (26), that he was not so well treated in prison as was like to reconcile him.

(22) History of the Rebellion, Vol. II. part ii. p. 501. 8vo. edit.

(23) See the next remark [*K*].

(24) A Preparative to a Hue and Cry, &c. p. 17.

(25) Resolved Man's Resolution, p. 36. In the Collection of Somers's Tracts, Vol. XIII. there is a piece intituled, The Relation of Captain William Smith against the Parliament Prisoners in 1643.

(26) Ubi supra.

[*K*] *The Earl of Essex gave him 300 pounds for his service.*] Besides the particulars related above, there are some others concerning his behaviour at that time, of which we have from himself the following account: That in his sufferings and arraignment at Oxford, he carried himself with a great deal of resolution and undauntedness of spirit, for which the Parliament, by special declaration (27), justified him, and *exchanged him very honourably, high above his quality and condition*; and at his coming home, some of them that were no mean ones, profered his wife a place of honour and profit for him, then reputed worth about 1000 pounds per annum, which he conscientiously scorned and slighted, professing to his wife, to her extraordinary grief, that he must fight (tho' it were) for eight pence a day, 'till he saw the liberties and peace of England settled, rather than set himself down in a rich place for his own advantage, in the midst of so many grand distractions of his native country, as then possessed it (28). The same facts are touched by Lord Clarendon, and set in a different light. That, 'When he was brought to his 'trial before the justice he behaved himself with so 'great impudence in extolling the power of the parlia-'ment, that *it was manifest he ambitioned martyrdom* '*for that cause*.'— and upon his returning after his escape out of prison to the Parliament's quarters, 'he 'was received there with public joy, as a champion 'that had defied the King in his own court (29).

(27) Viz. the Declaration abovementioned.

(28) Legal and Fundamental Liberties, p. 23.

(29) History of the Rebellion, Vol. II. part ii. p. 501, 8vo. edit.

[*L*] *He was diligent in putting that garrison into a good state of defence.*] An instance of this we have in his account of monies disbursed during this service, one article of which is,

A note of all the swords, belts, and holsters for pistols, and bandeliers, that Major Lilburne caused to be brought into the magazine at Boston, February the 5th, 1643.

Received from London by Major Lilburne's appointment, two hundred and ninety swords. More received immediately after, by Major Lilburne's appointment five hundred swords. Feb. 1643, *received from Thomas Forman at Lynn, by Major Lilburne's appointment, one chest of swords, containing two hundred. Received in April after from Major Lilburne, that his man brought into the magazine, and delivered them to my son Shepherdson, twenty swords. So received in swords* 1010.

Received of Major Lilburne 80 *pair of holsters for pistols, and three hundred belts for swords. Received of Mr Wood and Mr Wind, by Major Lilburn's appointment, one thousand collars of bandeliers. All these swords, holsters for pistols, sword-belts, and bandeliers, were received into the magazine from Major Lilburne, but what money has been paid in for any of them I know not. By me Richard Coney, keeper of the magazine in Boston.*

Our author speaking to this article of his accounts observes, that he furnished these stores at least, 20 pound in the hundred cheaper than the Colonel [King] then paid for the like at Boston (30).

(30) Resolved Man's Resolution, p. 33.

[*M*] *He had a narrow escape at Newark.*] After the articles for raising the siege were concluded between Prince Rupert and Sir John Meldrum, Colonel King commanded, and in a manner forced, Major Lilburne, contrary to the agreement, to march away his regiment in a hostile manner with their arms, &c. so that they were set upon by the enemy's horse, and forcibly disarmed, and also plundered, as violaters of the covenant and contract, to the disparagement of the whole army, yea and the Parliament itself, and to the extreme hazard and danger of abundance of their lives. 'Yet '*King*, continues our author, was so honest and va-'liant, that as soon as he saw the storm fall upon us, 'he fairly left us, and shifted for himself, without be-'ing plundered as we were, at which bout I lost well 'nigh 100 pounds (31); being plundered from the 'crowne of my head to the sole of my foote, and forced 'over hedge and ditch in by-ways for the safety of my 'life, to march almost ten miles without a hat or pere-'wig (having by cruell sicknesss lately lost my heire in 'Oxford prison) britches or doublet, bootes or shooes '(32). Our Major seems to have behaved with great bravery in the attack at Newark, which, Mr Rushworth informs us, was begun by three companies of Colonel King's regiment, who marching up to the Countess of Exeter's house, after a very sharp conflict took it. There were likewise two Captain Lilburnes in the division of horse commanded by Colonel Rocester, who signalized themselves in this action (33). These two Captain Lilburnes were probably the Major's two brothers, Robert and Henry (34).

(31) His loss was four horses with his portmanteau and cloaths, besides his papers of accounts. Ibid. p. 36.

(32) Just Man's Justification, p. 7. 2d edition, 1647, 4to.

(33) Historical Collections, Vol. II. part iii. p. 306, 307, 308.

(34) Resolved Man's Resolution, p. 34. where Robert is stiled Captain, and Henry Captain-Lieutenant, June 11, 1644, and the action at Newark happened in March preceding.

[*N*] *He quarrelled with, and brought several accusations against his Colonel.*] Our author observing that his promotion in Colonel King's regiment was owing to Cromwell, tells us, that this friend gave him then some private instructions, which were, to be faithful in his place, and to complain either of Colonel King, or whomsoever he groundedly knew did any actions that tended to the ruin of *salus populi*, the safety of the people, or the state universal; and promised upon his honour and reputation, that he would do the best he could to have justice done, 'and, continues our Major, 'he gave me the reason, wherefore he so earnestly ty-'ed me to it, which was, because our General with 'his army was to march out of Lincolnshire, and that 'country being lately wonne out of the hands of the 'Cavaliers, there being very few of that country at 'that time, that desired command under the Generall, 'therefore, saith he, we are necessitated to make use of '*Col. King*, and to make him Governour of Boston 'and Holland, looking upon him as an active popu-'lar man, who promised to do mighty things for the 'good of that country and the publique.

'But in regard divers of the chiefe men of Boston doe 'mislike him, I have therefore, *saith he*, in his be-'halfe, engaged my selfe to them for him, that *he* '*shall be faithful, just, and honest towards them*: and 'therefore, in regard I have no large experience of the 'man and of his temper, I principally looke upon thee 'Lilburne, and thy Lieutenant-Col. John Bury, whose 'faithfulness I can rest upon, and *for* both of *whom I* '*have used my interest to place on purpose with him*, that 'so if he should break out to the dishonour of my en-'gagement, and the detriment of the publique, I may 'from time to time be sure to know of it from you, 'that so it may be prevented, before it be past reme-'dy.' In pursuance of this secret counsel, our Major heartily vexed at his misfortune before Newark, took especial care to acquaint both the Earl of Manchester and Cromwell, with his Colonel's behaviour (35) there, as also of some other commands given by him, without consulting any of the officers of his regiment. And upon the first opportunity, he posted away himself to Bedford, where finding both the General and Cromwell, he gave them a full narrative of all the Colonel's absolute carriage, in marching and countermarching his forces without the consent or approbation of his Field-officers; and that tho' he had received from the the committee of Lincolnshire divers thousand pounds

(35) He says it cost him 20 or 30 l. in posts, the Earl being at Bedford, and Cromwell in or about Cambridge. Just Man's Justification, p. 6.

tenant-Colonel to his own regiment of Dragoons, on the 16th of May 1644 (z). This post he sustained with signal bravery at the battle of Marston-moor (aa), in the beginning of July, which being observed by Cromwell and Fairfax, he was offered a good post also in the army, upon the new modelling thereof [O], in April 1645: but the boilings of his conscience swelling now as high against the covenanted Presbytery as they had formerly done against the Prerogative and Episcopacy, he resolved to quit the service, and accordingly, on the last day of that month, he delivered up his troop, with the regiment, to Colonel John Okely near Abingdon (bb). He had no sooner laid down his military weapons, than he took that state weapon his pen up, against the new-rising dominion: and attacked his old associate Mr Prynne, in a printed epistle to him on that subject, dated June the 7th, 1645 [P]; and being brought before a committee of the House of Commons

(z) Ibid.

(aa) England's Birthright, p. 6. edit. 1646, 4to.

(bb) Resolved Man's Resolution, where last cited.

to pay his officers and soldiers at Newark siege, yet the Major could never hear he had paid one penny to any officer there, and, as for his own part, he could not get a penny from him. So likewise, altho' the country sent in great store of provisions for his regiment gratis, yet he and his under-sutlers made the Major and other officers and soldiers to pay ready money for a great part of it, to their extraordinary discontent, provoking them thereby to mutiny. That Sir *John Maldrum* told him, the Colonel had raised such a fire of contention among the chief officers at Newark siege, that he durst not call a council of war to consult how to manage their business, being there continually in contest with my Lord Willoughby, Colonel Rossiter, Sir Miles Hubbard, Sir John Paragraffe, and divers of the Lincoln committee: so that the commander in chief knew not well what to do, by reason of these distractions, when Prince Rupert came upon them. That he put Boston into great danger of being lost to the enemy, by ordering all the powder out of the magazine, and notwithstanding the loss of his own regiment's arms at Newark, yet he refused to send for a supply to the governour of Lynn, 'till that supply was ordered by another; and when it did come, he sent the men immediately to recover Crowland, which had been lost by his means. The Earl of Manchester having heard the Major's complaint, sent him post to London, to the committee of both kingdoms, about his marching to recover Lincoln, and thence to march to York to join the Scots. After his return, he renewed his complaints at Lincoln, desiring a council of war might be called thereupon. A trial by a court martial was also sollicited by some of the committee of Lincoln, who drew up a very heinous charge against Colonel King, as did also the Mayor and Aldermen of Boston; these last pressing Cromwell to use all his interest in the Earl, that they might be admitted to make their articles good in a council of war. Here a less spirited and more artful prosecutor would have rested the matter, especially as he had found the sweets of it, in being raised to the post of Lieutenant-Colonel of Dragoons, and moreover, seen the Colonel thereupon discharged the service, and put out of all his commands and offices, which were very many and profitable; being Colonel of horse, Colonel of dragoons, and Colonel of foot, Governour of Boston and the parts of Holland, and Governor of the city and county of Lincoln, with a power to levy what money he judged necessary for the support of the same. But the Lieutenant-Colonel not being able to procure the trial by a court-martial, prevailed with some of the Lincoln committee to exhibit to the House of Commons, in August 1644, a charge of high crimes and misdemeanors, consisting of 22 articles, against the Colonel, undertaking to support the greater part of them by his own testimony (36). The precipitate rashness and wrong headed zeal of this forward step will appear presently.

(36) Ibid. from p. 5 to p. 25. second edit. in 1647, 4to.

[O] *Proferred a good post when the army was new modelled, but resolved to quit the service.*] He assures us this offer was made him by no mean man, even whilst this new model was framing, but that visibly there was such bitter designs against the poor people of God, who were strongly endeavoured to be destroyed by them, who with all their might they had endeavoured to preserve; and, 'also, continues he, the laws and justice 'of the kingdom, to my understanding, in a very sad 'condition, I plainly told Lieutenant Cromwell, *I 'would dig for turneps and carrots before I would fight 'to set up a power to make myself a slave, which ex'pression he relished not well. Whereupon I told him, 'Sir, I will, if I were free to fight again, never serve 'a jealous master while I live. For the Parliament, 'by their late vote, hath declared a jealousie in all men 'that will not take the Covenant, which I can never do; 'and therefore, seeing I have served them faithfully, 'and they are grown jealous of me without cause, after 'so much assured experience of my faithfulnesse, I will 'never, in the mind I am now in, serve them as a sol'dier while I breath, let them get whom they please, 'and doe what they please* (37).' Lord Clarendon gives the following account of this matter: That 'from the 'the time of Lilburne's returing to the army, after his 'imprisonment at Oxford, he was entertained by Crom'well with great familiarity; and in his contests with 'the Parliament, was of much use to him, and privacy 'with him. But he began then to find him so restless and 'unruly a spirit, and to make those advances in religion 'against the Presbyterians, before he thought it season'able, that he dispensed with his presence in the army; 'where he was an officer of note, and made him re'side in London, where he wished that temper should 'be improved; and when the Parliament was so 'much offended with his seditious humour, and the 'pamphlets he published every day in religion, with 'reflections upon their proceedings, that they resolved 'to prosecute him with great rigour; towards which 'the Assembly of Divines *, which he had likewise 'provoked, contributed their desire and demand. 'Cromwell *wrote a very passionate letter to the Par'liament, that they should so much discourage their 'army that was fighting for them, as to censure an 'officer of it for his opinion in point of conscience, 'for the liberty* whereof, and to free themselves from 'the shackles in which the Bishops had enslaved 'them, that army had been principally raised; upon 'which all farther prosecution of Lilburne was de'clined at that time; tho' he declined not their fur'ther provocation, and continued to make the pro'ceedings of the Parliament as odious as he could (38).' The nature of this connexion between Cromwell and our author, which, agreeably to his plan, the noble historian here touches only in generals, will, in the sequel of this memoir, be seen fully and distinctly in the several particular incidents which were the effects thereof. To this purpose we must observe at present, that his Lordship is not to be understood (tho' the words seem to imply as much) to signify our author's continuance in the army long after the new model of it made by Fairfax and Cromwell, since the contrary is not only asserted by Lilburne, as appears in the text and remark thereto; but it is abundantly manifest in every step of his life after the time assigned there for his quitting the service. Moreover Lilburne expresly declares, in 1649, that after he threw up his commission, [in April 1645] he never could fight as a soldier, although Cromwell by himself, face to face, and by his agents (he was confident of it) had from time to time, and as earnestly sollicited him (as was possible for a man to be sollicited) to take a command in Fairfax's army (39). And we shall find hereafter, that the arch-rebel had much more difficulty in managing the restless and unruly spirit of this underling, than his Lordship's representation of it is apt to lead one into the belief of.

(37) Resolved Man's Resolution, p. 35, 36.

* In one place he calls them, by way of contempt, an assembly of dry-vines, and charges them with perjury in pressing the Covenant, where they engage to maintain the old established laws of England, and then notoriously encouraging the violation of those laws. Oppressed Man's Oppression, p. 22.

(38) History of the Rebellion, Vol. III. p. 392. first edit. in fol.

(39) Legal and Fundamental Liberties, p. 23.

[P] *A printed epistle to Mr Prynne in June 1645.*] Our author gives the following account of this piece: 'No sooner was I by the ears with Manchester [in 'November this year (40)], but Mr Prynne wrote his 'desperate invective books against us all that would 'not be conformable to the Covenant *(that cheat)*, 'and *the Scots Presbytery (that every thing and no'thing)*; and would have had us all destroyed or ba'nished the land of our nativity: so, in conscience to 'God, and safety to myself and brethren, I was in'wardly compelled to deal with him that thus fought to 'destroy the generation of the Righteous; and accord'ingly I wrote him a sharp epistle now in print, 'dated

(40) See below in remark [X].

Commons on the 13th, on account of ſome paſſages in that piece, he printed another epiſtle addreſſed to Mr Lenthal, charging the ſpeaker with an embezzlement of 60,000 pounds of the publick money [*Q*]. Whereupon an accuſation againſt him being preſented to that houſe, by Colonel King and Dr Baſtwick, on the 12th of July, he was put into the cuſtody of the ſerjeant at arms on the 19th. While he was under the care of that officer, he publiſhed a third epiſtle to a friend, dated July the 25th, upon which he was committed to Newgate on the 9th of Auguſt, and orders were given for his trial at the Old-Bailey on a charge of ſeditious practices; but in the interim, printing a ſtate of his caſe, addreſſed to the world and his jury (*cc*), no bill was found againſt him (*dd*), and he was diſcharged from the priſon by an order of the Houſe of Commons [*R*], October the

(*cc*) It was reprinted in England's Birthright, at the beginning, p. 6, 7.

(*dd*) Mr Recorder acquainted the Houſe, that no information or other charge had been brought againſt him, and that he deſired either to be tried or diſcharged; whereupon it was reſolved upon the queſtion, that he be forthwith diſcharged. See the vote in Juſt Man's Juſtification, p. 3.

'dated 7, Jan. 1645 (41), *which brought upon my back a whole ſea of troubles*; and a vote or votes in the Houſe of Commons paſſed againſt me: whereupon, without any more a-do, black *Corbet* and the Committee of Examinations makes me a priſoner, and toſſeth and tumbleth me to the purpoſe. So, before him, upon the 13th of June 1645, *was I forced to give in my reaſons* (now in print); *wherefore I wrote that excellent and ſeaſonable epiſtle* (which was the firſt avowed public cannon, I know of, in England diſcharged againſt the then inſulting Preſbyter for liberty of conſcience (42).' By Mr Prynne's invective books our author means, 1. *Twelve conſiderable queſtions touching Church-government.* 2. *Independency examined and refuted.* 3. *A full Reply to certain brief Obſervations and Antiqueries on Mr Prynne's Twelve Queſtions about Church government.* 4 *Brief Animadverſions on Mr John Goodwin's Theomachia*, all printed by that author in 1644, in 4to; beſides another the following year, againſt which Mr Lilburne's Epiſtle, here ſpoken of, is particularly levelled, as appears from the title in theſe words: *An Anſwer to Will Prynne, Eſq; upon the coming out of his laſt booke, entitled, Truth triumphing over Falſehood; Antiquity over Novelty; in which are laid down five Propoſitions, which the author deſires to diſcuſs with the ſaid Mr Prynne.*

(41) In the epiſtle to Lenthal, mentioned above in the text.

(42) Legal and Fundamental Liberties, p. 24.

[*Q*] *Charged the Speaker with embezzling 60000 l. of the public money.*] As this affair is but little known, we ſhall give the following repreſentation of it, made by one of Lilburne's friends (43). One *Cob*, a Sea-captain (ſays the author) who was a priſoner in the King's-bench, and ill-uſed by Sir John Lenthal, the Keeper, found means to convey a letter to the Speaker, his brother; wherein he charged Sir John with ſeizing and detaining 60,000 *l.* belonging to Sir Baſil Brooke, without giving any account of it to the Parliament: whereupon *Cob* being ſent for out of priſon, was brought to the door of the Houſe of Commons, in order, as he thought, to make good his charge; for which purpoſe he carried three or four witneſſes with him, to prove it. But the Speaker not calling him into the houſe, ſent him out word, that he ſhould go back, and that himſelf would come ſhortly to his brother, Sir John's houſe, and ſpeak with him there. Accordingly he did ſo, but would admit none to be preſent. However, Cob returning to the priſon *among his fellows*, gave them a true account *upon his reputation* of what had paſſed; which was to this effect: That, as ſoon as he was brought into the room, the Speaker ſhew'd him his letter, and aſked him if he would juſtify it? Yes, ſays Cob, and a great deal more, if you would do your duty in making it known to the honourable Houſe of Commons. Upon this the Speaker turning to Sir John, ſaid, If this be true, here is enough to hang you: to which Sir John replied, That *Cob* had miſrepreſented the matter; for, whereas, ſays he, he charges me with letting *Violet* [then a priſoner in the King's-bench] go twice to Oxford, during the time that he and Sir *Baſil Brooke* were contriving their plot againſt the City, you know I never let him go but once, and *then I had your warrant for it. Well, well*, (ſaid the Speaker) *Captain Cob I ſee you are an honeſt man, and much injured by your adverſaries; but ſhake hands, and be friends with Sir John, and I will get you your liberty.* But Cob perceiving that the Speaker did nothing in it, ſent a copy of the aforeſaid Letter to Mr William Pendry of London, with Ellen Thomas's information about the 60,000 *l.* and which was then in Sir John's hands; which Letter the ſaid Pendry communicated to two Knights in Parliament, who took no more care than the Speaker to have it brought to light, nor the 60,000 *l.* attached. Thus the affair ſtood, if we may believe this author, when our

(43) The author of England's Birthright, a pamphlet, if not penned by Lilburne himſelf, yet manifeſtly under his directions, in 1646, 4to. The title of it is England's Birthright juſtified, againſt all arbitrary Uſurpations, whether regal or parliamentary, or under what vizor ſoever; where divers Queries, Obſervations, and Grievances, of the People, declaring the Parliament's preſent Proceedings to be directly contrary to thoſe fundamental Principles, whereby their actions at firſt were juſtifiable againſt the King, in their preſent illegal dealings with thoſe that have been their pureſt Friends, Adviſers, and Preſervers, and many other things of high Concernment to the Freedom of all the freeborn People of England. By a well-wiſher to the juſt cauſe, for which L. Col. John Lilburne is unjuſtly impriſoned in Newgate.

Lieutenant-colonel wrote the above-mentioned epiſtle to William Lenthall, &c. wherein he lays open all this dark ſcene of roguery, as he calls it. On the 12th of July an information being given in to a Committee of the Houſe of Commons by three citizens of London, Mr Pretty, Mr Rawſon, and Mr Worley, that the 60,000 *l.* had been ſent to Oxford. Our author alſo appeared as an evidence againſt Sir John; but the Committee having cleared him of the charge in the morning, the accuſation mentioned (44) in the text, was preſented to the Houſe in the afternoon by Colonel King and Dr Baſtwick, the former of whom had received a freſh provocation from him in this epiſtle, where, among other aggravations of the Speaker's injuſtice and unrighteous dealings, he did not forget that of his taking no notice of the impeachment, as he calls it, againſt the Colonel mentioned in remark [*P*]. Neither is this the only inſtance wherein King found means to pay him in his own coin, as is there alſo ſuggeſted. As to Baſtwick, he appears plainly, as our author obſerves, to be in this affair a meer tool of Mr Prynne's forming, by whom he was ſupported in it, as will be ſeen in the following remark.

(44) Col. Ireton and Mr Hawlins were included in the accuſation. See our author's Letter to the Council of Agitators, at the end of the ſecond edition of his Epiſtle to Judge Reeves, publiſhed in 1647, 4to, p. 25.

[*R*] *He wrote an epiſtle—was ſent to Newgate, and ordered to be tried for ſedition, but diſcharged without a trial.*] If Lilburne's behaviour in this affair was inſupportably impudent, yet it muſt be allowed that neither did his ſuperiors, in chaſtiſing him, preſerve that gravity which became ſenators. For after his commitment to Newgate, a warrant being made out for ſeizing the copies of his books, the officer, in virtue of that authority, entered with his attendants into his houſe, where, finding no-body but an old gentlewoman, whom they put into a great fright, they run up into the chamber, and his wife being then big with child, and near her time, they ſtole out of her drawers ſeveral pieces of child-bed linnen, beſides other things, refuſing to ſhew or give an account of them to the old gentlewoman who deſired it (45). Our author having followed his blow upon Mr Prynne in the Epiſtle to a Friend, mentioned above, that antagoniſt, wrote an anſwer, intitled *The Lyar confounded*, &c. wherein he charged Lilburne *with having joyned the Separatiſts and Anabaptiſts, in a conſpiracy to root out the members of that parliament by degrees, beginning with Mr Speaker, whom, if they could cut off, all the reſt would eaſily follow; and if this ſucceeded not, then to ſuppreſs and cut off this parliament by force of arms, and ſet up a new parliament of their own choice and function.* To this our author, nothing diſmayed thereat, printed a reply, with the title of *Innocency and Truth juſtified*, &c. In which he ſtill inſiſts that Prynne had more than a finger in his proſecution, alledging as a proof thereof, this laſt piece of that adverſary, 'which, ſays he, was *framed, publiſhed cum privilegio, and dedicated to Mr Speaker*, juſt at the time when he ſaw I was likely honourably to be delivered as a ſpotleſs and innocent man.' Proceeding then to the charge of a conſpiracy againſt the Parliament, he obſerves, that by this heinous charge, Prynne had manifeſted himſelf a perfect knave and enemy to the kingdom 'in that he knew me, ſays he, guilty of ſuch a thing, and never to this day durſt queſtion me, or proſecute me for it: and if it be but one of his falſe, malicious ſuggeſtions, then he proves and declares himſelf a lyar to fix ſo notorious a falſhood upon him, that in this, and all other things, bids defiance to him; yea, and in the ſame falſe, ſcandalous, and tranſcendent lying book of his, beſides ſcores of lyes, he fathers poſitively thirteen or fourteen upon me in leſs than eight lines (46).' Our author alſo offered publickly to prove this charge; but no notice being taken of that challenge, he triumphs in a piece written the next year over that lying

(45) See our author's ſecond epiſtle to Sir Henry Martin, p. 2. When the copies of his book, The Oppreſſed Man's Oppreſſions, &c. were ſeized afterwards, he complains, that other books not in the warrant were alſo ſeized, as England's Chains diſcovered, but could get no redreſs. It appears, that by an act, Sept. 28, 1647, officers were empowered to enter any ſhop or houſe, where they ſhall be informed, or have good cauſe to ſuſpect, any unlicenſed papers or pamphlets, and theſe England's Chains were not licenſed. Scobel's Collection of Acts, &c. anno 1647, chap. xcv.

(46) Innocence and Truth juſtified, p. 4 to 35.

the 14th, without being brought to a trial. On the 10th of November the petition for his arrears (which he had presented soon after quitting the army) was read by that house, but being referred to the Committee of Accounts, where he refused to give in the particulars upon oath, no order was made for payment [S]. While these things passed in the lower House, our author was engaged in another business before the House of Lords, upon a petition he had presented there for reparations and damages, on account of his sufferings in the Star-chamber, and on the 13th of February his cause was re-heard and a few days afterwards the former decree of 1640, annulling the proceedings of the Star-chamber was confirmed, and on the 5th of March he obtained a decree for two thousand pounds, and a bill to that effect having passed the House on the 27th of April, was sent down to the Commons for their consent (*ee*): but in the beginning of that month he was charged by the Committee of Accounts with a debt of 2000 l. to the State [*T*], and was moreover

(*ee*) A Preparative to a Hue and Cry after Sir Arthur Haslerig, p. 17. Cook and Bradshaw were his Counsel in this cause, which he printed with Cook's aggravations of his sufferings soon after.

lying and paultry fellow, 'who durst never (says he) 'embrace my challenge there made to him, nor never so much as in any of his late voluminous lines 'return one word of answer, that ever I could see, to 'what there I justly fixed upon him; and therefore, 'by his silence in that particular, though he hath 'printed scores of sheets since, he hath given me just 'cause now to proclaime him so notorious and base a 'liar, that he is not ashamed to tell and publish above 'a dozen in eight lines (47).' Dr Bastwick also felt the point of our Lieutenant-colonel's pen in this Epistle to a Friend. Mr Prynne therefore undertook his cause in a pamphlet, intitled *A just Defence of* John Bastwick, *Doctor of Physick, against the Calumnies of* John Lilburne, &c. in five sheets, 4to, by way of answer to a reproach cast upon the members of the House of Commons. In our author's epistle he allows a great part of the members of the House of Commons to be in understanding no better than minors. Dr Bastwick having expressed himself to the same purpose in these remarkable words (48): *As there is no family that is never so honest, that has not a whore or a knave of their kindred; so it is impossible in such a great council as the Parliament, but they should have some ninnies and groles, and men that have no more wit than will reach from their nose to their mouth.* The piece above cited, called *England's Birth-right*, &c. coming out in reply to that of Bastwick, the author thereof, making merry with this passage, says (49), 'Surely this Parliament will be contemptible not only to their foes, but also to their friends, 'and will never shake off this blot with the State 'unless they call him to an account, and make him 'name whom he means, and punish the licenser that 'durst be so bold to let such a book be published '*cum privilegio* to the dishonour of the very Parliament itself. Surely Sir John, and his brother the 'Speaker, have fee'd Bastwick well, and are not very 'found; that they put him their stalking-horse upon 'such desperate courses, to salve up their credit; and 'he has as little wit as honesty in him to be earnest 'for Sir John Lenthal in particular, who is notoriously known to be the greatest whoremaster, adulterer, rogue, cheat, thief, and what-not. There has 'so many complaints been made to this present 'Parliament (tho' little effect they have taken, by 'reason of the Speaker's power and interest) against 'him, whose common practice it is to walk in contempt and violation of the known laws of the kingdom, and the making of them null and of none 'effect, as much as in him lies, to the ruin and destruction of thousands of the free denizens of England. Besides his outlawries, which have been out 'against him these three years; he has dozens of executions upon him, and yet walks abroad, and continues Keeper of the King's-bench prison, and Justice of Peace; and, as it is reported, is Chairman of 'a Committee, by means of which he is invested with 'a power to crush and destroy every man that but 'opens his mouth to speak of his baseness and injustice. The height of his injustice (continues he) 'and of his arbitrary and tyrannical government, is 'scarcely in Strafford to be parallelled, which is so 'insupportable to the poor opprest prisoners in the 'King's-bench, that they have got a proverb among 'them in these words: *The Lawyers rule the Committees, the Speaker rules the Lawyers, Sir John Lenthal rules the Speaker, Thomas Dutson rules Sir John Lenthal, and the Devil rules Dutson.* In his letter to the council of Agitators, our author, ever mindful to make the best of every thing he did to his own advantage, ascribes his discharge from Newgate without a trial, to the influence which *the state of his case*, mentioned in the text, had upon the jury; but it is more probable that his escape was owing to the sharp letter which, as Lord Clarendon informs us, was wrote to the Parliament by Cromwell *; which is likewise confirmed by several passages in England's Birthright, pregnant with the highest encomiums upon Cromwell, who is there proclaimed *to be seasoned at heart, and not rotten-cored; free from partiality and self-interest; well-skilled in soldering the disjoynted spirits in the army; and infinitely hating all factious partakings and base self-gains*, p. 32; and 'tis remarkable, that while Lilburne lay in Newgate, upon a petition of some of his friends, the Speaker of the House of Commons sent him 100 *l.* in part of his arrears (50).

(47) Resolved Man's Resolution, p. 31.

(48) P. 6.

(49) P. 25.

* See remark [O].

(50) Ibid. p. 37, and Innocence and Truth justified, p. 29, 30.

[*S*] *No order was made for payment.*] Here again he met his adversary, Mr Prynne, who, as Chairman of the Committee, tendred him an oath to the following effect: That he should swear what was due to him, and what he had received, and what free quarters he had had, as also what horses and arms from the State. This oath, as he acquaints his friend, he stoutly refused, resolving rather to lose all his money, and to be hanged, before he would make himself such a slave as to deprive himself of the benefit of the good and just laws of England, by taking such a wicked and unlawful oath. He farther alledged to the Committee, that having lost several of his papers and muster-rolls, when he was plundered as above-mentioned, at the siege of Newark, it was impossible for him to comply with the oath: and moreover, that he never dreamt of any such thing, as being called to give an exact account to the Parliament, walking, as he declares, by that rule that was established in the ordinances then in being; thinking that if the Army-Committee that was set other them to look to them, and the Council of War, that was to punish them for any misdemeanour, had nothing to say nor accuse him of, that he should have had his accounts audited, and sent by those persons named in the ordinance, under whom he served, and not be brought to a Committee at London; 'That was not in being (continues he) when I engaged my life, nor had all the while that I was a 'soldier any power over us, nor never was in the field 'to know what belongs unto a soldier, and *are merely* '*in my apprehension intentively erected to cheat and ensnare honest and faithful commanders of their just* '*due.*' This was a home-thrust, but he acknowledges it was aimed only at Prynne. He afterwards told them that he had his commissions ready to justify his service, and craved so much money as was due to him thereon for his pay, desiring them to let him have a charge what moneys, &c. they could fix upon him, and he would either acknowledge or disprove it; but the Committee assuring him, nothing could be done unless he would take the oath, he was dismissed, telling them he must and would repair again to the House of Commons that sent him thither (51).

(51) Resolved Man's Resolution, p. 36, 37.

[*T*] *Charged with a debt of* 2000 l. *due to the State.*] Before the decree for 2000 *l.* in the House of Lords was transmitted to the lower House, our author was summoned before the Committee of Accounts there, with the following warrant.

By virtue of an Ordinance of Parliament of the 22d of February, 1643, *for taking the general accounts of the Kingdom, these are to require you to appear before us of the Committee by the said Ordinance, at the House of Mr Freeman in Cornhill, London,*

moreover arreſted for the like ſum on the 14th at the ſuit of Colonel King, in an action of treſpaſs, from the Court of Common-pleas, for calling him a traytor (*ff*). Our author being exceedingly provoked with this proſecution, which hindered him from bringing the affair of the Lord's decree to a good iſſue, having put in extraordinary bail for his appearance (*gg*), he firſt offered a petition to the Houſe of Commons, to bring the Colonel to his trial upon the abovementioned impeachment [*U*]: and receiving no ſatiſfaction there (*hh*), he penned an epiſtle by way of appeal to Judge Reeves, and printed it with the title of *The juſt Man's Juſtification* [*W*]. This piece was dated the 6th of June,

(*ff*) On the 14th of October, at his delivery out of Newgate.

(*gg*) Two houſekeepers and a ſtranger. Epiſtle to Judge Reeves, p. 2.

(*hh*) It had lain above a month in divers of his friends hands in the Houſe, but he could not get it read when the letter was wrote to the Judge, who was Chief-Juſtice of the Court, June 6. Ibid. p. 18.

London, on Wednesday next, at ten o' clock in the forenoon. Hereof fail you not. Dated the 9th of March, 1645.

Anthony Biddal,	Thomas Bramfield,
Thomas Hodges,	Henry Hunter,
Robert Ellis,	Richard Burren,
John Gregory,	Humphry Foord.

To Lieutenant Colonel John Lilburne.

Coming before them, Mr Prynne again in the chair ſpoke to him thus: 'Lieutenant-colonel, you were ſome months ago with us, by virtue of an order of the Houſe of Commons, about your accounts, and we gave you time ever ſince to ſtate them; but hearing nothing from you, according to our expectation, we have ſent for you to clear yourſelf of above 2000 *l.* that is fixed upon you to be received of Mr Goulſon the Treaſurer, Mr Weaver, and Colonel King.' To this the Lieutenant-colonel replied, that the order from the Houſe of Commons, which gave them particular cognizance of his accounts, was procured by his own ſeeking, and that he brought it to them of his own accord, being not compelled by any man; that becauſe he conceived it juſt, he had deſired that the parties concerned in his accounts might be ſummoned before them; that ſo, face to face, the charge againſt him might be made good, and the ballance ſettled, which he was very confident was divers hundred pounds in his favour. That upon their refuſing this, without his taking an oath, which he did then and ſtill does hold to be unjuſt, notwithſtanding the ordinance of Parliament authorizing them to inſiſt upon it, he had left them to ſeek his right in a more legal way from the Houſe; and that he was ſure they neither commanded nor deſired him to come any more before them; neither did he promiſe it. That the loſs of time thereby was no loſs to them, nor to the State, but to him, in whoſe debt, the State was, and not he to them; that if he had not certainly known it to be ſo, it was not likely he ſhould have taken ſo much pains to get his accounts audited. In concluſion therefore, he deſired he might have a particular charge, and have a competent time allowed to him to put in his exoneration, that ſo he might not be hindered from compleating his buſineſs before the Lords. 'In which, (ſays he) Gentlemen, I hope you will not 'hinder me, by commanding me hither to wait upon 'you:' but ſuch a particular charge being again refuſed, unleſs he would take the aforeſaid oath, and Mr Prynne ſtill preſſing that he ſhould ſpeedily come again before them, that ſo the State might not ſuffer, by reaſon of the moneys he had received, and ſtood charged with; he offered either that they ſhould make ſtoppage of the money he expected to receive by the decree of the Lords, or elſe to put in good ſecurity to anſwer the charge. With this the Committee was ſatisfied, and gave him, at his own motion, a month, or ſix weeks time: for which he thanked them, and, taking his leave (52), plyed his buſineſs in the Houſe of Lords, where to effectuate their decree of March 5th, he obtained another for the preſent levying of the ſaid 2000 *l.* out of the lands of the Lord Cottington, Sir Francis Windebanke, and Ingram the Deputy-warden of the Fleet, who gagged him upon the pillory, at eight years purchaſe, as they were before the wars, with the allowance of intereſt at 8 *per cent. per annum*, in caſe of obſtructions for all or any part of it. To this purpoſe an Ordinance was drawn up, which fully paſſed that houſe on the 15th, 20th, and 27th of April, 1646, and was afterwards tranſmitted to the Houſe of Commons (53) for their conſent.

(52) Id. ibid. and p. 38.

(53) Preparative to a Hue and Cry, p. 17.

[*U*] *A petition for the trial of Colonel King.*] In this petition, to which a copy of the above-mentioned 22 articles is annexed, he confeſſes the charge of calling Colonel King a traytor, and declares himſelf ready to prove it, when the Colonel ſhould be brought to his trial before the Houſe: to obtain which trial, he urges that the Colonel's offences (as the articles annexed evince) are not only treaſonable and capital, but ſuch as are properly examinable and only triable in Parliament (54). Wherefore, ſince he could not at law give any plea in bar or juſtification of the words pretended to be ſpoken by him, until the Colonel be either convicted or acquitted upon his trial, he prays that Houſe to give orders to ſtay any further proceedings upon the ſaid action of 2000 *l.* againſt him (55), until ſentence be given on the ſaid trial.

(54) For this he cites the following records. Rot. Parl. 1. Rich. II. No. 38, 39, 40. Rot. Parl. 7. Rich. II. No. 17, 22.

(55) Juſt Man's Juſtification, p. 20 to 24.

[*W*] *The juſt man's juſtification.*] When our author found there was no likelihood of having his petition, mentioned in the laſt remark, read in the Houſe of Commons, he went with Cromwell to Oxford, then beſieged by the Parliament's forces, to ſee if, with Colonel Ireton, and other of his friends there, he could do any thing to ſtave off his own trial at common law 'till Colonel King's trial in Parliament was over; but his journey was to no purpoſe, *being left* (as he ſays) *in the ſuds by Cromwell, who firſt engaged him in it* [*by his private inſtructions mentioned in remark* [*N*]], and promiſed to ſtand to him (56). Upon this diſappointment he returned to London, and conſulted ſeveral Counſel, who all concurred in opinion, that he muſt put into the Court of Common-pleas no other plea than either guilty or not guilty; and likewiſe, that the common law took no notice of Ordinances or Articles of War, nor of any thing called treaſon but what was done againſt the King; by which argument Colonel King, in the betraying of Grantham and Crowland to the King's party, had done that which was juſtifiable and not puniſhable; 'which was more (continues he) than I knew be'fore; ſo that in this extraordinary tranſcendent 'ſtrait, to ſave myſelf from being condemned by a 'Judge (whoſe power flows merely from an ordi'nance of Parliament) in 2000 *l.* for no other crime 'but for the faithful endeavouring to diſcharge my 'duty to the Parliament, in endeavouring the pu'niſhment of one profeſſedly under the Parliament's 'juriſdiction, for violating and tranſgreſſing their ordi'nances, unto which he himſelf ſtooped and ſub'mitted, *I was of neceſſity forced and conſtrained, 'when all other juſt and rationall wayes and meanes 'failed me, to pen my plea myſelf, and in print direct 'it to the Judge*; *and called it, The Juſt Man's Juſ'tification*; *or, A Letter by way of plea in Bar*; '*written* by Lieutenant-colonel J. Lilburne *to the 'honourable* Juſtice Reeves, *one of the Juſtices of the 'Commonwealth's court, commonly called Common'pleas* (57).' In the entrance, he takes notice that he had before ſpoken with the Judge about this cauſe, and found a very courteous, fair, and rational carriage from him (58), which emboldened him to write this letter: wherein, after many abuſes thrown upon the Common-law proceedings therein, he denies that juriſdiction over him in the preſent cauſe, as being then depending in Parliament, and peremptorily refuſing to put in any plea into the court, whoſe forms he did not underſtand himſelf, and would not truſt the Serjeants to plead for him; he proceeds ſoldier-like in the following words: 'Having conteſted above this ſeven years 'with all ſorts and kinds of perſons that would deſtroy 'me, and having often been in the field among bul'lets and ſwords, to maintaine the common liberties 'and freedomes of England, againſt all the declared 'traiterly oppugners thereof; and having, by the 'goodneſs of God, eſcaped many dangers and deaths, '*and being in my own apprehenſion ready to be rui'nated and deſtroyed by a weapon inferior to a tay'lor's bodkin, (namely) a formalitie or punctillo in 'law, it hath rouzed up my ſpirit to charge it with* '*a ſoldier's*

(56) This was written in 1647, after he had begun to quarrel with Cromwell.

(57) Letter to the Council of Agitators, ubi ſupra, p. 26.

(58) Lord Clarendon obſerves, that Reeves was a man of good reputation for learning and integrity, and who, in good times, would have been a good Judge. Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. I. p. 539. folio edit.

June, and having therein aspersed the proceedings in law as unjust and tyrannical, and also cast some reflections upon the Earl of Manchester [X], he was called on the 10th before the House of Lords, where that Nobleman being Speaker, and examining him upon interogatories touching the writing of the just mentioned book, he not only refused to answer, but protested against their jurisdiction over him in the present case, whereupon he was committed to Newgate. Whence, upon the 16th, he sent an appeal to the House of Commons, which being received there (*ii*), he persevered in shewing the utmost contempt of the upper House [Y]; for which, having been first committed close prisoner in Newgate on the 23d, he was sent thence to the Tower as a more secure custody; on the 10th of July, a remonstrance signed by many thousand persons having been presented to the House of Commons in his favour [Z]. In the Tower he was denied the use of pen, ink,

(*ii*) Letter to the Council of Agitators, p. 7.

'*a soldier's pure resolution in a new and unwonted manner* (59).'

[X] *Having cast some reflections upon the Earl of Manchester.*] The offensive words are introduced in that part of this pamphlet, where our author relates the several applications which had been made to bring Colonel King to his trial, before the Earl of Manchester his General and a Council of War, and particularly those made to Cromwell, to use his interest with my Lord for that purpose: and, observing that they could not all prevail, he proceeds thus: '*The reason of which I am not able to render, unlesse it were that his* [*Cromwell's*] *two chaplains, Lee and Garter, prevailed with the Earles two chaplains, Mr Ash and Good, to cast a Scotch-clergy mist over their Lord's eyes, that he should not be able to see any deformitie in Colonel King: but this I dare confidently say, if there we had had faire play, and justice impartially, King had as surely died as ever malefactor in England did.*' In his petition also to the House of Commons, annexed to this epistle, praying that the Colonel might be brought to his trial before them, having occasionally mentioned the Earl of Manchester, he put this marginal note thereto, *who was since impeached of treason by L. G. C.* [*Lieutenant-General Cromwell*] *for being false to his trust, and had undoubtedly lost his head therefore, if L. G. C. had followed it as he should* (60). What was the consequence of the Earl's resentment, and the surprizing confidence of our author thereupon, will fall under the next remark. At present, the particular design of this memoir leads us to view the passages here quoted in another light; not as they relate to the quarrel between the Earl and Lilburne, but with regard to the connexion betwen him and Cromwell. In these passages we see a resentment plainly expressed of the latter's behaviour, in forbearing to push the prosecution of Manchester. His accusation of that general had been presented to the House of Commons, in November 1644, soon after the action at Dennington-castle in Berkshire (61). Upon which a Committee was appointed to examine into the Earl's conduct, before whom Lilburne had swore heartily, in support of the charge against him, incited thereto as well by his own quarrel with the Earl, on the score of Colonel King, as by Cromwell's particular instigation (62). But after new modelling of the army, wherein Manchester was laid aside, the Lieutenant-general, his prosecutor, having obtained his ends (63), resolved to give himself no farther trouble about the prosecution: however, considering Lilburne's temper, it was necessary to hide that secret purpose from him, which was done so effectually, that no shadow of any suspicion he had thereof ever appeared before this epistle to Judge Reeves. On the contrary, the abovemention'd encomiums in England's Birth-right (64), are bestowed upon Cromwell, purely in the view of his good will to that prosecution, and in a full persuasion of his earnest desire to push it to a final issue: insomuch, that the author makes it one of his charges against the Parliament, that Cromwell was sent by them, contrary to his own inclination, first, to the siege of Taunton, and then to Windsor and elsewhere, with a particular design to keep him out of the way, and *thereby hinder him from pursuing the upright purposes of his heart, either to lay Manchester flat upon his back, or fall himself in the conflict*. So warmly was Lilburne at this time attached to his then unsuspected friend: but *being left by this friend in the suds*, as he expresses it upon the affair of his arrest by Colonel King abovementioned, he began to look more narrowly into his conduct; and thence were kindled those sparks of jealousy which shewed themselves first in the epistle to Judge Reeves. But we shall find him hereafter constantly speaking of Cromwell as his enemy, and treating him with the genuine virulence of his pen; except in an instance or two, when that arch dissembler found it necessary for compleating his own ends to shew this wayward spirit some favour; which was also as often repaid with suitable acknowledgments on his part.

(59) P. 19. This epistle is dated from his house in Half-moon alley in Petty-France, near Bishopsgate, London, June 6, 1646.

(60) Idem, p. 9 and 20.

(61) Rushworth, Vol. II. part iii. p. 732 to 736.

(62) Legal and Fundamental Liberties, p. 26. where he tells us, Cromwell first sollicited his wife at London to send for him for this purpose, from the leaguer at Crowland, and afterwards by a message delivered to him by his brother-in-law Desborough, near Sir Will. Russel's in Cambridgeshire.

(63) Our author observes, that Oliver only impeached the Earl for this end, to get him out of his command, that so he might get in a friend of his own that he could rule, and it may be in time himself. Ibid. Rushworth also, where last cited, takes notice, that these miscarriages in the army, and contests between the commanders, gave occasion for the new modelling of the Parliament's forces.

(64) In remark [S].

[Y] *Persevered in shewing the utmost contempt of the upper House.*] The author's account of this whole affair is worth perusing, as follows: 'Judge Reeves (says he) being wounded within at the downright truth of my formentioned Epistle or Plea, that lasheth the base and abominable corruptions of him and the rest of his brother judges; and finding something in it that brands Manchester for an unjust man in his late generalship, who then was Speaker of the House of Peers, away to him trudgeth the Judge in all post-haste with my book, to get him by his power to be revenged of me, which he was easily provoked and persuaded to; and accordingly the 10th of June, 1646, he gets an order to pass the Lords House, to summon me up to *their bar, to answer to such things as I stood charged before their Lordships with, concerning the writing the aforesaid Letter or Plea*; and when I came to their bar, they dealt with me like a Spanish Inquisition, in examining me against myself, which forced me then at the bar to deliver in my plea in law, *to prove that by the Laws of England they had no jurisdiction over Commoners to try them either for life, limb, liberty, or estate* *, which plea and protestation (continues he) made them mad, and for which they sent me to Newgate; from whence upon the 16th of June, I sent my appeal for justice to the House of Commons against them, which made the Lords madder; whereupon they, upon the 22d of June, 1646, issued out an order to bring me to their bar again, where, in contempt of their jurisdiction, I refused to kneel; for which they committed me to the keeper of Newgate, to be *kept close prisoner without pen, ink, or paper, the accesse of my wife, or any other friend, which was with rigour sufficiently exercised upon me* 'till the 10th of July, 1646; which day they issued out another order to bring me again to the bar, at which, when I came, in the height of contempt of their jurisdiction, *I marched in amongst them with my hat on*, and not only refused to kneel at their bar, but *also with my fingers stopt both my ears when they went about to read my pretended charge*; for all which they *fined me* 4000 l. *to the King*, and further sentenced me *to be a prisoner seven years, or during their pleasure, in the Tower of London; to be for ever disfranchised of being capable to bear any office or place in military or civil government, in Church or Commonwealth* †.'

* This plea and protestation he printed in his piece intitled, The Freeman's Freedom vindicated, p. 3. edit. 1646, not long after this imprisonment.

† Legal and Fundamental Liberties, p. 25, 26.

[Z] *A remonstrance in his favour.*] Before this Remonstrance, which threatens to break into the prison and release our prisoner by force, there is prefixed a print of our author's head, with his face behind a cross-barred prison window included in an oval frame, with this inscription thereon, *Johannes Lilburne ætat. suæ* 23, 1641. Over the frame are these words, The liberty of a free-born Englishman conferred on him by the House of Lords, 1646: to which, on the right hand, is added an escutcheon, bearing the arms of his family, three water-budgets, with a half-moon for distinction of the second son. Under the frame are the following no contemptible lines:

Gaze not upon this shadow that is vain,
But rather raise thy thoughts a higher strain;
To God I mean, who set this young man free,
And in like straight, can eke deliver thee;

Yea,

ink, and paper, and no body suffered to visit him; however, he found means to write another petition [*AA*], renewing his appeal to the House of Commons, which being delivered by his wife, September the 23d, a committee was appointed to hear and report his complaint against the Lords. Sir Henry Martin was chairman of this committee, before whom our author made his first plea in the inner Court of Wards, on the last day of October, and was heard again by them in the Exchequer-chamber, November the 6th following (*kk*), but no report being made to the House, he sent a copy of his second plea before the Committee to Sir Henry Martin, and afterwards printed it under the title of *The Anatomy of the Lords Tyranny.* Not content with the justice done to himself in this performance, he published, not long afterwards, another book entitled, *The oppressed Man's Oppression declared, &c.* in which he complained of the injury done to him by the House of Commons, in their deferring to take his case into consideration, and threatening to raise the people in his defence, he proceeds to charge that House, not only with having of late years done nothing for the general good, but also, with having made many ordinances notoriously unjust and oppressive [*BB*]. Whereupon the whole impression was seized

(*kk*) Grand Plea, &c. p. 1, 2.

Yea, tho' the Lords have him in bonds againe,
The Lord of Lords will his just cause maintaine.

This print appears plainly to be done at our author's discharge from the Fleet in 1641. The inscription over the frame, and the two last verses under it being added, and the head, which is well graved (65), probably retouched upon this occasion.

(65) The Graver's name is put within the frame, *G. Gle. fecit.*

[*AA*] *He found means to write a petition.*] This was a piece of management for which our author triumphed soon after over the Lieutenant of the Tower, Colonel *Francis West*, in the following terms: 'On the '10th of July, 1646, I came hither, and you sent 'me to the lodge where I am, with extraordinary strict 'and severe commands upon my keeper, who, with-'in certain days after I came to him, demanded 'chamber-rent of me at a great deal higher rate than 'I pay: I told him necessity had no law, and I there-'fore desired him to ask me reasonable, and he should 'see what I would say to him. So at last he asked me '15 s. per week. I told him I knew well the laws of 'all the prisons in England, and 15 s. per week was 'a great deal of money for bare lodging; but in regard 'it was with me as it was, conditionally that he for 'his part would use me and my friends that should 'come to see me with civillity and humanitie, I would 'give him 15 s. per week, and find my own linnen 'besides; protesting unto him, that the first time he 'used me or any that came to see me churlishly, I 'would not pay him one penny more of money: 'and I must ingenuously confess, I had no cause to 'complain of the man in point of civility, nor he of 'me in performing my promise: for I have paid him, 'tho' it has been with some straights to me, betwixt '20 and 30 *l.*—Now (continues he) I will deal in-'genuously with you, and give you the true reason 'why I condescended to pay chamber-rent at first. 'It was because I had potent enemies to deal with in 'the House of Lords, who had sentenced me to pay '4000 *l.* illegally and unjustly, and entred crimes 'against me in their records: *I told you at first I was* '*refreshed at my hopes of being freed, but I thought you* '*would have destroyed me before I could clear myself,* '*and anatomize their cruelty, both of which my soul* '*thirsted after; and therefore if I had been able I* '*would have purchased an opportunity of doing it at* '*20 l. a week. And truly, Sir, I have done my do,* '*and published my cause to the view of the whole* '*kingdom. First, In my wife's petition, delivered to the* '*House of Commons, September 23d,* 1646. *2dly, In* '*my book called London's Liberty in Chains, discovered.* '*And, 3dly, Twice before the Committee of the honour-*'*able House of Commons; the last discourse of which* '*I published under the title of the Anatomy of the* '*Lords Tyranny; and some friends have helped me in* '*Vox Plebis, and Regal Tyranny discovered; which* '*will live when I am dead, and prove the Lords* '*winding-sheet* (66).' This is another instance of Lilburne's confidence in boasting; for notwithstanding we see him here declaring with such an air of self-satisfaction, that he had brought the keeper entirely to his bow; yet we find him inserting a postscript to his book called *London's Liberty in Chains discovered*, purely to apologize for any incorrectness in the reasoning, or any errors or deficiencies in the quotations of that piece, on account of his being debarred pen, and ink, and paper, and obliged to write by scraps as he could steal an opportunity; and that he had no means of perusing or correcting his papers either before or after they were put to the press. The truth is, this bragging temper was as much a part of his constitution as quarrelling, he could no more forbear that than this, nor either of them, any more than (to use an expression of his own) he could forbear eating when he was hungry. Both were continually breaking out in season and out of season. Indeed it must be owned, that the passage now under consideration was well-timed enough. He had then formed a design (67), which he afterwards carried into execution (68), of exerting all the powers of his pen to raise such a mob as should be able to attempt something effectual towards redeeming him from his captivity, in order to which it seemed necessary to possess them before-hand, with a full persuasion of his extraordinary worth and abilities. But this purpose in his present circumstances was answered undeniably well, by setting before their eyes a fresh proof of those abilities in outwitting his keeper, and in him the Lieutenant of the Tower, and thereby evacuating an express order of the House of Lords. Surely such a hero must be deserving of any enterprize in his behalf. In short, this has so much the face of a well-concerted scheme, that was not the faculty of glorying in his impudence perfectly congenial to Lilburne's nature, and ever forward to display itself without the view of serving any particular end therein, one would be apt to look upon the present instance of it as a pure piece of art.

(66) Oppressed Man's Oppressions, p. 23.

(67) See the next remark.

(68) In a piece wrote in concert with Overton, and intituled, The Outcries of the oppressed Commons, directed to all the rational and understanding in the Kingdom of England and Dominion of Wales. Published Feb. 1647, 4to.

[*BB*] *Oppressive ordinances.*] We have given the matter of his offence to the House of Commons in the text, but no words, except his own, can represent the peculiar aggravations of it. Thus having declared that he has tried all fair means to get his report made to the House, that so he might have a hearing before them; and that he desires nothing more than to be called out to a legal trial, he proceeds in these words; 'which, if they do not, but resolve to keep me here, 'I will, by God's assistance, before many months be 'expired, give them cause, with a witness, to call me 'out; for here, if I can help it, I will not be de-'stroyed with a lingring death, *tho' they cut me to* '*pieces as small as flesh for the pot.* And therefore, 'having now with a long deliberation committed my 'wife and children to the care and protection of an 'All-merciful God, whom, for about these ten years, 'I have feelingly and sensibly known for my God in 'Jesus Christ, who with a mighty protection and pre-'servation hath been with me in six troubles, and in 'seven, and from the day of my public contests with 'the Bishops, hath enabled me to carry my life in my 'hands, and to have it always in a readiness to lay it 'down in a quarter of an hour's warning, knowing 'that he has in store for me a mansion of eternal 'glory. All these things considered, *I am now deter-*'*mined, by the strength of God, if herein I have not* '*speedily that justice, which the law of England offers* '*me, which is all I crave or stand in awe of, no* '*longer to wait upon the destructive seasons of pru-*'*dential men, but forthwith to make a* formal Ap-'peal to all the kingdom of England and dominion of 'Wales, *and set my credit upon the tenters to get mo-*'*ney to print* 20000 *of them, and send them gratis* '*to all the counties of England.* The ingredients of 'which shall be filled with the Parliament's own de-'clarations against the King, turned upon themselves 'and

(*ll*) The officer also seized above 500 copies of his London Charters, of which, when Lilburne complained to the Committee, Mr Corbet told him, the officer had gone beyond his warrant. However, he says, he never recovered them. See the authority in the next note (*m m*).

seized (*ll*), and our author, by a warrant directed to the serjeant at arms, February the 8th, was fetched before the Committee for suppressing scandalous pamphlets [*CC*]; where, having obtained an express order from the chairman [Corbet] to set open the doors, contrary to their usual practice of keeping close Committees on such occasions, he acknowledged the writing, printing, and publishing of the book, in pursuance of the question put to him, and the affair was never prosecuted any farther (*mm*). But as he had herein departed from his constantly avowed principle of not answering to interogatories against himself, and his friends appeared to be uneasy upon it, therefore, to prevent any ill consequences that might ensue from that quarter, he wrote a piece shortly after for their satisfaction, and published it on the 30th of April 1647, with the following extraordinary title, *The Resolved Man's Resolution to maintain with the last drop of his heart's blood, his civil Liberties and Freedoms, granted unto him by the good, just and honest Laws of England his native Country; and never to sit still, so long as he has a Tongue to speak, or a Hand to write, 'till he hath either necessitated his Adversaries, the House of Lords, and their arbitrary Assistants in the House of Commons* [*DD*], *either to do him Justice and Right, by delivering*

(*mm*) Resolved Man's Resolution, p. 1 to 12, where he tells us, that on his withdrawing from the Committee, the people cried out, they never would answer to close Committees any more, being the doors by law ought to be open, which they never knew before.

'and their present practices; then with an account of 'my Star-chamber sufferings (69); and conclude with 'a declaration what is the end, wherefore Parliaments 'by law ought and should be called; which is to redress 'mischiefs and inconveniencies, but not to increase 'them. He afterwards challenges them to shew any 'instance of an act or ordinance since the wars begun, 'that is for the universal good of the Commons of 'England that have borne the burthen of the day; on 'the contrary, he charges them with having made several ordinances to establish monopolies, (as that of 'merchant-adventurers, who have an exclusive power 'of sending cloth to the Netherlands, whereby he 'was hindered from following his trade) and avows 'that in their practice they had unhinged Magna 'Charta and the Petition of Right (70).'

(69) Here he mentions several of his Judges in that Court, and, among the rest, old Sir Henry Vane, whom he threatens to anatomize to the purpose, which he did not fail to do soon after, as the remark [*DD*] will shew.

(70) Oppressed Man's Oppressions, p. 27.

[*CC*] *Called before the Committee for scandalous pamphlets.*] The issue of this affair is related above; but there happened one incident in the proceedings upon it, which sets the character of our author's wife in so striking a light that it must not be omitted in the notes. This notable help-mate to her husband, was fetched by a particular warrant before the same Committee for dispersing the pamphlets now under examination, where Mr Corbet was Chairman. And in the course of the debates there, Lilburne declaring with his usual audaciousness, that before either that Committee, or any other power in England whatever it be, should rob him of his justly expected recompence of reward for all his labours, travels, and hazards, (which recompence of reward was the enjoyment of the just privileges and benefits of the good laws of the kingdom) *he would spend his heart's blood against them*: '*Yea*, (continues he) *if I had a million of lives I 'would sacrifice them all against you*; and therefore, 'seeing you have all of you solemnly lifted up your 'hands to the most high God, and sworn to maintaine the laws of the kingdom, I desire you for your 'own credit's sake to deal with me so, as not to give 'me too just cause *to avouch it to your faces you are 'a company of forsworn men*, and so to publish and 'declare you to the whole kingdom.' With this Mr Weaver, burgess for Stamford said, 'Mr Corbet, I 'conceive such reproachful and dishonourable expres'sions as Mr Lilburne gives us to our faces, is not to 'be endured or suffered, and therefore, I beseech you, 'let us be sensible of the honour due to our authority, 'and the house whereof we are members.' To which our prisoner replied, that he was very confident he had said nothing dishonourable to the legal and just interest and power either of the House or the Committee, being *no despiser of the just and legal authority of the House, nor desirous to affront or reproach the Committee; but begged them to consider that he was but a man, and a prisoner under many provocations; and to be so roughly fallen upon as he was by half a dozen of them at a time, and interrupted in making his legal defence, and not be suffered to speak his own words, was very hard*: 'and it is *possible* (continues he) I may be provoked 'to heat, and in heat say that, that is not convenient 'and fitting, the which if I should doe, I hope you, 'Mr Corbet, have understanding enough to judge and 'to reprove me for it; and truly, Sir, upon your re'proofe, if I can possibly apprehend and see I have 'done amisse, I shall presently cry you peccavie.' Hereabouts his wife, seeing Mr Weaver so furious upon him as he was, and greatly alarmed with the dreadful apprehensions that his noble spirits were thereupon sinking below their true natural standard, into the point of moderation (71) and prudence, burst out with a loud voice, and said, '*Did not I tell thee of'ten enough long since that thou woulst serve the Par'liament, and venture thy life so long for them, 'till 'they would hang thee for thy paines, and give thee 'Tyburn for thy recompence. I told thee besides, thou 'shouldst in conclusion find them a company of unjust 'and unrighteous judges; that more sought themselves 'and their own ends than the publique good of the 'Kingdome, or any of those that faithfully ventured 'their lives therefore* (72).' We have not been able to discover the family of this high-mettled gentlewoman, but this present instance is sufficient to convince us, that Mr Lilburne had either the good sense or the good fortune in her to pick out a very suitable match for himself. Seven years after their marriage, he declares she had been the greatest comfort he had in all his troubles 'till that time (73); and his meaning therein is clearly and fully unfolded in this pathetic speech, which manifestly shews that she was endowed with a spirit so exactly tallying with his own, that nature seems to have designed her for his counter-part; and accordingly it appears from several passages in his writings, that they lived in perfect harmony with each other (74).

(71) This moderation was apparently the effect of Mr Corbet's behaviour to him, that gentleman's evenness of temper, as well as good sense, shewing itself conspicuously in our author's account of this matter. See also another instance of it in James Howel's article.

(72) Resolved Man's Resolution, p. 7, 8.

(73) See more of this in the sequel.

(74) In 1649, she had brought him three children, but they all died that year of the small-pox. Preparative to a Hue and Cry, p. 39.

[*DD*] *Their arbitrary Assistants in the House of Commons*] Our author being persuaded that old Sir Henry Vane was one of the chief of these arbitrary assistants to the Lords against him. Among other resolutions executed in this piece, exerts himself in a particular manner against that old fox, as he calls him; being determined to pay him off, cost it hanging, burning, drowning, strangling, poisoning, starving, cutting in pieces, or whatever it will or can, '*Yea, 'tho' it lose me, (says he) all the interest I have in 'the world in any or all the great ones thereof, put 'Lieutenant-General Cromwell into the number* (75).' Thus animated, he sets out with the business of the twelve subsidies, which occasioned the sudden dissolution of the short Parliament in 1640, and declares he had been told by one who sat therein, that Sir Henry had no such commission from his Majesty, but did it purely with a design to breed a quarrel between the King and the Parliament, and thereby procure that dissolution, *on set purpose to save himself from being questioned about his dangerous and desperate monopoly of gun-powder, and other of his illegal knaveries in which he was deep enough, even over both boots and shoes*. From this information given him by a member in that Parliament, he proceeds, as upon his own knowledge, to give an account of that monopoly; and tells us, that Sir Henry having jostled Sir John Evelyn out of the Powder-master's place, put one Samuel Cordwell, his valet de chambre, or gentleman, into it, as his agent; who, having the sole monopoly of making all the powder in England, furnished it for seven pence halfpenny into the Tower, which was sold out commonly for eighteen pence *per* pound at the first hand, besides the charge of getting three warrants; first one from the Council-board to the Master of the Ordnance, then Lord Newport, which cost dear enough; and then a second from his Lordship to the officers of the Ordnance; and a third from them to the particular clerk that kept the powder; all which were attended with trouble, cost, and money, besides a fee of a *mark* paid to the officers of the Ordnance, for every last of powder delivered: and *Cordwell* constantly engaged to bring in twenty

(75) This disregard of Cromwell's interest plainly shews, that he was now highly displeased with him.

delivering him from his cruel and illegal impriſonment, and holding out unto him legal and ample Reparation for all his unjuſt ſufferings, or elſe ſend him to Tyburn, of which he is not afraid; and doubteth not, if they do it, but at and by his death to do them, Samſon-like, more Miſchief at his Death, than he did them all his Life. All which is expreſſed and declared in the following Epiſtle, written by Lieutenant-Colonel John Lilburne, *prerogative priſoner in the Tower of London, to a true friend of his, a citizen thereof, April* 1647. In this piece, having intreated his friend to ply the Parliament well with petitions and remonſtrances (*n n*), he intimates a deſign, if that method did not ſucceed, to apply himſelf to the army. Accordingly, as that faction ſoon after gave a manifeſt proof that they had play'd the ſupreme power into their own hands (*o o*), we find our prerogative priſoner conſulting with the agitators, how to turn this new revolution to his ſervice (*p p*); and being informed by theſe friends, that all their endeavours in his favour were defeated by the commanding officers, and chiefly by Cromwell, he ſent this laſt a threatning letter, Auguſt the 13th, wherein he charges the Lieutenant-General with a deſign of uſurping the ſovereignty [*EE*]; which was ſeconded by another on the 29th, addreſſed to Fairfax the General, undertaking

(*n n*) He alſo declares his opinion for pulling down the preſent Parliament, and calling a new one, to bring them to a ſtrict account, as the only means of ſaving the laws and liberties of England from utter deſtruction. p. 19.

(*o o*) See Salmon's Chronological Hiſtorian, under June, July, and Auguſt, this year 1647.

(*p p*) See his letter to that Council, in the beginning.

twenty laſts a month, there being twenty-four barrels in every laſt, and a hundred pound in every barrel *. That Sir Henry likewiſe, as the principal inſtrument of ſetting this dangerous monopoly on foot, forced the merchants and ſeamen to give large bribes, or uſe ſome other indirect means to obtain his warrant to furniſh their ſhips, notwithſtanding they were forced to pay double the price for it; nay, almoſt treble to the rate it was ſold at before his monopoly. That moreover, by this means, he disfurniſhed all parts of the kingdom was notoriouſly known to all the deputy-lieutenants, and thereby laid it open to a foreign invaſion, which created ſtrong jealouſies in the people of a deſign to inſlave and invaſſalize them; and was no little occaſion of the preſent wars, by increaſing the diviſions between the King and people. After this having mentioned his own ſufferings in the Star-chamber, where Sir Henry was then a judge; he goes on to obſerve, that not being able to hinder the Long Parliament from ſecuring themſelves from a diſſolution, Sir Henry took care to behave himſelf ſo as to merit preſervation from the ſwaying party. That to this end, being the King's Secretary, and by virtue of that office acquainted with his Majeſty's ſecrets, in regard to which, tho', as a Privy-counſellor, he was under the ſtricteſt obligation of ſecrecy to the King, ' yet out ' the ſecrets went, particularly in the Earl of Strafford's ' caſe; *of which,* (adds he) *I have heard ſome* ' *great ones ſay, it was ſcrewed to the higheſt pin, if* ' *not higher than in honeſty and in juſtice it ſhould;*' ' but this he did, not only to ſave himſelf, but to ' gain himſelf an eſteem in the preſent Parliament; ' and ſo be in a poſſibility by the intereſt of his ſon, ' Sir Henry (*Altho'* (ſays he) *to men that were* ' *half blind, there was, and I think ſtill is, a ſeem-* ' *ing enmity betwixt him and his father,*) in time ' to make himſelf amends for his 8000 *l.* a year by ' his places, which, by deſerting the King, he was ' likely to loſe; and indeed it is commonly reported, ' that as one of the Committee of the King's revenue, ' he hath learned to lick his own fingers well.' He then proceeds to lay open Sir Henry's treachery to both ſides, in his doubling carriage between them at the breaking out of the wars. As his obtaining the Place of Lord-Lieutenant of the County of Durham from the Parliament, and then ſending his ſon, Sir *George Vaine*, on the King's ſide at the battle of Edge-hill; and alſo conveying his magazine of arms from his caſtle at Raby, by *Conyers* his Land-ſteward and *Dingley* his Sollicitor, as a preſent for the King to the Earl of Newcaſtle (76), then and there in arms againſt the Parliament; which Earl, he tells us, ' might have been eaſily ſuppreſt at his coming there, ' if old Sir Henry Vaine had been true to his truſt to ' the Parliament. All this while, if the King loſt the ' day and the Parliament prevailed, here was himſelf ' and his ſon, *young Sir Henry Vaine*, to make good ' his intereſt on this ſide; ſo that, which way ſoever ' the game went, the old fox was ſure in his own ' thoughts to ſtand upon his legs. But perceiving the ' King likewiſe to go down the weather by the ' Scots coming in *, he whiſtles away his ſon Sir ' George from the King's army, and ſending him to ' Durham, makes him Receiver of the King's ſequeſtral revenue there, a place worth ſeveral hundreds ' a year; as alſo Chief Deputy-Lieutenant, Juſtice of ' Peace and Quorum, Committee-man, and Chairman of the Committee, having alſo the *Poſſe* ' *Comitatus* put into his hands:' and that beſides this ſon, there was a third ſon lately come out of Holland, where he had been a captain; and tho' he had not a foot of land in the county, yet was made a Juſtice of Peace, and had other gainful offices there. Mr Lilburne concludes theſe remarks upon old Sir Henry Vane and his family, with obſerving that ſeveral other members of Parliament, eſpecially the ruling ones among them, were equally guilty of the groſſeſt knaveries and villainies, and corruptions, in the ſad and afflicting contemplation of which, he breaks into the following exclamation: ' *O England, England, woe* ' *unto thee, when thy choſen preſervers turn to be thy* ' *grand deſtroyers, and inſtead of eaſing thee of thy* ' *grievances, with a high hand of violence protect* ' *from juſtice thoſe that commit them; and thou ſeeſt* ' *and knoweſt it, and yet art like a ſilly dove with-* ' *out heart, and dares not open thy mouth wide to re-* ' *prove it, and endeavour, by petition or otherwiſe, the* ' *amending of it. Surely and undeniably that body,* ' *who or whatever it be, that is not able to* evacuate ' it's excrements, *is nigh unto giving up the ghoſt, or* ' *of burſting out into ſuch botches and ulcers, that* ' *it ſhall be an eye-ſore to all that behold it, and* ' *ſtink in the noſtrils of all men that have their* ' *ſenſes* (77).' Upon the whole, we ſee here ſeveral remarkable particulars concerning old Sir Henry Vane, which are not mentioned by Lord Clarendon, and will therefore be of ſervice in throwing ſome further light upon the character given by his Lordſhip of that notorious Baronet. This extract alſo ſhews us how greatly our author's attachment to Cromwell was looſened at this time, and accordingly we ſhall ſee it intirely disjointed in the next remark.

* If this may be depended on, Sir Henry muſt make above twenty-five thouſand pounds a year of this monopoly.

(76) Our author's father and uncle gave a joint affidavit of this in 1643. England's Birthright, p. 19, 20, 21.

* Our author's frequent renunciations of a Scotch intereſt was remembred by thoſe people, in the declaration and engagement, ſworn to Auguſt 13, 1647. In which Lilburne, and he only, as being the principal champion of the ſectaries, was cited by name, and ſome of his words againſt the King and Kingly power tranſcribed. Ruſhworth, Vol. VIII. p. 777. edit. 1721.

(77) Reſolved Man's Reſolution, p. 14 to 19.

[*EE*] *He ſent Cromwell a threatning letter,* &c.] This Letter was in the following terms:

' *SIR,*

' *It has been my unhappineſs to be undone, and of late* ' *in a manner deſtroyed by men of gilded outſides, and,* ' *among the reſt, I muſt plainly and truly tell you, I* ' *judge you the chiefe, and ſhall, if you pleaſe to give me* ' *ſo much libertie as to come and ſpeak with you, eaſily* ' *evince it to your face, with that moderation as becomes* ' *a man that loves honeſty and goodlineſſe wherefoever he* ' *finds it, but that hates knavery and diſſimulation in whatſoever perſon he meets it. Soe I have uſed all the meanes* ' *in the world I could think of to unbowel my mind as a* ' *friend to you face to face, but cannot prevail with you* ' *any otherwiſe than to ſlight me and my deſires. I have* ' *lately ſent you a fair meſſage by Captain John White;* ' *and by him I received a contemning anſwer, onely he* ' *preſſed me to know which way I could do you and your* ' *flattering darlings a diſpleaſure. I have now at pre-* ' *ſent ſent him by Mr Billers, a copy of this incloſed* ' *paper to ſend ſpeedily to you with this meſſage, that* ' *I do verily believe, that that paper printed with ſuch* ' *a paraphraſe upon it as I could eaſily make, for all your* ' *preſent conceived greatneſſe, would eaſily pull you as* ' *low, before you are three months older, as I am. I have* ' *honored you, and my good thoughts of you are not* ' *wholly gone, tho' I confeſſe they are very much weakened.* ' *Sir, I muſt earneſtly beg it at your hands, that you* ' *will within a week order it ſo, that I may either come* ' *and ſpeake with you, or elſe that you would come and* ' *ſpeake with me, that ſo I may, betwixt you and me,* ' *declare that, which truely my provocations and ſuffe-* ' *rings will hardly let me to keep from public view. I*

' *have*

undertaking to make good that charge [*FF*]. And the same day he also transmitted a third letter to the Council of Agitators, with a petition to exert themselves for his deliverance from the Tower [*GG*]. The same day likewise, a petition in his behalf being presented to the House of Commons, in the name of many citizens, it was referred to the Committee, and to report it with all convenient speed (*qq*). Accordingly, the House voting on the 13th of September to receive the Committee's report the day following, Cromwell

(*qq*) Rushworth, Vol. II. part iv. p. 790. edit. 1721.

' *have sent you this letter unsealed by this bearer, Mr* ' *Hunt (who very much honours you), of purpose to* ' *make some additions to it, and to leave you (as my last* ' *to you) without all excuse in case you sleight this, as* ' *you have done all my often former addresses to you,* ' *and I shall rest,*

SIR,

' *your true universal friend, as* ' *I have formerly been, when* ' *you will manifest your selfe to* ' *be lesse for your own tottering* ' *greatnesse, and more for distri-* ' *butive justice, and the common* ' *not factious good of your poor* ' *native country,*

From the place of my standing century, in my watch-tower at the Tower of London, this 13th of August, 1647.

JOHN LILBURNE,

' *That neither loves basenesse nor fears greatnesse.*'

The forementioned paper here follows.

' Lieutenant-General Cromwell's family in the army.

' *Imprimis*, Himself Lieutenant-general and Colonel of Horse. *2dly*, One of his own sons Captain of ' the General's Life-guard. *3dly*, The other son ' Captain of a Troop of Horse in Colonel Harrison's ' regiment, both, young, raw, and unexercised soldiers. *4thly*, His brother in-law, Desborow, Colonel of the General's regiment of Horse. *5thly*, His ' Son-in-law, Ireton, Commissary-general of the ' Horse and Colonel of Horse. *6thly*, His brother, ' Ireton, Major-general of Horse and Captain of a ' Troop of Horse. *7thly*, His Cousin Whaley, Colonel of Horse. *8thly*, And his brother, lately made ' Judge-advocate. And all these are the Lieutenant's ' creatures at his beck and command; besides his Cabinet Junto, which are principally Colonel Robert ' Hammond, Colonel Nathaniel Rich, Colonel Harrison, and Scout-master general Watson; and Commissary Staines, and Mrs Cromwell, are said to be ' the Cabinet Junto for placing and displacing of ' Officers in the Tower of London, who, 'tis said, ' have nominated Robert Spavin, the Lieutenant-general's Man, their chiefe favouret, to be the ' Master of the Armory in the place of Mr Anthony ' Nichols, one of the eleven impeached members; so ' that it is evident and plain, that Lieutenant-general ' Cromwell's chiefe design is not the good of the ' kingdom, and the promoting of universal and unbiassed justice, but the advancement of himselfe and ' his own kindred and friends; which will undoubtedly destroy him if he speedily look not very well ' about him. For the principal power of the kingdome being in his hands (not in the General's nor ' the Agitators) all the grand oppressions, injustice, and ' delays in justice, will and must be laid upon his ' shoulders, seeing he has now power enough to help ' it, if he had a mind.—This Letter (says he) I caused ' to be delivered to Cromwell at Kingston (78).'

[*FF*] *Another to the General, undertaking to make good that charge.*] Here follows a copy of it:

' To his Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax, Captain-' general of all the forces in England, at his head-' quarters at Putney. This present:

' Give me leave to acquaint your Excellency, That ' the Lord's-day last I sent your Honour a large letter to intreat you to make no address at all to the ' Lords for me; and this day, at the desire of some of ' the Agitators, I have fully stated my accounts to ' them (79), and acquainted them fully what I desire, ' the substance of which was to use their utmost interest to get the House of Commons to call for my ' report from Mr Henry Martin, (who, with the ' Committee where he was Chairman, did many months ' ago hear my cause) and upon it either to justify me ' or condemn me, for protesting against the Lords ' jurisdiction over the Commons, my legal peers and ' equals, for protection, justice, and right against the ' Lords usurpation. But, most worthy Sir, the chiefe ' reason, why I now make bold to trouble your Excellence is, because I am continually told again and ' againe of many hard speeches against me at your ' quarters for opposing Lieutenant-general Cromwell; ' which makes me think sometimes that my deliverance is much retarded thereby. Vouchsafe me ' therefore liberty, Most Noble Sir, humbly to your ' most just and worthy selfe to make this proposition, ' that if the Lieutenant-general, or any other in the ' army, conceive that I have done him any wrong, ' that if he please to chuse two honest men, I will ' chuse two more, and also your Excellence to be umpire betwixt us, before whom I do humbly desire ' our differences may be truly debated; and what the ' issue of all shall be, I, for my part, will stand to, ' and fulfil your Excellencie's award, be it what it will ' be, if it be within my power. So craving pardon ' for my continued boldness with your Excellency, I ' commit you as my owne soul to the protection of the ' most High, and shall rest,

' Sir,

' Your Excellency's most obliged, faithful Servant,

' to the utmost of his power,

' JOHN LILBURNE.

' From my prerogative, lawless, and unjust ' Captivity in the Tower of London, 26th ' of August, 1647 (80).'

[*GG*] *Appealed to the Agitators*] Our Lieutenant-colonel, from the time of his first taking a distaste to Cromwell, had made it his business to raise and foment this mutiny against him; and when he saw it work'd up into something of a body by the engagement agreed upon, and subscribed at Newmarket-heath (81), on the 5th of July this year, he presently grew big with the most sanguine hopes of his fulfilling the fondest wish of his heart thereby (82). The first step necessary to be taken for him was evidently to procure his liberty: and in order to this, he formed a scheme, in concert with the principal mutineers, to draw up a state of his case, and send it, together with his petition thereon, in a letter to their Council, who were to present it to the grand Council of the army, and to exert the utmost strength of their power to effectuate it's favourable reception there; and even to cram it, if possible, forcibly down the Lieutenant-general's throat: and lastly (as there was reason enough to apprehend) that could not be compassed, they were to apply to Fairfax, as Constable of the Tower, for his order (which would be sufficient now the Parliament's power was annihilated, and consequently the supremacy vested actually in the General) to release him as his prisoner, atleast upon giving bail (83). But every part of this plan as well as all their other measures were broken by Cromwell. That arch-rebel had kept a watchful eye upon the motions of these turbulent spirits from their first appearance in the army, and was now fully determined to crush a confederacy which was notoriously aimed to subvert all his views. The method he took to effect it, by pistolling the forwardest man among them in the foremost rank, at the head of his regiment (84), is recorded by Lord Clarendon, as one of the boldest actions in the Life of that amazing man (85); and it is no diminution to the bravery of Lilburne's spirit, that, after a conflict sustained for several years with unabated, tho' unavailing, hardiness, he was flung at last by that matchless trickster, *Huic uni forsan succumbere natus.*

[*HH*] *Cromwell*

(78) Letters annexed to our author's Epistle to Sir Henry Martin in 1647, Letter 1.

(79) This account was inclosed in his Letter to the Council of Agitators, as is here intimated; and in it he brought the State indebted to him the sum of 800 pounds; whereas Mr Prynne, as is already observed, settled the ballance against him to the value of 2200 pounds. Additional Plea to Mr Maynard, p. 5.

(80) Ibid. Letter 2.

(81) That is, to get himself into the State saddle. See the conclusion of this letter, wherein so much is plainly enough intimated.

(82) His brother Robert, then a Colonel, was concerned together with a great part at least of his regiment in this affair at Newmarket-heath. Rushworth, Vol. II. part iv. or Vol. VIII. p. 914 and 922. edit. 1721.

(83) Mr Henry Martin, who was also a Colonel, as well as Chairman of the Committee in our author's cause against the House of Lords, apparently consented and approved of this scheme, having, in answer to a letter of Lilburne's to him on this occasion, positively averred, that he had profered to make the report 20 times, but the House would not hear him. Letter to the Agitators, p. 28.

(84) On Nov. 17 this year, we have his name, Rich. Arnell, from our author, who afterwards charged it upon him as murder. Legal and Fundamental Liberties, in the introduction.

(85) History of the Rebellion, Vol. II. fol. edit.

well made him a friendly visit in the Tower [*HH*], but still the House, instead of discharging him as he expected, referred the case back to the Committee (*rr*) [*II*]: whereupon, our author being informed of their intention to examine him in the Tower, wrote a letter September 18th, to the Lieutenant thereof, declaring his resolution not to see them if they came with that design, and absolutely protesting against the authority of the House [*KK*], and on Octob'r the 2d, he sent the Speaker a proposition to argue his cause against the jurisdiction of the House of Lords with any forty lawyers in the kingdom [*LL*]. On

(*rr*) It was ordered to be re-committed, to find out some precedents of this nature, and report to the House. Ibid. p. 810.

[*HH*] *Cromwell made him a friendly visit in the Tower.*] The intention of this visit, wherein he complied with Lilburne's request of seeing him face to face, was to sound him upon the mutiny raised by the Agitators. In this view he told him of a report there was, that he designed, if he was discharged, to go down to the army, and make a disturbance there; intimating withal, that any clashing which might happen on his account, might at this juncture be of extraordinary prejudice to the kingdom; whereupon Lilburne assured him that, to cut off all possibility of any danger that might be apprehended from him, provided the House would do him reasonable justice, he should be so far from going down to the army in order to make a disturbance there, that he would immediately leave the kingdom, and voluntarily engage himself not to come into it again as long as the present troubles lasted; and to prevent, as much as possible, any clashing between the Houses on his account, he declared, that if the Commons would determine his cause against the usurpation of the Lords, he would leave all things concerning his private demands and sufferings 'till the next Parliament; and if that never came, he would never ask for reparation, of them. He tells us, he had many fair promises from Cromwell at this conference *, and we find him writing the same day to Sir Henry Martin as follows:

* Additional Plea to Mr Maynard, p. 6. See also the Prisoner's mournful Cry, in an Epistle to Judge Rolles; where he expresly tells us, that none of the profers here mentioned were embraced by Cromwell, whom he there calls an usurper, tyrant, thief, and murderer.

'Sir,

'Your late endeavours to make my poor report 'hath given me full satisfaction for your former 'neglect in that very businesse. I hear you are or'der'd by the present linsey-woolsey House of Com'mons to make it to them to morrow; for my part 'I cannot own men (tho' otherwise never so ho'nest) that sate in the House of Commons in the 'Speaker's absence, but as traytors and enemies to 'their country, who are already so declared by the 'body of the army, by whose means I had thought 'the House would have been purged of them: and 'therefore I cannot own any of them my Judges. 'In which regard I intreate you, that if you shall at'tempt the making of my report, that you acquaint 'the Speaker and the House with the true contents 'hereof. Sir, I desire farther to let you know, that 'I am not so in love with a prison as to refuse my li'berty from the hands of any power in the kingdom, so 'I am meer passive, and not active in the seeking and 'procuring of it: but I, for my part, cannot desire it 'from any power, (tho' I perish in it) but from that I 'judge to be a just power; tho' I can take it from any 'power that will of themselves put it upon me. Soe 'with my service and true respects presented to you, 'I commit you to God, and rest

'Your faithful Friend to serve you,

'John Lilburne (86).

'From my lawless captivity in the Tower of 'London, September the 13th, 1647.'

(86) Two Letters to Sir Henry Martin, printed this year in 1647, 4to. of which this is the first.

[*II*] *The House referred the case back to the Committee.*] If we may believe our author, Cromwell had the chief hand in this delay. 'For (says he 'to Mr Maynard) (87), when my wife procured a 'sitting of the Committee in the afternoon of that 'day, when my cause was referred again to you, the 'Lieutenant-general being there, moved, that *since the 'cause was so knotty, and of so great concernment, it 'might be referred to some lawyers of their House to 'canvass it*, who should have power to search for pre'cedents;' however that be, which is indeed well becoming the infinite guile and subtilty of the man, 'tis certain Lilburne construed it to intend nothing else but a malicious design to keep him at least fifteen months longer in prison. In which persuasion he wrote a second letter (88) to his friend, Sir Henry Martin, wherein he falls upon Cromwell to the purpose, charging him with hindring the General, as Constable of the Tower, from taking bail, which he had offered upon his deliverance from thence; says, he is glued in interest and counsels with those four sons of Machiavel, who never heartily loved the liberty of the Commons, *Lord Say*, *Lord Wharton*, young *Sir Henry Vaine*, and *Sollicitor St John*; avers, that he brought him into all his troubles, and now unworthily and dishonourably leaves him in them; declares he should, as the cause now stands, die, if he may do it Samson-like, with as much satisfaction as ever he did eat or drink in his life; attests that he sees Cromwell's and Vane's design is to keep the people everlastingly in bondage with a rotten and putrified Parliament; accuses Cromwell of placing none but noun-adjectives in the army, with a design to set a new England independent tyranny (89), now we have, says he, thrown down a bloody Episcopacy, and a persecuting tyranny; concludes with openly avowing his resolution to try what the private soldiers in the army, and the hob-nails and clouted-shoes will do for him. He also upon another occasion (90) confesses, that he was at this time free both with his pen and tongue in discovering Cromwell's hocus-pocus dealings with him and the kingdom, who appears, says he, to me to be one of the notablest jugglers that ever I was familiar with in the kingdom.

(87) In the Additional Plea, ubi supra.

(88) The same that has been cited before in note (86).

(89) An instance of this he mentions in the act lately passed for treble tythes, i. e. for treble damages in case of refusal to pay the tythes, which he declares to be his own case. Milton's was another, and he was also plainly tinctured with Quakerism as well as Lilbu[rne] who, among other monopolies, often complains of that of confining the preaching of the Word of God to the rough Black-coats. The like complaint was often made by Milton.

(90) Additional Plea, p. 2.

[*KK*] *A Letter to the Lieutenant of the Tower.*] We shall insert this letter (which is short) because it is a further evidence of the present situation of our author's mind, with regard to the House of Commons.

'SIR,

'I am apt to think that if the Committee of the 'House of Commons come this afternoon, that in re'ference to the General's letter it may be sent for by 'them. Truly, Sir, I desire not to affront them, 'which I must of necessity doe, if they send for 'me; being I cannot own the power of the House 'of Commons in their present mixture. Therefore, if 'they should go about to send for me, I intreat you 'to do your best to divert it, and I will be ready to 'give you my petrowle and securitie, if they and you 'agree upon it. Sir, I hope you will excuse the 'boldness of,

'18th of September, 'SIR,
'1647.

'Your humble Servant,

'J. Lilburne (91).'

(91) Letter the third, annexed to his two letters to Sir Henry Martin.

[*LL*] *A proposition to argue his cause with any forty lawyers in the kingdom.*] This challenge was evidently aimed at Cromwell, being given by way of answer to his reason for deferring the determination of Lilburne's cause in the Committee, that it should be referred to some lawyers to canvass it. The paper was drawn up in these terms:

'The Proposition of Lieutenant-colonel John Lil'burne, Prerogative-prisoner in the Tower of Lon'don, made unto the Lords and Commons assem'bled at Westminster, and to the whole Kingdom 'of England, Oct. 2, 1647.

'I grant the House of Lords, according to the 'statute of Edw. III. c. 5. to have in law a jurisdic'tion for redressing of grievances, either upon illegal 'delays or illegal judgments given in any of the 'Courts of Westminster-hall, provided they have the 'King's particular commission therefore, and other the 'legal powers contained in that statute, which juris'diction, and no other, seems to me to be confirmed 'by the statute of the 27th of Eliz. c. 8. and '31 Eliz. c. 1.

'But

(ss) Our author tells us, this new hearing upon the point of law was the pure effect of his challenge. Additional Plea to Maynard, p. 17. And Rushworth informs us, that he had been before them on the 18th, and soon after gave in his speech in writing, declaring the Lords proceedings against him illegal, of which he gave many precedents, which he undertook to prove. His expressions were in law very high. Vol. VIII. p. 844.

On the 20th of that month he was fetched again before the Committee, when Serjeant Maynard being in the chair, he had a fair and full hearing upon that point (ss); but the Committee declining to hear him upon some other things relating to the House of Commons (tt), he sent a paper upon those matters inclosed in a letter to Mr Maynard on the 28th (uu), wherein he promised, for the satisfaction of his enemies, to leave the kingdom if he had his demands paid by an order of the House, threatening otherwise to raise his friends among the people in his defence [MM]. On the 9th of November an order passed the House that he should have liberty every day to go without his keeper to attend the Committee appointed about his business, and to return every night to the Tower (ww). And he enjoyed the benefit of it some time, but an information of seditious practices being made against him in January to the House of Lords, he was taken into custody again, and brought before the House of Commons on the 19th of that month. When in his defence, he delivered a charge of high-treason against Cromwell and Ireton; upon which he was remitted to the Tower, and ordered to be tried *by the law of the land*, for seditious and scandalous practices against the state [NN]. Conceiving himself to be especially intitled

(tt) He concludes his plea with a declaration, that, having done with every thing in point of law against the Lords, 'till they reply, he had something to say in reference to the Commons; but being spent, desires to be heard October 26, according to their own appointment.

(uu) This he printed afterwards with the title of An additional Plea, &c. to Serjeant Maynard, 1647, 4to.

(ww) Rushworth, in the last cited vol. p. 868.

'But I positively deny that the House of Lords, by 'the known and declared law of England, have any 'original jurisdiction over any Commoner whatsoever, 'either for life, limb, liberty, or estate, which is the 'only and alone thing in controversy betwixt them 'and me. And this position I will in a public assem'bly, or before both Houses, in law debate with any 'forty Lawyers in England, that are practitioners of 'the law; and I will be content the Lords shall 'chuse them every man: and if after I have said for 'myself what I can, that any three of these forty 'Lawyers sworne to deliver their judgments accord'ing to the known law of England give it under their 'hands against me, I will give over my present contest 'with the Lords, and surrender myself up to the punish'ment and sentence of the present Lords and Commons.

'*Provided at this debate I have six or ten of my 'friends present to take in writing all that passeth 'thereupon.*

'Witnesse my hand and seale, in the presence of di'vers witnesses in the Tower of London, this 2d of 'October, 1647 (90).'

(90) Additional Plea, p. 8.

[MM] *He promised to leave the kingdom*, &c.] The insults he had offered with his tongue and pen to Cromwell, giving great distaste to some of his near friends, who said, they would not only undo himself, but all that had any relation to him, and pressed him to do something that was reasonable and moderate to get his liberty; one of them assuring him, that he knew if he would do so and so (91), he might have it. Hereupon our author considering that if he was set at liberty, he could not live in England to follow any employment, excepting oaths and tythes were abolished. 'For '(says he) either I must follow my trade, a clothier, 'which here I cannot do without taking oaths, which 'I cannot take; or else I must live in the country, 'and there I neither can nor would pay tythes; in 'which regard, if I were at liberty, I must of necessity 'go beyond seas. I did therefore propose, *that upon 'that condition if the House of Commons will pass their 'judgment upon my protest against the Lords, and evacu'ate their sentence, and immediately help me to the* 2000l. '*the Lords adjudged me, and get me but in ready 'money one half of my arrears for the whole, being '6 or 7000 l. audited before a Committee of their own 'House, I would immediately lay out my money in cloths, 'or other commodities; and if I can pass with them, I 'will forthwith leave the kingdome, to which I will 'promise, without licence, I will not return for the space 'of twelve months for the rest of the money; and so 'I shall leave this Parliament to the management of 'their own affairs among themselves. Witness my 'hand and seal this 6th of October*, 1647.

'J. LILBURNE.'

(91) What this was appears from his resolution to leave the kingdom for some time at least, 'till the public affairs were settled, i. e. 'till Cromwell had purged off the Agitators, and so secured to himself the whole army, and therein the supreme power. For that doubtless was the arch-rebel's true meaning, from whom the proposition evidently came.

But instead of obtaining his liberty thereby, as he was confidently made believe he should, they calumniated him as a man that neither cared for England, nor the liberties thereof, but merely and only sought for his money and his own ends; 'whose juggling dealings 'with me (continues he) I shall more largely bring 'to notice, when I print my letter to subtle Mr Allen, 'the Agitator, which, by God's assistance, shall spee'dily follow; and then my Appeal next to that, where'in I will cry out aloud, murder! oppression! and 'desolation to the whole kingdom! and with strong 'heart and voice call upon the House of Commons to 'judge my appeal, which I judge is now hindered by 'the grandees of the army, who, I may say, are 'body and soul the Lords creatures, as great lovers 'of tyranny, oppression, injustice, and dissimulation as 'they. And so I rest,

'JOHN LILBURNE,

'That neither loves basenesse, nor fears greatnesse (92).'

(92) Additional Plea, in the conclusion.

[NN] *Was afterwards remitted to the Tower, and ordered to be tried for seditious practices.*] Some account of this affair is printed in Rushworth's Collections (93), which in substance is, that after a conference, January 18th, between the two Houses, their Lordships acquainted the House of Commons, that they had received information by one Mr Masterman, Minister of Shoreditch, *that being desired by a friend of his to go to a private house to give his judgment on* a petition to be presented to the House of Commons, he accordingly went, and found there Lieutenant-colonel John Lilburne, and many others, debating about the said petition; and that Lilburne did then speak many things tending much to the dishonour of both Houses of Parliament, and their proceedings, and expressed himself in such language against both, that it was not fitting for a man of his coat to mention them; and that this was stiled a petition, and that many thousand copies thereof should be dispersed through the kingdom to the dishonour of the Parliament and their proceedings. That their Lordships had formerly committed Lilburne to the Tower of London, and having information of his going abroad, sent to the Lieutenant of the Tower to know the reason he was not detained in custody, according to the order of that House; who answered, that there was lately an order of the House of Commons directed to him, and requiring him to suffer the said Lilburne to go abroad about his occasions; and that since the said order he could give no account of him. In conclusion, their Lordships desired that no occasion might be given to hinder the union and affection between both Houses of Parliament, and that the House would speedily consider of this business. The House of Commons accordingly took this business into consideration, and had much debate thereupon; and ordered, that their former order should be repealed, and that Lieutenant-colonel John Lilburne be committed prisoner to the Tower, and that the Lieutenant of the Tower should bring him to the bar of the House of Commons tomorrow morning: and another order was made, that Mr Wildman should be taken into the custody of the Serjeant at Arms. January 19th, the House resuming the same affair, Lilburne was called in, *and made a large, if not a tedious, answer to the information or charge against him, some whereof he confessed, and part denied.* The proof of the information was likewise heard, and the examination of this business held 'till 6 at night, when the House, coming to a resolution upon it, ordered that Lilburne should be committed prisoner to the Tower of London; and that he should be tried by the law of the land for seditious and scandalous practices against the State; and that Wildman should be committed to Newgate, and tried according

(93) Vol. VIII. p. 968, 970, 971. See also Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 173.

titled by this order to his *habeas corpus*, he made a regular application for it to the King's-Bench both that term and the next, and being put off by the Judges, he printed first, an epistle dated April 8th 1648, to Mr Lenthal, intitled, *The Prisoner's Plea for a* Habeas Corpus (*xx*), which was followed by another dated the 19th of that month to Mr Justice Rolle, in 1648, intitled, *The Prisoner's mournful Cry against the Judges of the King's Bench* (*yy*), and was suffered to plead his cause himself at that bar, on the 8th of May (*zz*). However, no rule being made there in his favour, he petitioned the House of Commons, whereby he obtained, August 1st, both his discharge from imprisonment, and an order to make him satisfaction for his sufferings [OO]. The next day after he had got his liberty,

(*xx*) In this epistle he accuses Cromwell of wilful murder, and desires Lenthal to bring the accusation into the House, for killing Arnel, at Ware in Hertfordshire, Nov. 15, 1647, in a time of peace, and declared so to be by the Parliament's declaration, in answer to the Scotch Commissioners, March 4, 1647.

(*yy*) The several proceedings for obtaining the habeas corpus are set forth in this piece, wherein he spares not amply to bespatter that Judge, as well as the rest, for delaying it.

(*zz*) Legal and Fundamental Liberties, p. 8.

cording to law for treasonable and seditious practices also, against the State. That Mr Sollicitor, and all the Lawyers of the House should take care for preparing the charge against them, and bringing of them to trial the next term; and that Mr Becke of Lincoln's-Inn should be employed in this business for the better expediting, and carrying it on. January 20th, the House was informed that Lilburne and Wildman were not carried to their several prisons, according to the orders yesterday made; and that many of their party gave out high language, that they should not be committed, unless their desires were granted before their commitment. The House hereupon ordered Lilburne and Wildman should be committed to the several prisons, according to the order of yesterday; and that the officers of the guard attending the House, should draw out a sufficient guard to assist the Serjeant at Arms, or his Deputy, in the execution of the said orders; and the guard being drawn forth, they were conveyed to their several prisons.—And the House, being informed that a meeting would be at Deptford in Kent, on Sunday next, by some discontented persons, upon this petition to the House, ordered the Committee should take care to suppress all meetings upon the said petition. And in respect many of these petitions were printed and given out to several persons to be dispersed; and also that there might be other meetings in London upon the same, the House ordered, that the Militia of London and Westminster Hamlets, &c. should take especial care for suppressing of all meetings, and preventing any inconveniencies that might arise by reason of the said petition, intitled, *The Petition of many thousands of the free-born people of England*, &c. So much we learn of the several steps taken in this affair by the Parliament. And our author himself, speaking on another occasion of this answer to the information on the 19th of January, he declares, that upon that day he openly delivered at the bar of the House of Commons a formal charge or impeachment of high-treason (according to their own ordinances) against Mr Oliver Cromwell and his subtle Machiavilian son-in-law, Mr Henry Ireton, for their notorious doing that in reference to the King, for but the petty acting of which, in comparison to theirs, they impeached Mr Denzil Holles, Sir Philip Stapleton, &c. of high-treason (as appeareth in their own book of declarations, p. 81, 82. art. 2, 3.) and forcibly expunged them their House as traytors (94) therefore. In the same piece our author falls upon this rival friend, with the following imputation of baseness and treachery to him at this time, 'Mr Oliver (says he) by the 'help of the army, at their first rebellion against the 'Parliament, their Lords and Masters, was no sooner 'up, but, like a most perfidious base unworthy man, 'he turned my enemy and jaylor, and was as great with 'Manchester in particular as ever. Yea the House of 'Peers were his only white boyes; *being more than his 'drudges, and more conformable to his will than the 'House of Commons itself*; and who but Oliver (that 'before to me had called them both tyrants and 'usurpers) became their proctor wherever he came? 'yea, and set his son Ireton at work for them also, insomuch, as at some meetings with some of my friends 'at the Lord Wharton's lodgings, he clapt his hand 'upon his breast, and to this purpose, professed *as in 'the sight of God, upon his conscience, that the Lords 'had as true a right to their legislative and jurisdictive 'power over the Commons, as he had to the coat upon his 'back*; and he would procure a friend, Mr *Nathaniel 'Fiennes* †, should argue and plead their said right 'with any friend I had in England; and not only so, 'but did he not oblige the General and Council of War 'at Windsor, about the time when the other votes of 'no more addresses were to pass (95) to make a declaration to the whole kingdom, declaring the legall 'rights of the Lords House, and their fixed resolutions to maintain and uphold it; which, as I remember, was sent to the General, &c. to the Lords 'by Sir *Hardresse Waller*.' He afterwards observes, that Cromwell set his agents at work to get him to acknowledge the Lords jurisdiction, and that he and Ireton, after a little under-hand working begun to appear above-board, in rendering all the means gone about in the army for his liberty, not only ineffectual, but even a snare to him; and that their base dealing with him had put him upon writing these several pieces to discover their depth of knavery. (1.) *The Jugglers discovered.* (2.) *Jonah's Cry out of the Whale's Belly.* (3.) *The People's Prerogative.* (4.) *His additional Plea before Mr John Maynard.* (5.) *A Whip for the House of Lords.* (6.) *Rash Oaths unwarrantable* (96).

[OO] *He petitioned and obtained his discharge, and an order for satisfaction.*] Besides his own, there was a petition also signed by seven or eight thousand of his friends, and delivered to the House; which was afterwards printed, together with the Speech of Sir John Maynard, to whom he attributes this final discharge (97); the order for which is mentioned in Rushworth (98). Thus, 1648, Aug. 1, a petition was read in behalf of Lieutenant-colonel John Lilburne, and upon long debate thereupon, it was ordered that he should be discharged his imprisonment, and a conference to be had with the Lords for the same. Referred also to a Committee how Lieutenant colonel John Lilburne may have satisfacton, and allowance for his sufferings, as was formerly voted. Our author has also given us the names of the persons who were appointed of this Committee, which are Sir *John Maynard*, Sir *Peter Wentworth*, Lord *Carre*, who was the chairman, Colonel *Boswell*, Colonel *Ludlow*, Mr *Holland*, and Mr *Copley* (99). The Lieutenant-colonel immediately presented a petition to this Committee, praying for some considerable augmentation of the sum of 2000 *l.* allotted to him by the House of Lords in 1646, the rather, because his fellow sufferer, Dr Bastwick, had 4000 *l.* reparations allotted him, whose sufferings he conceived, were nothing so great as his in torment, pain, and shame; and in regard that the estates of Lord Cottington and Sir Francis Windebank, by subsequent orders of both Houses upon urgent occasions are much intangled and altered from the condition they were in 1646, when the Lords ordered him 2000 marks out of them (100); and for that the estate of James Ingram cannot be found, nor at present come by, he prays that all, or the greatest part of his reparations, may be fixed upon the Lord Coventry's estate (101). The Committee having made a report, an ordinance was read the first time, and passed in the House. Agreeable to this petition, Aug. 22d, for the raising of 3000 *l.* out of the real estate of the late Lord Coventry, sometime Keeper of the Great-Seal of England, towards his reparations for the two sentences against him in the Star-chamber (102). But the late Lord Coventry's son and heir hearing thereof in France, came immediately home, and by his interest put a stop to the second reading. And our author was informed, that the House had a design of assigning him the same sum out of the public money. This change in his security he did not at all relish; and therefore in order to prevent it, he drew up a large petition, and printed it on the 4th of September; a copy of which he presented at the door of the House to every member at his entrance the day following, when the second reading was appointed (103), and the result, as we learn from Rushworth, was, That the House having considered his petition, 'an 'ordinance for settling 3000 *l.* upon him, to be advanced

(94) Legal and Fundamental Liberties, in the introduction.

† Afterwards Lord-Chancellor to the Protector.

(95) These votes passed the House of Commons February 15, 1647. Salmon's Chronological Historian, p. 96. col. b. edit. 1723, 8vo.

(96) Legal and Fundamental Liberties, p. 27.

(97) Legal and Fundamental Liberties, p. 19. Where he also observes, that this great number of signers to the petition was procured in 7 or 8 days time, the juncture being critically favourable to him, on account of the Parliament's apprehensions from the Cavaliers; and it is remarkable, that, the day after this petition, Prince Charles being with his fleet in the Downs, sent a declaration to London, that he was come to release his father, &c.

(98) Where last cited, p. 1212.

(99) Preparative to a Hue and Cry, &c. p. 18.

(100) All that part of Lord Cottington's estate, which he should have had, was disposed of to Lord Say, and they had compounded with Windebank's Heir. Ibid. p. 18.

(101) Ibid. p. 21.

(102) Rushworth, ubi supra, p. 1236.

(103) Preparative to a Hue and Cry, p. 19. If we may believe himself, his reason was a concern for the public welfare, which must suffer so far by this change; but it is evident, that the consideration of some rumours and deductions, which might be insisted on by Mr Prynne to adjust the ballance of his army accounts, was sufficient to put his mouth out of taste with the method of paying him out of the public money.

berty, he wrote a friendly letter to Cromwell, then warmly attacked by the Preſbyterians [*PP*]. September the 11th, he joined with ſeveral others in a large petition to the Houſe of Commons againſt a perſonal treaty with the King [*QQ*]; preſently after which, he went down into the North to take poſſeſſion of ſome effects that had been aſſigned to him, in purſuance of the laſt mentioned vote of the Commons (*a a a*). Returning to London in a ſhort time, with a deſign to procure the ſettling of a new model of government before the King's execution, which was then reſolved on by the leading men in the army (*b b b*), he had ſeveral meetings with Ireton and others upon that affair [*RR*], but the general

(*a a a*) He got 400 pounds of ſequeſtred coals and iron of Mr Bowes's, beſides between 100 and 200 pounds in rents. Ibid. p. 41.

(*b b b*) See remark [*UU*].

'vanced out of the Lord Coventry's eſtate, was read, 'and, upon the queſtion, laid aſide; but the Houſe 'only diſagreeing in the manner, ordered that 3000 'pounds worth of delinquents lands ſhould be 'ſold to him in fee at twelve year's purchaſe, and 'that an ordinance of Parliament ſhould be brought 'in for that purpoſe with all convenient ſpeed (104).' In conſequence of this order, he obtained a grant for ſome part of the ſequeſtred eſtates of Sir Henry Bellingham and Mr Bowes, in the county of Durham, or Northumberland; from which he received about 1400 pounds (105); and Cromwell, ſoon after his return from Ireland, in the end of May 1650, procured him a grant of lands for the remainder '*for 'which moſt noble favour* (ſays he the following year) '*I muſt and do heartily declare and acknowledge myſelf highly obliged to him* (106).

(104) Ibid. p. 1253.

(105) Ibid. p. 3. compared with Legal and Fundamental Liberties, p. 41. and with A Juſt Reproof to Haberdaſhers Hall, p. 6.

(106) The laſt cited piece, in the ſame page, edit. 1651, 4to.

[*PP*] *A Letter to Cromwell, then warmly attacked by the Preſbyterians.*] The Letter was in theſe terms:

'*SIR,*

'*What my comrade hath written by our truſty bearer 'might be ſufficient for us both; but to demonſtrate unto 'you, that I am no ſtaggerer from my firſt prin'ciples that I engaged my life upon, nor from you, 'if you are what you ought to be, and what you are 'ſtrongly reported to be; although if I proſecuted, or de'ſired revenge for a hard and almoſt ſtarving impri'ſonment, I could have had of late the choice of twenty 'opportunities to have payd you to the purpoſe; but I 'ſcorn it, eſpecially when you are low: and this aſſure 'yourſelf, that if ever my hand be upon you, it ſhall 'be when you are in your full glory, if then you ſhall de'cline from the righteous wayes of Truth and Juſtice: 'which if you will fixedly and impartially proſecute,*

I am Your's, to the laſt drop of my heart's blood,

'*(for all your late ſevere hand towards me)*

JOHN LILBURNE.

'*From Weſtminſter the 3d of Auguſt*, 1648,
'*being the ſecond day of my freedom.*'

To underſtand fully the noble ſpirit of this letter, we muſt in company with our author take a view of Cromwell's circumſtances at that time. He had his hands full with the Royaliſts, Poyer, Young, Holland, Hamilton, and Langdale, this year; and ſtill more ſo with the Parliament, there being a general odium then in both Houſes againſt him, upon the impeachment of him by his own Major, Huntington. Lilburne, on the other hand, having obtained his liberty, wat not a little up and in ſpirits on the occaſion, and could *at his pleaſure*, as he ſays, have been revenged of him *if he had ſo pleaſed*, either by diviſions in his army, which was eaſily then in his power, or by joining with Major Huntington in impeaching him; which, as he obſerves, he had matter enough to do, and was earneſtly ſollicited to it again and again, and might have had money enough to boot in his then low and exhauſted condition [*with regard to the ſtate of his purſe*]; *Yet*, continues he, *I ſcorned it, and rather applied my hand to help him up again, as not loving a Scotch intereſt* *, as is very well and fully known to his preſent † darling Mr *Cornelius Holland*, and alſo to Colonel *Ludlow*, and Mr *Thomas Challoner*, with other members that I could name; and which was demonſtrated to himſelf by a letter [*that inſerted here*] I ſent him by Mr *Sexby*, whom on purpoſe I procured to go down to him. Which letter, &c. as I have been told by the bearer, was not a little welcome (107).

* He points here at the treaty between the Parliament Commiſſioners and the King, which was opened September 18, 1648. Salmon, p. 98.

† This was wrote in June the following year, 1649.

(107) Legal and Fundamental Liberties, p. 28.

[*QQ*] *A petition againſt a perſonal treaty with the King.*] Our author tells us, that he was compelled, in conſcience to have a hand in this, which he calls that moſt excellent of petitions, by reaſon of the ſeveral jugglings he obſerved in divers great ones, in reference to the perſonal treaty; and that there was nothing worth praiſing or liking thought of or preſented by the Parliament, in reference to the people's liberties; eſpecially conſidering the late large expences and hazards for procuring the ſettlement of them. But beſides this, another motive for joining at leaſt more gladly in this petition is alſo ſuggeſted by him, which is, that he was perſuaded it would be agreeable to the Lieutenant-general, who ſhewed a fair face then to him and his party, he alſo expreſly ſays, he was ſure it was no ſmall piece of ſervice to *Cromwell and his great aſſociates* (108). In his ſpeech, on preſenting a new model of government to the Houſe of Commons, in 1649; our author obſerves this was the firſt petition he knew of in England againſt that treaty: and Mr Salmon takes notice of a Remonſtrance, as he calls it, preſented to the Commons, Nov. 10, this year, by the officers, againſt any further treaty with his Majeſty, and requiring that the King and his adherents be brought to juſtice; and that a period be put to this Parliament, and more equal repreſentatives choſen, in whom they would have the ſupreme power lodged (109). How far this was approved by Cromwell and his great aſſociates ſoon after, will be ſeen in the next remark.

(108) Ibid. p. 29.

(109) Chron. Hiſt. ubi ſupra. Our author alſo takes notice of this remonſtrance, but ſays it was on the 16th of November from St Albans. See his Impeachment of Oliver Cromwell, &c. p. 67.

[*R R*] *Several meetings with Ireton, &c.*] While Lilburne was in the North, on the buſineſs mentioned in the text, he ſaw Cromwell [*at that time there with the army to quell the Scots*]; and obſerving him narrowly, found he was not ſo heartily inclined to the views of his party [the Levellers], as had been repreſented. For which reaſon, on his return to London ſhortly after, he joined with ſome other friends in ſending a meſſage to Cromwell, propoſing to ſettle the government by an agreement with the people The meſſenger (Hunt) returning with Cromwell's conſent to the propoſal, ſeveral Independents, to which party Cromwell's anſwer was directed, and Levellers, among whom was Lilburne, met at the Nag's-head tavern by Blackwell-Hall; where, after ſome warm debates, it was agreed to chuſe four perſons of each ſide, to adjuſt the matters in diſpute (110). Theſe delegates, which were Colonel Tichburne, Colonel White, Dr Parker, and Jo. Price, for the Independents; and for the Levellers, Lieutenant-Colonel Wotton, Mr Walwyn, Mr Wildman, and Mr Lilburne, in a ſecond meeting at the Nag's-head, November 15, 1648, unanimouſly agreed in theſe words: '*That, in our conceptions, the 'only way of ſettlement is,* (1.) *That ſome perſons be 'choſen by the army to repreſent the whole body; and 'that the well-affected in every county (if it may be) 'chuſe ſome perſons to repreſent them: and thoſe to meet 'at the head quarters.* (2) *That thoſe perſons ought 'not to exerciſe any legiſlative power, but only to draw 'up the foundations of a juſt government, and to pro'pound them to the well-affected people in every county 'to be agreed to: which agreement ought to be above 'Law; and therefore the bounds, limits, and extent, 'of the Peoples legiſlative deputies in Parliament, con'tained in the agreement, to be drawn up into a for'mal contract, to be mutually ſigned by the well-affected 'people and their ſaid deputies upon the days of their 'election reſpectively.* (3.) *To prevent preſent confu'ſion, the Parliament (if it be poſſible) may not be by 'force immediately diſſolved; but that the day of it's 'diſſolution be inſerted in that agreement, by virtue 'whereof it ſhall be diſſolved.* (4) *That this way of 'ſettlement (if it may be) ſhall be mentioned in the Ar'my's firſt remonſtrance.* (5.) *That the matter of the 'petition of September* 11 *be the matter to be ſettled.*'. Theſe heads for ſettling an agreement were immediately ſent

(110) Theſe were chiefly, that the Independents propoſed firſt to put the King to death, and then force and thoroughly purge, if not diſſolve, the Parliament; whereas it was inſiſted on by the Levellers, that the Parliament ſhould be diſſolved, and a new one called, before the King's execution.

general council of officers quashing all the projects of his party [*SS*], he published, December 15th 1648, such articles of an *Agreement with the People* as had then been proposed (tho' without effect) by them, and presenting at the head of several of his friends, a complaint of the army, and a kind of protest against their proceedings, to Cromwell, on the 28th, [*TT*] returned in a few days to Newcastle, where he continued attending the business of his reparations 'till the death of his Majesty, soon after which he went back to London [*UU*], where finding Duke Hamilton, Lord Capel, and some other royalists, lately brought

(ccc) He prefixed an epistle to t of his penning, and printed the whole at his own expence.

sent to the head-quarters at St Albans. But the Army's declaration against the King coming out soon after, created so much uneasiness, and jealousy of their designs against the Levellers, that these presently repaired to Windsor to talk with Ireton about it; where, being accompanied with some of the Independents, they met him and a whole train of officers at the Garter inn, and, after several sharp disputes, they parted without coming to any agreement. However, proposing to Colonel Harrison soon after, that the army, and those whom they called their honest friends in the Parliament, as also the Independents and the Levellers, should chuse each of them four persons to draw up a final *agreement*; the Colonel was satisfied therewith, and engaged also for the other officers; and having actually procured Ireton's consent, the following sixteen persons were chosen for the purpose. For the Independents, Colonel Tichburn, Colonel John White, Mr Daniel Taylor, and Mr Price a Scrivener. For the Levellers, Mess. Walwyn, Maximilian Petty, Wildman, and Lilburne. For the honest men in the Parliament, Colonel Henry Martin, Colonel Alexander Rigby, Mr Thomas Challoner, and Mr Scott. And for the Army, Commissary-General Ireton, Sir William Constable, Colonel Tomlinson, and Colonel Baxter. These commissioners, after the army came to town [December 2 (111)], constantly met at Whitehall, except that the Parliament-men failed, only Mr Martin was commonly there (112).

(111) Salmon, ubi supra.

(112) Legal and Fundamental Liberties, p. 29 to 34.

[*SS*] *All these projects were quashed by the general council of officers.*] After many fierce contests with Ireton only, sometimes whole nights together, wherein the Commissary was often very angry and lordly. The chief points of difference being about Liberty of Conscience, and the Parliament's punishing where no law provides. An expedient in the first point was settled; and whereupon, the major part of the sixteen commissioners came to an absolute and final conclusion, supposing then all further debates were at an end, and that the agreemeut should, without any more ado, be promoted for subscriptions, first in the council of war, and next in the regiments, and lastly all over the nation. 'But alas! poor fools, continues our author, we were 'merely cheated and cozened. It being the principal 'unhappiness of some of us (as to the flesh *) to have 'our eyes wide open, to see things long before most 'honest men come to have their eyes open; and this 'is that which turns to our smart and reproach, and 'that which we commissioners feared at the first, viz. 'that no tyes, promises, nor engagements, were strong 'enough to the grand jugglers and leaders of the army, 'was now made clearly manifest; for, when it came 'to the Council, there came the General, Cromwell, 'and the whole gang of creatures, colonels and other 'officers, and spent many days in taking it all in pieces; and there Ireton shewed himself an absolute 'King, if not an Emperor, against whose will no man 'must dispute; and then Shittlecock Roe, their scout 'Okey, and Major Barton, where Sir Hardresse Waller sat President, begun to quarrel, and call some of 'us base and unworthy names, which procured them 'from me a sharp retortment, and a *challenge* of Sir 'Hardresse into the field. And so I took my leave of 'them, for a pack of dissembling juggling knaves, and 'returning to those who trusted me, and, giving them 'an account of all these proceedings at a publick meeting appointed for the purpose, I discharged myself 'absolutely for meddling or making any more with so 'perfidious a generation of men, as the great ones of 'the army were, but especially the cunningest of Machiavilians, Commissary Henry Ireton (113).

* As to the flesh, he says emphatically; for as to things of the spirit, these conceited minions of Heaven were favoured with this super-eminent degree of foresight assuredly, and, as they perswaded themselves, beyond the possibility of all contravention.

(113) Ibid. p. 35.

[*TT*] *He printed an agreement of the people, and presented it to Cromwell.*] The paper now mentioned was no more than a bare sketch of that compleat agreement drawn up by our author and his two associates in the Tower next year; and the reason of printing and publishing this, was chiefly to be beforehand with the army, where they knew (114) an instrument of the like sort, but more consonant to the views of the leading men therein, was preparing in the Council of Officers. Accordingly such a thing, intitled also *An Agreement*, was presented by the General and Council to the House of Commons on the 20th of January following (115).

(114) 'Tis upon this knowledge, that our author asserts, he printed their agreement before that presented by the army was half perfected. Ibid. p. 38.

(115) Ibid. p. 36.

[*UU*] *He returned to London after the King's death.*] In the road, he was told by the Postmaster of Boroughbrigg and others in Yorkshire, that the Cavaliers in those parts were most desperate mad at him in particular, about the beheading of the late King, although he was as far as Newcastle when it was done, and had also refused to give his consent to be one of the King's Judges, being sollicited thereto before he left London. Nay more, he had accordingly declared himself at Windsor (*in the debates mentioned in remark* [*SS*]) against the manner and time of the army's intended dealings with his Majesty; arguing there very stiffly, that, upon their own principles, which led them to look upon all legal authority in England as now broken, they could be no better than murderers, in taking away the King's life, though he were never so guilty of the crimes they charged upon him: for, as justice ought to be done, especially for blood, which they then principally charged upon him; so said I, continues he, and still say, it ought to be done justly; for, in case another man murder me, and a day, a week, or a year after, my brother or friend, that is no legal magistrate, executes him therefore, yet this is murder in the eye of the Law, because it was done by a hand which had no authority to do it; and therefore I press'd again and again, seeing themselves acknowledged all legal authority in England was broke, that they would stay his trial, 'till a new and equal free representative, upon the agreement of the well-affected people, that had not fought against their liberties, rights, and freedoms, should be chosen and sit; and then either try him thereby, or else by their Judges, sitting in the court called King's-Bench. When tney asked him, How by Law he could have him tried? he told them, that the Law of England expresly says, *Whosoever murders or kills another shall die*; it doth not say, *excepting the King, Queen, or Prince, &c* but indefinitely, *whosoever murders shall die*; and therefore, where none is excepted, there all men are included in Law: but the King is a man: Ergo, he is included as well as I. To this they objected, that it could hardly be proved, that the King with his own hands killed a man. In answer to which he observed, that, by the Law of England, he that counsels or commissions another to kill a man, is as guilty of the fact as he that does it. And besides the advantage was considerable, of trying the King by the rules of the Law, as it would be sufficient to declare, that no man is born, or justly can be made, lawless; but that even magistrates, as well as people, are subject to the penal as well as the directive part. On the other hand, to try him in an extraordinary way, that has no real footsteps nor paths in our law, would be a thing of extraordinary ill precedent; for why not twenty, upon pretended extraordinary cases, as well as one? and why not a thousand as well as twenty? and extraordinary cases are easily made and pretended by those that are uppermost, though never so unjust in themselves. Add to which, *That to try him in an extraordinary way, when the Law hath provided all the essentials of justice in an ordinary way, and merely wants nothing (if it do want* (116) *that) but twelve Kings as his peers or equals, will nourish and increase in men that erroneous conceit, that magistrates, by the law of God, Nature, and Reason, are not, nor ought to be, subject to the penal part of the law of men, as well as the directive part of it, which is the bane, ruin, and destruction of all the commonwealths in the world* (117).

(116) Lilburne plainly suggests here with regard to the army, what Milton did soon after of the Presbyterians, that, by stripping his Majesty of the kingly office and dignity, as they had long ago done, he was reduced to the state and rank of a private man. See Milton's tenure of Kings, &c. throughout, in his Works, by Birch, Vol. I. tract 13. begun at p. 354. edit. 2, 1753, 2 vols, 4to.

(117) Legal and Fundamental Liberties asserted, p. 42, 43.

[*WW*] He

brought to their trial before the High-Court of Justice. He appeared warmly in their favour against the jurisdiction of that Court [WW]; at the same time he was informed of some violence threatened against his person, in a council of war at Whitehall, about the 22d of February, whereupon he engaged in drawing up his piece called *England's new Chains discovered* (*ddd*), and on the 26th of that month accompanied by *Walwyn*, *Prince*, and *Overton*, he presented an *Address to the Supreme Authority of England in the House of Commons*, containing a frame of new modelling the state, in opposition to that which had been offered there by the army in January preceding (*eee*), and being ordered to withdraw without receiving an answer [XX], our author published the whole under the last mentioned title [YY], upon which he was committed with his associates to the Tower, March the 29th, 1649. He had not been there long before he joined with them in writing another pamphlet, intitled, *The Agreement of the People*, which was published on the first of May, with a licence by Gilbert Mabbot [ZZ]. This being followed with several

(*ddd*) Legal and Fundamental liberties, &c. p. 74.

(*eee*) In this model they ran through the several articles of that offered by the army, charging it in every particular with unjust and tyrannical designs, and the House of Commons with a design to introduce an arbitrary power by the High-Court of Justice and the Council of State.

[*WW*] *He appeared against the jurisdiction of the High-Court of Justice.*] Considering Lilburne's general temper, it is natural to expect him attending to hear these trials; but, besides his general disposition, he was particularly interested therein, as the method of proceeding against these delinquents, was a fresh instance of the Army's resolution against calling a new Parliament. Upon that account he declares, he was peculiarly pleased with stout Capel, as he calls him, and his gallant defence, in alledging several statutes to prove, that *all treasons shall be tried by the common-law, and not by extraordinary ways, but by the declared laws in being*, and citing the Petition of Right for the proof thereof. Then looking round about him, and saying, *I am an Englishman, and the Law is my inheritance, and the benefit of the Petition of Right my birthright*; *if so, then*, said he, looking upon the President, *Where 's my jury? I see none of my jury that is to pass upon me*; *I demand the sight of my jury legally pannelled, as my right by Law, without the verdict of whom I cannot in Law be condemned.* After the Court was broke up for that day, our author had several discourses with the prisoners, and sent them divers law-books and law-pleas, with that of Sir John Maynard and the four impeached aldermen, and much pressed some of them to put their lives upon the hazard of a plea and protestation against the jurisdiction of the Court; but, he says, they seemed to him to have promises of their lives, upon conformity to that jurisdiction, and could scarce believe they should die 'till the hour of death came upon them. He further assures us, that some of them sent to desire him to be one of their counsel, to plead for them in matter of Law; to whom he answered, that he could not plead for a justification of their actions (though he confessed there were much in Law to be said for them, especially as the case stood with them), but only against the jurisdiction of the Court. 'And when Holland came 'to his trial, continues he, a lady, and some other of 'his friends, came to me to my house about him; but 'I was still upon the same string, yet sent him word 'of several particulars, in reference to my trial and 'arraignment at Oxford *, that was very material to 'his present cause; and if he would call me as a witnesse, he should see I would speak my mind freely 'and effectually, although I smarted for so doing; 'and he appointed to call me: whereupon, I went 'into the court, and conveyed word to him I was 'there; but whether his heart failed him or no, I 'know not, but he never called me (118).' Whoever reflects upon the spirit of John Lilburne, and his particular situation at this time, will easily grant, that the slight shewn by these royalists to all his forward offers to appear in their cause, and losing thereby an opportunity of abusing the High-Court of Justice face to face, in the very instant of their exercising that jurisdiction, was none of the least vexatious disappointments and rebuffs that he met with.

* In the Judge's declaration, that he should be tried by the ancient laws of the kingdom.

(118) Ibid. p. 68, 69.

[*XX*] *He presented a frame of new modelling the State, which was thrown aside.*] In his speech on presenting this model, &c. we learn, that the warrants for apprehending them were out at this time. See his words.

'Mr Speaker,

'I must confess I am to present you with a paper in 'writing of a new kind; for we have had no longer 'time to consider of it, than from Thursday last: 'that day warrants, as we are informed, being out a'gainst us to take us, from those that have no power 'over us, we durst not well go our ordinary way to 'work, to get subscriptions to it, lest we should be 'surprized before we could present it to this honourable House, and so be frustrated in that benefit and 'relief that we justly expect from you; and to present it with a few hands, we judged inconsiderable 'in your attention, and therefore chose, being in so 'much haste as we were, to prevent our imminent 'and present ruin, in person to bring it to your bar, 'and avowedly to present it here. *And therefore, 'without any further question, give me leave to tell you 'I own it, and I know so does all the rest of my friends 'present; and, if any hazard should ensue thereby, give 'me leave to tell you, I am sorry I have but one life to 'lose, in maintaining the truth, justice, and righteousness, of so gallant a piece.*' The several articles of this model (too long to be inserted here) may be seen in Whitlock's Memoirs, printed not a great many years ago (119). We shall only observe, that the variations from his account in the printed copy now before us, are no ways material, unless it be in article [30], where there are no words that give the least countenance to those of Mr Whitlock, viz. '*No estate to be 'levelled, nor all things common.*'

(119) In 1732, fol. p. 384.

[*YY*] *He published England's new Chains.*] This piece was loaded with an additional charge annexed to the end of it, greatly aggravating their offence, as follows:

'Friends,

'Thus we have adventured to publish our proposal, 'for the thorow information and benefit of all that 'adhere unto the common interest of the people, hoping that with such, upon due consideration, it will 'find as large acceptance as our late petition of September 11, 1648; and we thought good, in regard 'we were not called in [to the house] to receive an 'answer to the same, to acquaint you that we intend 'to second it with a petition, sufficiently subscribed, 'we doubt not with many thousands, earnestly to solicite there AN EFFECTUAL ANSWER.'

[*ZZ*] *Licensed by Gilbert Mabbot.*] This licence is dated April 30, 1649 (120), and, as it very probably was a forgery, it seems to have been one of the principal, if not the last, of the kind, which occasioned Mabbot to throw up his place, as he did on the 22d of May following, for four reasons, of which these are the first and last given by him to the Council of State. 'I. Because many thousands of scandalous 'and malignant pamphlets had been published with 'his name thereunto, as if he had licensed the same '(though he never saw them), on purpose (as he conceives) to prejudice him in his reputation amongst 'the honest party of this nation. IV. Because it is 'lawful, in his judgment, to print any booke, sheete, '&c. without licensing, so as the authors and printers 'do subscribe their true names thereunto, that so they 'may be liable to answer the contents thereof; and if 'they offend therein, then to be punished by such 'lawes as are or shall be for those cases provided (121).' In the piece before us, though the imprimatur is dated April 30; yet both the agreement itself, and the introduction to it, called a Preparative to all sorts of people, are dated May 1, 1649, and both are subscribed with the authors names, which are also inserted in the title. There is likewise the Bookseller's name who printed it put at the end (122). We ought not to omit, that there is no such article in this agreement, as that above taken notice of from Mr Whitlock.

(120) The form is thus: April 30. Imprimatur Gilbert Mabbot.

(121) Birch's Life of Milton, prefixed to his Works, Vol. I. p. xxx. edit. 1753.

(122) Thus, London, printed for Gyles Calvert, at the black Spread-Eagle, at the west end of St Paul's.

ral others notoriously vilifying the conservators of the liberties of England, and Crom[w]ell in particular as their supreme head and master [*AAA*]; a new act of treason was pa[ss]ed May 14th, and Mr Lilburne's estate seized: many consultations were had from time [to] time, by the judges and principal lawyers, in pursuance of orders from the Council [of] State, to consider of the properest and most effectual method to be taken with him. [At] length, a special commission of *Oyer and Terminer* was issued to 40 persons, before who[m] being brought to his trial [*BBB*] on the 24th of October at Guild-hall in London, up[on]

This spirit of settling the government upon an *agreement with the people*, evidently rose out of the ashes of the supposed *original contract between the King and People*, which, upon the extinction of the King, and in him of kingly government, became of course extinct. The plan was not ill digested; and being universally well received by the populace, put Cromwell and the officers in the army to the exercise of their best wits, to present the ill consequences of it to their views; especially seeing the Agitators, or Levellers, before this last agreement was published, had carried matters even to a revolt in the army (123). Whereupon, not long after the reduction of those troops to their obedience, by the power of the sword, they set the power of their pen to work, and drew up a *Declaration of the proceedings of the General, in reducing the late revolted troops, which was appointed by his Excellency and his Council of War to be printed and published, May the 22d.* Wherein making several remarks upon the conduct of the Levellers, they expressed themselves in these terms.

(123) Our author, jointly with Overton, printed an epistle on this occasion to the General in Lockyer's behalf, dated April 27, 1649.

'The grounds and manner of the proceedings of 'these men, that have so much pretended for the liberty of the people, have been as followeth:

'There was a paper stiled the Agrement of the 'People, framed by certain select persons, and debated at a General Council of the officers of the army, 'to be tendered to the Parliament, and to be by them 'commended over to the People of the nation; it 'being hoped, that such an expedient, if assented unto at least by the honest part of the people, that had 'appeared for this common cause, to which God hath 'so witnessed, it would have tended much to the settlement and composing of our differences; at least 'have fixed honest men to such grounds of certainty, 'as might have kept them firm and entire in opposing 'the common enemy, and stand united to publick 'interest.

'The General Council of the army, and the other 'sorts of men, going then under the name of Levellers (124), who (by their late actings have made 'good the same which we then judged but an imputation) had (as now it appears) different ends and aims 'both in the matter and manner of their proceedings. 'That which was intended by those men was, to have 'somewhat tendered as a test and coërcion upon the 'people, and all sorts of men and authorities in the 'land: that which these, to wit, the Council of the 'army, aimed at, was, to make an humble representation of such things, as were then likely to give satisfaction and unity, and might be remitted to mens 'judgments, to be owned or disowned, as men were 'satisfied in their consciences, and as it shall please 'God to let men see reason for their so doings, that so 'it might not be only called an agreement, but thro' 'the freedom of it be one indeed, and receive it's 'stamp of approbation from the Parliament, to whom 'it was humbly submitted.

(124) Our author says, this was a nick-name set upon them by the army at Putney-heath.

'Hereupon, those other men took so much dissatisfaction, that they forthwith printed and spread abroad their paper, which was different from that of 'the army, using all possible means to make the same 'to passe, but with how little effect is very well 'known. And finding, by the armie's application 'to the Parliament, that they were likely, according 'to their duty, to stand by and own them as the supreme authority of the nation, they have by all 'means assayed to vilipend that authority, presenting 'them to the people in printed libels, and otherwise, 'as worse tyrants than any who were before them.'

To this harangue our coryphæus replied in an Epistle to Lenthal, dated June 8 following, and printed, as the title holds forth, 'in the grand year of 'hypocriticall and abominable dissimulation.' (1.) That this is a false narrative of the original occasion of that agreement mentioned in remark [*UU*], as appears from the account there given, the truth of which he stakes his life to make good, namely, that the litt[le] which the officers of the army did in it, they we[re] drawn into it as a bear to the stake, and 'which, sa[ys] 'he, as the sequel shews, they undertook merely [to] 'quiet and please us, like children with rattles, 't[ill] 'they had done their main work; viz. either in an'nihilating or purging the House, to make it fit for 'their purpose, and in destroying the King, unto both 'which they never had our consent in the least; and 'then totally lay it aside, as they have done, as being 'then able to do what they pleased, whether we 'would or no.' He then proceeds to shew, (2.) That the Levellers paper was published before that of the Army was presented to the House, agreeably to his former account of this matter in the remark just mentioned. (3.) That the Levellers dissatisfaction was not taken at the army's presenting their paper to the Parliament, but declared above a month by himself in their open Council, and presented also in writing to the General, on the 28th of December, 1648. (4.) That 'Whereas they say, continues he, *we used all* '*possible means to make ours passe, but with how little* '*successe is very well known.* If they mean, we used 'all possible means to make ours pass with them, it is 'true; but the reason it had no better effect was, be'cause it was too honest for them; and I am sure in 'the very epistle to it, it is declared, that the principal 'reason of printing it is, *that the people might have* '*an opportunity to consider the equitie of it, and offer* '*their reasons against any thing therein contained.* (5.) 'They say, We are troubled at their doing their du'ty, in submitting to authority, and owning the 'Parliament as the supreme authority of the nation, 'whenas, alas! it is as visible as the sun when it 'shines in it's glory, that Corah, Dathan, and Abi'ram, nor John of Leyden and Neperdullion Jack 'Straw, nor Watt Tyler, can never be put in the 'ballance, for rebellions and treasons against all sorts 'of magistracy, with the General and his Council '(125).'

(125) Legal and Fundamental Liberties, &c. p. 36, 37, 38, 39.

[*AAA*] *Several pamphlets against the Government, and Cromwell in particular.*] These were intitled, (1.) *An Impeachment of High Treason against* Oliver Cromwell, *and his son-in-law* Henry Ireton. (2.) *The Legal and Fundamental Liberties of the People of England, revised, asserted, and vindicated, &c.* (3.) *A Preparative to a Hue and Cry after Sir Arthur Haslerig.* (4.) *A[n] Outcry of the Young Men and Apprentices of London: or, an Inquisition after the lost fundamental Laws and Liberties of England,* directed August 29, 1649, in *an Epistle to the private Soldiers of the Army, especially all those that signed the solemn Engagement at* Newmarket-Heath, *the fifth of* June, 1647; *but more especially the private Soldiers of the General's Regiment of Horse, that helped to plunder and destroy the honest and true-hearted Englishmen, traiterously defeated at* Burford *the 15th of* May, 1649. (5.) *A Salva Libertate*, addressed to the Lieutenant of the Tower in September. Besides these, which were all produced at his tryal, he had, upon the erection of the Council of State, printed a piece intitled, *The Picture of the Council of State*, of which a second edition with additions was published the following year.

[*BBB*] *Being brought to his tryal he was acquitted.*] Mr Lilburne made several attempts to stave off this tryal after the day for it was fixed (126). The first attempt was in a paper, which he afterwards published with the title of, *The Innocent Man's first Proffer, directed to William Hevingham, Esq; of Hevingham in Suffolk, dated October* 20; wherein he proposes to refer the matter to two judges, one to be chosen by himself, and the other by his persecutor the Attorney-General, promising to stand to their award, provided he may have two friends to take notes of all that passed. In a postscript he protests his innocency, in respect of being a confederate with Prince Charles (as he calls him), in answer to a pamphlet lately published by

(126) These are annexed to his own edition of the trial, printed soon after. His approbation prefixed to it is dated from Southwark, November 28, 1649. Besides which attempts, he also addressed himself to Prideaux the Attorney-General in the same view, and afterwards printed the substance of it, in a discourse intitled, Strength out of Weakness.

an indictment of high-treason, after a hearing of three days, in which the facts alledged against him, notoriously and flagrantly treasonable against that government, were clearly proved,

by one Thomas May, charging him with such a confederacy. The next was in a *Petition presented October 22 to the House, by his wife and his brother Robert*, promising he should withdraw himself with his family into some foreign country, provided the money due to him from the State was given to him. This was followed the same day, by the *Innocent Man's Second Profer*, by himself; where he adds to their proposal another condition, that all such as were willing to transplant themselves with him, should be allowed that liberty, and also have all their demands of moneys in arrear from the State paid to them; and further, that such as were poor, and willing to attend him, should have some reasonable allowance of money for that end. The next in order was a *Petition*, October 23, *of the well-affected in and about the cities of London and Westminster, and parts adjacent, presenters and approvers of the late Petition of the 11th of September, &c.* This is a kind of remonstrance, declaring the Parliament's unjust proceedings in persecuting him, and averring his undoubted right to be discharged. After this, another petition was presented the same day, singly by his brother Robert, praying only a suspension of his tryal, 'till he should be able to convince him of his mistakes, or, if not, prevail with him to leave the kingdom. Last of all, Mrs Lilburne, almost distracted with the fear of losing her consort, pressed him (as did also one Mr Valentine and some other friends) to stoop as low as possibly he could to save his life, in which her's was lock'd up. Whereupon, moved by her bitter mourning and crying, and the beholding the anguish of spirit of her that had been so faithful and hazardous a *yoak-fellow to him in his above seven years sorrow*, wrung from him, with much ado, the following letter to Mr Lenthal the Speaker.

'Honoured Sir,

'As a man, being at present somewhat confounded in myself, through a strong confidence of my own innocency, having suffered above measure, but intentionally done injury unto none, and press'd under, with the importunity of friends, especially with the heart-breaking sighs of my dear but even half-distracted wife; as, when my late children lay in a most disconsolate condition (*which ended their lives*), your House did me the favour to grant me my liberty (127) to visit them, which I think was the saving of her life: so now, greater importunities lying upon me from divers, and her that is dearer unto me than many lives, I as earnestly intreat you to move your House, in the most effectual manner you can, that my tryal (so suddenly intended) may for some reasonable time be suspended, that so I may have time to hear and consider, what many of them say they have to offer by way of reason and argument, to perswade me to what at present my conscience is not convinced of. And I should likewise be desirous, if your House should judge convenient, that some competent number of gentlemen of your House might be permitted to debate with me those particulars, wherein I have appeared most to differ with other mens judgments; whereby, possibly, rational arguments may be so strongly urged, as, peradventure, may give such satisfaction, as may tend to the reconciling many differences: upon the knowledge of the acceptance of which, during all that time of suspension of tryal, I do hereby faithfully promise not in the least to disturb those that shall grant me this favour, being not so apt to make disturbance as is conceived; and herein you will exceedingly oblige,

(127) The urging of this favour, as a precedent to procure another, would, in almost any other person's life, be a distinguishing mark of confident assurance, since he made use of that favour to disperse one of the very pamphlets for which he was now indicted. See his trial, p. 79.

From the Tower of London, this 24th of Octob. 1649.

'SIR,

'Yours, to serve you,

'JOHN LILBURNE.'

When this last effort to respite the tryal was found ineffectual, this faithful wife went, at his request, amongst their friends, to try their influence upon the jury.

'Tis no wonder, that all applications proved ineffectual to avoid his tryal, since, as Lord Clarendon informs us, though Cromwell could bear ill language and reproaches with less disturbance and concernment than any person in authority had ever done; yet the persecutions Lilburne exercised him with, made him plainly discern, that it would be impossible to preserve his dignity, or to have any security in the government, if his licentiousness continued; and therefore he had set spies upon him, to observe his actions and likewise his words; and, upon advice with the Counsel at Law of the State, being confidently informed, that, as well by the old established laws, as by new ordinances, Lilburne was guilty of high-treason, and had forfeited his life, if he were prosecuted in any court of justice, he caused him to be sent to Newgate, and the next sessions to be indicted of high-treason; ordered all the Judges to be present, and the Counsel at Law to inforce the evidence, and all care to be taken for the return of such a jury, as might be fit for the importance of the cause. His Lordship then proceeds to give the following account of our author's behaviour at his tryal. 'Lilburne appeared undaunted, and, with the confidence of a man that was to play a prize before the people for their own liberty, he pleaded Not guilty, and heard all the charge and evidence against him with patience enough, save that, by interrupting the Lawyers sometimes, who prosecuted him, and by sharp answers to some questions of the Judges, he shewed, that he had no reverence for their persons, nor any submission to their authority. The whole day was spent in his tryal; and, when he came to make his defence, he mingled so much Law in his discourse *, to invalidate their authority, and to make it appear so tyrannical, that neither their lives, liberties, nor estates, were in any degree secure, whilst that usurpation was exercised; and answered all the matters objected to him with such an assurance, making them to contain nothing of high-treason, and that to be a government against which high-treason could not be committed; and telling them, that all free-born Englishmen were obliged to oppose this tyranny, as he had done heartily for their sakes, and that he had done it only for their [the Jury's] sakes, and to preserve them from slavery, contrary to his own private and worldly interest. He told them how much he had been in Cromwell's friendship, and that he might have received any benefit or preferment from him, if he would have sat still, and seen his country enslaved; which, because he would not, he was brought thither to have his life taken from him by their judgment, which he apprehended not. In short, he defended himself with that vigour, and charmed the Jury so powerfully, that, against all the directions and charge the Judges could give them (who assured them, that the words and actions fully proved against the prisoner were high-treason by the Law, and that they were bound by the all obligations of conscience to find him guilty), after no long consultation between themselves, they returned with their verdict that he was not guilty, nor could they be perswaded by the Judges to change or recede from their verdict, which infinitely angred and perplexed Cromwell; and, as this account concludes, though Lilburne was then acquitted in 1653, yet Cromwell would never suffer him to be set at liberty, as by the law he ought to have been, but sent him from prison to prison, and kept him inclosed there 'till he himself died.' Thus that noble historian, whose design herein was to shew the impotency of the protector in the height of his power: and we need not repeat the mistakes therein, which the reader will easily correct, by what he sees afterwards observed in this memoir.

* 'Tis observable, that, in the point of Law, Lilburne often quotes Lord Clarendon's speech for abolishing the Court of York; which may be seen in his article, remark [H].

After his acquittal (128), being conveyed back to the Tower under the additional guard of three companies of foot, he was attended with the loudest acclamations of the people, who made many bonfires in the city (129). And soon after his discharge he printed the tryal, prefixing thereto, by way of triumph, a print of himself at full length, standing at the Bar with Coke's Institutes in his hand, the book which he had made use of to prove that flattering doctrine, which he applied with singular address to the Jury (130), that in them alone was inherent the judicial power of the Law as well as fact. In the same print, over his head, are seen

(128) The Lord Grey of Groby, Colonel Ludlow, Mr Robinson, and Colonel Martin, were serviceable to him in procuring this discharge. Trial, p. 155.

(129) Ibid.

(130) He concludes his defence with a full reliance on his jury, as his sole judges and keepers of his life, at whose hands the Lord would require his blood, in case they left any part of his indictment to the cruel and bloody men upon the bench, above the received doctrine of those times. Ibid. p. 141.

proved, he was fully acquitted by the jury; the people present, with extraordinary acclamations of joy, testifying their approbation thereof; and he was discharged from the Tower by an order of the Council of State on the 8th of November *(fff)*. Shortly after this, having recovered his estate from Sir Arthur Haslerig [*CCC*], he undertook the management of a dispute in law, in which his uncle George Lilburne happened then to be engaged with that Baronet (*ggg*). While this cause was depending, he published a pamphlet in the beginning of August, intitled, *A just Reproof to Haberdasher's-Hall, &c.* therein charging Sir Arthur, with several base practices [*DDD*] in the proceedings thereon.

(fff) See his tryal printed shortly after under his own inspection, where the extracts from his books are produced, and the books fully proved to be of his writing and publishing.

(*ggg*) See an account of this affair in the next remark.

seen the two faces of a medal, upon one of which is inscribed the names of the Jury, and, on the other, these words: *John Lilburne, saved by the power of the Lord, and the integritie of his Jury, who are Judge of Law as well as Fact, October 26, 1649.* It is observable, that this practice of exalting the power and dignity of a Jury, was a fundamental part of the Levellers scheme; and therefore, a little before this tryal of Lilburne, we find Colonel Martin, a principal man among them, causing the Jury at Reading, after they were sworn, to put on their hats before the Judges as their right, declaring *they* were the then chief Judges in the Court, and those on the Bench inferior to them.

[*CCC*] *Having recovered his estate from Sir Arthur Haslerig.*] This Baronet, soon after the new act for treason abovementioned was passed, had stopped payment of the profits arising from the sequestrated estates, out of which his reparations had been ordered by the Parliament; but he was no sooner cleared upon his tryal, than he resolved to have satisfaction. To which purpose, meeting Sir Arthur's clerk in Channel-row, Westminster, he desired him before witness, as he loved his master's life and welfare, to tell him, that he [Lilburne] wore a good dagger by his right side, and a good rapier by his left; and if within eight days he did not send him all his money, or give him some rational satisfaction, let him look to himself; for, after the time mentioned, wherever he met him, he would pay him for all together, though he were cut in 1000 pieces on the spot. 'And, continues he, in case by 'my fair dealing with him, and telling him my in'tentions beforehand, he gets me committed to pri'son, and thereby thinks to disenable me to deal with 'him, he will be very much mistaken; for thereby 'the hand would only be changed.' Hereupon, within the time limited, he received a warrant, signed by Sir Arthur and Colonel George Fenwick, to the Treasurer of Newcastle, to pay him or his assigns about 800 pounds, which he accordingly received (131).

(131) A just Reproof to Haberdashers-Hall, p. 6.

[*DDD*] *He charged Sir Arthur with several base practices, in his piece intitled, A Just Reproof to Haberdashers Hall*] The dispute mentioned in the text, between our author's uncle George and Sir Arthur, came before the commissioners for compounding delinquents estates, of whom Sir Arthur was the chief, who sat at Haberdashers-Hall. Therefore in this piece, a state of the case is represented, together with the proceeding therein; by which it appears, that George Lilburne with others, having, in 1647, purchased of one Josiah Primate, the immediate lessee, a rich colliery (132) at Harraton near Sunderland in the bishopric of Durham, this estate was seized in 1649 by Sir Arthur Haslerig, who acted in the committee of sequestrations (133) in that county, under pretence that it belonged to one Wray, under the title of Sir John Hedworth, Knight, then proved to be a delinquent; from whom an appeal was made by Primate to the aforesaid commissioners in June 1650, and, after several delays, a petition presented to them, to bring the cause to a hearing in February following; upon which it was appointed to be heard in June 1651. In the interim, our author rode almost fourscore miles a day towards Durham, to fetch up witnesses in such weather, that the wind and hail-stones had like to have beat out both his eyes, 'one of which, says he, I 'could never since perfectly recover (134).' But the hearing being still deferred upon one pretence or other (135) by the commissioners, Mr Primate presented a petition to the Parliament, the 22 of July, praying them either to put him into possession of the said colliery, upon security given to be answerable for the profits, in case the said mines should hereafter appear to be duly sequestrable, or otherwise, that the commissioners for compounding may be commanded to hear and determine the matter, or else, in case of further delay, that Sir Arthur Haslerig, &c. may be compelled to give him good security for the profits, as well as his damages and expences, in case the said colliery be adjudged to be his [the petitioner's], or that they would permit him to take his remedy at Law against Sir Arthur, without controul by the committee of Indemnity (136). And (as the petition concludes), 'That 'you will take care to maintain the honour and digni'ty of Parliament (which doth consist in doing justice 'and right without respect of persons), by dealing 'with Sir Arthur according to his demerit, in case 'your petitioner shall fully make it appear to your ho'nours, or some of your committees, that Sir Arthur 'hath merely acted arbitrarily, and without all shadow 'of Law or Justice, in taking your petitioner's right 'and propriety from him; himself and his own pri'vate gain and interest being principally at the bot'tom of these his proceedings.' Our author herein mentions several instances, besides the proceedings in this cause, of Sir Arthur's injustice and oppression, committed without any order, ordinances, or act of Parliament, against his family and others also, and wishes the four northern counties would petition the Parliament to confiscate his suddenly and ill-gotten large estate (137), to make satisfaction to the persons injured by him; declaring, that, by making one of his tools High-Sheriff, he had got possession of their bodies and estates, and by another tool, Wols the Commissary, had made himself Archbishop of their souls, and made sure of almost all the pulpits and tythes in the country. To this purpose, in 1659, there was published University Queries; one of which was, Whether Sir Arthur Haslerig might not invert this sentence, *The zeal of thine house hath eaten me up*, into this, *my zeal hath eaten up thine house*.

(132) George Lilburne is said in this piece to clear 15 pounds a day from it. p. 18.

(133) Our author's father being a member of this committee, entered a protest against this seizure by Sir Arthur, alledging he was not legally one of the sequestrators. Ibid. p. 17.

(134) Ibid. p. 15.

(135) By affidavits of Sir Arthur's procuring, as the several occasions required, which were admitted, though frequently contradictory to each other, p. 29, 30.

(136) A committee erected for such purposes, and which held out a never-failing screen in behalf of their favourites.

(137) On the other hand, it appears from this piece, that Sir Arthur did not spare to charge the Lilburnes, our author's father and uncle, with having defrauded the state of 1200l. a year of sequestred lands, p. 52.

Some time after this just-mentioned petition, the cause was heard and judgment given by the commissioners, which occasioned Mr Primate's second petition to the Parliament, delivered by our author as abovementioned; and the consequence of that (according to his account) was, the act for his perpetual banishment. It is observed of an eminent Spanish History-Painter, that his pictures, on account of the ill-chosen cruelty of the subject, had too sanguinary and shocking a likeness. In the piece of our author now under consideration, the choice of his subject was not so free as that of the painter, being wrung from him by a sense of his own injuries, as well as those of his friends and nearest relations; but the remark is equally just, that in it he has exhibited *too lively* a representation of the extreme miseries brought upon the northern counties, through the distraction of these lawless times. We see here, in the person of Sir Arthur Haslerig, iniquity bearing down all opposition, 'till it became thoroughly established by a continued series of many formally legal processes and judgments, glorying uncontrouled, and triumphing fearlesly and shamelesly in those counties. 'Tis true, the transcendent wickedness of this Baronet is amply displayed by Lord Clarendon in many instances; but we thought it not impertinent to add another, not commonly known, wherein our author and his family were particularly concerned. There is a postscript to this piece, wherein Mr Lilburne observes truly enough, that he has not meddled therein with the Parliament, and hopes he stands now as right in their eye as any man in England, 'having, he says, 'of late done all such actions in respect and obedience 'to them, as is fitting for a wise man, or a man of 'conscience or honour, to do, to take off all their jea'lousies from him' And 'tis evident he stood very well at this time with Cromwell, who, having absolutely crushed the Levellers faction in the army in 1649 (138), had the year following, 1650, procured a new grant of some lands, to make good the residue of our author's reparations; for which favour he took an opportunity of returning his publick thanks in this piece, p. 6. And it also will appear presently, that he had some private friendly conferences with that grand antagonist about this time.

(138) Several of whom, as Lilburne remarks, were become both his proselytes and his creatures through cowardliness. Legal and Fundamental Liberties, p. 19.

[*EEE*] He

thereon. And in the further prosecution of this affair, he delivered to several members at the door of the House of Commons the same year, a petition, setting forth, that the said Baronet had overawed a Committee appointed for trying this cause, to give a false judgment contrary to the plain evidence before them (*bbb*). On the 15th of January, the Parliament gave a judgment for fining him in the sum of 7000 pound to the state, and banishing him the kingdom (*iii*), upon which he retired from London and crossed the water to Amsterdam, where he presently saw in the news-papers the act which passed on the 30th for the execution of that judgment (*kkk*). During his exile he fell into conversation with several of the royal party, before whom he spoke very freely, both against the then reigning powers in England, and in favour of the King [*EEE*]. He wrote also a paper

(*bbb*) See his Petition to the Supreme Authority for the Commonwealth of England, July 12, 1653, p. 4.

(*iii*) Our author, in the last cited piece, tells us, this act was passed purely as a punishment for his petition, but it is not improbable, that he had given some foundation for creating a jealousy, that he had favoured the King's attempt for a restoration at this time; and we find the Attorney-General observing, at Christopher Love's trial, that Lilburne had been with him in the Tower as his Counsel. See remark [*E E E*].

(*kkk*) His last cited Petition, in the same page.

[*E E E*]. *He spoke freely of the reigning powers, and in favour of the King.*] The following observations, 'tis supposed, will put this assertion beyond all reasonable doubt, and, at the same time, serve to explain the full meaning of it. In the first place, we find him frequently, in the books written by him after the King's death, declaring, it would be better for the nation to have Prince Charles seated in his father's throne, upon certain conditions to be stipulated by him, than to continue under the tyrannical proceedings of the Parliament and Army (139). Particularly in his impeachment of Cromwell and Ireton, &c. where, after the warmest exhortations to his friends to set up *the Agreement of the People* as their banner, and bravely to fight under it, but neither for the Prince nor Parliament, unless he or they gave good security for adhering firmly to those principles, he proceeds in the following terms. 'And upon such terms I doe not 'see, but you may justifiably, before God and man, 'joyne with the Prince himself, who, if we must 'have a King, I, for my part, had rather have the 'Prince than any man in the world, because of his 'large pretence of right; which, if he came not in 'by conquest by the hands of foreigners, the bare attempting of which may apparently hazard him the 'loss of all at once, by glewing together the now divided people to joyne as one man against him; but 'by the hands of Englishmen, *by contract, upon the premises aforesaid (which is easily to be done)*, the 'people will easily see, that presently thereupon they 'will enjoy this transcendent benefit, (he being at peace 'with all foreign nations, and having no regall pretended competitors) viz. the immediately disbanding 'of all armies and garrisons, saving the old cinqueports; and soe those three grand plagues of the people will cease, viz free-quarter, taxations, and excise, by means of which the people may once againe 'really say, they can enjoy something they can in 'good earnest call their own; whereas, for the present army to set up the pretended false Saint Oliver, '(or any other) as their elected King, there will be 'nothing thereby but wars, and the cutting of throats 'year after year (140).' Agreeably to this doctrine, in the informations given against him after his return home concerning this matter now before me, it appears, that he had frequent conferences with Lord Hopton, Colonel Titus, Duke of Buckingham, Sir Charles Lloyd, and others; wherein he undertook, as the examinants all agree, if they would procure him 10000 pounds, he would destroy the Commonwealth of England, and settle the King upon his throne in a few months, or he would have a piece of him nailed upon every post in Bruges [they mostly resided in that town during his exile], calling Cromwell and the Parliament a false company of rogues, and said, that if *the King would but observe what he had set down in some papers, shewing the reason why he* [Lilburne] *would not be a Cavalier, and reform but them*, he might easily do his business and sit in his chair. Here we see the restoring of the King is, by intimation, put upon the same condition as before, viz, that of his subscribing to some instrument like the agreement of the people; and, by comparing these two evidences, we may know how to supply Mr Wood, and how to understand Mr Winstanley, upon this subject. The first of whom says, he became at this time acquainted with the Duke of Buckingham, Colonel Titus, Lord Hopton, &c. (141) Mr Winstanley goes farther, and relates the negotiation, as he calls it, to restore the King, but, without taking notice of the condition annexed, declares his disbelief of the report: for, says he, *besides his own denial, I cannot conceive he should have any thought that party would trust him, especially with such a sum of money, having before declared himself so great an enemy to the late King* (142). But, as to his denial, let us see his own words, as they stand in his petition already mentioned to the House of Commons, July 12, 1653, after he was taken up and sent to Newgate, in order to his tryal for returning to England. In the conclusion of which he says, 'He hopes 'they will not be hindered, through any suspicions of 'his compliance with Charles Stuart or his party; a 'poisonous ingredient, that his adversaries have always in readiness to cast in his dish, though they 'know it to be as false as hell, and believe not themselves in this their Machiavilian report. Your petitioner, continues he, professes, as in the presence of 'the Lord, before whom he knows he must render a 'strict account of the secretest and closest of his actions, that he returned into his native country with 'no worse a resolution, to the true and universal welfare thereof, than he engaged at first in the late Parliament's quarrel against the King, and with a serious resolution to live privately and still upon his 'own, without intermeddling in any other affairs.' He also declares, in another part of the same petition, 'That, whatever liberties soever he has taken in discourse or company with any opposite party, yet he 'never in the least staggered in his fidelity to the cause 'of liberty and freedom that he first engaged in.' Whoever has dipped the least into our author's writings, and considers the nature of the condition there annexed to his promises in favour of Charles Stuart, will need no comment to shew the mental reservation couched under this seeming denial; and he must be little acquainted with the supreme vanity of Lilburne's spirit (*a*), who cannot conceive he should be capable of entertaining any thoughts, that the royal party would trust him with such a sum as 10000 pounds. Lastly, as to his declaration of enmity against the late King, his writings after the King's death, and before too, are continually stuffed with declarations of much greater enmity against the reigning powers that succeeded him, particularly calling them far greater tyrants than ever he was. Upon the whole, it must be observed, the accusation charged upon him by his enemies as to this matter was, that of being confederate with Prince Charles, to restore him to the throne upon the old establishment. This he calls setting up his absolute will and prerogative in the nation; in answer to which he declares, 'That if, to oppose all interests whatsoever, that would set up a single man or more to rule 'and govern by will and pleasure, without bounds, 'limits, checks, or controul, be sufficient cause to be 'judged a Cavalier and for Prince Charles, then must 'I ingenuously confess I am such a Cavalier, and hope 'so to die (143).' But to set the Prince upon the throne, with a power limited by his scheme of an agreement with the people, as it was not intirely inconsistent with the ground and foundation of his former professions against kingly government in general; so, surely, it cannot be inconceivable, that the height

(139) See, among others, Legal and Fundamental Liberties, p. 57. where he maintains, that no power on earth can set any change of government against Prince Charles, as being heir apparent to his father, but what is done by an *agreement of the people*, and consequently, that his right to the throne was superior to the power of the Parliament, and could not nor was not destroyed by the late act of theirs, constituting England a Commonwealth.

(140) Impeachment of Cromwell and Ireton, p. 7.

(141) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 173.

(142) Select Lives of England's Worthies, p. 520.

(143) Postscript to his letter to Mr Heveningham, October 20, five days before his trial in 1649, in answer to a late charge of Thomas May, printed at the end of the said trial often quoted.

(*a*) Among thousands of other instances, the following is a most remarkable one of this vain confidence. In his Legal and Fundamental Liberties, printed in June 1649, p. 19. complaining of some of his old friends, who were lately become Cromwell's creatures, and had published a book called *Walwyn's Wiles*, representing our author therein, as a frothy, light, giddy headed, fellow, easily deluded and drawn aside, being of no depth in himself, he proceeds thus: I am confident there is no two men in England that know me, whose consciences are more perswaded of the falsity of that their own assertion in every particular, than Mr Rozer and Master Kiffin are, if they would speak the truth from their very hearts; *the whole stream of my actions, extraordinary well known to both of them for these twelve or thirteen years together, being as a large demonstration, that I understand the things I go about.*

a paper which he called an Apology for himself, and printing it sent it in a letter to Cromwell, wherein he charged the Lord General with being the principal instrument in in procuring the just mentioned act [*FFF*]. Upon the dissolution of the long Parliament, he set all his engines at work, to obtain a pass for England [*GGG*], which proving ineffectual, he returned home without one in the beginning of June 1653, and was apprehended at London by the Lord-Mayor's warrant on the 15th (*lll*), upon which he printed a plea on the 28th, asserting the nullity of the act for his banishment, for want of a legal power in the Parliament that passed it, and being committed to Newgate in July, he sent thence a petition on the 12th to the newly erected Parliament, praying a discharge from them; but that being neglected, he was brought on the 20th of August to his trial before the sessions at the Old-Bailey; where, however, upon making the same plea as before, and moreover that he was not legally shewn, by reason of a kind of misnomer in the indictment (*mmm*), to be the person mentioned in the act, he was a second time acquitted by the jury [*HHH*]. Notwithstanding this he was shortly after conducted to

(*lll*) A postscript to the petition last cited.

(*mmm*) In the act, he was called Lieutenant-Colonel, and in the indictment, John Lilburne, late of London, Gent. He excepts also, that he was not a Lieutenant-Colonel, when the act passed, and that he was not legally convicted, having not been suffered to plead in his own defence.

of his animosity, at the time of his banishment, to his grand rival Cromwell, should carry him to propose *such* a restoration of the King to the royal party; or that the impulses of his natural vanity should raise in him a confidence of being able to effectuate the proposal, by virtue of his influence over the people. The strength of which also evidently appeared upon his tryal afterwards. But we do not find by the depositions, that the proposal was embraced by the Royalists; on the contrary, they are represented therein, arguing against the project as in no wise feasible.

[*FFF*] *A letter to Cromwell.*] The letter was as follows:

'My Lord,

'At my discourse with you in your gallery about 'five or six months ago, I had thought I had given 'your Lordship a full satisfaction in every thing that 'might remove all jealousies from you, of my disserving you in any kind; that, of all men in the Parliament, I little imagined to have found your honor to 'be the principall man to banish me into a strange 'country, where, for the safety of my life, I am 'forced to print an apology; and, because you are 'named in it, I judge it but man-like to send you a 'copy of it; and, if I had not been travelling last 'post-day, I had sent it you then; and I have also, by this post, sent to a friend three sheets of paper in writing, to communicate to your Lordship; 'the which, if you please to read them, you will 'find, that you are deeply concerned in them. I 'have no more to say to your Honour, but to desire God for you, if it be his pleasure, to make you 'speedily as righteous in actions, as you were some 'years agoe in declarations; and to take leave to say, 'I am yet as much honest John Lilburne as ever I 'was in my life, that neither loves flattery nor fears 'greatness or threatnings (144).'

(144) Winstanley, ubi supra.

[*GGG*] *He set all his engines at work to procure a pass.*] The following letter, printed with the abovementioned depositions, gives some light into this affair.

'To my dear and loving wife Mrs Elizabeth Lilburne, these, with haste to London.

'My dear Love,

'I have been, and yet am, in a lingring condition 'to hear from thee; but I confess by this post I have 'nothing to expect from thee, more than to hear that 'thou art safely got amongst our friends at London; 'where I hope your joint activity will be such (according to my full instructions to you, and my true 'friend that went with you) as that you will procure 'my expected pass so speedily, as to send it me, or a 'copy of it, with my friend's encouragement, to 'Dunkirk the next post; where, by God's assistance, 'I will be on Sunday next at night; and if it come, ''tis more than probable I may come to Dover that 'packet (or certainly send you word when, by God's 'gracious permission, I shall), for I long to see London; and if I come so suddenly, I shall leave all my 'things behind me, in the care and possession of Mr 'Lambert, for which I can either come over myself 'again or send for them. One reason that moves 'me to make the more haste is, because if I come 'over, and find things in a handsome way to my liking, I have something to say very speedily to such 'a great faithful man as I shall trust, and if I come I 'shall stay at Dover a day, or two, or three, and by 'the post let you know I am there, and expect you to 'send me a horse to Canterbury, where at the posthouse I intend to lye the first night, and shall not stir 'from thence 'till I receive a horse from you. But if 'our new Council of State or Governors * will not 'cast a favourable eye upon me, and either deny or 'delay me a passe, so that the next post I hear not of 'it, I shall take it for granted, that Major-General 'Harrison being, as I hear, one of your new Councel 'of State, is my principallest and grandest adversarie; 'and accordingly I shall onely take arise (from what I 'have been informed he said at my banishment, and 'what he said publickly at Allhallowes, when from 'Dover I sent my letter to the people that meet there) 'to write him such a letter (which already in my brain 'I have conceived) as will no way please him, let the 'issue be what it will. I have writ again to Major-General Lambert (who I hear is President of your 'new Councel), and inclosed him one of my *printed* '*epistles in Dutch and English*. I have also writ to 'Colonel Bennet, which you may read the copy of on 'the other side.

* Meaning Cromwell and his Council of Officers, who were the governors, in the interval between the dissolution of the Long-Parliament in April, and the meeting of the little one, as it is often called, in July 1653.

'Soe with my hearty and true love and affection 'presented to thee, and all my friends in the bulk, 'longing above measure to hear from thee, I commit 'thee and my poor babes (145), as my own soul, to 'the protection of the Most High, and rest thy faithful and loving husband,

'J. L.

(145) This expression shews, that he had other children after the death of the three first in 1649, as mentioned in remark [*CC*].

'I have herewith inclosed one of my printed letters, 'which I hope are before now printed at London. I have alreadie sent two copies of this 'two several waies for fear of miscarriage.

'I am in hast and can't read this over, therefore pray mend the faults, if there be 'any.'

[*HHH*] *A second time acquitted by the jury.*] This second acquittal was a more remarkable evidence of Lilburne's extraordinary interest in the people than the former, and must needs provoke Cromwell much more, since it was done evidently in contempt of his power, at a time when he was actually in full possession of the supremacy, and was formally invested therewith soon after (146). It is observable, that, at the end of our author's petition to the House of Commons 12 July, he printed an account of the proceedings before the Lord-Mayor at his commitment to Newgate. Having taken notice, that the marshal who apprehended him had declared, that he was over-awed to swear against his will, to the identity of his [Lilburne's] person, and that another evidence to it was a Scotch parson, who had been formerly committed to the Gate-House as a felon, for returning to England without a special licence, contrary to an ordinance making such return felony, he concludes, 'Therefore, Reader, judge seriously of the most blood-thirsty malice 'of the abovesaid conspirators [the Mayor and Recorder of London, and the Attorney-General, and their 'chief setters on], against poor Mr Lilburne's life, 'who, if he were the man meant in the act of banishment, it is but a poor English felon, who may expect in reason more favour than a Scotch traytor.' Here we see that irreconcilable animosity to the covenanters still subsisting in Lilburne, after Cromwell had perfectly

(146) Salmon's Chron. Hist. under the year 1653.

to Portsmouth, in order for transportation, but giving security to behave himself quietly for the future, was suffered to return [*lll*]: after which he settled at Eltham in Kent, and joining the Quakers, preached among that sect there, and sometimes at Woolwich and the places adjacent, 'till his death (*nnn*), which happened at Eltham, August 29th 1657, in the thirty-ninth year of his age. Two days after, his corps was conveyed to a house called the Mouth near Aldersgate in London, at that time the usual meeting place of the Quakers. Here it was warmly debated whether his coffin should be covered with a hearse cloth, which being carried in the negative, it was conveyed without one to the then new burial-place in Moor-Fields, near the place now called Old Bedlam, and interred there, four thousand persons attending the burial (*ooo*). The character given by Mr Wood of our author, appears from his history to be very just, That 'he was from his 'youth much addicted to contention, novelties, opposition of government, and to violent 'and bitter expressions; that growing up, he became for a time the idol of the factious 'people, being naturally a great trouble-world in all the variety of governments. That 'he grew to be a hodge-podge of religion, the chief ring-leader of the Levellers, a great 'proposal maker and modeller of state, and publisher of several seditious pamphlets.' But the remark upon him, attributed by this writer to Judge Jenkins, as spoken in a reproachful way, we are informed by Mr Rushworth, was said in Mr Lilburne's favour by his friend Sir Henry Martin: *That if there were none living but him, John would be against Lilburne, and Lilburne against John* (*ppp*). Lord Clarendon, who judged our author not unworthy of a place in a history of the civil wars, having observed that he was a person of much more considerable importance than Wildman, and that Cromwell found it absolutely necessary to his own dignity effectually to crush him, concludes his account of him in the following terms. 'This instance of a person not otherwise considerable is 'thought pertinent to be inserted, as an evidence of the temper of the nation, and how 'far the spirits at that time [1653] were from paying a submission to that power, when 'no body had the courage to lift up their hands against it.' We have taken notice in the course of this memoir, that our author likewise complains heavily of this cowardliness in general, and particularly of his party on that very account. Indeed one main design in enlarging upon this article, was to produce a large variety of instances, which may serve as a commentary to the History of the Rebellion, the plan of which would not admit of being so particular. Another principal end herein, has been to give a series of proofs not commonly known, of the infinite guile and subtlety of Cromwell, which, joined to an enthusiastic confidence that he should always accomplish his designs in every instance, carried that arch-dissembler at length through a sea of difficulties, into the full possession of a despotic supremacy.

(*nnn*) Lord Clarendon was misinformed in his account, that he was not set at liberty, but shifted from prison 'till Cromwell's death. Hist. of the Rebellion, Vol. III. p. 392. fol. first edit.

(*ooo*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 174. and Rushworth's Collections, Vol. II. p. 471.

(*ppp*) Intimating a quarrelsome disposition to be more his misfortune than his fault, as being so predominant in his nature, that it could not be resisted. Naturam expellas furca tamen usque recurret. Hor.

(*qqq*) See rem. [*DD*].

perfectly subdued the force of both parties by his subtilty, in encouraging them to dash themselves against each other, 'till both were broken in pieces, and thereby made way for himself to enter at the breach, and take full possession of the fort.

[*lll*] *Upon security for his good behaviour he was suffered to return.*] Mr Wood, from whom we have the account of this particular, does not inform us who or what was his security, his author, undoubtedly, not being able to furnish any thing certain upon that head. But, as this author appears to be Lilburne's nephew Richard, second son to his brother Robert, we have not scrupled, against the authority of Lord Clarendon (147), to insert in the text the matter of his testimony as far as it reaches. And here, in the notes, we shall venture a step further, there being sufficient grounds for raising such a conjecture concerning the particular person who gave the security mentioned, as will not, it is conceived, be obnoxious to the imputation of futility. Nay, we cannot but think that the reader, by perusing what has been already observed in the course of this memoir, is beforehand with us in pointing out the man; since he must have seen our author's brother Robert, not only concurring in general with him in his opinion of men and things, and particularly pushing his scheme of settling the government as far as he durst, and 'till he saw Cromwell absolutely resolved against it, but even (which is directly to the present purpose) carrying his affection and concern for his brother so far, as to offer to be his bail, in the view of obtaining thereby a suspension of his tryal in 1649, and afterwards constantly standing at his side to assist him therein, in an open disregard of the displeasure of the court frequently declared thereat. Add to this, on the other hand, that he appears to have been always well esteemed in the army, held at this time a considerable rank in it (148), and had particularly obliged Cromwell, by yielding, not only to have his name put into the list of the late King's Judges, but also actually sitting upon the Bench at his tryal and condemnation. Laying then all these circumstances together, can there be any reasonable doubt who was the person that averted Cromwell's wrath against our author, and saved him from transportation, and, after going through an uncommon variety of storms, tempests, and shipwrecks, settling the weather-beaten vessel in a peaceful and still harbour; where, partly through a full conviction, that all possibility of success in any further strugglings against his grand adversary was cut off, and chiefly out of a religiously affectionate regard for his entirely beloved brother who stood responsible for him, he passed the remainder of his days in perfect tranquillity, equally undisturbed by and undisturbing his triumphant competitor (149). Mr Wood informs us, that our author's family was continued in the descendants of his brother Robert; but Robert himself being tried and attainted after the Restoration, for having been one of the King's judges, whilst his father was living, the estate at Thickley devolved upon Robert's children by his wife Margaret, daughter of Henry Beke of Haddenham in Bucks, Gent. which were, 1. Robert, born anno 1650; Richard, born in 1652; Ephraim, born about 1662, &c. all which were living in 1688; and their father, the Major-General, being banished to the island of St Nicolas (150) near Plymouth, spending the remainder of his days in that confinement; and, dying there in August 1665, aged 52 years or thereat bouts, was buried, as his son Richard believed, at Plymouth (151). P

(147) Hist. of the Rebellion, &c. Vol. III. p. 393. fol. edit.

(148) He was Colonel of Horse in 1645, Governour of Newcastle the two following years, and, after the King's death, was Major-General of the North of England.

(149) 'Tis not improbable, that Cromwell might be the rather disposed to accept of the security for Lilburne's good behaviour, and set him free as an act of clemency, at his entrance on the Protectorate about this time.

(150) At his tryal he acknowledged the fact, and urged his ignorance of laws as his excuse; said he was for withdrawing the Court when the King moved it, and that on the day of the King's death he retired to his chamber and mourned for it, upon which account his life was granted. See his tryal among those of the regicides.

(151) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 174.

LILLY

LILLY [John], a writer of some fame in the XVIth century, and by many accounted one of the first reformers of the English tongue (a), was born in the Wild of Kent, about the year 1553; and at sixteen was entered of Magdalen-College Oxford, where he became either a demy or a clerk; but his genius being entirely turned to poetry, he neglected the academical studies of logic and philosophy. Yet he looked so far into them, as to qualify himself for his degrees, of which he took that of Bachelor of Arts, April 27th, 1573 (b), and that of Master, June 1st, 1575 (c); at which time, he was esteemed a noted wit in the university. How long he continued there afterwards is unknown, but he seems to complain of having received some ill treatment from that university (d), and also informs us, that he removed to Cambridge [A]. Four years after, *i. e.* in 1579, we find him a follower of the Court, and a favourite of the Great; by whose interest he was recommended to Queen Elizabeth, who honoured the performance of several of his comedies with her presence [B]. The first thing he offered to the publick, was a work divided into two parts, one called *Euphues*, the other *Euphues and his England*; in each of which, he describes the duties, and points out the errors, of the parent, the child, the student, the traveller, the philosopher, the divine, the courtier, and the contemplative or retired man; not forgetting the ladies, against whose follies and vices he is very severe, as he also is on the manners practised in the universities during his time, taking the more liberty in his satire, as he lays the scene of his discourse against the former in Italy, and against the latter in Athens [C]. He afterwards published nine plays:

(a) Gildon's Lives, &c. of the English Dramatic Poets, p. 87. Ger Langbaine, p. 327. edit. 1681.

(b) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 295. No. 338. 2d edit. 1721.

(c) Id. ibid. Fasti, col. 108 and 111.

(d) Epistle to the Gentlemen Scholars of Oxford, placed before our author's Euphues. Lond. 1681, 8vo.

[A] *Removed to Cambridge.*] This is in a discourse called *Euphues Glass for Europe* (1); where, giving a description of England, he expresses himself in these terms: ' There are also in this island two famous universities, the one Oxforde, the other Cambridge, ' both, for the profession of all sciences, for Divinity, ' Physic, Law, and all kind of learning, excelling all ' the universities in Christendome. *I was myself*, says ' he, *in eyther of them*, and lyke them both so well, ' that I meane not in the way of controversie to preferre any for the better in England, but both for the ' best in the world; saving this, that colledges in ' Oxenforde are much more stately for the building, ' and Cambridge much more sumptuous for the houses ' in the towne; but the learning neither lyeth in the ' free stones of the one, nor the fine streates of the ' other; for out of them both do dayly proceede men ' of greate wisdome, to rule in the Commonwealth, ' of learning to instruct the common people, of all ' singuler kind of professions to do good to all. And ' let this suffice, not to enquire which of them is superior, but that neither of them have their equall; ' neither to aske which of them is the most auncient, ' but whether any other be so famous.' This encomium seems to be wrote, in order to obviate the charge made against him, that in his first part he had abused the university of Oxford; which accusation he has taken some pains to clear himself from, in a prefatory epistle, prefixed to the second edition of that part, published in 1580 (2).

The abuse thrown upon Oxford, to which Cambridge is joined also, is, in the following passage of his discourse on education, called Euphues and his Ephæbus. ' I have read, says he, of many universities, as of Padua in Italy, Paris in France, Wittenberge in Germany, in England Oxford and Cambridge; which, if they were half so ill as Athens, ' they were too too badde, and as I have heard, as ' they be, they be starke naught. But I can speak ' the less against them, for that I was never in them; ' yet can I not chuse but be aggrieved, that by report ' I am enforced rather to accuse them of vanitie, than ' excuse them any way. Ah! Gentlemen, what is to ' be looked for; nay, what is not to be feared, when ' the temple of Vesta, where virgins should live, is ' like the stewes fraught with strumpetes; when the ' altar, where nothing but sanctitie and holynesse ' should be used, is polluted with uncleanness; when ' the universities of Christendom, which should be the ' eyes, the lights, the leaven, the salt, the seasoning, ' of the worlde, are dimmed with blind concupiscence ' put out with pride, and have lost their favour with ' impietie.' This, and some other strokes preceding, gained him that ill will, of which he complains heartily in the second edition of this part (3). Our author compliments Queen Elizabeth highly through all his works, but gives as little quarter to the court as he does to the universities.

[B] *Honoured the performance of several of his comedies with her presence.*] Six of the nine he wrote were played before her Majesty at several festivals, but the years of performance are not mentioned (4).

(1) Euphues and his England, p. 110, 111.

(2) The title at length is, Euphues. The Anatomy of Wit, very pleasant for all Gentlemen to read, and most necessary to remember. Wherein are contained, the delights that wit followeth in his youth, by the pleasantnesse of love, and the happiness he reapeth in age by the perfectnesse of wisdom.

(3) Both parts were first published in 1580, and again in 1606, 1623, 1630, and 1632.

(4) Blount's edition of Six Court Comedies, &c. 12mo. 1632. Langbaine's Account of Dramatic Poets, 1681, 8vo. p. 328, 329, 330. Gildon's Continuation of Langbaine, p. 87.

[C] *As he lays the scene of his discourse against the former in Italy, and against the latter in Athens.*] Euphues is feigned to be a young Athenian of great beauty, rank, wit, and fortune, with a rambling head and an amorous heart. Thus set forth, he sends him to Naples; where he makes him rival his friend Philautus, by falling in love with a coquettish jilt, who, after she has drained his purse and wasted his time, forsakes him: on which he takes occasion to inveigh very severely against the ladies, and resolves to renounce all society with them, in order to pursue his studies. But apprehending he may have given too great a scope to his anger, he closes the invective, which he calls *a cooling card for Philautus, and all fond lovers*, thus: ' And yet, Philautus, I would not ' that all women should take pepper in the nose, in ' that I have disclosed the legerdemains of a few; for ' well I know, none will wynch except she be gawlded, neither any bee offended unless shee bee guiltie. ' Therefore I earnestly desire thee, that thou shew ' this cooling card unto *none*, except thou shew also ' this my defence unto *them all*. For although I ' weigh nothing the *ill will* of *light houswives*, yet ' would I be loth to lose the *good will* of *honest matrons* (5).' And, not satisfied with this, he addresses a deprecatory discourse to the grave matrons and honest maidens of Italy, by which he means England, as under Naples he gives a picture of London; which discourse is here offered to the reader, who may from thence form a judgment how well our anthor was entitled to the honour of being a reformer of our language, and what was esteemed wit by our ancestors a hundred and eighty years ago.

(5) Euphues, p. 46.

' Gentlewomen,

' Because I would neither be mistaken of purpose, ' neither construed of malice; least either the simple ' should suspect me of folly, or the subtile condemn ' me of blasphemie against the noble sexe of women, ' I thought good that this my faith should be set ' downe, to find favour with the one and confute the ' cavils of the other. Believe me, Gentlewomen, although I have bene bolde to invay against many, ' yet am I not so brutish to envy them all; though I ' seem not so *gamesome* as Aristippus to play with Laïs, ' yet am I not so dogged as Diogenes to abhor all ladies; neither would I you should think me so *foolish* ' (although of late I have bene very *fantastical*), that ' for the light behaviour of a *few*, I should call in ' question the demeanor of *all*. I know, that as ' there hath bene an *unchast* Helen in Greece, so there ' hath bene also a *chast* Penelope; as there hath bene ' a prodigious Pasiphaë, so there hath bene a godly ' Theocrita; though many have desired to be loved ' as Jupiter loved Alcmæna, yet some have wished to ' be imbraced as Phrygius imbraced Pieria: as there ' hath reigned a wicked Jezabel, so hath there ruled a ' devout Deborah; though many have bene as fickle ' as Lucilla, yet hath there bene many as faithful as ' Lucretia. Whatsoever therefore I have spoken of ' the splene against the flights and subtileties of women, I hope there is none will mislike it if she be

' *honest*

plays: 1. Endimion, 2. Campaspe, played before the Queen on twelfth-night, by her Majesties children, and the children of Paul's. It was also performed in Black-Fryers. 3. Sapho and Phao, played before the Queen on shrove-tuesday, by the same children. 4. Gallathea, played before the Queen on new-year's-day, at Greenwich, by the children of Paul's. 5. Mydas, played before the Queen on twelfth-night, by the children of Paul's, in the singing school there. 6. Motha Bombie. These were all printed together in twelves 1632, by Mr Edward Blount (*e*), under the following title: Six Court Comedies, often presented and acted before Queen Elizabeth, &c. written by the only rare poet of that time, the wittie, comical, facetiously-quick, and unparalleled John Lilly, Master of Arts. *Decies repetita placebit.* Lond. printed by William Stansby, for Edward Blount [*D*]. 7. Maid's Metamorphosis, a comedy, the first act entirely wrote in verse, and great part of the other four (*f*), Lond. 4to, 1600. 8. Love's Metamorphosis, a Pastoral, 4to, 1601. 9. Woman in the Moon. It has been said also, that he writ some of the answers to John Penry, *alias* Martin Marprelate's libels (*g*), but they are not known particularly, nor is there any account of any other works than the abovementioned left by our author, nor of any transactions of his life, further than that he seems to hint (*h*), that he was ten years a public reader in one of the universities; which must have been Cambridge, from the silence of Mr Wood, who says he knows not where our author spent his life, nor when he died, only he is pretty sure he was in being in 1597, when the last comedy was published (*i*).

(*e*) Wood, in his Ath. Oxon. col. 296. by mistake calls him Henry Blount, Esq;

(*f*) Langbaine, p. 329.

(*g*) Ath. Oxon. ubi supra.

(*h*) Euphues, p. 65.

(*i*) Ath. Oxon. ubi supra.

'*honest*, neither care I if any doe if she be an *harlot*. 'The *sower crab* hath the shew of an apple, as well 'as the *sweet pippin*; the *black raven* the shape of a 'bird, as well as the *white swan*; the *lewd wight* 'the name of a woman, as well as the *honest matrone*. 'There is great difference betweene the *standing puddle* and the *running stream*, yet both water; great 'odds between the *adamant* and the *pommice*, yet 'both stones; a great distinction to be put betweene '*vitrum* and the *chrystall*, yet both glass; great contrarietie betweene *Lais* and *Lucretia*, yet both women. Seeing, therefore, one may love the clear 'conduit water, though he loth the muddy ditch; 'and wear the precious diamond, though he despise 'the ragged brick; I think one may also with safe 'conscience reverence the modest sexe of honest maydens, though he forsweare the lewd sort of unchast 'minions. Ulysses, though he detested Calypso with 'her sugred voice, yet he embraced Penelope with 'her rude distaff. Though Euphues abhor the beautie of Lucilla, yet will he not abstain from the companie of a grave maiden. Though the tears of the 'harte be salte, yet the tears of the bore be sweet; 'though the tears of some women be counterfeit to 'deceive, yet the tears of many be currant to trie 'their love. I, for my part, will honour those always that be honest, and worship them in my life, 'whom I shall know to be worthy in their living: 'neither can I promise such precisenesse, that I shall 'never be caught again with the baite of beautie; 'for although the falsehood of Lucilla have caused 'me to forsake my wonted dotage, yet the faith of 'some lady may cause me once again to fall into mine 'olde disease. For, as the fire-stone in Liguria, tho' 'it be quenched with milke, yet againe is kindled 'with water; or the roote of Anchusia, though it be 'hardened with water, yet it is againe made soft with 'oyle; so the heart of Euphues, inflamed earst with 'love, although it be cooled with the deceipts of Lucilla, yet will it again flame with the loyaltie of 'some honest lady; and though it be hardened with 'the water of wilinesse, yet will it be mollified with 'the oyle of wisedome. I presume, therefore, so 'much upon the discretion of you, Gentlewomen, 'that you will not think the worse of me, in that I 'have thought so ill of some women, or love me the 'worse, in that I loathe some so much. For this is 'my faith, that some one rose will be blasted in the 'bud, some other never fall from the stalk; that the 'oak will soon be eaten with the worm, the walnut-tree never; that some women will easily be enticed 'to folly, some other never allured to vanity: you 'ought therefore no more to be aggrieved with that 'which I have said, than the mint-master to see the 'coyner hanged, or the true subject the false traytour 'arraigned, or the honest man the thief condemned.

'And so farewell (6).'

(6) Euphues, edit. 1680, 8vo. p. 47, 48.

[*D*] *Printed by William Stansby for Edward Blount.*] The editor dedicates this edition to the Right Honourable Richard, Viscount Lumley of Waterford, in the following peculiar stile.

'My noble Lord,

'It can be no dishonor to listen to this poet's musike, whose tunes alighted in the eares of a great and 'ever famous Queen; his invention was so curiously 'strung, that Elizaes court held his notes in admiration. Light ayres are now in fashion; and these 'being not sad, fit the season, though, perchance, 'not sute so well with your more serious contemplations The spring is at hand, and therefore I present you a lilly, growing in a grove of lawrells. For 'this poet sat at the sunnes table: Apollo gave him a 'wreath of his own bayes, without snatching. I am, 'my Lord, no executor, yet I presume to distribute 'the goods of the dead, their value being no way answerable to the debts of dutie and affection, in which 'I stand obliged to your Lordship. The greatest 'treasure our poet left behind him are these ingots of 'refined invention, richer than gold; were they diamonds they are now yours. Accept them, noble 'Lord, in part, and me, Your Lpps. &c.' To this dedication is added an epistle to the reader; wherein he observes, the poet *was heard, graced, and rewarded, by Queen Elizabeth*; and that those plays are published to prevent *oblivion, from trampling on such a son of the Muses, as they called their darling.* He further says, *The nation is indebted to our author for a new English, which he taught them in his* Euphues; that *all the ladies of that time were his scholars; she who spoke not Euphueism, being as little regarded at Court as if she could not speak French.* There is a remarkable confirmation of this in Ben. Jonson's *Every Man out of his Humour* (7); where, Deliro's wife Fallace, a proud mincing peat, is supposed to dote upon Fastidius Brisk, a spruce affected courtier. The gallant being thrown into the counter, is visited there by Fallace, who closes other expressions of her love with this. O! Master Brisk, as 'tis in Euphues, *hard is the choice, when one is compelled, either by silence to die with grief, or by speaking to live with shame.* Upon this passage Mr Whalley (8) has the following note: 'Euphues is the 'title of a romance, wrote by one Lilly, that was in 'the highest vogue at this time; the Court-ladies had 'all the phrases by heart. The language is extremely 'affected, and, like the specimen here quoted, consists 'chiefly of antitheses in the thought and expression.' However, there are many excellent moral precepts and pertinent observations scattered thro' the work. Z

(7) Act V. scene x.

(8) The Editor of Ben. Jonson's Works, in seven vols. 8vo. Lond. 1756.

LILLY [WILLIAM], the famous Aſtrologer, was the ſon of William Lilly, and Alice, daughter of Edward Barham of Fiſkerton Mills, near Newark upon Trent, in the county of Nottingham; and grandſon of Robert Lilly, and Jane, daughter of —— Poole of Dalby in Leiceſterſhire; whoſe ſon Henry, as one of the Knights of Rhodes, was in that iſland when it was beſieged and conquered by the Turks, under the command of Solyman the Magnificent (*a*). Our author was born on the firſt of May, 1602, at Diſeworth in Liceſterſhire [*A*], and in 1613, was ſent to receive inſtructions under Mr John Brinſley (*b*), a teacher of Grammar at Aſhby de la Zouch, where he continued ſome time; but his father being in narrow circumſtances, and too much involved in debt to ſupport the expence of a liberal education for his ſon, he was obliged to quit that ſchool, and in the month of April 1620, ſet out for London, where he was ſervant for ſome time, to a woman's taylor, or mantua-maker, in the pariſh of St Clement-Danes (*c*). In 1624, leaving that place he went to another, under Mr Gilbert Wright, Maſter of the Salter's company, who lived in the Strand, and not being able to write, employed our youth (amongſt other domeſtic offices) to keep his accounts (*d*). He dying on the 27th of May, 1627, his ſervant Lilly made his addreſſes to, and the 8th of September following married, the widow, who brought him about 1000 pounds [*B*]. Being now eaſy in his fortune, and perfect maſter of his time, he frequented ſermons and lectures, and joined the Puritan party, at leaſt in inclination (*e*); which afterwards broke out with great animoſity in all his writings. Five years after, i. e. in 1632, he began to apply to the ſtudy of [judicial] Aſtrology, under one Evans a clergyman; who had been forced to quit a curacy he had in Leiceſterſhire, on account of his practiſing ſome frauds in that ſcience, under pretence of diſcovering loſt and ſtolen goods, and retire to London; where he lived in Gunpowder-Alley (*f*), when Mr Lilly firſt became his pupil; which he does not ſeem to have continued long, ſince he tells us in his own life (*g*), that in ſeven or eight weeks, he perfectly underſtood how to ſet a figure [*C*]. In 1633 he buried his firſt wife, and in November 1634, married a ſecond, *who was* (as he expreſſes it) *of the temper of Mars* (*h*): Before he made this ſecond match, by which he acquired an addition of 500 pounds to his fortune [*D*], he had purchaſed a moiety of an eſtate in the Strand, conſiſting of thirteen houſes, and had for upwards of a year, applied himſelf very diligently to the ſtudy of Aſtrology (*i*) [*E*]. In the winter of this year (1634), Mr Lilly was applied to by David Ramſey, the King's clock-maker, to aſſiſt, together with one John Scott (who underſtood the uſe of the Moſaical or Miners rods) in the diſcovery of treaſure ſuppoſed to be buried in the cloyſter of Weſtminſter-Abbey: to which conſenting, he, Ramſey and Scott, with ſeveral gentlemen, and others, to the number of thirty or more, one night entered the cloyſters [*F*], and applied the hazel rods; which beginning to tumble over one another on the weſt ſide of the cloyſters, convinced the ſearchers, the treaſure lay concealed under that ſpot. On this, they fell to digging, and at about ſix foot depth from the ſurface, found a coffin, which, on poiſing, they thought was not heavy enough to anſwer their purpoſe, and therefore did not open it: *which* (ſays our author) *we afterwards much repented* (*k*). From the cloyſters they proceeded to the abbey on the ſame purſuit; but here they were alarmed by a ſtorm, which aroſe ſuddenly, and increaſed to ſuch a degree of violence, that they were afraid the weſt end of the abbey would have been blown down upon them; and being all heartily frighted, they quitted their deſign, and returned to their ſeveral lodgings, where they arrived about twelve o'clock at night, but Mr Lilly had firſt by his art (as he ſays) laid the ſtorm [*G*]. From May 1636 'till September

(*a*) Mr William Lilly's Hiſtory of his Life and Times, from 1602 to 1681, &c. ſecond edit. London, 1715, p. 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5.

(*b*) Id. ibid.

(*c*) Merlini Anglici Errata, by Capt. George Wharton, 1647. Vid. Works of Sir George Wharton, Bart, collected into one entire volume, by John Gadbury, Student in Phyſick and Aſtrology. Lond. 1683, p. 309.

(*d*) Lilly's Life, p. 7, 8, 9.

(*e*) Idem, p. 20.

(*f*) Id. ibid. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 579. No. 668. Evans was firſt of Oxford and afterwards of Cambridge. Id. ibid.

(*g*) Id. p. 21.

(*h*) Lilly's Life, p. 32.

(*i*) Id. ibid. and p. 33, 34.

(*k*) Lilly's Life, p. 32, 33.

[*A*] *At Diſeworth in Leiceſterſhire.*] A village in the pariſh of Lockington, near Caſtle-Donington.

[*B*] *Brought him about* 1000 *pounds.*] Captain Wharton ſays, this laſt maſter was a Scrivener; adding, 'He dying, your miſtreſs firſt taught you to 'write ſecretary (1).'

[*C*] *Perfectly underſtood how to ſet a figure.*] Sir George Wharton, in his tract called *Bellum Hybernicale*, or *Ireland's War*, wrote in 1646, in anſwer to a pamphlet of Mr John Booker's, entitled, *A Bloody Iriſh Almanack, &c.* ſpeaking to Booker, has theſe words. 'And are not you and Mr Lilly alike aſhamed, to account yourſelves maſters in Aſtrology, 'when I have made it appear, that neither of you 'have yet attained ſo much ſkill as to ſet a figure of 'heaven exactly (2)?' And, whatever aſtrological knowledge our author [Lilly] might poſſeſs, he certainly greatly impeaches his own judgment, when he talks of having learned and uſed certain prayers, to the ſeveral angels who inſtruct men in the liberal ſciences, whoſe names and pictures he met with in a book called *Ars notoria*, which a ſcholar pawned to him for forty ſhillings (3).

[*D*] *An addition of* 500 *pounds to his fortune.*] But he ſays (ſpeaking of her death) ſhe and her poor relations ſpent him a thouſand pounds (4).

[*E*] *To the ſtudy of Aſtrology.*] In 1633 he gave the publick the firſt ſpecimen of his aſtrologic ſkill, in an intimation, that the King had choſen an unlucky horoſcope for his coronation in Scotland that year, which was performed there, as Mr Lilly expreſſes it, on the 18th of June, ☉ in 7°. ♋, ☽ in 7°. ♈; i. e. The ſun in the ſeventh degree of Cancer; the moon in the ſeventh degree of Aries; and pretends to confirm this judgment by the loſs of ſome houſhold-ſtuff or plate (where it is to be obſerved our prophet could not tell which) belonging to the King, and his Majeſty's narrow eſcape from drowning in his paſſage from Brunt-iſland.

[*F*] *One night entered the cloyſters.*] Ramſey, having received information that there was a great treaſure buried ſomewhere in the cloyſters, applied to Dr Williams Biſhop of Lincoln, and then Dean of Weſtminſter, for leave to ſearch for the ſame; which the Dean readily granted, on condition his church might come in for a ſhare of what was found (5).

[*G*] *As he ſays, laid the ſtorm.*] His own words are theſe: 'Our rods (when in the abbey) would not move 'at all; the candles and torches, all but one, were 'extinguiſhed, or burned very dimly; John Scot, my 'partner, was amazed, looked pale, knew not what 'to think or do, *until I gave directions and command 'to diſmiſs the dæmons*; which, when done, all was 'quiet again (6).' This paſſage proves our author either very ignorant, or extremely artful: and Captain Wharton frequently ſtiles him and Booker, *ſpurii, non veri, filii artis* (7); and ſometimes even charges them both with impoſture, as did ſome other contemporary writers

(1) Merlini Anglici Errata, ubi ſupra.

(2) Gadbury's edit. of Wharton's Works, p. 239.

(3) Lilly's Life, p. 31, 32.

(4) Id. p. 73.

(5) Id. ibid.

(6) Id. p. 33.

(7) Merlinus Anglicus Junior, 1647. Wharton Merlini Anglici Errata, p. 300.

tember 1641, our author lived at a place called Hersham, in the parish of Walton upon Thames, in the county of Surry; from whence he returned to London, and there pursued the study of Astrology, during the years 1642 and 1643, in which latter, he contracted his first intimacy with Bulstrode Whitelocke, Esq; who from thence forward took him under his patronage, and proved a very serviceable friend (*l*). In the year 1644, he commenced author, by publishing in April that year, his first Ephemeris or Almanack, under the title of, *Merlinus Anglicus Junior*; the first edition of which, was sold off in a week, though much mangled by the then licencer of mathematical books, John Booker (*m*); of whose behaviour on that occasion, our author complained to several members of Parliament, when he presented them with the book, and by that means obtained leave to print the second edition, as he himself would have it (*n*) [*H*]. Although he seems to hint, the first impression was owing meerly to the accident of Mr Whitelocke's reading the manuscript copy he had presented him with, openly in the House, before the Speaker took the chair, by which means several persons saw it, and got copies; which the author being informed of, applied to Booker, for a licence to print it (*o*). In the year 1644, three suns were seen at London, on the 29th of May *, Prince Charles's birth-day, of which our author pretended to give an interpretation, in his treatise called, *The Starry Messenger*; together with an astrological judgment concerning the effects of a solar eclipse, which was to happen on the 11th of August, 1645; in which he answered Captain Wharton's gentle reproof to him, for having meddled with the King's nativity (*p*), with a good deal of asperity, though he had but twelve hours to do it in. This brought on a paper war between them: Fourteen days after the above work was published (which it was on the same day the King lost the battle of Naseby) our author was taken into custody for it, by order of Mr Miles Corbet, (who was afterwards one of the King's judges) on a complaint made to the Committee of Examinations, against that, and his Merlinus Anglicus for the same year, both which, were said to contain several scandalous passages, against the then commissioners of the excise in London. Mr Corbet, on the examination, endeavoured to support the charge, from two passages in the *Merlinus*; but the first was agreed by all the Committee not at all to relate to the commissioners, but only to their under officers; and Mr Corbet, in the second, reading *will not the* eclipse, for *will not the* excise *pay the soldiers?* turned the laugh upon, and entirely silenced him. The sollicitor for the excise, then, endeavoured to shew that, the excise office had been burnt, and the commissioners personally insulted, by pulling them by their cloaks upon the Exchange, since the publication of *The Starry Messenger*, both which, he would have made that book the cause of: but upon searching into the affair, it was found both these accidents had happened twelve days before the book was printed, whereupon Mr Lilly was discharged out of custody, without paying any fees (*q*). During the contests between the Independent party who governed the army, and the Presbyterians who ruled in the Parliament, in 1647, which ran high enough to draw the army so near London as Windsor; our author says, he and Booker were carried thither, and had an audience of General Fairfax (*r*), which ended only in a kind of mutual compliments, the General hoping, and they assuring him, their art was lawful [*I*]. About July or August the same year, the King, (who

(*l*) Lilly's Life, p. 35.

(*m*) John Booker was born anno 1601, at Manchester in the county of Lancaster; where he made a very good proficiency in the Latin language, and was afterwards bound apprentice to an Haberdasher in Lawrence-lane, London; but having in his youth imbibed a strong propensity to Astrology, he left trade to pursue that study, and for some time taught to write in Hadley-school. He was afterwards clerk to two Justices of Peace, Sir Christopher Cuthero and Sir HughHamersley, both Aldermen of London. He published many tracts, and dying at London in April 1667, was buried in the church of St James Duke's-Place, near Aldgate, and had a marble stone, with an inscription, placed over his grave by Elias Ashmole, Esq; Vid. Lilly's Life, p. 28, 45. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 147. second edit. and Ashmole's Diary, p. 44.

(*n*) Lilly's Life, p. 43, 44, 45.

(*o*) Id. ibid.

* Capt. Wharton says, this appearance was on the 19th of November. Gesta Britannorum, p. 446. col. 2. Gadbury's edit.

(*p*) Astrological Judgment on his Majesty's march from Oxford, 7 May, 1645. Vid. Gadbury's edit. p. 209. in which that author observes, that it is both unlawful and very dangerous to publish any thing concerning the particular fortunes and destinies of princes; and mentions some, who, he says, had (for so doing) been worthily rewarded for their folly. 'So (says he) ought Master Lilly and Master Booker to be for their pernicious pamphlets.' Id. ibid. in the preface to the reader.

(*q*) Lilly's Life, p. 46 ad 48.

(*r*) Id. p. 57.

writers, as will be seen hereafter. And that he [Lilly] affected to be thought something more than a mere Judicial Astrologer, is pretty plain from the following words in his *Merlinus Anglicus* for the year 1647. 'If we run a strain above Astrology, the hermetical 'learning will tell us, that the angels, Samael and 'Malchidael, are the intelligences or presiding angels 'of the English Commonwealth and kingdom.'

[*H*] *As he himself would have it.*] In June following, he also published his *Supernatural Sight*; and the same year the *White King's Prophecy*; and *England's prophetical Merlin*; of the second of these he says, there were 1800 sold in three days (8) (though then there was no commentary on it); and is very angry with *the dull Stationer* (as he calls him) for not having been at the expence of cutting *the icon or form of that prodigious apparition*, which gave birth to the treatise on supernatural sight, so exactly as he (the author) had drawn it. In his Almanack for 1645, he calculated the King's nativity, and pronounced, that, if their party fought in June, at which time his Majesty's ascendant approached the quadrature of Mars, a victory would steal upon them; which ambiguous phrase, in the event, proved very unlucky to King Charles, who, in that month and year, lost Naseby Field, being the greatest overthrow he had received, and which gave a blow to his affairs, that could never afterwards be recovered. The same year was published his *Starry Messenger*; and the next (1646), his *Collection of Prophecies*; a comment on the *White King's Prophecy*; and the *Nativities of Archbishop Laud and Thomas Earl of Strafford*. And the same year he begun a work called *Christian Astrology*, but did not finish it 'till 1647; in which year he finished his *third book of Nativities*, and also published *the World's Catastrophy*; the *Prophecies of Ambrose Merlin*, with a key to them; and *Trithemius of the Government of the World by the presiding Angels*. These were all printed together in one volume, the two first pieces being translated into English by Elias Ashmole, Esq; a great friend to our author and to Mr Booker (9). In 1648, he printed a treatise on the *three Suns* which were seen the winter before, together with an astrological judgment on the conjunction of Saturn and Mars that year, on June 28, in eleven degrees eight minutes of Gemini; and, that year and the following, read public lectures on his *Introduction to Christian Astrology*, for the improvement of young proficients in that study. In 1651, he published his work called *Monarchy or no Monarchy*; and, in 1652, *Annus Tenebrosus*, or *the Black Year*.

(8) Id. ibid.

(9) Id. p. 55, 56, 59.

[*I*] *Assuring him their art was lawful.*] The General, after mentioning the many victories the army had lately gained, but that their work was not yet accomplished; and affirming the soldiery only laboured to procure the general welfare of the nation, and were resolved to sacrifice their lives and fortunes to obtain that end, added, 'As for the art they studied, he hoped it was lawful and agreeable to God's word; 'that he understood it not, but doubted not but they 'both feared God, and therefore had a good opinion 'of them both.' To which Mr Lilly (after some compliments paid to the General, replied, 'Sir, as 'for ourselves, we trust in God, and as Christians believe in him. We do not study any art, but what is 'lawful and consonant to the Scriptures, Fathers, and 'Antiquity, which we humbly desire you to believe '(10).' From this and another passage in our author, where, speaking of printing his first *English Merlin*, he

(10) Id. p. 57.

(who was at Hampton-Court) in hopes the diviſion between the Parliament and Army, might produce ſome turn in his favour, eſpecially as the city of London had declared againſt the army, and had even gone ſo far, as to obtain a vote that his Majeſty might return to London [*K*], had framed ſome thoughts of eſcaping from the ſoldiery, and obſcuring himſelf ſome where near that city: whereupon, one Madam Whorewood came
(*s*) Id. p. 60. to Mr Lilly (with the King's conſent, as he ſays) (*s*), to know in what quarter of the nation his Majeſty might be ſafely concealed, 'till he thought proper to diſcover himſelf. Our author, *after erection of his figure*, told her, he was certain he might continue undiſcovered, if he retired into ſome part of Eſſex, about twenty miles from London, in which county, and at about that diſtance, the lady recollected a houſe fit for his Majeſty's reception; but this project was rendered abortive, by the King's unexpectedly quitting Hampton-Court [*L*]. Our author adds, that while the King was at that place, Alderman Adams ſent him 1000 pounds in gold, 500 pounds whereof, was given to Mrs Whorewood, and thinks he had twenty pieces of that very gold, to reward him for his
(*t*) Id. ibid. trouble (*t*). He was again applied to by the ſame lady, in 1648, to aſſiſt the King in his eſcape from Cariſbrook-caſtle; which he complied with, and procured one G. Farmer, a lock-ſmith, in Bow-lane, to make a ſaw to cut the iron bars of the King's window, and alſo furniſhed her with ſome *aqua fortis*, both which were conveyed to the King; who made ſuch uſe of them, that he ſoon gained a paſſage through the bars for
(*u*) Lilly's Life, p. 61. his body (*u*), but was by ſome accident prevented from making his eſcape [*M*]. Mrs Whorewood came again to our author ſtill, as he ſays, by the King's conſent (*w*), to know
(*w*) Id. p. 62, 63. the iſſue of the propoſitions which were to be offered to his Majeſty from the Parliament, and how he ſhould behave in that conjuncture: that on conſulting his figure, he named the day the commiſſioners would arrive in the iſland, and elected another day and hour, *when to receive the commiſſioners and propoſitions*; *and adviſed, as ſoon as the propoſitions were read to ſign them, and make haſte with all ſpeed to come up with the commiſſioners to London, the army being then far diſtant from London, and the city enraged ſtoutly againſt them*; inſinuating, if theſe directions were obſerved, the event would prove favourable: and this, continues he (the King) *promiſed to do.* he adds, the commiſſioners arrived as he had
(*x*) Id ibid. foretold (*x*), but the King entering into a conference with the Lord Say, neglected to purſue his inſtructions [*N*]. Whilſt our author was thus ſerviceable to the King's deſigns, he was no leſs ſo to thoſe of the oppoſite party; from whom he received this year a preſent of 50 pounds in caſh, and an order for a penſion of 100 pounds *per annum*; he obtained this from the council of ſtate, for furniſhing them with *perfect knowledge of the chiefeſt concernments of France*; which our author acquired, by means of a ſecular prieſt, with whom he had formerly been acquainted, and who now, was confeſſor to one of the French ſecretaries in France: but the penſion was thrown up two years after, in diſguſt, becauſe Walter Froſt, ſecretary, *and a principal miniſter in the Council of State*, gave our author

he ſays, 'He delivered it (the copy) to the Printer, 'who being an Arch-Preſbyterian, had five of their 'miniſtry to inſpect it, who could make nothing of it, 'but ſaid it might be printed, for in that I (the au-
(11) Id. p. 44. 'thor) meddled not with their *Dagon* (11).' From theſe paſſages I think it is pretty plain, Mr Lilly joined with the Independents.

[*K*] *That his Majeſty might return to London.*] On the 26th of July, a great number of young men and apprentices, ſpirited up and encouraged by the leading Preſbyterians in the Houſe, the Common-Council of the city of London, and Sir William Waller, Poyntz, and Maſſey, formerly commanders for the Parliament, but now laid aſide, came to the Houſe, and tumultuouſly obliged them to come to ſeveral reſolutions, and amongſt them the abovementioned for the return of
(12) Rapin, Vol. II. p. 534. col. 2. the King (12).

[*L*] *By the King's unexpectedly quitting Hampton-Court.*] This event is thus deſcribed by our author. 'Away ſhe (Mrs Whorewood) went, early next morning, unto Hampton Court, to acquaint his Majeſty. 'But ſee the misfortune: he, either guided by his 'own approaching hard fate, or miſguided by Aſhburnham, went away in the night-time *weſtward*, 'and ſurrendered himſelf to Hammond in the Iſle of 'Wight.'

[*M*] *Prevented from making his eſcape*] Mr Lilly ſays, that, when the King had got out to his breaſt (heels foremoſt) his heart failed him: but the tradition at Cariſbrook is, that his Majeſty did actually get out, and walked backwards and forwards on a bank under the window ſome time, in expectation of thoſe concerned in conveying him off; but they not coming, and the moon beginning to riſe, he attempted to get in again, but was diſcovered by a centinel.

[*N*] *But the King entering into a conference with the Lord Say, neglected to purſue his inſtructions.*] Mr Lilly's words are theſe. 'That night the commiſſioners came, and old Say and his Majeſty had private 'conference 'till one in the morning. The King acquaints Say with his intention, who clearly diſſuaded 'him from ſigning the propoſitions.—This occaſioned 'his Majeſty to wave the advice I and ſome others 'that wiſhed his proſperity had given, in expectation 'of that which afterwards could never be gained.' This treaty was held at Newport in the Iſle of Wight, on the 18th of September 1648 (13). The King's (13) Whitelocke, p. 334. Rapin, Vol. II. p. 561. note (3).
attempt to eſcape, though mentioned by our author as immediately preceding this treaty, was in December 1647, when the Scotch had agreed to declare for him againſt the Engliſh army, and bring a ſufficient force to take him out of the hands of the Independents; while the Royaliſts in Kent, Eſſex, Wales, and Ireland, made diverſions in order to divide the Engliſh army. This project was very near being carried into execution, part of the fleet declaring for the King; and was fruſtrated merely by the too great precipitation of the royal party. Thoſe who declared in Eſſex were ſoon blocked up in Colcheſter, to which place our author and Mr Booker were ſent, to encourage the Parliament's troops employed in that ſervice, by their predictions of ſucceſs (14); which, he ſays, they (1
accordingly did, and thereby quieted the ſoldiers, who were at that time ſomething prone to mutiny.

As to our author's great ſkill in prophecy, there goes a pleaſant ſtory related by a kinſman of Dr Caſe his ſucceſſor; viz. That a perſon who wanted to conſult him on ſome important point, coming to his houſe one morning, Lilly himſelf going to the door, ſaw a very diſagreeable object ſomebody had lately left there; and being much offended with the ſight and ſmell, wiſhed he did but know who had treated him in that manner, that he might puniſh them accordingly: which his cuſtomer obſerving, when the conjurer demanded his buſineſs, *Nothing at all*, replied he, *for I am ſure if you can't find who has laid their tail at your* own door, *it is impoſſible you ſhould diſcover any thing relating to me*; and ſo left him.

[*O*] *In*

author some affront here; and because Scott, *who had 800 pounds per annum for intelligence, would not contribute any occasion to gratify his friend abroad (y).* In July 1651 our author published a treatise, intitled, Several Observations upon the Life and Death of Charles, late King of England; in which he speaks of that King's father, and ministers, with great acrimony, and shews himself a zealous partizan for the then republican government. This tract was reprinted in 1715, with the pompous title of Mr William Lilly's true history of King James I. and King Charles I. with sundry observations, remarkable passages, and many secret transactions not 'till now divulged, &c. The same year he laid out 1030 pounds in the purchase of fee-farm rents, amounting to 110 pounds *per annum*; and the year following, 950 pounds more, for a house and lands at Hersham: these last he died possessed of, but the fee-farm rents, were claimed at the Restoration, and obtained by the right owners; so that Mr Lilly, was a loser by that bargain (a). In the year 1653, he was called before the Committee of Plundered Ministers, for having in his almanack for that year, asserted, that the parliamentary government, stood but on a ticklish footing, and was in danger of an insurrection both by the people and the army. But receiving notice of this attack before the arrival of the messenger from the Committee, he made application to Mr Speaker Lenthal (always his friend) and by him, had the passages complained of by the Presbyterians pointed out to him: these he soon altered, and, by the help of Mr Warren, *a staunch cavalier* printer (who kindly promised our author *to swear himself to the Devil* for him) was able to attend them next morning with six books, printed differently from the first impression, which six alone he acknowledged to be his; and by that means came off, with only being detained thirteen days in the custody of the serjeant at arms [O], from whence he was then bailed, and and heard no more of the affair. This year and the next, he was engaged in a dispute with the reverend and learned Mr Thomas Gataker; who in his annotations on Jer. x. 2. had called our author *blind buzzard*, and he in his *Annus Tenebrosus*, by way of answer reflected again on the Divine [P]. Mr Lilly, on the 16th of February, lost his second wife, *(for whose death he shed no tears)* and in October 1654, married a third (b). In 1655, a bill of indictment being preferred against him, at Hickes's-Hall, for giving judgment upon stoln goods, he was tried thereon and acquitted. Four years after, in 1659, he received a present of a gold chain and medal (brought him by Captain Owen Cox) from the King of Sweden, for something mentioned to the honour of that prince, by our author, in his almanack for 1657. And in June 1660, he was apprehended by order of the Parliament, and examined by a Committee, touching the person who actually cut off the head of the late King; to whom he discovered, that he had been informed by Mr Robert Spavin, (then secretary to Lieutenant-General Cromwell) who dined with our author the sunday sevennight after the fact, that it was performed by Lieutenant-Colonel Joyce [Q]. Soon after this examination, Mr Lilly sued out his pardon under the great seal (c); and the 27th of June 1665 removed from London (where the plague then raged) to Hersham, where he began to study physic, for the practising which, he obtained a licence from Archbishop Sheldon [R]. In the Committee appinted by Parliament, to

(y) Id. ibid.

(a) Id. p. 68.

† See Gataker's article in the text, and rem. [S].

(b) Id. p. 73.

(c) Id. p. 90, 91.

[O] *In the custody of the Serjeant at Arms*] Our author says, 'I appeared before the committee, being 'thirty-six in number, that day; whereas it was ob'served at other times, it was very difficult to get five 'of them together. At first they shewed me the true '*Anglicus*, and asked me if I wrote and printed it? I 'took the book, and inspected it very heedfully; and 'when I had done so said thus: *This is none of my 'book; some malicious Presbyterian hath wrote it, who 'are my mortal enemies: I disown it.* The commit'tee looked upon one another like distracted men, not 'imagining what I presently did; for I presently pul'led out of my pocket six books, and said, *These I 'own; the others are counterfeits, published purposely 'to ruin me.* The committee were now more vexed 'than before; at last many of them were of opinion 'to imprison me (15).'

[P] *Reflected again on the Divine.*] Mr Gataker's reply was entitled, 'Thomas Gataker, B. D. his 'Vindication of the *Annotations* by him published up'on these words, *Thus saith the Lord,* &c. Jer. x. 2. 'against the scurrilous aspersions of that grand im'postor Mr William Lillie; as also against the va'rious expositions of two of his advocates, Mr John 'Swan, and another by him cited but not named. 'Together with the Annotations themselves. Wherein 'the pretended grounds of *Judiciary Astrologie*, and 'the Scripture proofs produced for it, are discussed 'and refuted. London, 1653, in 4to. p. 192.' Our author making animadversions on this piece in his *English Merlin* for 1654, produced a third piece from Mr Gataker, called, 'A Discours Apologeti'cal; wherein Lillie's lewd and loud lies in his *Mer'lin* or *Pasquil* for 1654, are clearly lain open; his 'shameful desertion of his own cause is further disco'vered; his shameless slanders fully refuted; and his 'malicious and murtherous mind, inciting to a gene'ral massacre of God's ministers, from his own pen 'evidentlie evinced. Together with an advertise'ment, concerning two allegations produced in the 'close of his *Postscript*; and a Postscript concerning 'an *Epistle Dedicatorie* of one *J. Gadbury*, by *Tho. 'Gataker*, B. D. autor of the *Annotations* on Jer. x. '2. and of the *Vindication* of them. London, 1654, 'in 4to.'

[Q] *It was performed by Lieutenant-Colonel Joyce.*] After Mr Lilly had acquainted the committee, that Spavin had invited himself to dinner as on that day with our author, and that the whole discourse at table was about who did cut off the King's head; he adds, 'Robert Spavin, so soon as dinner was done, took 'me by the hand, and carried me to the south win'dow: saith he, *These* [meaning Anthony Peirson 'and some others he had brought to dine there] *are 'all mistaken* (one saying the common-hangman, ano'ther Hugh Peters did the jobb); *they have not named 'the man that did the fact: it was Lieutenant Colonel 'Joyce. I was in the room when he fitted himself for 'the work, stood behind him when he did it, when done 'went in again with him. There is no man knows this 'but my master* [Cromwell], *Commissary Ireton, and 'myself. Doth not Mr Rushworth know it?* said I. '*No, he doth not know it,* saith Spavin. Spavin had 'often related unto me the same thing when we were 'alone.'

[R] *He obtained a licence from Archbishop Sheldon.*] This licence was granted at the intercession of his friend Elias Ashmole, Esq; and bears date on the 11th of October 1670 (16). The late Dr Edmund Halley related frequently, that, on the Restoration, our author

(15) Id. p. 69.

(16) Id. p. 106 to 108.

to examine into the cause of that dreadful fire which broke out on the 2d of September 1666, and almost consumed the city of London, some of the Committee remembering, that in our author's tract, called, *Monarchy or no Monarchy*, published 15 years before, there were two hieroglyphical decorations, the first consisting of coffins, pick-axes, &c. and the other, on the adverse side, representing a great city on fire, moved that he might be sent for, and examined thereon: which being agreed to, in October he attended the Committee, when Sir Robert Brooke (chairman) informed him why he was called before them, and desired to know whether he could say any thing *as to the cause of the late fire, or whether there was any design in it.* Mr Lilly answered, that observing the unsettled state the nation had been in, for the three years, since the King's death, and the unquiet temper of the people of all ranks and conditions thereupon, he had endeavoured to find out by means of the art he professed, what should from that time happen to the *Parliament, nation, and people in general*; and had marked such discoveries as he then made in hieroglyphics, &c. to the end they might be known only to the wise: *and having found* (amongst other things) *that the city of London should be sadly afflicted with a great plague, and not long after with an exorbitant fire* [*S*], he framed the two hieroglyphics then enquired after; but honestly owned he had not foreseen, nor indeed endeavoured to find out, the year. And as to the fire's being done by design, or whether any were employed to that purpose, though *he had taken much pains in the search*, since it happened, he ingenuously acknowledged, *he could not give himself the least satisfaction therein*: adding 'I conclude 'it was only the finger of God; but what instruments he used thereunto, I am igno- 'rant.' The Committee being satisfied with this answer, very civilly dismissed him (*d*) [*T*]. After this occurrence, we know little of him, except that some small time before his death, he adopted one Henry Coley, a taylor (*e*), for his son, by the name of *Merlin Junior*; to whom he made a present of the impression of his almanack, which had then been printed six and thirty years successively. He died of a dead palsey, at Hersham, the 9th of June, 1681; and was interred at Walton upon Thames, in the chancel of the church, the next day. His friend Mr Ashmole, in July after, placed a black marble stone with an inscription over his grave [*U*]. He bequeathed his estate at Hersham, to one of the sons of his friend and patron Bulstrode Whitelocke, Esq; (*f*), and his magical utensils came all into the hands of the famous Dr Case his successor, who used frequently to expose them to his friends in great derision; particularly, the dark chamber and pictures, whereby Lilly used to impose on people under pretence of shewing them persons who were absent.

(*d*) Id. p. 95 to 98.

(*e*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 18. second edit.

(*f*) Id. ibid.

thor often applied to the ministry to employ him as a prophet for them, as those who had been in authority just before had done, but had the mortification to be refused.

[*S*] *And not long after with an exorbitant fire.*] Notwithstanding our author's assertion here (to support the reputation of his predictive skill), that he foresaw those two calamities so long before they happened, it may well be doubted, whether his two terrible decorations did not rather take their rise from what was *past* than from what was *to come*: the first from the deaths and funerals of the Princess Elizabeth (on the 8th and 24th of September), and the Prince of Orange (on the 8th of October and 15th of March), together with the many executions in the publick streets of London in 1650; and the second, from a great fire which happened at Holbourne-conduit, the 22d of July the same year.

[*T*] *Very civilly dismissed him.*] A late writer, speaking of a daring attempt made by Tho. Blood and others joined in a conspiracy to seize the Tower of London, and to kill General Monk, says, one part of their design was to fire the city of London; and that they had pitched on the third of September, 1666, for that purpose, as marked by our author in his Almanack for a lucky day; and observes, that, though the conspirators were discovered, and some of them executed in the April preceding; yet the fire began on the day by them pitched upon, which occasioned our author to be examined as above (17). It is well known that the third of September was reckoned a fortunate day by all the republican party, from Cromwell's many successes thereon, and the fire begun in the night of the second of that month.

(17) Kennet's Compleat History of England. Vol. II. p. 262, 263. See the article BLOOD [THOMAS], Vol. II. p. 818.

[*U*] *With an inscription over his grave.*] The inscription ran thus:

Ne oblivione conteretur urna
GULIELMI LILII,
Astrologi peritissimi,
Qui Fatis cessit
Quinto Idus Junii, anno Christi Juliano
M.DC.LXXXI.
Hoc illi posuit Amoris Monumentum
ELIAS ASHMOLE,
Armiger.

To preserve
The Memory of WILLIAM LILLY,
A most skilful Astrologer,
Who submitted to Fate
On the 5th of the ides of June, *in the Julian year of Christ* (18),
M.DC.LXXXI.
From perishing in Oblivion,
ELIAS ASHMOLE,
Esquire,
Hath placed this Monument of his Love to him.

(18) This is only an affected way of expressing the Old Style, usually marked by O. St.

Dr Smalridge, Bishop of Bristol, who was then only a scholar at Westminster, wrote two elegies on the death of our author, one Latin the other English, both which are added to the History of our author's Life and Times above cited. Z

LILYE, or LILY [WILLIAM], one of the first, and most learned English Grammarians, in the XVIth century [*A*], was born at Odiham in the county of Southampton

[*A*] *One of the first and most learned English Grammarians, &c.*] *Rara ingenii foelicitate, rudi ac barbaro pene adhuc seculo: inter primos cultioris disciplinæ professores, clarum nomen in Brytannia meruit*; as J. Bale expresses it (1).

(1) Ubi supra.

[*B*] *Was*

(a) Geo. Lilii Elogia, &c. p. 89. Bale Scriptor. Brytanniæ Cent. VIII. No 63. p. 649. Pits de Illustrib. Angliæ Scriptorib. No. 924. p. 697.

(b) Wood, Athen. edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 16.

(c) Bale, and Pits, ubi supra.

(d) Wood, Ath. ubi supra.

ampton (a), on or about the year 1466 [B]. Being bred up from his youth to learning, he was admitted, at the age of eighteen, a demy in Magdalen-College in Oxford. And, after having taken one degree in arts, he quitted the university (b), and travelled for religion-sake to Jerusalem. At his return from thence, he studied some time at Rhodes; where, after the taking of Constantinople, several learned men had taken refuge [C], under the protection of the Knights, which were then possessors of that island. Afterwards he came to Rome, where he further improved himself in the Latin and Greek languages, under John Sulpitius and Pomponius Sabinus (c). Upon his return to England, he set up a school in London, where he taught Grammar, Rhetorick, and Poetry, with good success (d), and great reputation; being the first Englishman that did so [D]: And he became so considerable in that profession, that when the good and pious Dr John Colet founded St Paul's school, in 1510, he appointed him the first Master (e); preferring him the rather for his being a married man, and the father of many children (f). He laboured twelve years (g) in that useful station, to the great service and benefit of the Engish nation [E]: During which time, he composed the Grammar that goes under his name [F], and several other pieces [G]. At length, being seized with the plague, which then raged

(e) Bale, and Pits, ubi supra.

(f) Dr S. Knight's Life of J. Colet, edit. 1724, 8vo. p. 105, 113, 370.

(g) And not fifteen, as Bale hath it; and from him Pits.

[B] *Was born——on or about the year* 1466.] This is easily inferred from his age, at the time of his death as mentioned below. He was therefore admitted in the university in 1484, and not 1486, as Wood says.

[C] *He studied some time at Rhodes, where——several learned men had taken refuge.*] If Dr T. Fuller had considered this, he would not have expressed so great a wonder at our author's studying there, as he doth in the following words (2). 'In his return he 'stayed at Rhodes and studied Greek, which will 'seem strange to some, Rhodes not being Rhodes in 'that age (except casually some great Critick was 'there) seeing otherwise to find elegant in modern 'Greek (sowred with long continuance) is as impossi'ble, as to draw good wine out of a vessel of vine'gar.'

(2) Worthies in Hantshire, p. 11.

[D] *Being the first Englishman that did so.*] But he was not 'the first English traveller that brought 'Greek out of Italy to Oxford about the year 1490,' as Dr Knight says by mistake (3), quoting for it Polydore Vergil (4). For, in the place referred to, Vergil says the contrary; viz. That before Lily, Cornelius Vitellius, a native of Corneto in Hetruria, had taught the learned languages [Greek and Latin] at Oxford. His own words are,—Lilius, *vir, quemadmodum dicit Horatius*, integer vitæ, scelerisque purus, *postquam in* Italiâ *aliquot per annos perfectis Literis operam dederat, domum reversus* Anglorum Primus apud suos *eas docuit: Antea enim* Cornelius Vitellius, *homo natus Corneti, quod est maritimum Hetruriæ oppidum, natus nobili prosapia, vir optimus gratiosusque*, omnium Primus Oxonii *bonas Literas docuerat.*

(3) Life of Dr John Colet, p. 370.

(4) Anglicæ Histor. Liber 26. & ult.

[E] *To the great service and benefit of the English nation.*] Some of his scholars proved in their time the greatest men in the nation; such as Thomas Lupset, Sir Antony Denny, Sir William Paget, Sir Edward North, John Leland, &c. (5) And it appears from Erasmus's epistles (6), in how great reputation Lily's school was.

(5) Knight, as above, p. 371, 389.

(6) Edit. Lond. 1642, col. 436.

[F] *He composed the Grammar that goes under his name.*] That Grammar, as the learned Mr Tho. Baker observes (7), was not composed by Mr Lily alone, 'but was done by some of the most considerable men 'of the age: The English Rudiments by Dr Colet 'Dean of Paul's, with a preface to the first editions, 'directing its use, by no less man than Cardinal Wol'sey; the most rational part, the Syntax, was writ or 'corrected by Erasmus (8), and the other parts by 'other hands: so that tho' Mr Lily now bears the 'name, which while living he always modestly refu'sed, yet it was carried on by the joint endeavours of 'several learned men, and he perhaps had not the 'largest share in that work.' The real share he had in it, will appear from the following very exact account (9). '*The English Introduction* was written by Dr Colet, and dedicated by him to Mr Lily in an Epistle dated in 1510, and prefixed to several antient editions. *The English Syntax* was written by Mr *Lily*, as appears by the title of several antient editions, which runs thus: *Gulielmi Lilii Angli Rudimenta.* Bale ascribes it to him (10), and cites part of the first sentence as it stands in those editions. The *Carmen de Moribus*, and *Rules for the Genders of Nouns*, were written by Mr Lily, and bear his name in all editions to this day.—The *Rules concerning the Preterperfect Tenses and Supines of Verbs* are *Lily*'s, and have his name prefixed in all editions.—The *Rules for Heteroclites* (or irregulars) were written, according to Bale (11), by Thomas Robertson, who was afterwards Dean of Durham: but, in some editions, the author is named Robert Robinson; and in later editions Thomas Robinson; as he is called by William Haine in his epistle to *Lily's Rules construed*, usually bound up with the Grammar. Thomas Robertson, or Robinson, added also the Supplement of *Defective Verbs, De Verbis Defectivis*, at the end of the Rules for the Preterperfect Tenses and Supines of Verbs. And likewise wrote *Annotations* on Lily's rules for the *Genders of Nouns*, and *Preterperfect Tenses and Supines of Verbs*. But it was John Ritwyse, who gave a *Latin interpretation* of the *Nouns and Verbs* contained in those Rules.—The *Latin Syntax* was first drawn up by Lily, and then sent by Dean Colet to Erasmus for his review, who so far altered it, that neither of them afterwards thought he had a right to own it; for which reason it was at first published without any author's name, and only an epistle of Colet prefixed to it. This Epistle bears date in 1513, and is written to Lily, recommending to him the use of the book; from whence some at that time imagined the book was written by the Dean himself. But this mistake was soon removed by an Epistle of Erasmus, printed within the year 1515, in which he says expresly, that it was composed by Lily at the request of Colet. The *verbal figures* were taken from *Petrus Mosellanus*, and those *of construction* from Ger. Listrius (12), a learned Physician, and great friend of Erasmus, whose names are prefixed to them in some antient editions. The *Prosody* was at first very short, and bore the title of *Regulæ versificales.* Bale (13) ascribes this also to Thomas Robertson.—So that in the present Grammar, which commonly goes under Lily's name; no parts are properly his, but the Rules for the Genders of Nouns, beginning with *Propria quæ maribus*; and the Rules for the Preter-perfect tenses and Supines, which begin with *As in præsenti.* —This Grammar was at first in so high repute, that it was enjoined by the King's authority *to be the only one taught in schools* (14). And Cardinal Wolsey, by a letter dated in 1528, recommended the use of *Lily's Rules* to the masters of his Grammar-school, which he had newly founded at Ipswich (15).'

(7) Reflections upon Learning, edit. 1714, p. 21.

(8) Oper. Tom. II. p. 141.

(9) Mr Professor Ward's preface to an improved edition of Lily's Grammar, Lond. 1732.

(10) Ubi supra.

(11) Ibid.

(12) Swertii Athen. Belgic.

(13) Ubi supra.

(14) Quam solam regia Majestas in omnibus scholis docendam præcepit.

(15) Grammat. edit. Antuerp. 1537.

[G] *And several other pieces.*] I. The first I shall mention, are, his Latin translations of some Greek Epigrams, joined with translations of the same by Sir Thomas More; and printed at the head of Sir Tho. More's Epigrams, by John Froben, Basil, 1518, 4to. under this title, *Progymnasmata Thomae Mori, et Gulielmi Lilii Sodalium.* And, upon an impartial examination, Mr Lily appears upon the whole to outdo Sir Thomas. II. He published, *In ænigmatica Bossi Antibossicon primum, secundum, tertium, ad Guliel. Hormannum.* Lond. 1521, 4to. These three Antibossicons are wittily written in an elegant style, and neat verse, not only against the said Horman (who was Master of Eaton school), but also against Robert Whityngton, a laureat Grammarian and Rhetorician: who had, under the feigned name of *Bossus*, much provoked Lilye with his biting verses (16). III. *Poemata varia.* Printed with those Antibossicons. IV. *Apologia ad R. Whyttingtonum.* V. *Apologia ad Johannem Skeltonum.* An Apology to Robert Whyttyngton and John Skelton.

(16) Wood, Ath. Vol. I. col. 16, 24, 35.

raged in London (*b*), he died of it the 25th of February, 1522-3, and was buried in the north yard belonging to the cathedral church of St Paul (*i*). A braſs-plate, with an inſcription to his memory [*H*], was affixed to the wall, near the north door of that church (*k*). By his wife Agnes he had two ſons, George and Peter, both learned men [*I*]; and a daughter named Dionyſia, who was married to John Ritwyſe or Rightwyſe, uſher, and afterwards ſucceſſor to him in the maſterſhip of the ſchool; a moſt eminent grammarian in his time (*l*). Mr Lily had the greateſt character from his contemporaries [*K*]:

(*b*) See Stowe's Chronicle, edit. 1631, p. 514. He calls it a great death; a name then frequently given to the plague.

(*i*) Wood, Athen. ut ſupra.

(*k*) Dugdale's Hiſt. of St Paul's

(*l*) Wood, as above, col. 16, 17.

ton. VI. *De laudibus Deiparæ virginis.* In praiſe of the Virgin Mary. VII. *Super Philippi archiducis appulſu.* VIII. *De Caroli quinti Cæſaris adventu panegyricum.* Dr Knight acquaints us with the occaſion of theſe two pieces (17). The firſt was an excellent Latin poem, to celebrate the arrival and reception of Philip King of Caſtile and his Queen, caſt upon the coaſts of Cornwall, in their paſſage from Flanders to Spain, wherein ſome particular circumſtances are handſomely deſcanted on. The ſecond was, when in June 1522, Charles V. Emperor of Germany, was here in England, nobly entertained by King Henry VIII. At their ſolemn proceſſion through the city of London, Mr Lilye cauſed a very elegant panegyric upon the Emperor, in verſe, and an oration in proſe, compoſed by himſelf, to be publickly recited before him, by one of his ſcholars. IX. Bale and Pits mention alſo, Some Orations, Epigrams, and various ſorts of Verſes, and Letters of his, in Latin. X. He, moreover, tranſlated ſeveral things out of Greek and Latin; and, out of Italian, a book upon Dice play (18).

(17) Life of Colet, as above, p. 134. Vide etiam G. Lilii Encomia.

(18) Bale, Pits, and Wood, as above, and Life of Colet, p. 135.

[*H*] *With an inſcription to his memory.*] Which was in theſe words. *Gulielmo Lilio Paulinæ Scholæ olim Præceptori primario, & Agnetæ conjugi, in ſacratiſſimo hujus Templi coemiterio hinc a tergo, nunc deſtructo, conſepultis: Georgius Lilius, hujus Eccleſiæ Canonicus, parentum memoriæ piè conſulens, Tabellam hanc ab amicis conſervatam, hic reponendam curavit. Obiit ille G. L. An. Dom. 1522. Calend. Mart. Vixit An.* 54. (19).

(19) Stowe's Survey of London, with Strype's Addit. Vol. I. book iii. p. 167.

[*I*] *He had two ſons, George and Peter.*] George Lily was born in London, and educated for ſome time at Magdalen-college in Oxford. But leaving the univerſity without a degree, he travelled to Rome, where he was taken into the ſervice or patronage of Cardinal Pole, and became eminent in ſeveral parts of learning. After his return to England, he was made Canon of St Paul's cathedral, and afterwards Prebendary of Canterbury. He died in the beginning of the year 1559. And was author of the following pieces. *Anglorum Regum Chronices Epitome. Lancaſtriæ & Eboracenſis* [*Famil.*] *de Regno contentiones. Regum Angliæ genealogia.* All three printed together at Venice, 1548. Francf. 1565, 4to. Baſil. 1577, &c. *Elogia Virorum illuſtrium.* 1559, 8vo. *Catalogus ſive ſeries Pontificum & Cæſarum Romanorum.* And the Life of Biſhop Fiſher (20); which is in manuſcript, in the library of the Royal Society, under the title of *Jo Roffenſis Epiſcopi Vita & Mors* (21). He alſo publiſhed the firſt exact map that ever was drawn of this iſland (22). Peter Lily, the other ſon, was a Dignitary in the church of Canterbury; and father of another Peter Lily, D. D. ſome time fellow of Jeſus-college in Cambridge, afterwards a brother of the Savoy-hoſpital in the Strand, London, Prebendary of St Paul's and of Sarum's cathedrals, and Archdeacon of Taunton. He was author of a few ſermons, and dyed in 1614 (23).

(20) Wood, Ath. Vol. I. col. 126.

(21) Bibliotheca Norfolciana, Lond. 1681, 4to. p. 133. and Harmer, Specimen, p. 61.

(22) Pits de Illuſt. Angliæ Scriptorib. p. 740.

(23) Wood, Ath. Vol. I. col. 16.

[*K*] *Mr Lily had the greateſt character from his contemporaries.*] The great Eraſmus ſtyles him (24), *Utriuſque literaturæ haud vulgariter peritus, & rectè inſtituendæ pubis artifex*: i. e. 'A man uncommonly ſkilful in both kinds of literature [Latin and Greek], and an artiſt in the well bringing up of youth.' Richard Pace calls him (25)—*Honeſtiſſimus ſimul & peritiſſimus Vir.*—And ſpeaking of his ſcholars, he adds—*Habent Præceptorem, cujus vita moreſque ſunt probatiſſimi. Tanta præterea eruditio, ut extruſa penè omni barbarie (in qua noſtri olim adoleſcentes ſolebant ferè ætatem conſumere, & longiſſimo tempore, ut nihil boni diſcerent, laborare) politiorem Latinitatem atque ipſam Romanam linguam, in Britanniam noſtram introduxiſſe videatur.* C

(24) Præfat. ad Syntaxin.

(25) Epiſt. dedicat. libro, *De fructu qui ex doctrinâ percipitur.*

LINACRE, or LYNACER, [Dr Thomas]

LINACRE, or LYNACER, [Dr Thomas] one of the moſt learned Phyſicians in England, nay in all Europe, in the XVIth Century; and one of the firſt reſtorers of polite literature, and the learning of the Ancients, in this iſland, (jointly with our countrymen Colet, Lily (*a*), Grocyn [*A*], and William Latimer [*B*]), was born in the city of Canterbury

(*a*) See the articles COLET [John] and LILY [William].

[*A*] *Grocyn.*] Otherwiſe written *Grocyne, Grocin, Grocen.* There being no particular article in this work concerning that learned man, we ſhall give a ſhort account of him here (1). William Grocyn was born in Briſtol about the year 1442; educated in Grammar at Wykeham's ſchool near Wincheſter; made perpetual Fellow of New-college in 1467; and preſented by that college in 1479, to the Rectory of Newton-Longville in Buckinghamſhire. But, notwithſtanding that, reſiding ſtill at Oxford, he was choſen about the year 1483, Divinity-reader in Magdalen-college. In the beginning of the year 1488, leaving that place, he went, for his further improvement, into Italy; where he perfected himſelf in the Greek and Latin languages under Demetrius Chalcondilas, and Politian. Returning to his own country, and at length to Oxford, he took the degree of Bachelor in Divinity; became a ſojourner in Exeter-college in 1491, and read a Greek lecture in that univerſity, where it ſeems he had the famous Eraſmus for his pupil or hearer, whom he moſt generouſly entertained a conſiderable time in his own houſe. He read afterwards Divinity lectures in St Paul's cathedral, at the requeſt of Dr Colet Dean of that church (2). Having reſigned his rectory of Newton-Longville, he was elected on the 17th of April 1506, Maſter of the collegiate church of All-Saints at Maideſton in Kent; and never had any further preferment. He was ſo generous to his friends, that he was forced to pawn his plate to Dr Young, then Maſter of the Rolls. This great man was very learned, and accounted one of the beſt ſcholars and the moſt judicious divines in this nation, in his time. However, he publiſhed nothing but an epiſtle before Proclus's treatiſe of the Sphere. He had undertaken, jointly with the learned men abovementioned, a tranſlation of Ariſtotle's Works, but left it unfiniſhed (3). Eraſmus frequently mentions him with due commendation (4): and ſo doth Leland in theſe two verſes (5),

Lumina Doctrinæ *Grocinus*, deinde ſecutus
Sellingus, Linacer, Latimuruſque pius, &c.

He died in the beginning of the year 1522, aged 80, and was buried in the choir of his church at Maidſtone (6). Dr Tho. Linacre was the executor of his will, and reſiduary legatee: and his godſon William Lily had in it a legacy of five ſhillings (7).

(1) Wood Ath. edit. 1721. Vol. I. col. 15. & Pits de Illuſtrib. Angliæ Scriptoribus, ætas XVI. No. 917. p. 693.

(2) See Dr S. Knight's Life of Dr Colet, edit. 1724, p. 67. and his Life of Eraſmus, edit. 1726, p. 22.

(3) Pits, ubi ſupra.

(4) Eraſmi Epiſt. edit. Froben. p. 218, 281, 282, 304, 352, 360.

(5) Encomia Illuſtrium Viror. edit. Lond. 1549, p. 74.

(6) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(7) Knight's Life of Eraſmus, Append. p. xix.

[*B*] *William Latimer.*] He was once ſchool-fellow with the excellent Sir Thomas More; and became Fellow of All-Souls-college at Oxford in the year 1489. Afterwards travelling into Italy, as the faſhion then was, he ſettled for a time at Padua, and improved himſelf very much, eſpecially in the Greek tongue. Returning to England, he was incorporated Maſter of Arts at Oxford, November 18, 1513 (8). And, ſoon after, had for his pupil Reginald Pole, afterwards Cardinal, and Archbiſhop of Canterbury: by whoſe intereſt, as it is ſaid, he obtained the rectories of Saintbury and Weſton-under-edge in Glouceſterſhire, and a Prebend of Saliſbury (9). He had alſo the honour of being one of thoſe who taught the learned Eraſmus Greek at Oxford (as did alſo Dr Linacre), and aſſiſted him in the ſecond edition of his New Teſtament. He died very old about September 1545, and was buried in

(8) Wood, Faſti, Vol. I. edit. 1721, col. 21.

(9) Idem Athenæ, Vol. I. col. 65, 66. and Pits, ut ſupra, No. 919. p. 695.

Canterbury [*C*] about the year 1460 (*b*); and educated in the school there adjoining to the cathedral, under the learned William Selling [*D*]. From him he was sent to Oxford, and chosen Fellow of All-Souls-College in the year 1484; in which station he made a great proficiency in learning (*c*). Afterwards being very desirous to make further improvements by travelling, he thought he could no where succeed in his designs so well as by going into Italy, which began then to be famous for reviving the knowledge of the Greek tongue, and of all polite literature (*d*) [*E*]. He was carried thither by his master William Tilly, alias Selling, Embassador from K. Henry VII. to the court of Rome (*e*) [*F*]. At Florence, he was treated with extraordinary kindness by Duke Lorenzo de Medicis, one of the politest men of his age, and a great patron of letters: who favour'd him so far in his studies, as to give him the privilege of having the same preceptors with his own sons. Linacre knew how to make all proper advantages of so lucky an opportunity: and accordingly, by the instructions of Demetrius Chalcondyles, a native of Greece, (and one of those learned men who had fled upon the taking of Constantinople by the Turks) he acquired a perfect knowledge of the Greek tongue; and so far improved himself under his Latin Master Angelo Politian, as to arrive to a greater correctness of style than even Politian himself. Indeed, if we consider him with respect to his skill in the two learned languages, he was much the most accomplished scholar of his age (*f*) [*G*]. Having thus laid in an uncommon stock of classical learning, he went to Rome, and, under Hermolaus Barbarus, applyed himself to the study of natural philosophy and physick; particularly he made it his business, and was the first Englishman who ever did so, to be well acquainted with the works of Aristotle and Galen in the original. He translated and published several tracts of the latter, of which an account is given towards the end of this article: and also, jointly with Grocyn and Latimer, undertook a translation of the former, but they left it imperfect (*g*) [*H*]. In his own faculty of Physick he distinguished himself so much, that, soon after his return, he was pitched upon by K. Henry VII. as the fittest person to be placed about his son Prince Arthur, and to take care both of his health and his education: accordingly he was commanded to Court from Oxford, where he had been created or incorporated Doctor of Physick, and made public Professor in that faculty; or rather read medicinal lectures *gratis* (*h*). He was afterwards made successively Physician

(*b*) Epistola M. Maittaire, at the end of Dr Freind's History of Physic, Part II. No. 8.

(*c*) Dr Ch. Goodall's Histor. Account of the College's Proceedings against Empiricks. Lond. 1680, 4to. in the preface.

(*d*) Dr Freind's Hist. of Physick, edit. 1726, 4to. Part II. p. 400.

(*e*) J. Lelandi Comment. de Scriptoribus Britannic. edit. 1709, p. 483.

(*f*) Freind's Hist. of Physick, as above, p. 401.

(*g*) Idem, p. 403. & Maittaire, ubi supra.

(*h*) Goodall and Wood, ubi supra. Vide etiam B. Hoadley, M. D. Oration. Harveian. Lond. 1742, 4to. p. 10.

in the chancel of his church of Saintbury. He was one of the greatest men of that age; a master of all sacred and profane learning; but never published any thing (10): so that there are only a few letters of his to Erasmus extant (11). That glory of his age styles Mr Latimer, an excellent Divine, conspicuous for his integrity—*verè Theologus, integritate vitæ conspicuus* (12), and praises his candour, and more than virgin modesty; *suavissimum istum ingenii tui candorem, ac pudorem plusquam virgineum, cum Christiana prudentiâ conjunctum* (13). J. Leland celebrates also his eloquence, judgment, piety, and generosity (14).

[*C*] *Was born in the city of Canterbury*.] Dr Tho. Fuller (15), upon the authority of J. Weaver (16), says, that Dr Linacer 'was born in the town of Derbey.' But A. Wood seems to be more right, when he says (17), that he was 'born at Canterbury, but 'descended from the Lynacres of Lynacre-hall in the 'parish of Chesterfield in Derbyshire: which (says he) 'may be the reason why Holinshed, and others that 'follow him, say, that he was born in the town of 'Derby.'

[*D*] *William Selling*.] William Tilly, alias de Selling, was born at Selling near Feversham in Kent, and educated in All Souls-college Oxon. According to the fashion of that age, he travelled into Italy, and studied the Civil Law at Bologna; and the Greek and Latin languages under Politian, and other great masters. Whilst he was there, he took the opportunity of purchasing many curious manuscripts, which he brought over with him; but they were afterwards destroyed by fire, and among them Cicero's book *De Republicâ*. In 1472, he was elected Prior of the Monastery of Christ-Church in Canterbury, and died in 1495, after having been employed by King Henry the Seventh, in embassies to the Court of Rome (18).

[*E*] *Italy, which began then to be famous for reviving the knowledge of the Greek tongue*.] It is well known, how much that language was neglected, and in a manner forgotten in the greatest part of Europe. At length, upon the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, in the year 1453, several of the learned Greeks being forced to quit their native country, withdrew into Italy, where they were obliged to teach Greek for their own sustenance. Of this number were Theodorus Gaza, Constantinus Lascharis, Chalcondyles, Chrysoloras, Trapezuntius, &c by whose diligence, and the gracious encouragement of the Popes, Nicolas V and Pius II. all sorts of learning began to flourish again in Italy, and attracted thither ingenious persons from every nation, particularly from England.

[*F*] *He was carried thither by his master William Selling, &c.*] This we learn from Mr Leland. *Henricus jam VII.——cognita* Tillæi *tum eruditione, tum fide, illum in rebus arduis vel Romam usque spectatum satis oratorem misit. Quo tempore* Thomam Linacrum, *optimæ spei adolescentulum, tanquam ministrum, una secum deduxit; ac Bononiam in itinere forte revisens, Politiano veteri amico suo, illum commendatissimum reliquit erudiendum* (19).

[*G*] *He was much the most accomplished scholar of his age.*] Dr Freind observes, That 'his Latin style 'was very elegant and accurate: so far, that his 'friend Erasmus thought it too elaborate: yet Sir 'John Cheke (chiefly perhaps out of contradiction to 'his antagonist Bishop Gardiner) seems to censure it as 'not Ciceronian enough, and represents him, as, out 'of some morose humour, an enemy to that great 'orator. However it is certain, that Linacre had a 'better taste of a truly classical way of writing, than 'either of these modern authors: the former, though 'a copious and clear writer, yet did not study any accuracy of style; and the latter, as the fashion was 'then, went a little too far in his imitation of Tullie's 'numbers and periods, used mostly by him in his orations, and his other rhetorical pieces. Whereas Linacre, though well acquainted with all Tullie's writings, chose rather to follow the style of his Epistles, 'and Philosophical works: and besides, endeavour'd 'to express the elegancy of Terence, and what was 'often more apposite to the physical subjects he treated 'of, the neatness of Celsus.—Any one, in perusing 'the *Preface* of the fourteen books concerning the 'Method of Cure, without knowing at the same time 'that it was a translation from *Galen*, would, perhaps, 'from the exactness and propriety of the style, guess 'it to be written in a classical age (20).

[*H*] *Undertook a translation of the former*, viz. Aristotle.] None of his translations of any of Aristotle's pieces were ever published. But that he translated some of them, is evident from these passages in Erasmus's Epistles,—*Ejusdem operâ* [scil. Linacri] *sic Latinè legitur* Aristoteles, *ut licet Atticus, vix in suo sermone parem habeat gratiam —Expectamus proxima foetura libros Aristotelis Meteorologicos, non æstimandis sudoribus primum emendatos, deinde felicissime versos* (21).

(10) Knight's Life of Erasmus, p. 29, 30.

(11) Epist. L. X. ep. 22, 23, &c.

(12) Erasmi Ep. edit. Froben. p. 360.

(13) Ibid.

(14) Encomia, &c. p. 18. Vide Wood Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. Lib. II. p. 177.

(15) Worthies in Derbyshire, p. 235.

(16) Funeral Monum. p. 370.

(17) Athen. ut supra, col. 19.

(18) J. Leland Comm. de Scriptorib. Britann. ut supra, p. 482. A. Wood, Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. L. II. p. 177. Wharton Anglia Sacra, Pars I. p. 145.

(19) Comment. de Scriptorib. Britann. p. 483.

(20) Freind, ubi supra, p. 402, 403, 404.

(21) Epistol. edit. Froben. p. 365, 493.

ſician to that King, as well as to his ſucceſſor Henry the VIIIth, and to the Princeſs Mary. To give a ſtrong proof, how much he had the good of his own profeſſion and that of the publick at heart, he founded two lectures of Phyſick in Oxford, and one at Cambridge [*I*]. But he had ſtill further views for the advantage of his profeſſion. He ſaw in how low a condition the practice of Phyſick then was; that it was moſtly engroſſed by illiterate monks and empiricks, who in an infamous manner impoſed upon the publick; the biſhop of London, or the Dean of St Paul's for the time being, having the chief power in approving and admitting the practitioners in London, and the reſt of the Biſhops in their ſeveral dioceſes. And he found that there was no way left of redreſſing this grievance, but by giving encouragement to men of reputation and learning, and placing this power of licenſing in more proper hands. Upon theſe motives he projected the foundation of the *College of Phyſicians* in London; and uſing his intereſt at Court, particularly with that great patriot and munificent promoter of all learning, Cardinal Wolſey, he procured, anno 1518, letters patent from K. Henry VIIIth which were confirmed by Parliament, to eſtabliſh a corporate ſociety of Phyſicians in London [*K*]: by virtue of which authority, the College, as a Corporation, now enjoys the ſole privilege of admitting all perſons whatever to the practice of Phyſick, as well as that of ſuperviſing all preſcriptions. And it is expreſsly declared, that no one ſhall be admitted to exerciſe Phyſick in any of the dioceſes in England, out of London, 'till ſuch time that he be examined by the Preſident and three of the Elects, and have letters teſtimonial from them: unleſs he be a graduate in either univerſity, who, as ſuch, by his very degree, has a right to practiſe all over England, except within ſeven miles of London, without being obliged to take any licence from the Biſhop. Beſides this, he very prudently took care, that a power ſhould be reſerved for his ſucceſſors to make ſuch ſtatutes and ordinances as they, from time to time, ſhould think moſt expedient for the public ſervice (*i*). Of this new-erected college Dr Linacre was the firſt Preſident, and held that office as long as he lived. The aſſemblies were kept in his own houſe in Knight-riders-ſtreet, which he left upon his death as a legacy to the ſociety, for a college and a library: And that learned body have done both credit and ſervice to their country, by their practice and writings (*k*). In the latter part of his days he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of divinity, (having, by a ſtory that is ſaid of him, been unacquainted before with the ſacred writings) [*L*]; and entering into holy orders, was collated Oct. 23, 1509. to the Rectory of Merſham, which he reſigned within a month. December the 14th following, he was inſtalled into the Prebend of Eſton in the Church of Wells †. Moreover, he was inſtalled Oct. 17, 1518. Prebendary of South Newbald in the church of York. The 9th of April 1519, he was admitted Precentor in the ſame church; but reſigned it the November following: and had other dignities in the church, but where we cannot learn (*l*) [*M*]. He died of the ſtone, with great pain and torment, Octob. 20, 1524. aged 64 (*m*), and was buried in St Paul's cathedral before the rood of the north door (*n*). Three and thirty years after, a comely monument was erected to his memory by the learned Dr John Kaye, or Caius; with an Epitaph ſet down below [*N*]. An account of his tranſlations, and other works, is

(*i*) Freind, as above, p. 410, &c.

(*k*) Ibid. p. 413, 414.

† Regiſt. Warham & Wellen.

(*l*) Survey of the Church of York, &c. by Brown Willis, Eſq; Vol. I. p. 75, 163. and Wood, as above, col. 20.

(*m*) Knight's Life of Eraſmus, p. 27. and Mattaire Epiſt. ut ſupra.

(*n*) See Dugdale's Hiſt. of St Paul's.

[*I*] *He founded two Lectures of Phyſick in Oxford, and one at Cambridge*] The endowment of them is the manor of Tracy's in Kent. The two lectures in Oxford (one of twelve pounds a year, the other of ſix) were not ſettled 'till December 10, 1549, by the ſurvivor of his truſtees Cuthbert Tonſtall, the deprived Biſhop of Durham, at the inſtance of Dr Rainolds Warden of Merton-college. And he fix'd them to that college, becauſe more of that ſociety than any other, turned their thoughts and ſtudies to Phyſick. The Lecturers are obliged to explain Hippocrates and Galen to the young ſtudents in the univerſity; and if there be none in that college capable of performing this duty, proper perſons in any other ſociety may be choſen to read either of theſe lectures (22).

[*K*] *To eſtabliſh a corporate ſociety of Phyſicians in London.*] In the letters patent he is named with great honour, as one of thoſe ſix whom the King made choice of for conſtituting this royal foundation.——— *Itaque partim bene inſtitutarum Civitatum in Italia & aliis multis Nationibus exemplum imitati, partim gravium virorum Doctorum Johannis Chamber,* Thome Linacre, *Fernandi de Victoria Medicorum noſtrorum; Nicholai Halſewell, Johannis Franciſci, & Roberti Yaxley medicorum; ac præcipuè Reverendiſſimi in Chriſto Patris ac Domini Domini Thomæ tituli Sancte Cecilie trans Tiberim ſacroſancte Romane Eccleſie Preſbyteri Cardinalis, Eborum Archiepiſcopi, & Regni noſtri Anglie Cancellarii chariſſimi, precibus inclinati, Collegium perpetuum doctorum & gravium virorum qui Medicinam in urbe noſtra Londino & ſuburbiis, intraque ſeptem millia paſſuum ab ea urbe quaquaverſus, publice exerceant, inſtitui volumus atque imperamus* (23).

[*L*] *Having, by a ſtory that is ſaid of him, been unacquainted before with the ſacred writings.*] The ſtory, as told by Sir John Cheke (24), is to this effect. That Linacre, a little before his death, when he was broken by age, labour, and infirmities, began to ſtudy the holy Scriptures. And having taken the New-Teſtament, and read the beginning of it, particularly the 5th, 6th, and 7th, chapters of St Matthew, he threw the book away with great violence, and ſwore, *That either this was not the Goſpel, or We were not Chriſtians.*—' Cum provectâ admodum inclinatâque ætate ' eſſet, homo ſtudiis morbiſque fractus, & morti vici' nus, cum ſacerdos eſſet, jam tum Novum Teſtamen' tum, primo in manus cepiſſe, & ex eo aliquot Mat' thæi capita perlegiſſe fertur. Et quum quintum, ' ſextum, ſeptimumque percurriſſet, abjecto iterum ' quantum potuit totis viribus libro, juràſſe, Aut hoc ' non fuiſſe Evangelium, aut nos non eſſe Chriſtianos.' ——To which ſpeech Dr T. Fuller gives a favourable turn, by obſerving, That it is capable of a charitable ſenſe, as taxing mens practice ſo much different from God's precepts (25).

[*M*] *But where we cannot learn.*] Some of his preferments he received from Archbiſhop Warham, as he gratefully acknowledges in a letter to that Prelate; which begins thus, *Statueram, ampliſſime Præſul, pro ocio, in quo me,* honorifico collato Sacerdotio, *ex negocio primus vindicaſti, merito primos ejus fructus tibi dedicare* (26). Dr Knight informs us, that he was Prebendary of St Stephen's Weſtminſter *. And Biſhop Tanner †, that he was alſo Rector of Wigan in Lancaſhire.

[*N*] *With an epitaph.*] Which was in theſe words. ' *Thomas Lynacrus,* Regis Henrici VIII. Medicus, vir ' & Grecè & Latinè, atque in re medica longè erudi' tiſſimus. Multos ætate ſua languentes, & qui jam ' animam deſponderant, vitæ reſtituit. Multa *Galeni* ' opera

(22) Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. L. II. p. 41. and Freind, as above, p. 409.

(23) Dr Goodall, ut ſupra, p. 7.

(24) De pronunciatione Græcæ Linguæ.

(25) Worthies, in Derbyſhire, p. 236.

(26) Mattaire Epiſt. ut ſupra, p. 38.

* Life of Colet, p. 215.

† Bibliotheca Anglo-Hibern.

is given in the note [O]. They were highly applauded by Erasmus, and other the best judges [P]. As to Dr Linacre's character; we are assured, that for his accurate skill in the Greek and Latin tongues, in other sciences, and in his own profession, he was esteemed the ornament of his age. It is a question, whether he was a better Latinist or Grecian, a better Grammarian or Physician, a better Scholar, or Man for his moral qualifications (o). We have the concurrent testimony of the most knowing men, his contemporaries, that he was one of a great natural sagacity, and of a discerning judgment, in his own profession; of which we have an instance in the prognostick he made concerning the case of his friend Lily, where he foretold his certain death, if he submitted to the opinion of some rash persons, who advised him; and did prevail with him, to have a malignant strumous tumour in his hip cut off. And Dr Kaye, his great admirer, and for that

(o) Fuller's Worthis, in Derbyshire, p. 235.

'opera in Latinam linguam, mira & singulari facundia, vertit. Egregium opus *de emendata structura Latini sermonis*, amicorum rogatu, paulo ante mortem edidit. Medicinæ studiosis Oxoniæ publicas lectiones duas, Cantabrigiæ unam, in perpetuum stabilivit. In hac urbe *collegium Medicorum* fieri sua industria curavit, cujus & Præsidens proximus electus est. Fraudes dolosque mirè perosus; fidus amicis; omnibus || juxta charus: Aliquot annos antequam obierit Presbyter factus. Plenus annis, ex hac vita migravit multum desideratus, Anno Domini, 1524, die 20 Octob.

|| *Ordinibus* is added in some copies.

'Vivit post funera virtus.

'Thomæ Lynacro clarissimo Medico, Joannes Caius posuit, anno 1557.'

[O] *An account of his translations and other works, &c.*] The most considerable of his translations were, I. The following pieces of Galen, which he rendred into proper and elegant Latin. 1. *De temperamentis, & de inæquali temperie. Lib.* 4. Venet. 1498. Cantab 1521, 4to. per Johannem Siberch. & Paris. per Sim. Colinæum, 1523, dedicated to Pope Leo X. 2. *De tuendâ Sanitate*, vel *Valetudine. Libr* 6. Cantab. 1517. Paris. 1530 dedicated to King Henry VIII. 3. *De methodo medendi, sive De morbis curandis. Lib.* 14. Paris. 1526, 8vo. revised by Budæus, and printed in 1530 by Colinæus.——A difficult undertaking, and never well performed by any before. ——*opus planè arduum, & quod, sive id ob subtilitatem suam, sive prolixitatem, mille jam annis nemo satis Latinè, ne dicam ex tanti operis dignitate vertere (quod sciam) est aggressus*, as the Doctor owns in his preface. 4. *De naturalibus, seu naturæ facultatibus. Lib.* 3. 5. *De pulsuum usu. Liber* 1 reprinted in 1528, by S. Colinæus, *cum quibusdam Pauli Æginetæ de diebus criticis.* And the latter, viz. *De pulsuum usu, cum aliis de Pulsibus Galeni libris*, revised by Herman Crusser, was reprinted by Colinæus in 1532. 6. *De Symptomatibus. Lib.* 4. printed at Paris by Colinæus in 1528. II. He translated from Greek into Latin Proclus of the Sphere, *Procli Diadochi Sphæra.* Venet. 1499 and 1500. dedicated to Pr. Arthur. Aldus Manutius, the editor, gives a great character of it, in an epistle prefixed thereto.—Erasmus informs us, that Dr Linacre dedicated it to King Henry VII. But that Bernard Andreas, tutor to Prince Arthur, having insinuated to his Majesty, in an invidious manner, that the book had been translated before by another hand (though in a most wretched manner), it made the King conceive an extreme aversion to Dr Linacre, and despise his present (27). III. Dr Linacre composed, or compiled, *The Rudiments of Grammar*, for the use of the Princess Mary. London, printed by Pynson. But it appears to be little more than the present Accidence taught in schools. The famous George Buchanan translated it into Latin, for the use of his noble pupil Gilbert Kennedy Earl of Cassiles, and caused it to be printed under this title, 'Rudimenta Grammatices Thomæ Linacri, ex Anglico sermone in Latinum versa, Georgio Buchanano Scoto interprete.' Paris. apud Rob. Stephanum, 1536. & Gryphium Lugd. 1541, 8vo (28) IV. But our learned Doctor's larger work in this kind was, *De emendâta Structura Latini Sermonis Libri sex.* Lond. printed by Ric. Pynson, 1524, 8vo. and afterwards, by R. Stephens, 1527, 1532, with a dedication by Ph. Melancthon to W. Risenstein; wherein he calls this work the most perfect in it's kind. *Itaque mihi quidem nullum videtur in hoc genere scriptum extare perfectius.* And every learned reader cannot but admire therein, the author's perfect skill in the art of Grammar, and his various and extensive acquaintance with the best authors; as Mr Mattaire rightly observes. *In quibus consummatam artis illius peritiam, & multifariam optimorum quorumque authorum lectionem eruditus harum rerum judex non poterit non admirari* (29). We are told by Dr Knight (30), that this most accurate commentary was probably printed with a respect to St Paul's school in London, Linacer being encouraged thereto by Dean Colet; tho' he refused after all to admit it into his school, which the Doctor highly resented. For it cost him a great deal of time and trouble; he being forming and revising it twenty years together, in the midst of his practice of physick, and his philosophical and mathematical studies. Dr Knight adds, that the book has since met with great applause, had several editions abroad, some with annotations; and has been had in the highest reputation as a classic. V. A Wood ascribes to our author a book intitled, 'Compendious Regiment, or a Dietarie of health, used at Mountpillour.' Lond. by Rob. Wyer, 8vo (31).

(27) Erasmi Epist. edit. Leid. p. 1263.

(28) Mattaire, Epist. ut supra, p. 43, 44. and Dr Knight's Life of Colet, p. 135, &c.

(29) Epist. ut supra, p. 44.

(30) Life of Colet, p. 135, 138, 139. Vide etiam Erasmi Epist. edit. Froben. 1540, p. 355.

(31) Athen. Vol. I. col. 20.

[P] *They were highly applauded by Erasmus, and other the best judges.*] Erasmus's high opinion of them, appears from the following passages in his letters. *Tandem apud nos prostare coepit* Galenus *a* Linacro *versus, qui mihi supra modum placet. Posthac & medicum fieri juvat —Mitto dono libros Galeni, opera* Linacri *melius Romane loquentes, quam antea Græce loquebantur* (32).—*Est apud Britannos vir undequaque doctissimus* Thomas Linacrus,—*multis annis elimatas lucubrationes suas vicissim edit in lucem. Prodiit Galenus* περὶ τῶν ὑγιεινῶν *tanta fide, tanta luce, tanto Romani sermonis nitore redditus, ut nihil usquam desideret Lector Latinus: imo nihil non melius reperiat, quam apud Græcos habeatur. Successerunt libri Therapeutices, quos scis quales antehac habuerimus* (33).—*Apud Britannos studio* Thomæ Linacri *sic nuper disertus coepit esse Galenus, ut in sua lingua parum disertus videri possit Ejusdem opera sic Latine legitur Aristoteles, ut, licet Atticus, vix in suo sermone parem habeat gratiam* (34).—*Sunt illi permulta in scriniis, magno usui futura studiosis. His monumentis vir ille consuluit immortalitati sui nominis, his ornat suam Angliam, his aulam regiam illustrat, atque ipsum in primis principem, cui medicus est primarius* (35).———In all these passages he affirms, that the Doctor's versions exceed the original: as, in the following, he commends the propriety, conciseness, and elegance of them Linacrum *novi virum undequaque doctissimum —Urbanitatem nusquam affectat, ab affectibus abstinet religiosius quam ullus Atticus, breviloquentiam & elegantiam amat, ad docendum intentus. Aristotelem & Quintilianum studuit exprimere* (36).—But he gently reproves him, for being over-nice, and spending too much time in them. *At tu, si mihi permittis ut libere tecum agam, sine fine premis tuas omnium eruditissimas lucubrationes, ut periculum sit, ne pro cauto modestoque crudelis habearis, qui studia hujus sæculi tam lenta torqueas expectatione tuorum laborum, ac tam diu fraudes desideratissimo fructu tuorum voluminum* (37). The learned Bishop Huet passes the same judgment upon him (38).———*Adeamus* Thomam Linacrum, *quo nemo majorem orationis nitorem, castitatem, & condescentiam ad interpretationem contulit: quarum virtutum integritatem dum diligentius tueri studet, fidelem verborum affectationem, raro quidem, at aliquando tamen, omisit.* We shall conclude this learned man's article with the just encomium given of him, by the anonymous editor of his translation of Galen *de Symptomatibus.*—Linacrus—*vir ut utriusque linguæ doctissimus, ita reconditarum artium cum primis eruditus: qui studiosos omnes (dum vixerat) ad meliorem illam mentem non modo adhortabatur, verum etiam maximis muneribus & fovere & alere solebat, ut non immerito tanquam alter Mecænas doctis hominibus haberetur.*

(32) Erasmi Epist. edit. Froben, p. 363.

(33) Idem, p. 365.

(34) Idem, p. 493.

(35) Epist. p. 365.

(36) Erasmus, in Ciceroniano.

(37) Epistola Linacro, edit. Froben. p. 451.

(38) De claris Interpret.

that reaſon among others worthy himſelf to be admired, in the monument he ſet up to the memory of this excellent man, informs us particularly, what extraordinary cures he performed in many caſes, which had been thought deſperate. He adds this farther character (and that a very amiable one) of him, that he had an utter deteſtation of every thing that was trickiſh or diſhonourable; that he was a moſt faithful friend; and by the greateſt part of the world, and by all ranks of men, valued and beloved. And indeed as he was perfectly ſkilled himſelf in his own art, ſo he always ſhewed a remarkable kindneſs for all thoſe who bent their ſtudies that way; and wherever he found, in young ſtudents, any ingenuity, learning, modeſty, good manners, and a deſire to excel, he aſſiſted them with his advice, his intereſt, and his purſe (p). In a word, he was in his own time reckoned, by the beſt judges, a man of a bright genius, and a clear underſtanding, as well as unuſual knowledge in different parts of learning; and his works, which are now extant, will fully ſatisfy us, that he deſerved this character. He was one, who both living and dead, by his writings and his benefactions, has done great honour, not only to his profeſſion, but to his country (q). C

(p) Freind, as above, p. 407, 408, 409.

(q) Idem, p. 400.

LISTER [Martin], an eminent Phyſician and Natural Philoſopher, was born of Yorkſhire parents, ſettled in the county of Buckingham about the year 1638 (a). He received the firſt part of his education under his great-uncle, Sir Matthew Liſter, Knt (b); who having fitted him for the univerſity, he was ſent to St John's-college in Cambridge, where, proſecuting his ſtudies with commendable diligence, he obtained his firſt degree in Arts, anno 1658 (c), not long after the death of his uncle, who being a hearty Loyaliſt [A], had taken care to imbue his nephew with the ſame principles; the fruits whereof he reaped at the Reſtoration, being appointed Fellow of his college by a royal mandate from King Charles II. in 1660. Two years afterwards he proceeded Maſter of Arts (d); and reſolving to make Phyſick his profeſſion, he applied himſelf more particularly to the ſtudy of that art; and, for further improvement therein, travelled into France about the year 1668 (e). On his return home he ſettled at York in 1670 (f), and continued in the practice of his Faculty many years in that city with high applauſe. At the ſame time employing his leiſure hours upon ſubjects of the Natural Hiſtory and Antiquities of his country, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo much that way, as to be choſen Fellow of the Royal Society; in which learned body he became very remarkable, by the great number of papers communicated to them [B]. About the year 1683, leaving the country in compliance to the ſollicitations of ſome friends, he removed to London; and, being created Doctor of Phyſick at Oxford by diploma [C] on the 11th of March that year, he was ſhortly after elected Fellow of the college of Phyſicians (g). He had already publiſhed ſeveral treatiſes upon the Natural Hiſtory, &c. of Animals, an account whereof was conſtantly printed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions [D]. In the younger part of his life he ſpared no pains in the ſearch after natural and antique curioſities, travelling into ſeveral parts of England, eſpecially in the North, for that purpoſe; but growing into a leſs confirmed ſtate of health, after twenty-ſix years ſpent in theſe purſuits, together with the buſineſs of his profeſſion, he found himſelf under a neceſſity of taking to a more eaſy and ſedentary life; during which, he employed his pen in drawing up ſuch medicinal obſervations, as were the fruits of an extenſive practice (h). Theſe he publiſhed in Latin, under

(a) This is collected from the time of taking his Bachelor of Arts degree, viz. in 1658, probably about twenty years of age.

(b) Wood's Faſti, Vol. II. col. 224.

(c) Regiſter of St John's college.

(d) Ibid.

(e) In his Journey to Paris in 1698, he mentions his being there thirty years before.

(f) In the Introduction to his Exercitationes Medicinales, printed in 1697, he ſays, he had followed his buſineſs 26 years and upwards.

(g) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(h) See the Introduction, called *Præfatio*, of this book.

[A] *Who being a hearty Loyaliſt*] We have the following account of this gentleman from Mr Wood: That he was born at Thornton in Craven in Yorkſhire, was bred at Oxford, and became Fellow of Oriel-college there; but travelling abroad, he took his Doctor of Phyſick's degree at the univerſity of Baſil in Germany, and was incorporated in the ſame degree at Oxford, May 15, 1605. Afterwards he became a Retainer to the celebrated Counteſs of Pembroke, whoſe eſtate he managed to the beſt advantage. He was next made Phyſician to Queen Anne, conſort to King James the Firſt; and then Phyſician in Ordinary to King Charles the Firſt, from whom he received the honour of knighthood at Oatlands, October 11, 1636. At length he became Preſident of the College of Phyſicians, and one of the moſt eminent of the Faculty in his time. He died at Burwel near Lowth in Lincolnſhire about the year 1657, aged ninety two, and was probably buried there (1).

(1) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 170.

[B] *He communicated a great number of papers to the Royal Society.*] There are near forty of theſe printed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, from No 25 to No. 585 incluſive; containing obſervations and experiments upon various ſubjects in Meteorology, Hydrology, Mineralogy, Botany, Zoology, Anatomy, Pharmacy, and Antiquities.

[C] *He was created Doctor of Phyſick by diploma.*] This being an honour conferred only in conſideration of ſome extraordinary merit, the particulars of that merit are uſually mentioned in the preamble, the ſubſtance whereof, in the preſent inſtance, was contained in the Chancellor's letter of recommendation, as follows: That he was lately a practitioner of Phyſick at York, now here in London; a perſon of exemplary loyalty, and of high eſteem among the moſt eminent of his profeſſion, for his excellent ſkill and ſucceſs therein; and hath given farther proof of his worth and knowledge, by ſeveral learned books by him publiſhed (2); he hath entertained ſo great an affection for the univerſity of Oxford, that he hath lately preſented the library with diverſe valuable books, both manuſcript and printed, and enriched the new Muſæum with ſeveral altars, coins, and other antiquities, together with a great number of curioſities of nature, whereof ſeveral cannot be matched for any price, which yet he declares to be but an earneſt of what he further intends, &c. (3)

(2) See an account of theſe in the next remark.

(3) Wood's Faſti, Vol. II. col. 224. Our author, as appears in Phil. Tranſ. was particularly acquainted with Mr Lhwyd, then Keeper of the Aſhmolean Muſæum, who had a great eſteem for him, and was probably the chief inſtrument in procuring his diploma.

[D] *An account whereof was publiſhed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions*] The titles of theſe are, 1. Hiſtoriæ Animalium Angliæ, tres tractatus. Unus de Araniis. Alter de Cochleis, tum terreſtriis tum fluviatilibus. Tertius de Cochleis marinis. Quibus adjectus eſt quartus de Lapidibus ejuſdem inſulæ ad cochlearum quandam imaginem figuratis. 1678. 2. Joh. Goedartius of Inſects, done into Engliſh, and methodized with the addition of notes. 1682, 4to. 3. The ſame book in Latin. 4. De Fontibus Medicatis Angliæ Exercitatio nova & prior. Ebor. 1682. There is an account of ſeveral of theſe tracts in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. 139, 143, 144, 166; and the laſt was reprinted at London in 1684, with the addition of a ſecond part, intituled, De Fontibus Medicatis Angliæ diſſertatio altera.

[E] *Exercitationes*

under the title of *Exercitationes Medicinales*, in 1697, 8vo [*E*]. The following year, he attended the Earl of Portland in his embaſſy from King William the Third to the Court of France. He ſtaid at Paris about ſix months, and, on his return, publiſhed an account of this journey, containing obſervations on the ſtate and curioſities of that metropolis. Theſe being thought ſomewhat minute and trifling for a man of letters, were ſmartly ridiculed in a pleaſant traveſty, under the title of a Journey to London, publiſhed by the ingenious Dr William King the ſame year [*F*]. In 1709, he publiſhed his *Diſſertatio de Humoribus*; and in November that year, upon the indiſpoſition of Dr Edward Hannes, our author was promoted to be ſecond Phyſician in Ordinary to her Majeſty Queen Anne (*h*). But this honour he enjoyed only a few years; he laboured then under the weight of age and infirmities, which increaſing, put a period to his life in February 1711-12, being ſucceeded as Queen's Phyſician by Dr Thomas Shadwell (*i*). Beſides the books already mentioned in the courſe of this memoir, the Doctor publiſhed ſome others, the titles of which are inſerted below [*G*].

(*h*) Boyer's Life of Queen Anne, p. 403.

(*i*) Ibid. p. 543.

[*E*] *Exercitationes Medicinales*, &c.] Theſe he had publiſhed ſingly before; but in this edition they were corrected and enlarged. The collection conſiſts of eight exercitations upon ſo many diſtempers. In the ſeventh, *De Calculo Humano*, of the Stone, ſpeaking of the ſaline ſpirits of animals, as proper medicines in this calamity, among others, he takes notice of the volatile ſpirit of raw ſilk, which, ſays he, is very well known under the name of *Goddard's drops*. *Vis autem ſalina & ſerico evaporata apud noſtrates notiſſima eſt ſub nomine* Goddard's Drops (4). That ſecret, he declares elſewhere, he had from King Charles the Second; and that this ſpirit, rarified with the oil of cinnamon, or ſome other eſſential oil, was the true receipt of thoſe drops.

(4) Exercit. Medicinal. p. 254.

[*F*] *The Journey to London, publiſhed by Dr King.*] Dr King fictitiouſly aſcribes this traveſty to Mr Sorbiere, who had given an account of England full of miſtakes and miſrepreſentations, and altogether trifling and almoſt unintelligible; which he makes our author rival, eſpecially for the clearneſs of his expreſſion, elegance of his deſcriptions, and ingenious choice of his ſubjects. The witty irony runs through the ſeveral parts of our author's Journey, in the order as they lie in the firſt edition; but had the doctor waited a little, he would have been ſupplied with further matter of ridicule. Our author publiſhed a ſecond edition of his Journey in 1699, wherein, upon occaſion of his *Synopſis Conchyliorum*, printed at London in 1685, folio, he tells the following ſtory, ſufficiently replete with vanity. Monſ. Clement, ſays he, Deputy-Librarian to the King's library, having ſhewed me the *Synopſis*, I told him, I was ſorry to ſee it there, and wondered how he came by it; for it was, I aſſured him, but a very imperfect tryal of the plates, which I had diſpoſed of to ſome few friends only, 'till I ſhould be able to cloſe and finiſh the deſign, which I now had done to my power, and would redeem that book with a better copy at my return to England.—The reader, continues he, will pardon me the vanity, if I tell him, that this book was no inconſiderable preſent, even for ſo great a prince as the King of France: for that, beſides the time that it took me up (ten years at leaſt) at leiſure hours, to diſpoſe, methodize, and figure, this part of Natural Hiſtory, it could not have been performed by any perſon elſe for leſs than 2000 pounds ſterling, of which ſum yet a great ſhare it ſtood me in out of my private purſe.

[*G*] *The titles of which are inſerted below.*] Theſe are: (1.) *Exercitatio Anatomica. In qua de Cochleis nempe terreſtribus & limacibus agitur. Cui accedunt digreſſiones de reſpiratione, generatione, androgyna, ſepia, & polypo, aliiſque rebus naturalibus*, 1694, 8vo. (2.) *Cochlearum & Limacum Exercitatio Anatomica. Accedit de Variolis Exercitatio*, 1695, 2 vols, 8vo. (3.) *Conchyliorum Bivalvium utriuſque aquæ Exercitatio Anatomica tertia. Huic accedit Diſſertatio Medicinalis de Calculo Humano.* Lond. 1696, 4to. P

LITTLETON [THOMAS], remarkably famous for his profound ſkill, both theoretical and practical, in the municipal or common law of England, flouriſhed in the XVth century. He was the eldeſt ſon of Thomas Weſtcote, of the county of Devon, Eſq; [*A*] by Elizabeth, daughter and ſole heir of Thomas Luttleton or Lyttleton, of Frankley in Worceſterſhire (*a*); in compliance to whom ſhe conſented, that the iſſue (or at leaſt the eldeſt ſon) [*B*] proceeding from that marriage, ſhould take the ſurname of Lyttleton, and bear

(*a*) Preface to Coke upon Littleton, edit. 12, 1738.

[*A*] *Thomas Weſton of the county of Devon, Eſq*;] When this gentleman married into the Littleton family we know not exactly, but in all probability it was in the reign of Henry IV. or in the beginning of that of Henry V. ſince in 1454, the 23d of Henry VI. we find our author capable of being called to the honourable degree of a ſerjeant at law, which was not conferred upon very young men in thoſe days (1).

(1) Preface to Coke, ut ſupra.

The Lyttletons, or Littletons, are a family of very ancient extraction, their anceſtors being ſettled in the vale of Eveſham in the county of Worceſter, ſo early as the 7th of Henry II. 1161. Deeds for conveyance of lands in that county, of that date, being witneſſed by John of Littleton, clerk: from whence it has been imagined, they took their name and riſe from the ſmall town of Littletune in that vale; which origin (at leaſt for our author's branch) Sir Edward Coke, in his firſt book of Inſtitutes, takes for granted (2).

(2) Ibid.

In the beginning of Henry IIId's long reign, Thomas de Lyttleton married Emma, an heireſs, and lady of the manor of Frankley in the ſaid vale. The iſſue of this marriage was a daughter named Emma, who was married to Augerus of Tatlington, in the pariſh of Tredington; by whom ſhe had a ſon, who uſed to write himſelf Nicholas of Frankley, ſon of Augerus of Tatlington, and had iſſue one ſon, who called himſelf * Thomas of Tatlington, and died without iſſue. Emma, his mother, ſurviving her huſband and ſon, married again to a Whetehamſted, and died, ſeized of Frankley 1298, as appears by an inquiſition after the death of Emma de Whethy, taken at Worceſter.

* Inquiſit. poſt Mort. 26 Edw. I.

Thomas of Lyttleton outlived Emma of Frankley, and marrying to his ſecond wife Ancelina Fitzwarren, by her had three ſons, Thomas, Edmund, and John (3); the eldeſt of which, married *Lucia de Bois*, or *Atwood*, by whom he had two ſons, Thomas and John; the eldeſt of whom, ſucceeded to the inheritance of Frankley, on the death of his kinſman Thomas of Tatlington (4), or rather on the death of Emma, mother of Thomas. He married Julian, daughter and heir of Robert Somery, a younger brother of Baron Dudley, and left by her a ſon named John, who is mentioned in a commiſſion of array, 1 H. IV. and who was ſucceeded by Thomas Luttleton, or Lyttleton, one of the eſquires of the body to Henry IV. and Henry V. and grandfather to our author.

(3) Edmund entered into Prieſt's Orders, and John died a Batchelor. Vid. Pedigree in the Heralds office.

(4) John married Beatrix, daughter of John Freſcheville, by whom he had a daughter, named Elizabeth, who was married to Jeffry Frere, Eſq; Idem.

[*B*] *Conſented that the iſſue (or at leaſt the eldeſt ſon)* &c.] There is a tradition that the three brothers of the

bear the arms of that family; argent, a chevron between three escalop shells sable; which our learned judge, accordingly, ever after bore, as eldest son and heir of the said Thomas Westcote, and Elizabeth his wife. He was educated at one of our universities, according to Sir Edward Coke (*b*), and afterwards transplanted himself to the Inner-Temple, London; and was in due time made one of the readers there, and read particularly, on the statute of Westminster 2. concerning *conditional gifts* (*c*). He was afterwards made by Henry VIth, Steward or Judge of the Court of the Palace, or Marshalsea of the King's houshold (*d*); and on the 13th of May, 1455, in the 33d year of that reign, King's Serjeant (*e*): in which capacity, he rode the northern circuit as judge of the assize (*f*). In 1462, the 2d of Edward IVth, our author received a pardon from the Crown, and was continued in his post of King's Serjeant (*g*), and also in that of Justice of Assize for the same circuit; and on the 26th of April, 1466, 6th Edward IVth, was appointed one of the Judges of the Court of Common-pleas (*h*), and rode the Northamptonshire circuit; and as a mark of favour, obtained a writ directed to the Commissioners of the customs for the ports of London, Bristol, and Kingston upon Hull, for the annual payment of 110 marks to support his dignity, with 106 shillings and eleven pence half-penny, to furnish him with a furred robe, and six shillings and six-pence more, for another robe called *Linura*: and in the 15th of that reign, was created, amongst others, a Knight of the honourable Order of the Bath (*i*) [*C*]. Our author married Johan, relict of Sir Philip Chetwin [*D*], by whom he had three sons, Sir William, his successor, Richard, an eminent lawyer under Henry VIIth, and Henry VIIIth, and Thomas: each of which (the two youngest receiving good possessions of inheritance from their father) married advantageously during his life (*k*) [*E*]. 'Thus (says Lord Chief Justice Coke, speaking of 'the Judge) advanced he his posterity, and his posterity, by imitation of his virtues have, 'honoured him (*l*).' Sir Thomas, during the troubles and confusions of his times, so ordered his behaviour, as to enjoy the favour of both the contending Sovereigns: and at the same time, acquired the esteem of all, for his great skill in the laws of England, an esteem which has ever been increasing, and his memory must always challenge veneration from all the students and professors of it, for that inestimable legacy he has left them in his treatise of the English Tenures or Titles [*F*], by which all estates were anciently held

(*b*) Coke on Littleton, fol. 235. b. sect. 381. Most likely at Cambridge, as Mr Wood takes no notice of him, though he mentions the family.

(*c*) 13 Edw. I. A. D. 1285. The General Dictionary, under this article, calls it the stat. of Will. II. which mistake they were led into, from it's being printed only W. 2. de donis conditionalibus, in Sir Edward Coke's preface.

(*d*) Preface, &c. ubi supra.

(*e*) Rotul. pat. 33 Hen. VI. part 1. m. 16. Dugdale's Chronica series, p. 67.

(*f*) Preface, &c.

(*g*) The pardon was granted to him by the name and addition of Thomas Littleton, Serjeant at Law, lately Sheriff (or rather Under-Sheriff) of Worcestershire.

(*h*) Rot. Pat. 6 Edw. IV. part 1. m. 15. Preface, &c. Dugdale, p. 68.

(*i*) Preface, &c. Stowe's Annals, 4to. edit. 1592, p. 705.

(*k*) Preface, &c.

(*l*) Preface, &c.

the judge, whose names were Nicholas, Edmund, and Guy (5), wrote their paternal name, *Westcote*; which their mother once taking exception at, and asking them whether they thought themselves better than their eldest brother? they replied, he altered his name, to inherit a fair estate, which, if they might share with him, they could do the same. And it appears, that Nicholas the second son, who married Agnes, daughter, and one of the heirs of William Handsacre, of Handsacre in Staffordshire, did not alter his, the Westcotes of Staffordshire claiming him for their ancestor; neither did Guy, the fourth, for he marrying a Greenville of Gloucestershire, gave rise to the family of the Westcotes, now settled in Devonshire: tho' it is highly probable, Edmund (who was father of two sons Thomas and Richard) or some of his descendants did; a family bearing the name and arms of Lyttleton, being seated in Cornwall, A. D. 1490, the 5th of Henry VII. whose possessions in that county, and in Devonshire, for want of heirs-male, have by marriage passed to the Trenances of Lastillian, in the county of Cornwall, who were in possession thereof in 1622.

[*C*] *Knight of the honourable Order of the Bath.*] This creation was made on the 18th of April 1475, consisting of 26 Knights, viz. Edward Prince of Wales; the Duke of York; the eldest son of the Earl of Lincoln; the Duke of Suffolk; two of the Queen's brothers; Lord Thomas, and Lord Richard Gray; the Earl of Shrewsbury; the Earl of Wiltshire; Mr Edward Woodville; Lord Nevil; Sir William Berkley (6); Sir John Stourton, eldest son and heir of the Lord Audley; Lord St Amand; George, son and heir of the Lord Stanley; John, son and heir of Lord Ferrers of Chartley; Richard Herbert, brother to the Earl of Pembroke (7): Vaughan Brian, Chief Justice of England; Thomas Littleton (our author); Mr Bodringham; Mr Bryan Stapleton; Mr Knevit; Mr Pilkington; Mr Ludlow; and Mr Charleton (8).

[*D*] *Johan, relict of Sir Philip Chetwin.*] She was daughter and one of the heirs of William Burley, of Broomscroft Castle in the County of Salop (9), who was son and heir to John Burley, of the same place, Esq; younger brother to Sir Simon Burley, Knight of the Garter, and who bore for arms, argent, a fess checky or and azure, on a lyon rampant sable, armed gules (10). Her mother was daughter of John Grendon in Staffordshire.

[*E*] *Married advantageously during his life,*] Sir William's first wife was Ellen, daughter and co heir of Thomas Welch (11), or Walsh, of Waleys and of Wanlop in Leicestershire, Esq; by Mary, daughter and coheir of Richard Byron, of Clayton in Lancashire, and widow of Thomas Fielding, Esq; one of the present Earl of Denbigh's ancestors. Sir William had by this lady, only one daughter, Joan, whom he married to Sir John Aston, of Tixal, Knight (12); but by his second lady, Mary, daughter of William Whitington, of Pantley in the county of Gloucester, Esq; he left issue one son, John, his heir, and a daughter, Anne, who was married to Thomas Rouse, of Ragley, in the county of Warwick, by whom she became mother to the abbess of Ramsey *. Sir William, after living many years in great splendor (for his mother who survived the judge, left him large possessions) (13) at Frankley, died on the 8th of November, 1508, and was buried in the great church of the abbey of Hales-Owen. †

Richard Littleton, our author's second son, to whom his father addressed his book of *Tenures*, married Alice, daughter and sole-heiress of William Winbury (14), or Winnesbury, of Pilleton-hall, in the county of Stafford, Esq; who brought him a large estate, and from whom the present Littletons of that county are descended.

The judge's third son, Thomas, settled at Speckley, and siding with Henry VII. when Lord Lincoln entered England with an army in favour of Lambert Simnel, the pretended Earl of Warwick; he was knighted by the King, two days after the battle of Stoke (15), which put an end to that imposture. This Sir Thomas married Anne, daughter and heir of John Botreaux, of Abbot Salford, in the county of Warwick, and of Botreaux Castle and barony of Cornwall, Esq; by whom he left one son, who called himself Thomas Littleton, of Speckley and Elmly in Worcestershire, and who married Alice Hunks, of Northwyke, in the same county, by whom he had no issue; but left two natural sons, William, surnamed Trevis, after his mother; and Richard, on whom, by his will, he settled some estates of his own purchasing (16). On an inquisition taken after his death in the 28th of Henry VIII. John Littleton of Mounslow, in the county of Salop, clerk (17), was found to be his heir, and from him descended several families of this name in Shropshire

[*F*] *The Treatise on the Tenures, or Titles, by which all estates were anciently held in England.*] This book of Judge Littleton's was wrote by him purely to explain to his son Richard, and others of the profession, as

(5) The Judge had also four sisters, one of which, named Anne, was married to Thomas Porter of Barston in Warwickshire; at which place she died in 1506, and lies buried in Barston chapel. Pedigree. Mr Arthur Collins says, the Judge had five brothers and five sisters.

(6) He had been knighted at Calais by Hen. VI. and was afterwards, by Edw. IV. on the first of April, 1481, the 21st of that King's reign, created Viscount Berkley; and on 28 June, 1483, 1 Rich. III. he was created Earl of Nottingham. Nicholl's Compendium, Vol. I. p. 389.

(7) Sir Richard (with his brother the Earl) was taken prisoner at the battle of Edgcote, fought 26 July, 1469, 9 Edw. IV. and beheaded at Northampton, together with Rich. Woodville, Lord Rivers, and John his son, by order of the Duke of Clarence and the Earl of Warwick. Id p. 279. Stowe, p. 692.

(8) Id. p. 705.

(9) Preface, &c.

(10) Ibid.

(11) Ibid.

(12) Ibid.

* He had also a natural son, called William Littleton, or William Lodge, who settled at Cessage in Shropshire.

(13) Idem.

† By the date of the probate of his will, he was living in December, and died before the February following.

(14) Preface, &c.

(15) This battle was fought on the 16th of June, 1487. Stowe, p. 787.

(16) William, the eldest, was Town-clerk of Worcester, and left issue one daughter.

(17) This John has been by some writers, and in particular in the Pedigree, and the Visitation of Salop, called brother to Thomas, the Judge's youngest son; which must be erroneous, as all the historical writers say, Sir Thomas had but three sons, William, Richard, and Thomas.

held in England. This book our author is ſuppoſed to have wrote during the time he was Judge of the Common-pleas, and after the 14th year of Edward the IVth; but there is no

(18) Littleton's Tenures, edit. 1554, fol. 163. Coke on Littleton, lib. 3. ſect. 749. fol. 394.

(19) Preface to Fitzherbert's Natura Brevium.

as he himſelf informs us (18), ſome chapters in the ancient book of tenures, wrote in the reign of Edward III (19). That author treated of them promiſcuoſly, making twenty-five different tenures, viz. 1. Knights ſervice, by which the tenant was obliged to bear arms for defence of the realm. 2. Grand ſerjeanty, which obliged him to attend the King by himſelf, or his deputy, whenever he went to war; and alſo conſiſted in doing corporal ſervices, ſuch as bearing the King's banner, or conducting his arms in war, and performing particular offices at the King's coronation in peace. 3. Petty ſerjeanty, by which he was bound to preſent the King with a bow, or arrows, or ſome other implement of war. 4. Eſcuage, which was a kind of knights ſervice, and conſiſted in paying a certain rate charged by the Lord on all his tenants towards maintaining the wars againſt the Scotch and the Welſh, when they invaded the borders of England. Theſe were in the nature of royalties, and as ſuch challenged right of ward, marriage, and relief, except petty ſerjeanty, which was not entitled to either. 5. Homage Anceſtral, where the tenant and his anceſtors had held of the Lord and his anceſtors by that tenure of homage and rent certain, beyond the memory of man; whereby the Lord was bound to warrant or defend his tenant in the poſſeſſion of the lands ſo holden againſt all other claimants. 6. Tenant by the courteſy of England; that is, where a man marries a wife with an eſtate of inheritance, and has iſſue by her, whether that iſſue be male or female, lives or dies, if the huſband ſurvives the wife, he enjoys the eſtate, diſpuniſhable of waſte during his life, but cannot alien it beyond that term; for if he does, the heir of the wife may enter and diſpoſſeſs him. 7. Fee-ſimple, the higheſt eſtate in the law: being a free-grant to the poſſeſſor of lands or tenements, to hold to him, his heirs and aſſigns, for ever, and which he may charge, alien, or diſpoſe of by ſale, gift, or deviſe. 8. Frank tenure, which is but a fee for life of the tenant, or ſome other, and unalienable. 9 Dower, a man poſſeſſed of an eſtate of inheritance takes a wife and dies; his heir, on entring into poſſeſſion, ſhall endow the wife (ſhe claiming it) of the third part of ſuch eſtate, which ſhe holds for her life. There are five kinds of dower, At the common law. By the cuſtom. At the church porch. By the aſſent of the father. And, of the moſt fair or better part. 10. For years by leaſe or grant; this is only a chattel real, and can never deſcend to the heir of the tenant, but goes to his executors. 11. Mortgage, which is a fee on condition, the performance or non-performance of which, may change it into a fee-ſimple, &c. 12. Burgage, is confined to the ancient boroughs, in which lands were granted by the King, and other Lords ſpiritual or temporal, to their tenants, who paid a certain annual rent for ſuch lands: wherefore it is but a tenure in ſoccage, and is governed by cuſtom and preſcription. 13. Soccage, is the holding lands or tenements, by payment of a rent certain, in lieu of all manner of ſervices, which was originally granted for the encouragement of tillage, that the huſbandman might have leiſure to till his grounds. There are three kinds of it: Soccage in *frank* tenure, Soccage is *ancient* tenure, and Soccage in *baſe* tenure. 14. Fee Farm, or freehold, which conveys a fee ſimple as to inheritance, but the tenant pays to the Lord a conſideration of the whole, half, or third part, of the value. To this tenure fealty is incident, but not relief. 15. Frank fee, is to hold land pleadable at the common law, in fee ſimple. 16. Baſe Fee, is to hold ſolely at the will of the Lord. But there are ſeveral eſtates held at the will of the Lord by cuſtom, which are permanent and valuable, ſuch as tenants by copy of court-roll, and tenants by the verge. 17. Villenage, was the baſeſt and loweſt of all tenures; the tenant holding under the title, and on condition of performing all low and mean ſervices for the Lord, without whoſe leave he could never, in his own right, poſſeſs any other lands or chattels, real or perſonal; and was even obliged to pay a fine for liberty to marry his children, who were confined to the ſame degree, nor could ever by any act of their own (except entering into a religious life) free themſelves from that ſtate of ſervitude. N. B. Though the tenure of Villenage ſtill remains by cuſtom in ſome places, yet there are now no villains, properly ſuch by the law in England at this time, but all are born free. 18. Fee-tail, is a conditional fee, where lands or tenements are given to one or more, to hold to them and the heirs of their body; and is divided into three ſorts, viz. General. Special. After poſſibilitly of iſſue extinct. The firſt, is where lands, &c. are given to one, and the heirs or iſſue of his or her body begotten; the ſecond, where the eſtate is granted to a man and his wife, and the heirs-male, or heirs-female, of their two bodies begotten; the third, is where a man and his wife are tenants in tail-ſpecial, and one of them dies without having iſſue by the other, the ſurvivor becomes tenant in tail, after poſſibility of iſſue according to the grant, through the death of the other being extinct, and may hold the eſtate for life, diſcharged from all actions of waſte; but if he aliens the heir may enter. 19. Frank-Marriage, is a tail-ſpecial in an eſtate given in conſideration of an inter-marriage between the tenants, and requires that the wife be of the blood or conſanguinity of the donor or giver, Fealty is incident to this tenure, but no other ſervices 'till after the fourth generation. 20. Frank-Almoin, was where lands were given to the uſe of the Church as a free alms, i. e. quit of all manner of ſervices. This tenure lay only in preſcription in Littleton's time, the ſtatute of 18 Edward I. having prohibited ſuch grants: but by 1 and 2 Philip and Mary it was revived and continued in force a long time, but is now again aboliſhed. 21. Tenant by Elegit, is where one perſon having recovered a debt or damages by a judgment in law againſt another, chuſes to take half his lands and chattels (except oxen and beaſts of the plough) and hold them 'till the debt is ſatisfied. And if he commits waſte, it ſhall be enquired into, and valued towards the diſcharge of the debt; for when that is cleared, the eſtate ſhall return to the debtor or his heirs again, ſo that the creditor cannot alien the moiety in his poſſeſſion. 22. Tenant by Statute-Merchant, is where a perſon having become bound in an obligation before the Mayor, Bailiff, or other chief Magiſtrate of a town, to pay to another at a ſet day any certain ſum of money, and does not then make payment, the Mayor, &c. on complaint made puts the creditor into poſſeſſion of the debtor's eſtate, which he may hold and occupy 'till the debt is paid, but muſt not commit waſte. 23. Frank-Farm, differs from fee-farm, in that neither ward, marriage, nor relief, are incident to it. 24. Rents of inheritance; divided into *Rent-ſervice*, *Rent-charge*, and *Rent-ſeck*; the firſt is where a perſon holds of another, by fealty and ſuit of Court, and the Lord accepts a certain rent in lieu of all ſervices. The ſecond, is where on granting any eſtate in land, the grantor reſerves to himſelf and his heirs a certain rent out of the ſame; for the former, the Lord may diſtrain of common right, but not for this, unleſs there be a clauſe of diſtreſs in the deed. The third, is when any tenant holds by ſervices and rent, if the Lord reſerves the ſervices to himſelf, and grants the rent to another, that is called *Rent-ſeck*, 25. Suit; and this is either *Suit-real*, or *Suit-ſervice*. By the former, the tenant is bound to attend the Court-Leet of his Lord twice in the year; and if he makes default, he may be amerced, but not diſtrained; and by the latter he is bound to attend the Court Baron, or other Court of his Lord, from three weeks to three weeks, *i. e.* once in every three weeks; and for neglecting ſo to do, he may be diſtrained but not amerced (20).

(20) Old Tenures of the Laws of England, as printed before Coke's firſt Inſtitute, edit. 12, 1738.

Theſe ſeveral tenures our author methodiſed and digeſted into order, and commented on; his work being divided into three books: in the firſt of which, he treats of the nature of inheritanees, which he divides into 7 general heads, Fee-ſimple; Fee-tail; Tenant by the courteſy of England; Tenant in Dower; For term of Life; For term of Years; and at Will: with their ſeveral ſubdiviſions and the legal requiſites to conſtitute each. In the ſecond he treats in the ſame manner of the tenures by which they are ſeverally held; as Homage, Fealty, Eſcuage, Knights Service, Soccage, Frank-Almoin, Homage-Anceſtral, Grand Serjeanty, Burgage, and Villenage. And in the third book he treats of their qualities and incidents, miſchiefs and remedies, under the ſeveral following heads; Parceners by common-law and by cuſtom, Joint Tenancy, Tenancy in common, Eſtates upon condition in deed, or implied; Deſcents,

no reason assigned for that conjecture: only it is presumed, it was not long before his death, as the the titles of tenant by *elegit*, *statute-merchant*, *and statute-staple* are not treated of in the work, tho' in two places our author expressly promises to handle them (*m*). Sir Edward Coke says in the preface to his first book of Institutes (which is only a comment on this work of our author's) that those titles were contained in the table of the first printed book; but the editor of the 12th edition of that work, which was published in folio, A. D. 1738, observes, that those titles are neither in the table of the *Rohan* edition, nor in those of *London*, printed by *Richard Pinson*, and by *Robert Redmayne*, in the 19th of Henry VIIIth, A. D. 1528: to which may be added, they are not in that of the edition published the 4th of May, 1544, by Wyllyam Myddylton [*G*]. The time of their original publication is equally difficult to be determined. Lord Chief-Justice Coke observes, they were not *published either by our author himself, or by his son* Richard, *or any other, until after the deceases both of our* Author, *and of* Richard *his son*. 'For (says 'he) *I find it not cited in any book or report before Sir* Anthony Fitzherbert *cited him in his* '*Natura Brevium* (*n*),' *published in the* 26th of Henry VIII. A. D. 1535; whereas he thinks, if it had been in print, it would in respect of it's excellency have been cited in the reports of Edward V. Richard III. Henry VII. or Henry VIII. or by the author of the *Doctor* and *Student* (*o*), which was printed in the 23d of Henry VIIIth, A. D. 1532. He adds, that the first edition he ever saw, was that printed at Rohan, (as it was wrote in French) by William de Tailier *ad instantiam Richardi Pinson, printer to Henry VIII*. which was before *Natura Brevium* was published; and thereupon concludes, *it was first printed about the 24th of Henry VIIIth*, A. D. 1533 [*H*], which was upwards of 50 years after the author's death. For he made his will the 22d of August, 1481, in the 21st year of Edward IVth, appointing his three sons, a parson, a vicar, and one of his servants, executors, and Dr John Alcock of Cambridge, the then Bishop of Worcester, supervisor of the same; and and dying the day following *in his great and good age*, was honourably interred in the cathedral church of Worcester, where a marble tomb, with his statue thereon, was erected to his memory (*p*).

(*m*) Littleton, lib. 3. cap. 3. fol. 66. cap. 4. fol. 75. Coke upon Littleton, lib. 3. fol. 187. § 291. in fine. fol. 200. §. 324.

(*n*) F. N. B. 212. C.

(*o*) S. Jermyn.

(*p*) Preface, &c. His picture was also placed in the churches of Frankley and Hales-Owen.

scents, Continual Claim, Releases, Confirmation, Attornment (21), Discontinuance, Remitter, and Warranty.

(21) Attornment is now taken away, by the statute of 4 Anne, cap. 16. sect. 9.

[*G*] *Edition, May* 4, 1544.] Neither have those titles been ever printed in the tables of any subsequent edition; nor does it appear they could be inserted with any propriety, if the author's address to his son, which immediately precedes the table in every edition, be duly considered; for he begins *Ore Jeo ay fait a toy mon Fils trois Livres. Le primer Livre des Estates qu' Hommes ount en Terres ou Tenements: cestasavoir, &c.* i. e. *Now my son I have made for thee three books. The first book is of estates which men have in lands or tenements: that is to say, &c.* and then begins the table which contains all the before-mentioned titles, as they follow each other in every book, This seems to make it plain, that he looked on the work as compleat at that time, without the addition of the titles in dispute.

[*H*] *First printed about the 24th Henry VIII. A. D.* 1533.] It is very clear from the two editions printed by Pinson and Redmayne now extant, that Sir Edward Coke is totally wrong in his conjecture: and the editor of the 12th edition has in a note on this part of Sir Edward's Preface given the following reasons to believe it was printed in England even so early as 1477, or the 17th of Edward IV. Enquiring into the time of the first impression. 'The old editions (says he) a-'bovementioned, *Pynson's* and *le Talleur's* name, 'and the manner *Littleton* is printed in at *Rohan*, seem 'to be the only means of discovering what we seek. 'From those editions we may collect, not only that the 'Rohan edition is older than the year 1528; but also, 'by what occurs in the beginning and end of them, 'that there had been other impressions of our author. 'From *Pynson's* name at the end of the *Rohan* edition, 'it may be concluded, that he would not have enga-'ged his friend *William le Talleur*, to have printed '*Littleton* at *Rohan*, had he ever before printed any 'books in French; and that he printed an abridgment 'of the statutes, part of which is in French, in 1499, 'appears by one of those books now extant. *Statham's* 'abridgment has his name to it, but there is no date 'to it; yet, it being printed with the same types and 'in the same manner *Littleton* was printed at *Rohan*; 'and as it is a larger book, it is highly probable it 'was printed some time after *Littleton's* Tenures; and 'that *Pynson's* success in the lesser undertaking, in-'duced him to venture on the greater, which in those 'days was a work of two or three years. *William le* '*Talleur* printed a Chronicle of the Duchy of Nor-'mandy, as appears by his name and cypher at the 'end thereof, and the date in the beginning, in the 'year 1489. The book itself [*the* Rohan *edition of* 'Littleton] is printed without any title-page, initial 'letter of the chapters, number of the leaves or year, 'and in a character much resembling writing, and with 'such abbreviations as are used in M.S. All which, 'it is well known to those who have seen many old 'books, are undoubted proofs of a book's being print-'ed when that art was in it's infancy. Upon the whole 'it may be concluded, that the book was printed some 'years before 1487; because the abovementioned 'Chronicle which hath not such marks of antiquity 'was printed in that year: and from what has been ob-'served concerning the manner it is printed in, it will 'be thought by those who are versed in ancient books 'to have been published ten years before that time.' (22). Z

(22) Preface, &c. in note *,*. The Rohan copy here referred to, is now in the library belonging to Lincoln's-Inn. Id. note ††.

LITTLETON [JOHN] an immediate descendant from the Judge [*A*], made a considerable figure towards the close of the XVIth century, though but a private gentleman; being

[*A*] *An immediate descendant from the Judge.*] He was descended from Sir William, eldest son and heir of the Judge, who at his death (as has been observed) left by his second lady one son, John, then but eight years old, being born in 1500, who afterwards married Elizabeth, daughter and co-heir of Sir Gilbert Talbot of Grafton in Worcestershire, Knight † Banneret and Captain of Calais, by Anne, daughter and co heir of Sir William Paston, ancestor of the late Earl of Yarmouth, by whom he left seven sons and two daughters. Of his sons, John, his heir (1) married Bridget, daughter and co-heir of Sir John Packington of Hampton-Levet, who left one and thirty manors at his death between five daughters and two brothers: Ursula, one of the daughters, was wife to Sir John Scudamore. In the first

† Sir Gilbert was the son of Sir Gilbert Talbot, second son of John the second Earl of Shrewsbury, and ancestor of the present Earl. He was also uncle to John Talbot of Albrighton in Salop, afterwards of Grafton, from whom the late Duke of Shrewsbury was descended.

(1) The other sons were, 2. Edward, commonly called long Edward, who married Elizabeth, widow of Sir John Talbot of Grafton. 3. Gilbert. 4. Anthony, who both died young. 5. Roger, of Grovely in Worcestershire, ancestor of the Littletons of Sheriff's-Naunton, and King's-Norton in the same county, by Elizabeth his wife, daughter of John Stanley, of West-Bromwich in the county of Stafford, Esq; 6. George; and 7. Thomas, who both died infants. The daughters were Mary, who died unmarried; and Anne, who was wife of Edward Newport, of Hanley-Williams in Worcestershire, Esq; *Their father died 15 May*, 1533, aged 33, and was buried at Hales-Owen.

being *a man of great sense and judgment, and equally qualified for the cabinet and camp (a)*. In the 27th of Elizabeth, he was returned Knight of the shire for the county of Worcester, though a Roman Catholic. He was a zealous follower of the Earl of Essex, and by that means unhappily involved in that nobleman's catastrophe, being one of the council which assembled at Drury-house, to concert measures for the carrying on the Earl's plot to seize the person of Queen Elizabeth [*B*], so that, after failure in the attempt made to raise an insurrection in London by the Earl, and his imprisonment in the Tower, Mr Littleton was seized amongst the rest of the confederates; and on the 20th of February (the day after Lord Essex's condemnation) he, together with Sir Robert Vernon, Sir William Constable, Sir Edward Bainham, Henry Cuffe, Captain Whitelocke, John and Christopher Wright, with an old soldier named Orell, none of which, except Mr Littleton and Cuffe, had been members of what they called the Earl's old Junto, were brought to the bar and arraigned; after which, Littleton, (then in a very ill state of health) Bainham, and Orell, were put upon their immediate tryal, pursuant to a command from the Queen, signified to the Court in a letter, wherein she observed, that all but these (as Sir Fulke Greville had informed her) had been drawn in unwittingly; wherefore the others were remanded to prison (*b*). The chief charge against Mr Littleton was for having assisted

(*a*) Camden's Annals, anno 1600. Treasons of the Earl of Essex, 4to, 1601. Rapin, Vol. II. p. 152. col. 1.

(*b*) Camden, p. 631.

first of Philip and Mary he was Knight of the Shire for Worcester; and in the 5th of Philip and Mary, purchased a great estate at Hales-Owen, as he did afterwards Hagley and Prestwood for hunting-seats. He had by his above lady six sons. 1. Gilbert. 2. William. 3. George. 4. John. 5. Robert. And, 6. Francis. And four daughters. 1. Elizabeth. 2. Margaret. 3. Amphillis. 4. Frances. The three youngest sons, and the youngest daughter, died unmarried. Amphillis was married to William Barneby, of Bokelton in Worcestershire, Esq; Margaret to Samuel Marrow of Berkswell in the county of Warwick, Esq; and Elizabeth, to Francis Willoughby of Wollaton, in the county of Nottingham, Esq; from which marriage the present Lord Middleton is descended. William the second son married Margaret, daughter and heir of Richard Smyth, of Shireford in the county of Warwick, Esq; and dying without issue, his younger brother George married his widow, and by that means secured a large estate in the family. Gilbert, the heir, marrying Elizabeth, daughter of Humphrey Coningsby, of Hampton-Court in Herefordshire, and Neithersolers in Shropshire, Esq; by her had John, his heir, the subject of the present article, and two other sons, who both died without issue inheritable; and one daughter Anne, whose husband was Sir Thomas Cornwall, called the great Baron of Burford in Shropshire. Gilbert, the father of the gentleman we now treat on, represented his county (Worcester) in Parliament, during the 13th and 14th years of Elizabeth, and died at his house in the White-Fryars, Fleet-Street, London, 1599, in the 59th year of his age.

[*B*] *To seize the person of Queen Elizabeth.*] This council was held about Candlemas in the year 1600 (2), and consisted of the Earl of Southampton, Sir Charles Davers, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Governor of Plymouth, Sir John Davies, a great Mathematician and Surveyor of the Ordnance, and Mr John Littleton, who was respected by the rest for his *wit* and *valour* (3). When they were met, a list was produced of 120 Noblemen, Knights, and Gentlemen, all wrote by the Earl of Essex's own hand, in order to induce them to believe those persons favoured his designs; which were next to be considered, and for carrying these on two things were proposed; the seizing the Tower, and securing the Queen's person and the Court: they also debated on the measures to be observed with regard to the City, before and after their attempt. Much was alledged in behalf of the Tower scheme, as the facility of entrance through Sir John Davies's means, the reputation, the gaining the principal fort of the realm, with its stores and provisions, would give their undertaking, and that thereby they might bridle the City. But this was unanimously overruled, as an attempt that would only distract them in the more principal design, the seizing the Queen's person, and making themselves masters of the Court, since if they succeeded in that, the other must necessarily follow. This opinion (notwithstanding they knew the Earl of Essex's strong inclination to secure the City first) was in the end generally agreed to, and resolved to be carried into execution in the method following. 'That 'certain select persons of their number, such as were 'well known in Court, and might have access, without check or suspicion, into the several rooms of the 'Court, according to the several qualities of the persons, and the difference of the roumes, should distribute themselves into the Presence, the guard chamber, the hall, and the utter court and gate; and 'some one principal man undertaking every several roume, with the strength of some fewe to be 'joyned with him, should make good his charge according to the occasion. ——— Sir Charles Davers 'was then named to the Presence, and to the great 'chamber, where he was appointed, when time should 'be, to seaze upon the halberds of the guard; Sir 'John Davies to the hall; and Sir Christopher Blunt 'to the utter gate; these seeming to them the three 'principal wards of consideration. And that things 'being within the Court in a readinesse, a signal should 'be given and sent to the Earl of Essex, to set forward 'from Essex house, being no great distance off. 'Whereupon Essex, accompanied with the noblemen 'of his party, and such as should be prepared and 'assembled at his house for that purpose, should march 'towards the Court; and that the former conspirators 'already entered, should give correspondence to them 'without, as well by making themselves masters of the 'gates to give them entrance, as by attempting to get 'into their hands upon the sudden the halberds of the 'guards, thereby hoping to prevent any great resistance from within, and by filling all full of tumult 'and confusion. This being the platforme of their 'enterprise, the second act of this tragedy was also resolved; which was, that my Lord should present 'himself to her Majesty, as prostrating himself at her 'feet, and desire of her the remove of such persons, as 'he called his enemies from about her. And after 'that my Lord had obtained possession of the Queene 'and state, he should call his pretended enemies to 'a triall upon their lives, and summon a Parliament, 'and alter the government, and obtaine to himselfe 'and his associates such conditions, as seemed to him 'and them good. ——— These were the resolutions 'taken at that consultation, held by these five at 'Drury-house, some five or six days before the rebellion, to be reported to Essex, who ever kept to 'himself the binding and directing; which he did to 'prevent all differences that might grow by dissent or 'contradiction. And beside he had other persons '(which were Cuffe and Blunt) of more inwardnesse 'and confidence with him than these (Southampton 'only excepted) which managed that consultation. 'And for the day of the enterprise, which is that must 'rise out of the knowledge of all the opportunities and 'difficulties, it was referred to Essex his own choice 'and appointment; it being neverthelesse resolved, 'that it should be some time before the end of Candlemas term (4).' And accordingly on Sunday the 8th of February the Earl, accompanied by the Lord Southampton, and about 300 gentlemen took boat from his own garden-stairs in the Strand, and went to the Old Swan, where they landed, and marched up toward Sir Thomas Smith's (near Fen-Church), who the Earl had been informed had promised to assist him with 1000 of the Trained-Bands, being then one of the Sheriffs; but was disappointed, Sir Thomas attending the sermon at Paul's-Cross, towards which the Earl, after shifting his shirt at the Sheriff's house, bent his march; calling on the Londoners all the way (but in vain) to take up arms to assist him (5).

(2) Camden, p. 630. Treasons of Essex. Rapin, Vol. II. p. 152. col. 1.

(3) Treasons of Essex.

(4) Id. p. 631.

(5) Id. ibid. Aulicus Coquinariæ, p. 48. Treasons of Essex.

assisted at the above consultation, which was proved by Sir Charles Davers, who, 'tis said, first drew him into the snare; and great weight was laid on the number of horses, and great quantity of arms found in his inn when he was apprehended. He made very little defence, as he could not deny being at Drury-house, though he came in but at the latter end of the consultation, as Sir Charles, in his evidence against him, and in his confession taken two days before, had admitted; and as to the horses and arms, he said, that 'his 'estate was able to maintain good store of horses, and he always delighted in arms and 'horses.' Hereupon he was (with the two others) convicted, and, on receiving sentence, only said, 'We praise thee, O God, we acknowledge thee to be the Lord.' He was immediately conveyed back, with his two fellow-convicts [C], to Newgate, from which the day following he wrote an admirable letter to Sir Walter Raleigh [D], to whom, 'tis said, he paid ten thousand pounds for procuring a pardon for his life; but his estate, which amounted to near seven thousand a year, was confiscated, and he detained in custody 'till his death, which happened on the 25th of July following, in the King's-Bench prison, to which he had been removed on the 25th of April before. During his confinement, he wrote several moving epistles to his lady [E], who was Merriel, daughter of Sir Thomas Bromley,

[C] *Conveyed back with his two fellow-convicts.*] Bainham procured his pardon through Sir Walter Raleigh, to whom it is said he paid a sum of money for the favour, and Orell was detained a prisoner, so that neither of them for the crime.

[D] *He wrote an admirable letter to Sir Walter Raleigh.*] This letter being preserved, the reader may like to peruse it; it was as follows,

'Sir,

'It is not worthy the vertue and honour you pro-'fesse, to persecute persons fallen into misfortune, yf 'heretofore you have borne me causelesse displeasure, 'nowe of all others is the time leste seasonable to 'shew it. Remember, Sir, what it is to be truly no-'ble, and howe it agreethe not with generous hartes 'to delite to trample upon dejected fortunes. It is 'now in your power to doe me good or ill offices. 'Yf now you doe me ill, you shall wrong your own 'reputation; if you doe me good, you shall give me 'cawse to be thankfull. There is alreadye between 'your son and me one tye in blood and nature. I 'could be contente you did now double the knotte with 'offices of love and friendship. To begge your favour '(in the state I stand) were too much basenesse, to refuse 'it were arrogancye and indiscretion, but to require you 'to do me no harme, is but justice, and that every gen-'tleman oweth of right to another. What construction 'you will make of this, or what is now meete to be done, 'I must refer to your own judgment, and so I end.

JOHN LITTLETON.'

[E] *He wrote several moving epistles to his lady.*] The following was sent to her soon after he was first apprehended. 'Be not discomforted with the appear-'ance of my present misfortunes. I have done no acte 'that can burthen my conscience; I have committed 'no offence that may justly bring scandal to my repu-'tation. I have conceaved no disloyal thought towards 'my contreye. My falte is my follye (if it may be 'termed a follye) to have been over zealous and af-'fectionate to the friends I professed to love and fol-'low. If the sway of times, and the power of great 'persons will make other interpretations, and wreste 'private actions to the offence of the public quiet, 'then must I, as well as others, be subject to that 'fatal imputation. I carrye notwithstanding, and 'ever will bear about me, a cleer sincere harte, and 'an unspotted conscience, upon which arches I doe 'supporte my mynde, and with those pillers staye up 'myselfe against all adversitye that men or fortune 'can lay upon me. I find no cause to dispayre of 'mine own safetye, my offence being not in any na-'ture capital, and my friends giving dayly hopes to 'those, that sollicit for me this businefs. But I build 'no strong walls upon these foundations: my principal 'trust is in him only, that is only able to helpe me. 'If he find it meet I must perish, that my sins, and 'the sins of my house do require this sacrifice to 'purge it, wellcom be his will; and I hope he will 'make it unto me none other than as a bridge to passe 'over from a base, vile, contemptible world, into a 'kingdom replenished with all bliss and happiness. 'Whether I live or dye, I humblye beseech him I 'may be his; and then it little signifyeth whether 'now, or at what other time I take my journey to-'wards him. And howsoever it shall please him in 'his wisdom to dispose of me, I hope in his mercy 'and goodness he will give me grace so to live, and 'with constancye so to dye, as you shall not be after 'ashamed to term me your husband, nor your children 'blushe to avowe me for their father. The black box, 'I hope, you have received safe, wherein you may 'find an assurance of all my lands upon your children, 'and a provision for you to breed them up, in the 'most plentiful sorte, that my estate could possibly ex-'tend to. My brothers also are therein provided for, 'not so well happely as they expecte, but full as am-'ply as my wasted fortune could admitte, and more 'liberally than to my own younger children. My 'debts I ordered to be satisfied. And if there shall 'be cause to give farther directions in that poynte, I 'truste God will give me time to do it. Let me in 'your letters receave a particular of all the writinges 'and notes contayned in that box, and doe it with all 'the spead you can. Acquaint my brothers with this 'my letter, who, I judge, are perplexed with the 'present apprehension of mine, and therein with the 'consideration of their own fortunes. Be you all not-'withstandinge of good cheer, and doe you, my Wife, 'comforte yourselfe, and beleeve, that the greatest 'dewtye you can now perform unto me, is to rayse up 'your owne mynde, and conserve yourselfe able to che-'rish and brede up in virtue those our poor children, 'who (should you by grief and sorrow overthrowe your-'selfe) were in manifest danger (but by God's great mer-'cye) to be wholly undermined. Almightye God blesse 'you all. His mercye and blessings be with us, and re-'mayne upon us for ever. Amen, Amen, Amen.

J. L.'

The two following (especially the first, as appears by the date, being the day he was tried) seem to be wrote after he had received sentence.

'I have in several letters and notes, as matters of 'have presented themselves to my memory, recom-'mended unto you the performance of those things, 'that are left by me in my tyme of liberty unprovided, 'and are of that small qualitye that may without much 'impeachmente to your estate be answered. I will 'not impose upon you any matter of farther burthen, 'yet in charge and truste equal, yf not of greater force, 'than any of those I have already enjoyned; that is 'to say, that you call to mynde the meritts and de-'sertes of those faythful followers and frendes of myne, 'that have in the times of my troubles, not only em-'ployed their honeste indeavours and careful travells 'for the good of me, yourself, and children; but in 'matters of my distresse have ingaged themselves, 'theyr credites, and whole fortunes, for my private 'occasions. Amongst the reste, now in alliance of his 'wife and children more near, in the great care and 'paynes he hath taken of more meritte, nor in ha-'zard of his estate any mo deeply ingaged, as is Hum-'phry Parrotte, my honest faithfull frend (6). I doe 'therefore charge and intreat you in love; I com-'mand you in the dewtye and respect you ought to 'beare unto me, that you love him, you regard and 'esteeme, you favour and protecte him, as one, who 'hath don unto mee, unto you, and our children, the 'offices of a trustye, carefull, discreet frend, and will 'I know ever remayne to that poor house of Frankley, 'a faithful

(6) H. Parrotte was his steward.

Bromley, Lord Chancellor of England; and who, throwing herſelf at the feet of King James the Firſt at Doncaſter in Yorkſhire, in his paſſage from Edinburgh to London, not only obtained a grant of her huſband's forfeited eſtate, but alſo an act of Parliament to be paſſed in the firſt year of his reign, whereby Mr Littleton's attainder was reverſed, and his children by her reſtored in blood; and in 1618, Thomas, the eldeſt, was knighted at Whitehall, having been created a Baronet in July before. The reader will find a further account in the note [*F*] of the other children and poſterity of Mr Littleton, with whoſe

'a faithful follower, and without grudging or diſdayn, 'a willing ſervante. Remember yourſelf alſo, how in 'my love, in my truſte, in my confidence of your 'good-nature to my children, and gratefull affection 'to my neereſt frendes, I have in the diviſion of my 'torne eſtate delt moſt kindly and moſt bountifully 'with you. I therefore in juſtice require it at your 'handes, that you laye aſide all private fancyes and 'humours taken upon conceyte and miſpriſion, and 'love, cheriſhe and eſteem of him and all that ſhall 'belonge unto him, as one that I have by my laſt will 'and requeſte, commended unto you. It is true, that 'he hath performed ſome dewty as unto me, that 'maye (thinges not well meaſured) give ſome exception 'unto you. But wayinge withall, that it was my 'commaundmente, and that he was not to examyne, 'much leſſe to refuſe any buſineſſes committed by me 'unto him, you muſt reſorte backe either to laye that 'falte (yf any) upon me, or moſt juſtly upon your 'own miſtakynge. My dear wife, I praye you let not 'my fraylties be remembred, but cancell the remembrance of them, as well towards me, that have bin 'the principal offender, as towards all others that I 'have made acceſſorys; in which number I proteſte I 'never had thought to uſe this man in ſo baſe and vile 'an office; neither would he, I proteſte, have ſo villefyed himſelf (as I verely believe) yf I wold have 'ſo far wronged him. Love him therefore I once 'agayne praye you, and make uſe of his honeſte endeavours and faythfull ſervice. And the ſame requeſte I make for this man, I make for Gilber Coniſbye; and wiſh that you have conſideration, as 'you maye be able, of their loſſes ſuſtayned by me, 'and following my unlucky fortunes. Almighty God 'bleſs you and all my ſweet babes, and ſend us of his 'grace while we remayne in this tranſitorye pilgrimage; and when we paſſe hence, a joyfull meeting 'in his heavenly Kingdome. Amen, Amen, Amen.

'From the dungeon in Newgate.
'20th February, 1600.'

The next is without date, but could not differ much in time from the above

'I had a purpoſe when I wrote laſte unto you by '*Humphry Parrotte* in that letter of mine, to have 'diſcourſed at large both the reaſons, that moved me 'to deviſe the conveyances contained in this box, as 'alſo on ſundry other matters then intended; and 'touching the education of your children, and the 'guiding of yourſelf and the ſmall eſtate left unto you, 'to have declared my mind and judgment. But ſuch 'in truth hath bin the trouble of bringing thoſe buiſneſſes to perfection, and the aſſurance given me to 'haſten towards my journeye ſo ſuddenly followinge, 'as I am utterly diſappointed; therefore I muſt both 'enter and conclude at once this, that would otherwiſe 'require at my hands, both in regarde of the ſubjecte 'and of my will to omitte no neceſſarye caution, 'a much larger diſputation. But to come to the 'matter; I have in theſe conveyances deſired to provide for yourſelf and children, to ſatisfye my creditors, 'to ſave harmleſs my ſuretys engaged for my debts; 'and laſtly, to recompenſe in ſorte, as my ſtate doth 'permit, my antient ſervants and followers. In this, 'as you are the partye neareſt unto me, firſte and 'beſte provided for, placed in moſt truſt and confidence by me; ſo do I require at your hands, and 'charge you by the love that you owe as a wife, and 'by the dewtye that you bear as a Chriſtian woman, 'that in all theſe things deviſed by me, you indeavour 'your uttermoſt to have them trewlye performed. 'And becauſe the children, God has given me, are 'and ought of all other matters in this world moſt to 'be reſpected; of them firſt I require, that above all 'other things you take eſpecial care, that they be 'brought up in the feare of God, upon which dependeth all future bleſſinges both in this world, and in 'the world to come. Next that they may be inſtructed carefully in learning and good manners, without 'which there can be no expectation of any worthyneſs to be in them. And laſtly, that eſpeciall care 'be, that when they attayn to years of underſtanding, they may not be taynted with the fylthe of baſe 'companye; but ſeaſoned even in their beginninges 'with ſuch liquors of civil and vertuous ſobriety, as 'may reliſh all the reſt of their lives and actions. 'Theſe things, my deare wife, I doe moſt earneſtly 'recommend unto you; and in the care to ſee this 'performed, I praye you upon your love unto me; 'for there will come a time, when you and I ſhall 'meette (if it pleaſe God now otherwiſe to diſpoſe of 'us) I mean before the face of God, where I will demand it at your handes, and in whoſe name I once 'agayn require it of you. There are in the little 'painted caſkette certayn letters not meet to be ſeen 'or peruſed; I praye you of all loves between you 'and me, that the ſame may be burned, and that no 'diſhonor nor diſgrace come to any perſon whom the 'ſame doth concern. For as my frailtye hath bin the 'occaſion thereof, the publiſhing of theſe follyes would 'leave a ſpotte and blemiſh in my reputation. My 'moſt dearly eſteemed wife, almightye God of his 'great infinite goodneſſe and mercye bleſſe thee, and 'bleſſe all thy children; give us all of his grace to 'ſerve and honour his holy name; and make us happye partakers together of his glorious kingdome in 'Heaven. Amen, Amen, Amen.'

This which follows was wrote to Mr Thomas Forteſcue, his uncle, in which he ſeems to reſent ſome ſlighting behaviour.

'The conveyance, you write of, is alreadie placed 'in ſafe cuſtodie, and in honeſt truſtie handes. Yf 'my care taken for the good of my wife and children, make others careleſs of my life, and my kind 'natural reſpecte ſhall be a meanes to make me extraordinarely neglected, I muſt then truſte to myſelfe, and will not leave to make uſe of my owne, to 'myne owne beſt advantage. The writinge I took 'into myne owne handes from my coſin *Parrot* a fortnight ſithence, of whoſe honeſte carriage and fidelitie 'I muſte give this teſtimonie, that I have, in all my 'former ſuites and theſe late trobles, found him the 'moſt carefulle truſtie frende to his poore power, 'that I have had; which the rather I here mentione, 'in regard of ſome odious falſe informations I doe take 'knowledge to be ſuggeſted againſte him. To yourſelfe, my good uncle, I have bin for many kindneſſes 'beholdinge, which I will, during my life, acknowledge, and after my death pray to God to requite 'them.

'*Newgate* 'Your loving Nephew,
'2d *March*, 1600.
JOHN LITTLETON.'

[*F*] *The reader will find a further account in the note.*] Mr Littleton, beſides the Sir Thomas abovementioned, his heir, had by his lady two ſons and five daughters. The ſecond ſon, John, in 1624 was adjutant to the Earl of Southampton in the Low-Countries, where he was made a captain the ſame year. He died unmarried; as did his younger brother, Edward. Of the daughters, Elizabeth, the eldeſt, died ſingle; Bridget, the ſecond, was married to Sir Robert Tracey, of Toddington in Glouceſterſhire; Joan, the third, died unmarried; Anne, the fourth, was wife to Edward Littleton, of Henlegh in Shropſhire, mentioned in the ſucceeding article; and Jane, the fifth, was married to Sherington Talbot of Salivarp in Worceſterſhire. Sir Thomas, the eldeſt ſon, married Katherine, daughter and ſole heir of Thomas Crompton, of Hounſlow in the county of Middleſex, Eſq; by whom he had iſſue twelve ſons; 1. John, 2. Horatio, 3. Henry, 4. Thomas, 5. Henry, 6 Edward, 7. Charles, 8. Conſtantine, 9. William, 10. Arthur, 11. Ferdinando, 12 George. And four daughters; 1. Katherine, 2. Mary, 3. Anne, 4. Katherine. Sir Thomas reſided at Frankley, and repreſented the county of Worceſter in Parliament, in the latter

(c) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 110.

whose character, as given by Mr Thomas Habington of Hendlip in Worcestershire (c), we shall conclude this article. 'John Littleton, a man of that undaunted spirit, as he 'trampled over all afflictions, scorning as dust his large revenues; and with that resigna-'tion and submission to Almighty God, as he esteemed himself not a man, but a worm: 'of all which I being an eye-witness, do hope, that this heyre of the worthy Judge hath 'so acquitted himself at the tribunal of our eternal Judge, as his faults and imperfections 'being washed away with the blood of Christ, he possesseth never-ending felicity (d).'

(d) Survey of Worcestershire, M.S.

latter end of James Ist's reign; and in the beginning of his son's (7); with whom he sided on the breaking out of the troubles in that reign; for which the Parliamentarians sequestered his estate; imprisoned him in the Tower; and burnt his house at Frankley, with the greatest part of his furniture. However, he was afterwards released from his confinement; and dying (of the stone) 22 February, 1650, at Newcastle-house in Clerkenwell, was interred in the cathedral church at Worcester, wherein a fine monument was erected to his memory. John, his eldest, and Thomas, his fourth son, were both unfortunately drowned at Oxford, and lie buried in the chapel of Magdalen College, where (they being students there) their father erected a beautiful monument over them, on which he placed the following inscription written by himself,

(7) In the last Parliament under James I. and in the two first in the reign of Charles I.

JOHANNES & THOMAS LITTLETON.

Eximiæ spei adolescentuli, THOMAE LITTLETON, Militis & Baronetti ex lectissimâ juxta & mœstissimâ Dominâ Catharinâ conjuge, filii natu majores hic obdormiscunt. Qui innoxiè obambulantes in campo, minorem lubricus pes in undam misit, majorem pietas sua, sic ausum repetere fratrem, & infelici hoc quasi compendio, totam explicantem indolem invicem flagranter complexos unâ mortis horulâ obsorpsit duro & præpropero fato.

Diem suum obierunt, alter XVII. alter XIII.
Annos nati, Maii nono MDCXXXV.

Nescis quâ horâ, vigila.

i. e.

Here sleep JOHN and THOMAS LITTLETON, Youths of singular hope, elder sons of Sir THOMAS LITTLETON, Knight and Baronet, by Catherine his most excellent, and most afflicted wife. Harmlesly walking in the field, a slippery foot cast the younger, his piety the elder (hoping to retrieve his brother) into the river: where earnestly embracing, and each by turns exerting his utmost ability in the unhappy union; death, by a hard and too sudden fate, in one instant swallowed both.

They died the ninth of May MDCXXXV.
the one XVII. and the other XIII. years of age.

Watch, thou knowest not in what hour.

Cowley, then a Westminster scholar, and 17 years old, wrote an elegy on the eldest of the two, entitled, *An Elegy on the death of John Littleton, Esq; son and heir to Sir Thomas Littleton, who was drowned leaping into the water to save his younger brother* (8). Henry and Horatio, the second and third sons, died young; Edward, the sixth, was killed at Worcester (in a duel) and buried by his father; Constantine, the 8th, married a daughter of Judge Jones, and going to Jamaica, died there without issue; William, the 9th, was gentleman-usher to the Queen of Bohemia (James Ist's daughter) and a captain of horse, and died unmarried, as did his next brother, Arthur; Ferdinando, the 11th, was groom of the Bed-chamber to the Duke of York, and colonel of a regiment of horse, at the head of which he was killed in Germany; George, the youngest, was a major in Prince George of Denmark's regiment; he married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Thomas Brown, of Norwich, and died at Windsor, 1712 (9). Henry, the fifth son, succeeding to his father's title and estate, espoused the same principles, and suffered for his loyalty. Before the Restoration, he married Philadelphia, daughter and co-heir of Thomas Carey, of Parsons-Green, second son to Robert, Earl of Monmouth, and losing her on the 2d of August, 1663, he married again to Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Francis, Earl of Bradford, by Diana, daughter of the Earl of Bedford, who surviving him, was afterwards married to Edward Harvey, of Comb, in the county of Surry, Esq; and Sir Henry dying at Areley on the 24th of June, 1693, without issue, was succeeded by his brother Charles, Sir Thomas's seventh son. †

(8) The Works of Mr Abraham Cowley, being what was written and published by himself in his younger years, &c. part ii. fol. 5th edit. 1684, p. 46.

(9) The daughters all died unmarried; the two first young, but the two others lived to be more than 60 years old, and then died at Lichfield.

† Sir Henry was representative for Bewdly, as in Charles II's reign was his brother Sir Charles.

Sir Charles, taking to the profession of arms at sixteen, embraced the royal party, as well as his father and brother, and was at Colchester when besieged in 1648: he went afterwards with King Charles II. into France, where he had a company of horse; but returning to England in 1659, he joined Sir George Booth in the insurrection in the North, and held out Chirk-Castle for a small time, but was at last forced to surrender, and was carried prisoner to London, where he was confined in the Gate-house (10). He was not long detained in custody, and on his enlargement returned to the King, with whom he continued 'till the Restoration; in 1662 he went to Jamaica with Lord Windsor, and was left governor of that island: on his return from whence, he was made colonel of the Duke of York's regiment, and distinguished himself in the action at Solebay. He was, in 1673, appointed governor of Sheerness and Landguard-Fort; and was also made a commissioner of prizes, and enjoyed several other posts during the reign of King Charles II. and had the command of the Princess of Denmark's regiment under James II. by whom he was made a brigadier-general. He married first Catherine, daughter of Sir William Fairfax, of Steeton in Yorkshire, and widow of Mr Lister, second son of Sir Martin Lister, by whom he had one son, born at sea in their voyage to Jamaica, where he buried both wife and child; and secondly, Ann, daughter of Thomas Temple, of Frankton in the county of Warwick, Esq; by Rebecca, daughter of Sir Nicholas Carew, of Beddington in Surrey, and one of the maids of honour to the first Duchess of York (11), by whom he had five sons and eight daughters. On the Revolution, he threw up all his posts, and retired to Sheen near Richmond, where he continued until the death of Sir Henry his elder brother, after which he removed to Hagley, where dying on the 16th of August, 1703; he was buried at Areley, and was succeeded in honour and estate by his youngest son, now Sir Thomas Littleton (12). Z

(10) Heath, p. 425. Whitelocke. Philips. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 527. Rapin, Vol. II. p. 607. by mistake calls him Sir Thomas Littleton.

(11) She died 27 August, 1718.

(12) Sir Thomas died since the writing of this, and was succeeded by his eldest son George, who was created a Baron of Great-Britain, November 20, 1756, by the title of Lord Lyttleton of Frankley in Worcestershire.

LITTLETON [EDWARD] flourished in the XVIIth century, and distinguished himself early by his abilities, especially in the study of the Common-Law, and was crowned with the success duly attending on merit, being raised by Charles the First to the highest post in his profession (a). He was descended from the famous Judge Littleton abovementioned by a collateral branch, being grandson of John Littleton, of Mounslow in the county of Salop, Clerk [A]; who, for want of issue, succeeded Thomas Littleton

(a) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. p. 83. col. 1, No. 61.

[A] *John Littleton of Mounslow, in the county of Salop, Clerk.*] This John married after the Reformation and had issue five sons. 1. Thomas, who settled at Stoke-Millbury in Shropshire, and married Anne, daughter of Adam Lutley of Bromcroft-Castle in that county, Esq; by whom he left issue at his death (which happened in 1621) five sons and four daughters. The sons were, *Adam*, the eldest, who marrying a daughter and co-heir of ——— Poyntz, of North Okenden, in the county of Essex, Esq; by her was ancestor to Sir Thomas Littleton, Baronet, Speaker of the House of Commons under Will. III. *Richard*, the second, died unmarried. *Thomas*, the third, entred into orders, and was made vicar of Hales-Owen. John,

Littleton of Speechly, son of Thomas, the Judge's third and youngest son; and son of Sir Edward Littleton of Henley in Shropshire, Knight (c), one of the Justices of the Marches, and Judge of North-Wales, and was born in 1589. In 1606, being then in his 17th year, he became a Gentleman-Commoner of Christ-Church-college in Oxford; where, 28 April, 1609, he commenced Bachelor of Arts (d), and from whence he removed to the Inner-Temple, London, to pursue the study of the Law, in which he soon rendered himself eminent. In 1628 we find him in Parliament; for, on the 6th of May that year, he, together with Sir Edward Coke and Sir Dudley Digges, were sent to carry up the Petition of Right from the Commons to the Lords (e): he was also a manager in the accusation against the Duke of Buckingham two years before, in which his conduct was so nice, that he gained the good opinion of both prince and people (f). His first promotion in the Law was, succeeding his father as a Welsh Judge; he was also chosen Recorder of London, and was Counsellor for the university of Oxford: and, in 1632, was made Summer-Reader of the Inner-Temple (g). On the 17th of October, in the tenth of King Charles the first, 1634, he was made Sollicitor-General, and knighted at Whitehall the sixth of June following: and, on the 27th of January, 1639, being the 15th of that reign, he was sworn Lord Chief-Justice of the Common-Pleas; which post he held not quite twelve months, being appointed Lord-Keeper of the Great Seal of England, on the 23d of January, 1640, on the flight of Lord-Keeper Finch from the just resentment of the Parliament, which met the third of November before (h). On the 18th of February, 1640, the King was pleased to call Sir Edward up to the House of Peers, by creating him Lord Littleton, Baron of Mounslow in Shropshire (i). In this high station he for some time enjoyed the good opinion of both parties, the two Houses returning their thanks by him to the King, for passing the Triennial Bill. But two years after, many votes passing in the House of Lords, thought to be highly prejudicial to the King's interest, without any endeavours used by the Lord-Keeper to prevent such votes from passing, particularly those passed there on the 16th of March, 1641 [B], to which, it is said, his opinion greatly contributed, being much relied on by the republican party (k); he began to be much out of favour with the King, who sent an order from York to the Lord Falkland, to demand the Seal from him. This order was communicated to Mr Edward Hyde (afterwards Earl of Clarendon), by Lord Falkland, who was directed to consult him and Sir John Colepepper, whether Chief-Justice Banks or Mr Selden was the properer person to deliver the Seal to, on taking it from Lord Littleton: but Mr Hyde prevented that order from being carried into execution, by giving them an account of a private conversation he had had with the Lord-Keeper [C]; wherein he

(c) Ath. Oxon. ubi supra.

(d) Wood's Fasti, Vol. I. col. 183.

(e) Coke, edit. 1697, p. 207. Rapin, Vol. II. p. 269. No. 2.

(f) Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Vol. II. fol. edit.

(g) Ath. Oxon. ubi supra.

(h) Id. and Rushworth, Vol. IV. p. 130. Nalson, Vol. I. p. 699.

(i) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. III. p. 465.

(k) Whitelocke, p. 57.

John, the fourth, married Mary Bullock, of Middleton in Shropshire; and *George*, the fifth, was Vicar of Long-Stanton, in the same county. Of the daughters, the three eldest were married, viz, Alice, the eldest, to John James, of Tugford in Shropshire, clerk; Elizabeth, the second, to John Stedman, of Aston in the same county, Gentleman; and Cecily, the third, to Richard Hotchkis, of Priers-Ditton in Shropshire, Esq; the fourth daughter died unmarried. II. Edward, who married Mary the daughter of Edw. Waller, of Ludlow, Esq; chief-justice of South-Wales, by whom he had issue eight sons and five daughters; the eldest son was Edward, the gentleman of whom we now treat; the second was named William, and was made a serjeant at law, and died a bachelor; as did the third, James, who was a fellow of All-Souls-College in Oxford, where he proceeded batchelor of law, and in 1628 succeeded Dr Helme as chancellor of the diocese of Worcester (1); he was created doctor of law on the 8th of December, 1635, and died during the civil war (2). The fourth son, William, married Mary the daughter of John Webster, of Amsterdam, merchant. John, the fifth, was a fellow of All-Souls, Oxford, and chosen Master of the Temple in 1638. Nathaniel, the sixth, served under the Earl of Southampton in the Low-Countries. Timothy, the seventh, was one of the Barons of the Exchequer, and lies buried in the Temple church. The name of the eighth was Samuel, who, as well as his two next elder brothers, died unmarried. Of the daughters, Martha, the second, and Joan, the fifth, died unmarried; Anne, the eldest, was wife of Thomas Ketelby, of Steple, in the county of Salop, Mary, the third, of Gilbert Jones, counsellor at law, and Priscilla, the fourth, of Periott Price, of Scotesborough in Pembrokeshire. Their father died in 1621, and was buried at Llanvoir in Denbighshire. III. Christopher, who was a student of Christ-Church-College, Oxford, where, after commencing master of arts, he died the 6th of August, 1578, and was interred amongst his family at Mounslow. IV. Adam, who married Margaret, daughter of Edward Jacon, of Thongland, by whom he had seven children, six boys and a girl, all of which died without issue. V. William, who settling at Stretton, in his native country, married Margaret, daughter of John Hopton, of Cherbury in Shropshire, by whom he had five sons, 1. Edward, who died unmarried; 2. William, who married, Frances, daughter of John Poynton; 3. Christopher, 4. Adam, and, 5. Thomas, each of which died unmarried: and three daughters, 1. Dorothy, who was married to Robert Marshal, of Shrewsbury: 2. Frances, and, 3. Jane; neither of which were married.

(1) Wood's Fasti, Vol. I. col. 148.

(2) Id. col. 262.

[B] *Particularly on the 16th of March, 1641.*] The votes which gave offence were as follow, viz. 'That the kingdom hath been of late, and still is in so evident and imminent danger, both from enemies abroad, and a Popish party at home, that there is an urgent and inevitable necessity of putting his Majesty's subjects into a posture of defence, for the safeguard both of his Majesty and his people. That the Lords and Commons fully apprehending this danger, and being sensible of their own duty to provide a suitable prevention, have in several petitions addressed themselves to his Majesty for the ordering and disposing of the Militia of the kingdom, in such a way, as was agreed upon, by the wisdom of both Houses, to be most effectual and proper for the present exigents of the kingdom; yet could not obtain it, but his Majesty did several times refuse to give his royal assent thereto. That in this case of extreme danger, and of his Majesty's refusal, the ordinance agreed on by both Houses for the militia, doth oblige the people, and ought to be obeyed by the fundamental laws of this kingdom. That such persons as shall be nominated Deputy-Lieutenants, and approved of by both Houses, shall receive the commands of both Houses to take upon them to execute their offices (3).'

[C] *A private conversation he had with Lord Keeper.*] Mr Hyde was a member of the House of Commons, and devoted to the King, but had always a great regard for the Lord-Keeper; and being a good deal surprized at his seeming extraordinary behaviour one day paid him a visit at Exeter-House, where (they being together in my Lord's study) he told him with a great

(3) Id. Rushworth, Vol. IV. p. 554. Clarendon, Vol. IV. p. 354.

he had given such reasons for his late conduct, and shewn such an attachment to the King's person, and zeal for his interest, that he proposed they should write to the King, and perswade him rather to write a kind invitation to the Lord-Keeper, to come to York, and bring the Seal with him, than think of giving it to any other person. This advice was followed and embraced by the King, who, though he still continued doubtful of the man, was moved by the reasons assigned; and Mr Hyde continuing his intimacy with him, and being convinced, that, as things then stood, the leading men in both Houses having lately held a consultation, whether it was not advisable to have the Great Seal deposited in some secure place, from whence, when wanted, it might be delivered to the Keeper (with whom they had no mind to quarrel), and by that means prevent his being sent for by the King, or the Seal's being taken from him, there was no time to lose; a day was fixed for Lord Littleton's delivering it to a messenger sent from the King, and at the same time it was agreed, that Mr Hyde should set out for York first, and the Keeper follow him thither: which was accordingly done, the Seal being sent on the 22d, and the Keeper set out for the North the 23d of May, 1642 (*l*): but notwithstanding this piece of service, and eminent proof of his loyalty at the risque of his life, he could never totally regain the King's confidence, or the esteem of the Court party [*D*]. However, he continued to enjoy his post; was created Doctor of Laws the 27th of January following, and made one of the King's Privy-Council, and Colonel of a Regiment of Foot, some time before his death, which happened the 27th of August, 1645, at Oxford: where he was buried on the north side of the choir, in the cathedral of Christ-Church, and had a funeral oration pronounced over him by Dr Henry Hammond, then university orator (*m*). In May 1683, his only daughter Anne, Lady Littleton, widow of Sir Thomas Littleton, Baronet, erected a sumptuous monument of black and white marble over his grave, with an inscription thereon, in which he is said to be descended from Sir Thomas Littleton, Knight of the Bath, *qui sub Edwardo IV. Justiciarius, Leges Angliæ municipales (prius indigestas) in Enchiridion feliciter reduxit: opus in omne ævum jurisconsultis venerandum, &c.* (*n*): i. e. who being a Judge under Edward the Fourth, happily reduced the municipal Laws of England (before undigested) into a manual: a work to be venerated by the professors thereof in every age. Lord Clarendon, who had a peculiar esteem for him, gives him (in the place last cited) this character. 'He was a man of great reputation in the 'profession of the Law, for learning, and all other advantages which attend the most 'eminent men. He was of a very good extraction in Shropshire, and inherited a fair 'fortune and inheritance from his father. He was a handsome and a proper man, of a 'very graceful presence, and notorious courage, which in his youth he had manifested 'with his sword. He had taken great pains in the hardest and most knotty part of the 'Law, as well as that which was more customary, and was not only ready and expert in 'the books, but exceedingly versed in records, in studying and examining whereof, he 'had kept Mr Selden company, with whom he had great friendship, and who had much 'assisted him; so that he was looked upon as the best Antiquary of his profession, who 'gave himself up to practice; and, upon the meer strength of his abilities, he had raised 'himself into the first rank of the practicers of the Common-Law courts, and was chosen 'Recorder of London before he was called to the Bench, and grew presently into the 'highest practice in all the other courts, as well as those of the Law.' He had two wives; the first was Anne, daughter of John Littleton mentioned in the foregoing article, by whom he had three children, a boy and two girls, who died in their infancy. The second was Lady Sidney Calverley, relict of Sir George Calverley of Cheshire, and daughter of Sir William Jones, Knight, one of the Justices of the Court of King's-Bench; by whom he had one daughter, named Anne, who was married to Sir Thomas Littleton, Baronet, being so created 24 October, 1642, by whom she had one son, Edward, who died

(*l*) Rushworth, Vol. IV. p. 713. Clarendon, Vol. I. p. 442. Anthony Wood, ubi supra, says it was in June; and Sir George Wharton, in his Gesta Britannorum, 1667, makes it to be the 15th of that month; and another writer fixes it to July; but Rushworth, as above, and Vol. V. p. 341. and Clarendon, Vol. II. p. 312, 313. prove it was in May.

(*m*) Ath. Oxon. ubi supra.

(*n*) Idem.

great freedom, that the King must be highly displeased when he knew how little the above votes had been opposed by his Lordship, and that by this neglect of the King's welfare, he had forfeited the esteem of all good subjects. His Lordship, though ignorant of the great confidence reposed by the King in Mr Hyde, yet sensible his Majesty held him in great esteem, heard him very patiently; and then (having cleared an outer room of some persons attending there, and looked the door of that, and of the study) told him, he gave him many thanks for these marks of his friendship, in order to requite which, he would use the same freedom with him. He then complained of his own bad situation, having been taken away from the Court of Common-Pleas, where he both understood the business, and was acquainted with the people he had to deal with, and advanced to his present post, in which he had quite a different kind of people to deal with, and affairs to manage, to which he was perfectly a stranger, without a single friend amongst them all, to whom he might open his mind, or with whom he might advise, when any difficulties arose. He then entered on the condition of the King's affairs, and told Mr Hyde he was well satisfied they would never have done what they had already, unless they had been determined to do more: he added, *that he foresaw it would not be long before a war would break out; and of what importance it was, that in that season the great seal should be with his Majesty*, the prospect of *which necessity*, and the knowledge of the abovementioned consultation *had made him comply so much with that party, and vote as he did in the late debate.* That he knew this compliance must necessarily *give the King very ill impressions of him*, but he had thereby *gained so much credit with the other side, that he should be able to preserve the seal in his own hands 'till his Majesty should demand it; and then he would be ready to wait on the King with it* (4).

(4) Clarendon, B. 5.

[*D*] *Regain the King's confidence, or the esteem of the Court-Party.*] Whitelocke says (5), 'the Lord-'Keeper, after his great adherence to the Parliament, 'delivered the Great Seal to Mr Elliot, whom the 'King sent to him for it; and shortly after Littleton 'followed the Seal to the King, but was not respected 'by him, or his courtiers; yet he was a man of 'courage, and of excellent parts and learning.'

(5) In his Memoirs, edit. 1732, p. 60.

[*E*] *Buried*

died in 1664, and lies buried in the Temple-church [*E*]. He published a book of Reports of Cases in the courts of Common-Pleas and Exchequer, from the second to the eighth of Charles the First; and some speeches in Parliament (*o*), and several arguments and discourses (*p*).

(*o*) Rushworth, Vol. I. p. 528.

(*p*) Rushworth's Appendix, p. 28.

[*E*] *Buried in the Temple Church.*] The Lord-Keeper, his grandfather, bore, for difference in his arms, a crescent in a mullet, as appeared from a shield of his in the Inner-Temple Hall, which proved him a second son of the third House (6). Z

(6) Dugdale's Origines Juridic.

LITTLETON [ADAM], an eminent scholar of the XVIIth century, was descended of the Westcot family of Mounslow in Worcestershire [*A*], and born at Hales-Owen in the county of Salop, the 8th of November, 1627, of which place his father was Vicar (*a*). He was educated at Westminster under the famous Dr Busby; and, in 1644, was elected a student of Christ-Church-college in the university of Oxford (*b*), from whence he was ejected by the visitors appointed by Parliament, 2d November, 1648 (*c*). Soon after, he became one of the ushers of Westminster-school (*d*), but how long he continued so is not known; he afterwards taught in other places, and, in the beginning of 1658, was made second Master of Westminster-school. On the 12th of July, 1670, being then Chaplain in Ordinary to the King, he accumulated the degrees in Divinity (*e*), having letters testimonial from Dr Humphrey Henchman, Bishop of London, containing a very great character of his abilities [*B*]. And, on the 16th of September, 1674, he was instituted and inducted into the rectory of Chelsey, where he had taught school (*f*) since the Restoration. The same day he was made a Prebendary of Westminster (*g*), and afterwards Sub-Dean (*h*). On the 27th of May, 1685, he was licensed to the church of St Botolph Aldersgate, London, which he held about four years, and then resigned it. He was author of many learned works: as, I. *Tragico-comœdia Oxoniensis*, a Latin poem, written on the strange behaviour of the Parliament visitors, 1648, printed in one sheet, 4to [*C*]. II. *Pastor metricus, sive voces omnes Novi Testamenti primogeniæ hexametris versibus comprehensæ.* Lond. 1658, 4to. Greek and Latin. III. *Diatriba in octo tractatus distributa, in quâ agitur de flectendo, derivandi & componendi ratione.* Printed with the former. IV. *Elementa Religionis, sive quatuor capita catechetica totidem linguis descripta, in usum scholarum.* London, 1658, 8vo. V. *Complicatio Radicum in primævâ Hebræorum linguâ.* This is printed with *Elementa Religionis.* VI. *Solomon's Gate, or an entrance into the Church; being a familiar explanation of the grounds of Religion, contained in four heads of the Catechism, viz. the Lord's Prayer, Apostles Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the Sacraments.* Lond. 1662, 8vo. Dedicated to Anne Duchess of York. VII. *Linguæ Latinæ Liber Dictionarius, quadripartitus.* A Latin Dictionary, in four parts. 1. An English-Latin. 2. A Latin-Classical. 3. A Latin-Proper. 4. A Latin-Barbarous, &c. First published in a thick quarto, Lond. 1678, and afterwards in 1685, with additions [*D*]. VIII. *Sixty-one Sermons, preached mostly on public occasions, whereof five were formerly printed.* Lond. 8vo. 1680. IX. *A Sermon, at a solemn meeting of the natives of the city and county of Worcester, in the church of St Mary le Bow, 24 June, 1680.* Lond. 1680, 4to. X. *Preface to Cicero's Works* Lond. 1681, 2 vols, folio. XI. *A Translation of Mr Selden's Jani Anglorum facies altera*, with notes, from the Latin: this translation was published by our author, under the name of Redman Westcot, Gent. Lond. 1683, folio. With this was published three other tracts, wrote by the great Selden [*E*]. XII. *The Life of Themistocles*, from the Greek. This was printed in the first volume of *Plutarch's Lives*, translated by several

(*a*) Continuation of the Supplement to Collier's Dictionary.

(*b*) Communicated by Mr Lloyd of Westminster-school. Mr Wood, in Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 915. places this election in 1647.

(*c*) Id. ibid. and Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, &c. part 2. p. 109.

(*d*) Ath. Oxon. ubi supra.

(*e*) Id. Fasti, col. 181, 182.

(*f*) Idem. Newcourt's Repertorium, Vol. I. p. 916.

(*g*) Id. p. 922.

(*h*) Ath. Oxon. Newcourt.

[*A*] *Descended of the Mounslow family.*] His father was Thomas, third son of John Littleton, of Mounslow, clerk, and vicar of Hales-Owen in Shropshire.

[*B*] *Containing a very great character of him.*] That character was given in these words. *Vir egregie doctus, multiplici literatura excultus, eoque doctis bonisque plurimi factus est & adamatus, tum ob singularem eruditionem, humanitatem, morumque suavitatem, tum ob vitam inculpatam & pie institutam, in concionando facultatem promptam, & exquisitum ingenium, &c.* i. e. A man egregiously learned, skilled in many branches of literature, and for that esteemed and loved by many of the good and learned, as well for his singular erudition, humanity, and sweetness of manners, as for his blameless and religious life; as also for his exquisite genius and ready faculty in preaching.

[*C*] *Tragi-comœdia Oxoniensis, printed in quarto.*] Though the general report was at that time that this Poem was the work of our author, yet Mr Anthony Wood (1) informs us, that Dr Thomas Barlow frequently said it was written by Mr John Carrick, a student of Christ-Church, whom the Doctor noted as the author in a copy of the Poem in his own study.

(1) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 915.

[*D*] *A Latin Dictionary, published 1685, with additions*] The Cambridge Dictionary, called *Linguæ Romanæ Dictionarium luculentum novum*, which was printed 1693 in quarto, is a copy with some small improvement of our author's Dictionary, by some gentlemen who chose not to communicate their names to the public, and who, after acknowledging in general terms the obligations they lay under to our author, take a great deal of pains to inform the world of the great advantages their works boasts over his: which a later writer, on (as he says) a careful examination (2), informs us, consisted chiefly in large and useful improvements under the letters L, M, N, O, and P; and in correcting and augmenting what had been done by Dr Littleton in the other parts: though neither so copiously or carefully as in the above Letters (3). He also observes, that the above improvements, together with the Preface, and a large part of the Title to that Cambridge Dictionary, have been incorporated and printed with all the subsequent editions of our author's, except the sixth, printed in 1735, to which there has been a new Preface, and some other alterations made (4). He likewise observes, that the chief merit of the Cambridge Dictionary, is, having cited authorities for classical words, and marked all the poetical ones (5).

(2) Preface to Ainsworth's Dictionary, 4to. 1736, p. 4.

(3) Id. ibid.

(4) Id. ibid.

(5) Id. p. 19.

[*E*] *Three other tracts wrote by the great Selden.*] These were, 1. A Treatise *of the Judicature of Parliaments: wherein the Controversies and Precedents belonging to the Title are methodically handled.* 2. Englands Epinomis. *Of the original of ecclesiastical Jurisdiction of Testaments.* 3. *Of the disposition or administration of Intestates Goods.*

[*E*] A

several hands. Lond. 1683, 8vo. He also published, XIII. *Dissertatio Epistolaris de Juramento Medicorum, qui* 'ΟΡΚΟΣ 'ΙΠΠΟΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ *dicitur. In quâ ven. vir D. Balduinus Hamey, M. D. veterem vulgarem versionem improbans aliam substituit novam.* i. e. An Epistolary Dissertation on the Oath of Physicians, called the Oath of Hippocrates. In which the worshipful Dr Baldwin Hamey, disapproving the old vulgar translation, hath substituted another new one. XIV. An elaborate Latin inscription, in prose and verse, intended for the monument erected in memory of the dreadful fire, which happened in, and almost consumed, the city of London, on the second, third, and fourth days of September, 1666. This is printed at the end of his Dictionary, a little before which is also, XV. An elegant Epistle in Latin verse to the abovenamed Dr Hamey. He had likewise made large collections towards a new Lexicon of the Greek tongue, in which he was perfectly skilled; as he also was in Rabbinical learning and the Oriental languages: having for some small time before his death attempted to reduce the study of them into a narrower compass, by freeing them from the number of radixes, with which that branch of literature is incumbered in the common Lexicons. And, as he had exhausted great part of his fortune in purchasing books and manuscripts, in the Hebrew, Chaldee, and Arabic, tongues, with each of which he was well acquainted, he would, if he had enjoyed a longer life, undoubtedly have executed so useful a design. He was also perfectly well versed in the abstrusest parts of the Mathematics, and wrote many tracts on Mystical Numeration, which manuscripts fell into the hands of his brother-in-law the Reverend Dr Hockin. This gentleman of universal learning departed this life, on Saturday the thirtieth day of June, 1694 (*i*), and was buried in his own church at Chelsey, where a monument is erected to his memory [*F*]. He was extremely charitable, easy of access, communicative, affable, facetious in conversation, free from passion, of a strong constitution, and a venerable countenance: a most excellent Philologist and Grammarian, and an universal scholar. We are told (*k*), that he received a grant from King Charles the Second to succeed Dr Busby, as head master of Westminster school; but dying before him, the King's intention was prevented.

(*i*) See his Monument. Mr Wood says, Sunday 1 July.

(*k*) General Dictionary, under this article.

[*E*] *A monument is erected to his memory.*] On which is the following inscription.

Hic propè situm est Corpus
Doctissimi Viri, & de Literis optimè meriti
ADAMI LITTLETON, S. T. P.
Capellani Regii, Canonici
Westmonasteriensis,
Hujus Ecclesiæ
(Per spatium XXIV Annorum) Rectoris,
Omnibus hujus Parochiæ Incolis
Unicè Chari.
E Stirpe antiquâ & venerabili oriundi.

Obiit ultimo die Junii, 1694.
Anno Ætatis suæ 67.

i. e.

Near this place is laid the Body
Of the most learned, and of Letters the best deserving Man,
ADAM LITTLETON, Professor of sacred Theology,
Chaplain to the King,
Canon of Westminster,
Rector (for the space of twenty-four years) of this Church,
And extremely dear to all the Inhabitants
Of this Parish.
He was descended from an ancient and venerable Family.

He died on the last day of June, 1694,
In the 67th year of his age.

LLOYD [WILLIAM], successively Bishop of St Asaph, of Coventry and Lichfield, and of Worcester, in the last, and part of this, century; was grandson of David Lloyd, of Henblas in the isle of Anglesey, Esq; and son of Richard Lloyd, B. D. Rector of Tilehurst, and Vicar of Sunning, in Berkshire. He was born at Tilehurst, August 18, 1627 (*a*), and educated by his father in school-learning; wherein he made so great a progress, that at eleven years of age, understanding Latin, Greek, and something of Hebrew, he was entered [*A*] a student of Oriel-college, Oxford, in Lent-term, 1638-9; and the year following, or thereabouts, became Scholar of Jesus-college (*b*). October 25, 1642, he was admitted Bachelor of Arts (*c*); which degree being compleated by determination, he left the university, then garrisoned for his Majesty's use: and after the surrender of it, namely, December 9, 1646, he took the degree of Master of Arts (*d*), being then Fellow of Jesus-college, In 1648, he was ordained Deacon by Dr Skinner Bishop of Oxford; and afterwards employed in the country, as tutor to the children of William Backhouse, of Swallowfield in the county of Berks, Esq; Upon the ejection of Dr Pordage by the Presbyterian committee, Mr Lloyd was presented, in December 1654, to the rectory of Bradfield in the same county, by Elias Ashmole, Esq; patron of that living in right of his wife. Accordingly he was examined by the Tryers of those times, and passed with approbation;

(*a*) From his Epitaph.

(*b*) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721. Vol. II. col. 1088. and Epitaph.

(*c*) Idem Fasti, Vol. II. col. 5.

(*d*) Ibid. col. 53.

[*A*] *That at eleven years of age, understanding Latin, Greek, and something of Hebrew, he was entered, &c.*] So his epitaph informs us.

Puer admodum ea uberrimæ indolis edidit Specimina,
Ita Græcis Romanisque Scriptoribus insudavit,
Ita Linguarum orientalium studio animum adhibuit,
Ut singulare Academiæ Oxoniensis ornamentum
Evaserit Undecennis.

So that he was not admitted 'at 13 years of age;' as A. Wood asserts (1).

(1) Ubi supra.

[*B*] *About*

approbation; but designs being laid against him by two Ministers of Reading, who wanted to bring in one Dr Temple, and pretended that Sir Humphrey Forster had right of presentation, he thought it better to resign his presentation to Mr Ashmole, than to undergo a contest with those busy men (*e*). In 1656, he was ordained Priest by Dr Brownrig, Bishop of Exeter; and, in the same year, went to Wadham-college, as governor to John Backhouse, Esq; who was Gentleman-Commoner there: with whom he continued 'till 1659 (*f*). On the fifth of September, 1660, he was incorporated Master of Arts at Cambridge (*g*); and, about the same time, made one of the Prebendaries of the collegiate church of Rippon. In July 1666, he was appointed Chaplain in Ordinary to King Charles the Second (*h*); July the second, 1667, he took the degree of Doctor in Divinity (*i*); and, in December the same year, became Prebendary of Willsford and Woodford in the cathedral church of Salisbury (*k*). About which time, as also in 1673, he published some excellent tracts against Popery [*B*]. In 1668, he was presented by the Crown to the vicarage of St Mary's in Reading, and, on the thirteenth of June following, installed Archdeacon of Merioneth. May 3, 1672, he was also installed Dean of Bangor; and, in 1674, appointed Residentiary of Sarum (*l*). The sixth of December, 1676, he was instituted to the vicarage of St Martin's in the Fields, Westminster, at the presentation of the Crown, upon the advancement of Dr Lamplugh to the see of Exeter. On this occasion Dr Lloyd resigned the Prebend of Cadington minor in the church of St Paul's, to which

(*e*) Wood Ath. as above; and Memoirs of Elias Ashmole, Esq; edit. Lond. 1717, p. 32.

(*f*) Wood Ath. as above.

(*g*) Kennett's Register, &c. p. 250.

(*h*) Wood, Ath. as above.

(*i*) Idem, Fasti, col. 169.

(*k*) Idem, Athen. as above.

(*l*) Ibid.

[*B*] *About which time, as also in* 1673, *he published some excellent Tracts against Popery.*] In 1667, he published, I. 'The late Apology in behalf of the Papists 'reprinted, and answered in behalf of the Royalists.' Lond. 4to. It was an Answer to a Pamphlet, of one sheet, intituled, '*To all the Royalists that suffered for his Majesty: and to all the rest of the good People of England, the humble Apology of the English Catholics.*' Lond. 1666. Which Apology was written by Roger Palmer Earl of Castlemaine, and Robert Pugh a secular Priest. The Authors and Printer being sought after, and flying, the presses were broken by order of the House of Commons. — However, they soon published a Reply to the Doctor's Answer, intituled, *A Reply to the* Answer of the Catholic Apology, *or, a clear Vindication of the Catholics of England from all matter of fact charged against them by their enemies.* Lond. 1668. This also was seized. II. Dr. Lloyd published in 1673, 'A seasonable Discourse shewing the Ne-'cessity of maintaining the established Religion, in op-'position to Popery.' Lond. 4to. This Discourse was occasioned by His Majesty's Declaration of Indulgence; wherein he granted Liberty to all sorts of Dissenters from the Church of England, to exercise their Religions, and suspended the Execution of the Penal Laws in force against them (2). This also was answered by the Earl of Castlemaine, in a pamphlet intituled, *A full answer and confutation of a scandalous pamphlet called* A seasonable Discourse, &c. Antw. alias Lond. 4to. Whereupon Dr Lloyd came out with, III. 'A reasonable Defence of the seasonable Discourse: 'Shewing the Necessity of maintaining the Established 'Religion in opposition to Popery. Or, a Reply to 'a Treatise, called, *A full Answer and confutation of 'a scandalous Pamphlet,* &c.' Lond. 1674, 4to. And the Earl of Castlemaine wrote Observations on this reasonable Defence. IV. Dr Lloyd published, 'The 'Difference between the Church and the Court of Rome 'considered, in some Reflections on a Dialogue enti-'tuled, *A Conference between two Protestants and a 'Papist.*' Lond. 1673, 4to. V. To these let us add another piece of our learned Author against Popery, though not published 'till 1677, viz. 'Considerations 'touching the true way to suppress Popery in this 'Kingdom, &c. on occasion whereof is inserted An 'Historical Account of the Reformation here in Eng-'land.' Lond. 4to. The Design of this book was very much mistaken at the time of its publication. For Sir Francis Winnington, in his Speech at the Tryal of the Lord Viscount Stafford in November, 1680 (3), reflects upon it, in these words. —— 'There 'did appear in some men too easie and favourable a 'disposition towards the *Papists*. They were grown 'strangely moderate towards these old enemies of our 'Church and State. New projects of Reconciling us 'were set on foot, and Books were written to distin-'guish the Church of Rome from the Court of Rome. 'One of those Books, which was printed the year be-'fore the Discovery of the Plot, pretends, That there 'ought to be a difference made between Papists of 'loyal and disloyal principles. This book, as it was 'written more artificially than the rest, and published 'in so critical and dangerous a juncture, deserves, and 'I doubt not in time will have, a particular conside-'ration. 'Tis easie to believe how great encourage-'ment This must give to the Romanists, to see how 'very willing men were to meet them, and how freely 'the pen was drawn in their favour.' — Whereupon our learned Prelate, tho' always distinguished by his Zeal against Popery, thought it necessary to vindicate himself, in the Dedication of his Sermon on November 5, 1680, to the Lords spiritual and temporal. —— 'I 'have been tax'd (saith he) as being not Protestant 'enough, on account of a Book, called, *Considera-'tions touching the true way to suppress Popery in this 'Kingdom.* How far I was concerned in that Trea-'tise, the Preface to it sufficiently declares. The 'Book itself was publish'd in Michael mas term (4), '1676, just two years before the Popish Plot was dis-'covered. The design of it was proposed to me as 'the likeliest Remedy at that time against the same 'disease under which we are now labouring for life, 'or death: but it was before things were come to such 'a dangerous *crisis*. I saw it was much the same 'design that many of the best and most eminent Pro-'testants, particularly Q. Elizabeth and K. James, 'had at several times countenanced, and put in prac-'tice with very good success: they were, next to the 'uniting of Protestants, for the dividing of Papists, 'whose chief advantage hitherto has been their Union, 'such as it is, and our needless Divisions. But at that 'time I thought it more proper and seasonable than 'ever, upon the best judgment that I could make of 'their and our circumstances. And I have some rea-'son to think I was not mistaken in this. For now I 'see that at the very time when this was brought to 'me, and while I was forming my thoughts upon it, 'the Papists themselves were in a great apprehension 'of this very thing, as being of all other ways the 'most likely to blast their hopes, and to preserve us 'from that ruine which they were then bringing upon 'us. Thus Coleman (5) at that time wrote to the 'Pope's Internuncio (6),' *There is but one thing* (saith he) *to be feared, (whereof I have a great apprehension) that can hinder the success of our designs; which is, a Division among the Catholicks themselves.* 'How di-'viding them? It follows by' *Propositions to the Parliament to accord their conjunction to those that require it,* —— *on Conditions prejudicial to the Authority of the Pope;* —— *and so to persecute the rest of them with more appearance of Justice, and ruine the one half of them more easily than the whole body at once.* 'And to 'shew that Coleman was not singular herein, Cardinal 'Howard (7) delivers this as their judgment at 'Rome, where, if any where, they are infallible;' *Division of Catholicks will be the easiest way for Protestants to destroy them.* 'This being said for the De-'sign from so good Authority, I have this farther to 'say for myself, that *only the last part of that Book* was 'my own, in which I did justifie the Reformation of 'this Church; and what I wrote in that part, I am 'sure no Papist can disprove, and I think no Protestant 'has cause to complain of it.'

(2) See p. 1.

(3) See the Tryal, printed in 1680-81, p. 12.

(4) That is in the Booksellers style 1677.

(5) Aug 30, 1675.

(6) P. 17. of the Collection of Letters, set out by order of the House of Commons.

(7) March 1, 1676. Ibid. p. 82.

which he had been collated May 4, 1672 (m). He preached in the church of St Martin's aforesaid, October 31, 1678, a Sermon at the funeral of Sir Edmund-bury Godfrey, of which some account is given in the note [C]. In 1680, being promoted to the bishopric of St Asaph, he was consecrated the third of October at Lambeth (n). He published, in 1684, 'The History of the Government of the Church, as it was in Great-Britain and Ireland, when they first received the Christian Religion [D]. On the eighth of June, 1688,

(m) Newcourt's Repertorium, Vol. I. p. 132, 692.

(n) Le Neve's Fasti, &c. p. 22. Wood Ath. as above.

[C] *A Sermon at the Funeral of Sir Edmund bury Godfrey.*] In that Sermon he gives the following account of Sir Edmund-bury. — 'Our friend could have 'no great estate, being the *tenth* son of his father, 'who had four sons younger than he was: and his 'father was a younger son of his grandfather: So that 'though his father had a plentiful estate, and his 'grandfather one of the fairest in his country, yet but 'a small portion of these could fall to his share. —— 'His Education was sutable to his birth; being 'brought up at Westminster-School, from whence he 'was sent to the University, thence to travel in foreign 'parts; then he came to live in the Inns of Court, 'where wanting health, he retired for a time into the 'countrey. —— He was brought back to London 'with an intimate friend and Relation; who having 'suffered much for the late King, whose Servant he 'was, turned what he had left into money, and to 'make the most of that, employed it in a wood-yard 'in the parish of St Martin's. — What money Sir Ed'mund-bury had, he laid it out as partner with his 'friend, and so improved it, 'till he had wherewith to 'live like himself.' Then he withdrew from all business, and was made a Justice of Peace: in which station he did the most good perhaps of any man in his time. So that K. Charles II. often said, 'He 'took Sir Edmund Godfrey, to be the best justice of 'Peace in this kingdom.'— 'He was (as it were) born 'to be a Justice of Peace; his grand-father, his father, 'his elder brother were so before him. The two last 'were also members of parliament. His great-grand'father was a Captain, which was considerable in those 'days. —— In the plague time, he fed many poor 'with his own hands, distributed as well physic as 'food, exposing himself to be pulled and haled by 'them sometimes. And that which exceeds all the 'rest, where the officers durst not, he went himself 'into the pesthouse to seize on a malefactor. — I 'knew him (says he) to be a just and charitable man, 'a devout, a zealous and conscientious Christian. 'His Religion was more for use than shew. And yet 'he was constant in all the acts of God's worship. 'He loved the Communion of the Church, as well out 'of judgment as affection. And though the Compas'sion that he had for all men that did amiss, extended 'itself to all manner of Dissenters; and among them 'he had a kindness for the persons of many Roman 'Catholicks: yet he always declared a particular ha'tred and detestation of Popery.'—— Speaking of the false report spread, of Sir Edm. having killed himself, he says — 'I confess I knew not what to think my'self, 'till I saw the contrary with my eyes. When I 'saw he was strangled as well as thrust through, I 'soon considered, that no man could kill himself both 'those ways.' (8)

(8) Sermon, p. 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 24.

[D] *The History of the Government of the Church, as it was in Great Britain and Ireland, when they first received the Christian Religion.*] This Book was occasioned by the Disputes concerning Episcopacy, particularly David Blondel's Treatise upon that subject (9): In which Disputes, Among other Arguments used against Episcopal Government, there was none that made more noise in the world, or gave more colour to the cause of the adversaries of Episcopacy, than that which they drew from the example of the ancient Scotish Church. And the substance of it was, That in the second century, or beginning of the third, there was a Church formed in Scotland without Bishops, and that it continued so for some hundreds of years. — In opposition to which, the Bishop shews in this learned Book, chap. I. That all the part of Britain which lies South of Graham's Dike was held by the Roman Britans; and all North of it by the Picts, who were divided into North and South Picts. Ireland was peopled by the Scots, and was the onely Scotland in those times. There were no Scots in Britain before the year 300. Afterward they made incursions, but settled not here 'till after the decay of the Roman Empire. Then the Saxons conquered all the best of Britain, and called it England. Afterwards, part of the Scots seated themselves among the Picts: First, about the year 500, they erected the kingdom of Argile. About the year 850, they conquered all that was North of Graham's-dike. After the year 900, they got the rest of that countrey; and then it came to be called *Scotland.* Chap. II. The Britans were Christians under the Roman Empire. In the year 412, the South Picts were converted by a Britan. In the year 432, the Scots in Ireland were converted by Britans; Not by Palladius, but by Patrick. In the year 560, the North Picts were converted by Scots out of Ireland. Before this last conversion the Romans had lost Britain. Chap. III. That in Britain there were such Bishops as were in all other parts of the Roman Empire. There were of the British Clergy, some of each order, at the council of Arles, in the year 314. The Nicen council was received by the British Bishops: and so was that of Sardica. There were divers British Bishops at the council of Ariminum. The continuance of the same Church government in Britain, proved out of Gildas, and Bede. Chap. IV. The Church-government among the South-Picts was the same that was in Britain. The like was in Ireland among the Scots; whether brought in by Palladius, or rather by St Patrick. Chap. V. Of Church government among the Scots and North Picts in Scotland; and among those whom they converted in England. That Columba, though no Bishop himself, was for proper Episcopacy. He acknowledged that Bishops were superior to Presbyters; and had a Bishop to ordain in his Monastery. There Aidan was episcopally ordained; and was properly Bishop of the North-Humbrians: so was Finan after him, and then Coleman, and Tuda, &c. Chap. VI. That all the other Bishops ordain'd by the Scots were proper Bishops. Such was Diuma, whom Finan ordain'd Bishop of Mercia; and such was his Successour Ceollah, and Tromhere, and Cedd. Chap. VII. A Confutation of that late Fable of a Church-government in Scotland by a sort of Monks called Culdees. No mention of Culdees 'till after the year 800. No author for this fable 'till long after. —— In this work our learned Author reflects with great severity upon Jeffrey of Monmouth, and his copier Hector Boethius. —— It was answered with great vehemence by Sir *George Mackenzie* of Rosehaugh, Advocate to K. James II. who intituled his Answer, '*A Defence of the Antiquity of the Royal Line of Scotland: With a true Account when the Scots were govern'd by Kings in the isle of Britain.*' Edinburgh, 1685, 8vo. In which Answer the Dispute is made quite a national point; and the Bishop, for cutting off 44 fictitious Kings in the History of Scotland, (viz. from Fergus I. to Congal) is represented as guilty of the highest crimes and misdemeanors. For thus speaks Sir George (10), with that petulance natural to Pleaders; with the spirit of a true *Rabula*; and with that saucy liberty which too many of that profession take at the barr — 'It 'seem'd, saith he, neither just nor fit, that any *Epis'copal Author* should have magnify'd so highly the 'meanest Argument, that ever was used by a Pres'byterian; as for it to cut off 44 Kings (all preced'ing Coranus, who began his reign *anno* 501) and to 'expose on a *pillory* as *Forgers*, our many and grave 'Historians. —— It seems a great injury to our Kings 'to have their Line shortned, so as thereby to post'pone them to many others,' — and prove that they cannot make out 'their Antiquity 'till Malcolm the 'IIId's time: and so our Kings will be amongst the 'last of all *Crown'd Heads.* ——Whoever shortens the '*Royal Line*, lessens (though without design) the influ'ence of our Kings, and endangers the *Succession.* — I 'admire, that any of the subjects of *Great Britain* did 'not think it a degree of *Lese-Majesty* (11), to injure 'and shorten the *Royal Line* of their Kings.'—Dr Stillingfleet having seen this *Defence* in M.S. (12) wrote a very handsome and full Answer to it, by way of Preface

(9) Blondelli Apolog. pro Hieron. p. 314, 366, 375.

(10) In his Letter to the Earl of Perth, prefixed to the Defence, p. 2, 4, 10, 11.

(11) I. e. Treason.

(12) See Wood, Fasti, Vol. II. col. 237.

1688, he was one of the six Bishops, who, together with Archbishop Sancroft, were committed to the Tower, for subscribing and presenting a petition to King James the Second, wherein they shewed the great aversenefs they found in themselves, to the distributing and publishing in all their churches his Majesty's Declaration for Liberty of Conscience; which the Court called to be, contriving, making, and publishing, a seditious libel against his Majesty and his government (o). They were released the fifteenth of the same month, upon their recognizances; and acquitted the thirtieth following, after a solemn tryal in the Court of King's-Bench (p). About the latter end of the year 1688, Bishop Lloyd having concurred heartily in the Revolution, was made Lord Almoner to King William the Third: and, October 20, 1692, translated to the See of Coventry and Lichfield, vacant by the death of Dr Thomas Wood (q). In 1699, he published 'A Chronological Account of the Life of Pythagoras, and of other Famous Men his 'Contemporaries: with an Epistle to the Reverend Dr Bentley, about Porphyry's and 'Iamblichus's Lives of Pythagoras [*E*].' The 22d of January, 1699-1700, he was translated

(o) See Complete History of England, Vol. III. edit. 1719, p. 511, 512. and Gazette.

(p) See the Tryal.

(q) Wood Athen. and J. Le Neve, as above, p. 126.

face to his *Origines Britannicæ*, &c. Lond. fol. 1685. wherein he observes, that 'there is more reason to admire at the *strangeness* of this Accusation, unless it 'were intended to shew that he [Sir George] could as 'well *prosecute* as write against the Bishop by virtue of 'his office, for disputing their Antiquities. As though 'the fundamental Constitution of the British Monarchy 'were at all concerned in the credit of *Hector-Boethius*; 'for upon it, the main stress of this matter doth rest.' (13) — He had said a little before (14), that, 'It 'is not every one that can plead eloquently at the Bar, 'or quote Authors at second hand, or dispute warmly 'out of common places, that is presently fit to judge 'about such things.' —— Sir George published a Reply, intituled, *The Antiquity of the Royal Line of Scotland farther cleared and defended against the exceptions lately offered by Dr* Stillingfleet *in his Vindication of the Bishop of* St Asaph. Lond. 1686, 8vo. Both the *Defence* and *Reply* were translated into Latin by P. S. and printed at Utrecht in 1689, 8vo with a dedicatory Epistle to J. G. Grævius. —— 'Tis to be observ'd, that the Bishop has been guilty in his Book of some few Inaccuracies, for which he is sharply censured by M'kenzie. The *first* is in the Preface *, where he calls John de Fordun, *the Monk of Fordon*. Now John de Fordon, author of the *Scoti-Chronicon*, was certainly no Monk, but a priest and chaplain of the Church of Aberdeen; and there was no such monastery as Fordon in Scotland (15). Sir George M'kenzie therefore triumphs in this mistake, and says, Fordon 'is called a *Monk* by the Bishop (who studies still his own conveniency) to make the world believe 'he was inclin'd to lie, as the *Monks* are said to have 'been in that age; and to shew him interested for the 'independency of *Monks* and *Culdees* from Bishops (16).' Dr Stillingfleet, in his Reply to Sir George (17), grants 'it was a mistake but not designed, and a very 'pardonable one, since Dempster, who had read him, 'saith (18), some thought him a Monk;' and the very learned G. J. Vossius makes the author of the *Scotichronicon*, to have been Abbot of Forda or Fordon (19): confounding him with the Abbat of Ford in Devonshire (20). —— A *second* mistake committed by the Bishop, is in page 38, of the same Preface: where he says, 'after this succession from Fergus was publish'ed by *Hector Boethius*, it seems it was not then be'lieved by the learned men of his own nation. For 'Polidore Virgil tells us (21), that when *Hector's* book 'was newly come forth; Gawen Duglas, bishop of 'Dunkeld, warned him of it, and earnestly prayed 'him not to follow that History in writing of the Sco'tish matters.' — But Gawen Duglas dyed in the year 1521 (22), and Hector's History was not published 'till 1526. Therefore his History was not the History meant by G. Duglas; but it was that of J. Major, which was published in 1520. And indeed P. Vergil doth not so much as mention Hector Boethius's name. His words are, — *postea summe rogavit ut ne Historiam paulo ante a quodam suo Scoto divulgatam sequerer, in rebus Scoticis explicandis* (23) ——— Another mistake committed by the Bishop, is in the body of the Book, p. 153. where he calls Tho. Demster *a Jesuit*. For he was no Jesuit, but first a School-master at Paris, and afterwards Professor *honorarius* at Bologna, and a married man. He called himself Baron of Muiresk, and said that he had quitted Scotland for the sake of his Religion (24).

(13) Pref. p. 4.

(14) Ibid. p. 3.

* Page 26. It is not paged.

(15) Vide Præf. T. Hearne ad Fordon. p. 18, 78, 79.

(16) Defence, &c. p. 34.

(17) Preface to Origines Brit. p. 57.

(18) Dempst. Hist. Eccl. L. 6. n. 543.

(19) Voss. de Hist. Lat. l. 2. c. 56.

(20) Stillingfleet Orig. Brit. p. 249.

(21) Anglicæ Hist. l. 3. p. 71, 72. edit Thysii. Lugd. Batav. 1649, 8vo.

(22) Pol. Verg. ibid. p. 73.

(23) See M'kenzie's Defence, &c. p. 30. and above, the article BOETHIVS [HECTOR].

(24) See M'kenzie's Defence, &c. p. 39. and the article DEMPSTER, in Bayle's Dictionary.

[*E*] *A Chronological Account of the Life of Pythagoras; — with an Epistle to the Rd. Dr. Bentley, &c.*] He begins that Epistle with observing, That upon 'putting his collections in order, to draw out a Chro'nological Account of the life of Pythagoras, if it were 'possible;' he found 'they look'd like moon-shine in 'rough water, all over discord and confusion; Out of 'which, says he, I am so far from making out that 'which I design'd, a perfect Account of his life, that 'I must confess, I can't do any thing towards it. 'There is not in all my collection, any one certain 'year in which any thing happen'd to him, or was 'done by him. Yet I cannot lament that great man's 'misfortune in this, nor ours neither: for as he was a 'perfect jugler, so his Life, being all fast and loose, I 'must needs say, is written worthy of himself: and it 'is not only come intire into our hands, notwithstand'ing those defects I have mention'd; but with many 'improvements by later writers, who have striven to 'out-do one another in stories to his honour and praise. 'Of those many eminent writers (25) that have em'ploy'd their pens on this subject, there are three that 'have given us his History at large; *Diogenes Laertius*, '*Porphyry*, and *Iamblichus*. These three, I believe, 'have cull'd out all that was remarkable in any of the 'rest: and the two last were his great admirers, who 'would not omit any thing that might make for his 'glory. They describe him as a very extraordinary 'person, for his Parts and Inventions for the good of 'mankind: they tell us what Discoveries he made in 'natural Philosophy: how much he advanced the ma'thematical Sciences, as well by his studies as his tra'vels. But above all, they magnify his knowledge of 'the Gods, and of the things of religion. Laertius 'tells us (26), he was initiated in all the sacred rites, 'as well of the Greeks, as Barbarians. Those other 'writers of his life take particular notice of this in 'every stage of his travels. And yet Porphyry will 'not let his reader be ignorant, that Pythagoras was a '*Deist*, as well as himself; and took both *Apollo* and '*Jupiter* for no other than deify'd men, which he 'shew'd by the verses that he made in those places 'when he was to see their sepulchres. Indeed by 'those verses one cannot but think that he despised 'those made Gods in his heart: and so did probably 'those Philosophers that tell us these things; though, 'according to the latitude of their principles, they 'were nevertheless as zealous as he was for the propa'gating of Heathen idolatry. What notions men have 'of a Deity, one cannot better judge than by their 'morals. For every one that hath any sense of Reli'gion, will endeavour to conform himself to the God 'whom he worships: At least he will avoid any thing 'that he knows to be contrary to his God. If we 'judge this way of Pythagoras, according to the ac'counts they give of him, we have reason to believe, 'that (as the Apostle tells us of them whom the Hea'thens worship'd) his Gods were no better than Devils. 'It could be no otherwise, if there be any truth in the 'stories they tell, of his impudent diabolical fictions, 'and of the fraudulent ways that he took to make the 'people admire him: which they also that tell us these 'things seem to think were no lessening of his moral 'virtues. Particularly, they shew how he perswaded 'his hearers to receive that doctrine of the *Transmigration of Souls*. That it was originally an *Ægyptian* doctrine we are told by Herodotus (27). But if 'lying Philostratus may be believ'd (28), the Ægyp'tians had it from the Bramins. It is agreed, that 'Pythagoras was he that first brought it into Greece; 'and

(25) Jonsius de Script. Hist. Phil.

(26) VIII, 2.

(27) Herod. II. Diod. Sic.

(28) Vit. Apol. Ty. iii. 6.

translated to the Bishopric of Worcester, upon the decease of Dr Edward Stillingfleet (r). In 1702, he and his son having too zealously interested themselves in the election of Knights of the Shire for the county of Worcester, and endeavoured to hinder Sir John Packington from being chosen; a complaint was made about it to the House of Commons [F]: whereupon they addressed the Queen, on the 21st of November, that she would

(r) Br Willis's Survey of the Cathedrals, Vol. I. p. 655.

'and there it seems he had a mind to be thought the 'first author of it (29). To make the people believe 'this, he told them an impudent lye, that his soul 'was in Euphorbus at the time of the Trojan war; 'and in the 600 years between that and his birth, his 'soul had pass'd through several other bodies before it 'came into his. He faced them down that he knew 'this by a singular gift of remembring all the stages 'through which his soul had pass'd in its travels. 'First, when Euphorbus was kill'd by Menelaus (which 'was in the year before Christ, 1185) then his soul, 'as he said, came into Æthalides the son of Mercury. 'After his death, it came into Hermotimus: then into 'one Pyrrhus a Fisherman; and at last it came into 'Pythagoras. This is Porphyry's way of telling the 'story (30). But from others we have it, That Py-'thagoras himself used to say, That his soul was in 'Æthalides before it came into Euphorbus.' —— In order to account, How Pythagoras came to remember those several Transmigrations, — 'They tell us, that 'Mercury, whose office it was to carry souls into '*hades*, gave the soul of his son Æthalides, in its 'way thither, the privilege not to drink the waters of 'Lethe, the drinking whereof makes souls forget all 'that pass'd in this world: and so it is plain, how, as 'Pythagoras used to say (31), Euphorbus remembred 'his soul had dwelt formerly in the body of Æthali-'des, and Hermotimus, that his soul was in both these, 'and the Fisherman, that his soul was in those three, 'and Pythagoras, that his soul was in them all. 'They also tell us, how it came to pass, that in 600 'years that soul of his was only in two bodies, namely, 'of Hermotimus and the Fisherman: for Mercury, as 'Pythagoras himself used also to say (32), gave the 'soul of his son Æthalides leave to rest sometimes in '*hades*, and at other times to travel above ground; 'and so Pythagoras himself said, that after the Fisher-'man's death, his soul had rested 207 years in *hades*, 'before it came into that body of his. But what of 'all this? The doctrine of Transmigration of Souls is 'sufficiently proved, if the soul of Pythagoras was at 'any time formerly in the body of Euphorbus. And 'that, as Porphyry tells us (33), was positively affirm'd 'by Pythagoras himself, and prov'd beyond dispute; 'as likewise his scholar Iamblichus tells us in the very same 'words. But these Philosophers were wise; they took 'care to hide that part of their ware which would 'have disgrac'd all the rest. It was the Ægyptian 'doctrine (34), that souls pass'd out of men into beasts, 'and fishes, and birds. This also, according to Hera-'clides, Pythagoras used to say of himself; that he 'remembred, not only what men, but what plants, 'and what animals his soul had pass'd through. And, 'tho' this was more than Mercury gave to Æthalides, 'Pythagoras took upon him to tell many others how 'their souls had lived before they came into their bo-'dies (35). One particularly that was beating a dog, he 'desir'd to forbear, because in the yelping of that dog, 'he heard a friend's soul speak to him. —— How 'could such fictions as these come into mens heads? 'There is more than idle fancy in them. They shew 'plainly a pernicious devilish design, to confound those 'two doctrines that have so great an influence into 'mens minds to make them do good, and eschew evil: 'the Doctrines of *the Immortality of the Soul*, and of '*the Resurrection of the Body*. For if those fictions 'were true, there would be no difference between the 'soul of a man, and the soul of a brute, or a plant; 'and there would be many more bodies than there 'would be souls to animate them at the Resurrection. 'What would not the devil give to have these things 'believ'd by all mankind? — For the Tricks they tell 'us he had to make the people admire him, they are 'so agreeable to his character, that his historian Iambli-'chus, with the same design, aped him in some of them; 'unless he is bely'd by Eunapius the writer of his life. 'They were, as one may properly call them, the ar-'tifices of an impostor. —— The first thing, we 'read, Pythagoras did (36), to make way for the au-'thentical publishing of his doctrines, was to make 'himself look like a sort of Demi-god to the people.

(29) Porphyr. p. 188.

(30) Porphyr. p. 201.

(31) D. Laert. viii. 4.

(32) Idem ibid. c. 14.

(33) Porph. p. 191. Iambl. c. 28.

(34) Herod. ii. Diog. Laert. from Heraclides.

(35) Porph. p. 191.

(36) Diog. Laert. viii. 41.

'For this purpose, he provided himself a cell under 'ground; and then, giving out he was dead, he re-'tir'd into that hole: and there for a long time toge-'ther, seven years as some tell us, he lived unknown 'to all mankind. Only his mother was in the secret, 'for she was to supply him with necessaries: but 'of these, he took in no more than just what would 'keep him alive. Then at last, he came forth like a 'perfect skeleton, and shewed himself as one that had 'been all this while in another world. He that was 'so greedy, of *vain Glory*, that he could afford to 'purchase it at this rate;' pretended also to do things *above the Power of any mortal*, that is to work Miracles. 'Such lies they were, I do not doubt, that Por-'phyry and Iamblichus tell us (37), of his laying 'winds, tempests, and earthquakes; for of these they 'do not give any particular instance, nor are these 'things mentioned by any other writers that I remem-'ber. So likewise they tell us of his curing diseases, 'whether of body or mind, which they say, he did 'with charms: that is, as Cyril saith, he did them by 'the help of the devil. —— Many other lying won-'ders they tell of him, which seem to have been made 'only for talk, being such as could signifie nothing to 'the good of mankind. As namely, how to shew his 'company what he could do, he took up serpents that 'had killed other men, and handled them, so as that 'they neither hurt him, nor he them. How for the 'same purpose, by whistling to an Eagle that hap-'pen'd to fly over his head, he brought her down to 'his hand, and then let her go again. —— How by 'stroaking a Bear, and whispering a Bull in the ear, 'he brought them both to the Pythagorean Diet: the 'bear to eat nothing that had life; and the bull to 'crop no more bean-tops, &c. — But why should these 'Philosophers either be so wicked to abuse the faith 'of mankind in devising such stories? Or why should 'they take the pains to collect them, and pawn their 'faith to give them credit in the world? Such great 'Men as they were, had no doubt great Reason for 'this (38).' —— A few pages after he observes, That all the Miraculous Stories related of Pythagoras by Porphyry, and Iamblichus; and of Apollonius Tyaneus, by Philostratus; were 'made use of to this purpose, 'To shew, that all the great things that are told of 'our Saviour in the Gospel, were equall'd, if not out-'done by these Heathen Philosophers (39).'

(37) Porph. p. 193. Iamblich. c. 28.

(38) Epistle to Dr Bentley, p. 3—14.

(39) Ibid. p. 21.

In this Chronological Account, he gives the following most remarkable periods of the life of Pythagoras.— He was born either the 3d or 4th year of the 43d Olympiad; and before Christ, 605 years.

——or the 3d year of the 48th Olympiad, and before Christ, 586,5.

Pythagoras sets out on his travels, the 1st year of the 53d Olympiad—and before Christ, 568,7.

He goes to Sidon, Byblus, Tyre; thence into Egypt, where he continued 22 years; and into Arabia, Chaldæa, Persia, &c. In his return from Babylon, he comes to Crete to get Minos's Laws; and then home to Samos. Being 40 years old he goes into Italy, in the 3d year of the 58th Olympiad, and before Christ, 546,5

—He lives there all the rest of his life. And after having arrived to near 100 years of age, dyes, either in the 3d year of the 68th Olympiad, and 506 years before Christ; or in the 4th year of the 70th Olympiad, and before Christ 497,6 years.

[F] *A complaint of it was made to the House of Commons.*] Upon that the House came to the following Resolutions. 'Resolved, That it appears to this House, that the proceedings of William Lord Bishop of Worcester, his son and his agents, in order to the hindering of an election of a member for the county of Worcester, has been malicious, unchristian, and arbitrary, in high violation of the liberties and privileges of the Commons of England. Resolved, That an humble address be presented to her Majesty, that she will be graciously pleased to remove William Lord Bishop of Worcester from being Lord Almoner to her Majesty. That

would be pleased to remove William Lord Bishop of Worcester from being Almoner to her Majesty, which she accordingly did (s). Besides the pieces abovementioned, he writ several other things mentioned below in the note [F]. After having arrived to the 91st year

(s) History of Queen Anne, by Ab. Boyer, edit. 1735, fol. p. 36.

That Mr Attorney-General do prosecute Mr Lloyd, the Lord Bishop of Worcester's Son, for his said offence, after his privilege, as a member of the lower house of Convocation is out *.'

[F] *He writ several other things.*] Namely, VI. the following Sermons. 1. A Sermon preached before the King at Whitehall, on Decemb. 1, 1667, being the first Sunday in Advent; on John vi. 14. Lond. 1668, 4to. —— 2. At the Funeral of the Right Reverend Father in God John [Wilkins] late Lord Bishop of Chester, 12 Dec. 1672; on Hebr. xiii. 7. Lond. 1673, 4to. printed in 1678, at the end of the Bishop's Treatise of Natural Religion. —— 3. —— Before the King at Whitehall, the 6th of March, 1673, on Rom. viii. 13. Lond. 1674, 4to. —— 4. At the funeral of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, as already mentioned; on 2 Sam. iii. 33, 34. Lond. 1678, 4to. —— 5. At St Martin's in the fields, the 5th of November, 1678; on John xvi. 2. Lond. 1679, 4to. —— 6. Before the King at Whitehall, November 24, 1678; on Acts ii. 42. Lond. 1679, 4to. wherein is a good deal of reading shewed by the many quotations. —— 7. Before the House of Lords, on November 5, 1680; on Psalm cxxiv. 1, 2, 3. Lond. 1680, 4to. —— 8. Before their Majesties [K. William and Qu. Mary] at Whitehall, November 5, 1689, being the anniversary day, or thanksgiving, for the great deliverance from the Gun-Powder-Treason, as also the day of his Majesty's landing in England; on Psalm lvii. 6, 7. Lond. 1689, 4to. —— 9. Before the King and Queen at Whitehall, March 12, 1689, being the Fast-day; on 2 Pet. iii. 9. Lond. 1690, 4to. VII. He also writ, 'A Letter to 'Dr *William Sherlock*, in Vindication of that part of '*Josephus*'s History, which gives an Account of Iaddus 'the High-priest's submitting to Alexander the Great, 'while Darius was living. Against the Answer to the 'piece intit. *Obedience and Submission to the present* '*Government*.' Lond. 1691, 4to. VIII. 'A Discourse 'of God's Ways of disposing of Kingdoms. Published 'by Authority.' Lond. 1691, 4to. IX. 'The Pre'tences of the French Invasion examined, for the in'formation of the People of England.' Licensed May 25, 1692. Lond. 1692, 4to. X. He took a good deal of pains to explain *Daniel's Seventy Weeks*; and drew up a very learned Dissertation upon that subject, which is inserted in the General Dictionary. In that Dissertation he treats at large of the ancient year, beginning thus. 'What *sorts of Years* it was, that the 'Angel intended in this prophecy, hath been formerly 'a great question among learned men; Africanus, 'who, of all that we know among Christians, was the 'first that brought skill in Chronology to the interpret'ing of Scripture, judged rightly, that the 69 weeks 'of this prophecy were to begin from the 20th year of 'Artaxerxes Longimanus. But to measure from thence, 'he made use of Lunar years of 354 days and odd 'hours. But it is plain that would not do. Then af'ter him, to mend the matter, Eusebius made use of 'Solar years of 365 days and 6 hours; but with no 'better success. And no wonder that both these great 'men were mistaken, for they did not consider, that 'neither of these two sorts of years was known to the 'world in Daniel's time; and therefore for Daniel to 'have reckoned by either of these, he must have had 'another revelation. But no doubt the Angel meant 'such sort of years as Daniel knew, namely such as 'was used in that age, and in the country where Da'niel lived. But at that time it is certain, that the 'Eastern nations reckoned just 30 days to a month; 'and of 12 such months consisted their year, which 'was just 360 days. It does not appear, that in Da'niel's time there was any other sort of years in com'mon use in any part of the world; and perhaps this 'was the only sort of year, that had then been any 'where in common use since the creation.' Vide *Jos. Scalig. de Emend. Tempor.* Genevæ 1629, iii. 188. B. iii. 194. A. ib 195. B —— Then after shewing that, among the antient Patriarchs immediately after the Flood; among the Egyptians, the Romans, the Babylonians, the Asiatics, &c. the year consisted only of 360 days, he goes on thus. — 'It sufficiently ap'pears then, that the most antient form of years, was 'that of 360 days; and that this antient form, however 'some had begun to alter it in some other nations, yet 'was the only form of year that was vulgarly used 'in the Eastern countries, even then when this prophe'cy was given. And, lastly, that their manner of 'using it was with a leap month at the end of every 'year, according to the Greek way of reckoning; but 'the way of the Easterlings was, for so many years to 'reckon so many times 360 days, without any leap'month or leap-day between. —— In order to the 'better understanding of the 7 weeks and 62 weeks, 'they are first to be turned into days. A week of 'years of 360 days to the year consisting of 2520 days, 'this number taken 7 times will be 17640 days, which 'come to 48 Julian-years and 108 days. These are 'therefore seven weeks, according to the intent of 'this prophecy. Sixty-two such weeks contain a 'number 156240 days, which turned into Julian years 'make 427 years and 278 days. Therefore these are '*sixty two weeks* of years, which being added to the '*seven weeks* make in all 173880 days, i. e. in all '476 Julian years and 21 days; and these being so 'added together are equal to the whole number of 'sixty-nine weeks, that was the determinate time from 'the going forth of the command to build Jerusalem 'again 'till the Messiah the Prince, i. e. 'till the time 'when the Messiah was to be cut off.' —— Sir Isaac Newton having inserted the substance of this Dissertation into his *Chronology*, makes this observation upon it. —— 'I have perused the Paper, &c. and find it 'filled with excellent observations concerning the an'tient year; but do not find it proves, that any an'tient nation used a year of twelve months, and 360 'days, without correcting it from time to time by the 'Luminaries, to make the month keep to the course 'of the Moon, and the years to the course of the Sun, 'and returns of the seasons and fruits of the earth, '&c.' XI. Our learned Bishop printed 'An Expo'sition of Daniel's Prophecy of Seventy weeks;' to the same purpose as the Dissertation just now mention'd. But leaving it imperfect, it was never published *. XII. He also compiled 'A System of Chronology;' of which twenty-six sheets, reaching down to the year 3663 of the Julian period, were printed, but never published, being also left imperfect. However, out of this, his Chaplain, Benjamin Marshall, M. A. composed his *Chronological Tables*, printed at Oxford in 1712, and 1713, in which was inserted his Lordship's Exposition of Daniel's Weeks. —— The Rev. Peter Lancaster, Vicar of Bowdon in Cheshire, not approving of Bishop Lloyd's Explanation of this prophecy published (40), '*A Chronological Essay on the ninth chapter of the Book of Daniel: Or, an Interpretation of the prophecy of the seventy weeks, whereby the Jews, in and above Four hundred and sixty years before our Saviour's time, might certainly know the very year in which the Messias was to come.* —— Whereupon Mr Marshall put out, *A Chronological Treatise upon the Seventy Weeks of Daniel; wherein is evidently shewn the accomplishment of the predicted Events, &c. In a particular Disquisition upon the three latest Hypotheses of these weeks published among us, viz. that of the late learned Bishop* Lloyd; *that of the late learned Dr* Prideaux; *and that of the Reverend Mr* Lancaster. *All which hypotheses are here fully considered; And the late Bishop* Lloyd's is generally *supported and established* (41). — Mr Lancaster replied, in a pamphlet, intituled, *Some Remarks on the late Bishop* Lloyd's *Hypothesis of Daniel's prophecy of the Seventy Weeks. In a letter to the Reverend Mr* Marshall, *Rector of Naunton in Gloucestershire* (42). —— And Mr Marshall replied also, by publishing, *Three Letters in farther vindication of Bishop* Lloyd's *Hypothesis, in answer to Mr* Lancaster, *Mr* Whiston, *and the author of* The Scheme of literal Prophecy considered (43). XIII. Bishop Lloyd compiled 'An Harmony of the Gospels:' part of which was printed in *quarto*, but left imperfect. XIV. He added the Chronology, and many of the References, and parallel places, printed in most of our English Bibles; particularly the *Quarto* ones XV. He translated into Latin and English, a Greek Epistle of Jeremy, Priest of the Eastern Church, to Mr Ashmole, concerning the Life of St George, according to the Traditions of the Eastern Christians, M.S. in Musæo Ashmol. No 1133. XVI.

* A letter of his about Daniel's LXX weeks, is in Dr Prideaux's Life, p. 238, &c.

(40) At London, 1722, 4to.

(41) Lond. 1725, 8vo.

(42) Lond. 1726, 4to. p. 19.

(43) Lond. 1728, 8vo.

year of his age, without loſing the uſe of his underſtanding, he departed this life at Hartlebury-caſtle, Aug. 30, 1717, and was buried Sept. 10 following, in the church of Fladbury in Worceſterſhire, of which his ſon was Rector. A monument for him was, ſoon after, affixed to the wall, on the north ſide the chancel, with a long inſcription (*t*): from which we learn, that he was an excellent pattern of virtue and learning; of a quick invention; firm memory; exquiſite judgment; great candour, piety, and gravity; a faithful Hiſtorian; accurate Chronologer; and ſkilled in the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures to a miracle; very charitable; and diligent and careful in the diſcharge of his epiſcopal office. A. Wood ſays (*u*), he was an eminent Divine, Critic, and Hiſtorian, a zealous enemy to Popery and Papiſts. And Dr Burnet gives the following character of him (*w*). That he was the moſt indefatigable in his induſtry, and the moſt judicious in his obſervations, of any he knew, and one of the greateſt maſters of ſtyle then living. ‘ He was ‘ (adds he) a great critic in the Greek and Latin authors, but chiefly in the Scriptures; ‘ of the words and phraſes of which he carried the moſt perfect concordance in his memo- ‘ ry, and had it the readieſt about him of all men that ever I knew. He was an exact ‘ Hiſtorian, and the moſt punctual in Chronology of all our Divines. He had read the ‘ moſt books, and with the beſt judgment, and had made the moſt copious abſtracts ‘ out of them, of any of this age. He was ſo exact in every thing he ſet about, that he ‘ never gave over any part of ſtudy, ’till he had quite maſtered it. But when that was ‘ done, he went to another ſubject, and did not lay out his learning with the diligence ‘ with which he laid it in. He had many volumes of materials upon all ſubjects, laid ‘ together in ſo diſtinct a method, that he could with very little labour write on any of ‘ them. He had more life in his imagination, and a truer judgment, than may ſeem con- ‘ ſiſtent with ſuch a laborious courſe of ſtudy. Yet, as much as he was ſet on learning, ‘ he had never neglected his paſtoral care. For ſeveral years he had the greateſt cure in ‘ England, St Martin’s, which he took care of with an application and diligence beyond ‘ any about him; to whom he was an example or rather a reproach, ſo few following his ‘ example. He was a holy, humble, and patient man, ever ready to do good when he ‘ ſaw a proper opportunity: even his love of ſtudy did not divert him from that’ *bleſſed employment* (*x*).

(*t*) Br. Willis, as above, p. 655, 656.

(*u*) Athen. as above. col. 1089.

(*w*) Preface to Part I. of his Hiſtory of the Reformation.

(*x*) Burnet’s Hiſtory of his own Time, edit. 1753, 8vo. Vol. I. p. 265, 266.

XVI. He left in manuſcript, part of ‘ A Diſcourſe of ‘ the three Orders in the Miniſtry of the Chriſtian ‘ Church, now called Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons; ‘ ſhewing out of the Holy Scriptures, that they are of ‘ divine Inſtitution.’ XVII. He took great pains in compiling a ‘ Hiſtory of the Church of England;’ but being engaged in the ſervice of the Church, in a ſtation that afforded him very little leiſure, he ſet Dr Burnet upon it, and furniſhed him with a curious collection of his own obſervations. And in ſome ſort the Hiſtory of the Reformation may be accounted his, for he corrected it with a moſt critical exactneſs; ſo that the firſt materials, and the laſt finiſhing of it, were from him (44).’ XVIII. He gave great aſſiſtance to Dr John Wilkins, in compoſing his *Eſſay towards a real Character and a Philoſophical Language.* Lond. 1668, fol. as the Dr acknowledges in the Epiſtle to the reader, in theſe words. —— ‘ As for the principal difficulties ‘ which I met with in any part of this work, I muſt ‘ acknowledge myſelf obliged to the continual aſſiſtance ‘ I have had of my moſt learned and worthy friend Dr ‘ Will. Lloyd, than whom (ſo far as I am able to ‘ judge) this nation could not have afforded a fitter ‘ perſon, either for that great induſtry, or accurate ‘ judgment both in Philological and Philoſophical mat- ‘ ters, required to ſuch a work. And particularly I ‘ muſt wholly aſcribe to him, that tedious and difficult ‘ taſk of ſuiting the Tables to the Dictionary, and the ‘ drawing up the Dictionary itſelf, which upon tryal, ‘ I doubt not, will be found to be the moſt perfect ‘ that was ever yet made for the Engliſh tongue, &c.’ XIX. He is thought to have had the chief hand in the *Series Chronologica Olympiadum, Iſthmiadum, Nemeadum,* &c. publiſhed by his ſon at Oxford 1700, fol. XX. He is ſaid to have written ſomething upon the Revelation of St John; to which the Author of *Faction diſplay’d* alludes in the following lines.

(44) See Preface to Burnet’s Hiſtory of the Reformation, Part I and II. and Wood Athen. as above, col. 1091.

Then old *Myſterio* ſhook his ſilver hairs,
Loaded with Learning, Prophecy, and Years,
Whom factious Zeal to fierce unchriſtian Strife
Had hurry’d in the laſt Extream of Life.
Strange dotage! thus to ſacrifice his Eaſe,
When Nature whiſpers men to crown their days
With ſweet Retirement, and religious Peace!
Fore-knowledge ſtruggled in his heaving breaſt,
E’er he in theſe dark terms his Fears expreſt.
‘ The Stars rowl adverſe, and malignant ſhine,
‘ Some dire Portent! ſome Comet I divine!
‘ I plainly in the *Revelations* find,
‘ That *Anna* to the Beaſt will be inclin’d.
‘ Howe’er, tho’ She and all her Senate frown,
‘ I’ll wage eternal War with *Packington,*
‘ And venture Life and Fame to pull him down.

C

LOCKE [John], the celebrated Philoſopher, was born at Wrington in Somerſetſhire, on the 29th of Auguſt, 1632 (*a*). During his infancy, his education was conducted with a paternal care and affection, but with much ſtrictneſs [*A*] and ſeverity, by his father, who being bred to the Law, was Steward or Court-keeper to Colonel Alexander Popham (*b*); and, upon breaking out of the civil wars, became a Captain in the Parliament’s army. He was a gentleman of probity and œconomy, and poſſeſſed of a competent

(*a*) See his monument prefixed to his Life, printed in the firſt volume of his Works in folio, 1751; where we are told, that Wrington is a village about eight miles from Briſtol. And M. Le Clerc informs us, that Mr Locke was baptized there the ſame day he was born. Bibl. Choiſie, Tom. VI. p. 345.

(*b*) Wood’s Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1046. Our author kept an acquaintance in the family as long as he lived. See his letter to Limborch, dated June 18, 1691.

[*A*] *His education was managed in his infancy with much ſtrictneſs.*] Mr Le Clerc tells us (1), that our author always ſpoke of his parents with great reſpect and tenderneſs, and took notice of the great care his father had of his education, and particularly approved one part, which he often mentioned, of his father’s conduct to him, being ſevere, and keeping him at a great diſtance while he was a child: but that as ſoon as he grew up, becoming more familiar by degrees, they lived at laſt together with the eaſe and confidence of friends, where no ſubjection was required; inſomuch that his father excuſed himſelf to him for having once ſtruck him while he was a child, rather out of paſſion, than becauſe he deſerved it.

(1) Bibliotheque Choiſie, Tom. VI p. 345.

[*B*] *A*

(c) Le Clerc thought this was occasioned by some misfortunes in the civil wars. Ubi supra.

(d) Wood, in the place just cited.

tent estate, which yet happened to be greatly impaired (c), when it came into the hands of this his eldest son, whom at a proper age he put to Westminster-school, where he remained 'till he was nineteen years of age, when he was removed to Oxford; and being admitted of Christ-Church in 1651, became a student of that college (d), and distinguished himself by an ingenious epigram upon Cromwell's peace with the Dutch in 1653 [B]. Having taken at the regular times both his degrees in Arts (e), he put himself upon the Physick line (f); to which profession he applied with great diligence, and practised therein a little at Oxford [C]: but finding his constitution not able to bear the fatigue of much business, he forbore to push it; and, being highly delighted with the Philosophy of Des Cartes [D], which then began to grow into vogue, he thence took a fancy to that study. In

(e) That of Batchelor Feb. 14, 1655, and Master June 29, 1658. Wood's Fasti Oxon. Vol. II. col 106 and 122.

(f) Wood's Athen. Oxon. ubi supra. By the statutes of that university, no one can enter on the Physick line 'till he has taken both his degrees in Arts.

[B] *A copy of verses upon the peace with the Dutch in* 1653.] By the terms of this treaty, the Dutch, at the same time that they stipulated not to admit King Charles II. or any other enemy to the common-wealth of England into their territories, had likewise yielded the right of the flag to the English (2). So much of the history of this peace was necessary to let us see the full meaning of Mr Locke's compliment in these verses. They were judged worthy of a place in a collection presented by that University to the Protector upon this occasion, and being now not very commonly to be met with, may here justly be expected.

(2) Rapin's History of England, under this year.

Pax regit Augusti, quem vicit Julius, orbem,
Ille sago factus clarior, ille toga.
Hos sua Roma vocat magnos, & numina credit;
Hic quod sit mundi Victor, & ille quies;
Tu bellum & pacem populis das, unus utrisque
Major es, ipse orbem vincis, et ipse regis.
Non Hominem e cælo missum te credimus? unus
Sic poteras binos qui superare Deos.

Thus englished by the same hand.

A peaceful sway the great Augustus bore,
O'er what great Julius gain'd by arms before:
Julius was all with martial trophies crown'd,
Augustus for his peaceful arts renown'd.
Rome calls them great, and makes them Deities,
This for his valour, that his policies.
You, mighty Prince! than both are greater far;
You rule in peace that world, you gain'd by war.
You, Sir, from Heav'n a finish'd hero fell,
Who thus alone two Pagan God's excel.

The reader, I believe, will readily grant that neither the poetry nor the versification in these lines are by any means contemptible, when he sees them here separated from those of his fellow-students, *South* and *Busby*, in which company it must be owned they are shewn to a great disadvantage by the editor (3) of the collection now before me. But whatever poetical talents he was endued with, 'tis certain they lay greatly neglected. Some verses which were wrote by him several years afterwards, and prefixed to Dr Sydenham's *Observationes Medicæ*, are a convincing proof of this (4).

(3) Of the State Poems, Vol. I. p. 8. edit. 1699, 8vo.

(4) It gives us no advantageous idea of his judgment in poetry, when we find him admiring Sir Richard Blackmore's extraordinary talents therein. Letter to Mr Molyneux, September 11, 1697.

[C] *He practised physick at Oxford.*] Mr Wood expresses it thus, *he run thro' a course of chymistry, and got some little practice in Oxford* (5); apparently intimating that he took fees as well as other young practitioners in that faculty. However, as the same author informs us, that he did not proceed to take a degree in physick 'till 1674, 'tis evident he was in no haste to push himself forward in the practice, since, without a degree therein, he must needs follow it at a great disadvantage in the parts about Oxford, and could not regularly practise at all for profit within the precincts of the University. Mr Le Clerc tells us, that *he never practised to make any profit by it* (6), meaning no doubt that he did not make it his ordinary business in the manner of other physicians; for it cannot be supposed that he had not a view to his own advantage in accepting, as we shall see presently he did, the offer made to him by Lord Ashley, of being physician to himself and his family; and as his Lordship not only permitted, but recommended him occasionally to his particular friends, he obtained thereby the most genteel way of exercising the faculty (7).

(5) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1046.

(6) Ubi supra, p. 349.

(7) Ibid. p. 347.

[D] *Delighted with Des Cartes's philosophy.*] We have advanced this on the sole authority of Le Clerc, who very possibly might have it from our author's own mouth. The truth of the case seems to be as follows. Mr Locke by having before his eyes frequent instances of the extravagant abuse that was then made of the scholastic exercise of disputing, had thence hastily taken up an irreconcileable aversion to that method of disciplining youth, which he indulged so far, that it begat in him something like an antipathy to that branch of Aristotle's philosophy, as consisting he thought only of obscure terms, and productive of nothing so much as useless and trifling questions. I venture to call it something like an antipathy, since it appears to have its root in the natural frame of his temper, which was peevish and choleric, too delicate (8) for logical contests: we are told by one (9) who knew him well, and is far from being suspected in that place of designing any injury to his character, that *he had such an abhorrence to professed disputants, whose aim is to carry the victory, by puzzling their antagonists with the ambiguity of words; that whenever he had to deal with this sort of people, if he did not before-hand take a strong resolution of keeping his temper, he quickly fell into a passion.* This constitutional abhorrence grew, as is usual, by degrees, into a settled and determined point of judgment. A remarkable proof of which is seen in the answer he gave to Mr Will. Molyneux, who, with a view of introducing his Essay of Human Understanding into the Universities, proposed to him to cast it into the form of the treatises of Logic and Metaphysics read there. 'That which you propose, says he (10), 'of turning my Essay into a body of Logic and Metaphysics, accommodated to the usual forms, though I 'thank you very kindly for it, and plainly see in it 'the care you have of the education of young scholars, 'which is a thing of no small moment, yet, I fear, I 'shall scarce find time to do it. You have cut out 'other work for me (11) more to my liking, and I 'think of more use. Besides that, if they have in this 'book of mine what you think the matter of these two 'sciences, or what you will call them; I like the 'method it is in, better than that of the schools, 'where I think it is no small prejudice to knowledge, 'that prædicaments, prædicables, &c. being universally, in all their systems, come to be looked on as 'necessary principles or unquestionable parts of knowledge, just as they are set down there. If Logick 'be the first thing to be taught young men after grammar, as is the usual method, I think yet it should be 'nothing but proposition and syllogisme. But that 'being in order to their disputing exercises in the University, perhaps I may think those may be spared 'too, disputing being but an ill (not to say the worst) 'way to knowledge (12)'. It ought to be observed, that the spirit of censuring this part of education in the Universities had possessed others, near the time of which we are now speaking, as well as our author: Mr Joseph Glanville (13), for instance, ventured to rally the pedantry, as he calls it, and boyish humour of it, with a peculiar rankness of wit, calling it a bare formal scheme of empty airy notions, senseless terms, and insignificant words, fit only to make a noise, and furnish matter of wrangling and contention, and declaring often that his being trained up in that road was one of the greatest unhappinesses that had ever befallen him. In the room of Aristotle's Philosophy, he substituted several hypotheses from Cartesius, then called the New Philosophy. It had indeed been for some time universally taught in Holland, and at Geneva, and had captivated many others, as well as Mr Locke, with the charming variety and perspicuity of the stile in which the founder had dressed it up, and which was universally admired, even by those who did not approve all his notions (14). Neither did our author suffer himself to be misled by these; but, on the contrary, by pursuing his own ideas, became himself in one subject, as is well known, a master builder intirely upon his own stock;

(8) With this also concurred a tender habit of body, inclinable to a consumption, the latera and pulmones being as necessary to a good disputant at that time, as they were to a good orator in ancient Greece and Rome.

(9) Mr P. De Coste. See his character of Mr Locke, printed by Mr Des Maizeaux, with the note of this latter gentleman upon it, prefixed to a Collection, &c. mentioned in remark [FF].

(10) In a letter to that gentleman, Jan. 20, 1692-3, in Familiar Letters between Mr Locke and his friends, Lond. 1708, 8vo.

(11) This was several improvements hinted by Mr Molyneux, in order to a second edition of his Essay.

(12) See also his Conduct of the Understanding, §. 30. of Distinction.

(13) In several pieces, particularly one intitled, *The Vanity of Dogmatizing*, &c. printed in 1661, and another called *Scepsis Scientifica*, with a letter to a friend concerning Aristotle, in 1665.

(14) Which was our author's case, as will appear by and by.

In 1664, he had an opportunity of going abroad, in quality of Secretary to Sir William Swan, who was appointed Envoy to the Elector of Brandenburg, and some other German princes (g). Our author returned the year following to Oxford, where he continued to improve his knowledge in Philosophy and Physick, and particularly in 1666, fell in with the scheme that had been lately set on foot by Dr Plott (h), of keeping a register of the air [E], in order to perfect the natural history of that most necessary article of what the Physicians call the non-naturals. He was thus employed, when an accident brought him acquainted with Lord Ashley, afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury. His Lordship having an abscess in his breast under his stomach, occasioned by a fall, was advised to drink the Astrop waters. In this design he wrote to a Physician (i) at Oxford, to procure some of those waters to be ready against his arrival. That Physician being called away by other business, transferred this commission to his friend Mr Locke, who found himself obliged to wait upon his Lordship the day after his arrival, to excuse the disappointment of not having the waters ready (k). Lord Ashley, as his manner was, received him with great civility, declared himself satisfied with his apology, and, being much pleased with his conversation, upon his rising to take leave, detained him to supper, and engaged him to dinner the next day, and even to drink the waters (Mr Locke having expressed some design of doing it shortly), that he might have the more of his company (l). From this beginning, that Lord became our author's patron, took him into his house, soon afterwards followed his advice in opening the abscess in his breast, would not suffer him to practise physick out of his own family and among some particular friends, introduced him to several Lords of his acquaintance, who shewed him an extraordinary respect [F], and urged him to direct his application chiefly to the subject of politicks. All which was evidently calculated by that most artful statesman, exactly to hit the meridian of Mr Locke's taste and temper; and he prosecuted his newly-prescribed study with so much success, as to be very useful to his patron in his most daring designs (m). In 1668, he attended the Countess of Northumberland into France; but an unforeseen accident obliged him, after a short stay there, to return to England (n), where he continued to reside with Lord Ashley, who having, jointly with some other lords, obtained a grant of Carolina, our author was employed to draw up the fundamental constitutions of that province [G]. In 1670, and the following

(g) Le Clerc, ubi supra, p. 348.

(h) See the Philosophical Transactions, towards the beginning, which shew, that this enquiry was prosecuted by several other members of that Society besides Dr Plott.

(i) His name was Thomas, he was then at Christ-Church. Le Clerc, as above.

(k) It was occasioned by the negligence of the person that had been sent for them. Id. ibid.

(l) Ibid. p. 353, 354.

(m) See remarks [L] and [M].

(n) Viz. the death of the Earl, which happened at Turin in Italy, having left the Countess with Mr Locke at Paris. So Le Clerc, p. 358. whose account, however, seems to be a little inacurate with respect to time, since this Earl, Josceline Percy, did not die 'till May 1670. As he left no male issue, the title became extinct in that family, and his daughter Elizabeth, being Baroness of Northumberland, married to her third husband Charles Duke of Somerset, who thereby became possessed of the Percy estate. Collins's Peerage, Vol. IV. p. 185, 186. edit. 1756, 8vo.

stock; and if the spirit of building (15) was first of all infused into him (as seems not improbable) from the spleen; yet he afterwards raised such original works, as will immortalize his name.

[E] *A register of the air.*] He printed this at the end of a posthumous piece of Mr *Rob. Boyle*, intitled, *A general history of the Air*, in 1692, 8vo. Our author called his paper *A Register of the changes of the Air observed at Oxford, by the Barometer, Thermometer, and Hygrometer, from June 24, 1660, to March 28, 1667.* As soon as the book was finished at the press, he sent a copy as a present to his friend Mr *Molyneux* at Dublin, with the following account of that undertaking. 'Though this piece of Mr *Boyle*, says he, 'was left very imperfect by him, yet I think the very 'design of it will please you; and it is cast into a me'thod, that any one that pleases may add to it, under 'any of the several titles, as his reading or observation 'shall furnish him with matter of fact; but it is a sub'ject too large for any one man, and requires the as'sistance of many heads to make it a history very short 'of compleat.' He also invites Mr Molyneux to throw in his mite towards compleating such a history, as containing greater variety and use than almost any other branch of Natural Philosophy. Here we see how much at heart our author had the prosecution of this subject, in preference to all other parts of Natural Philosophy (16). He had indeed an instinctive cause for making this choice in the particular infirmity of his own constitution, which was asthmatic; and it is observable, that these histories have been since made excellent use of, towards discovering the qualities of the air by another gentleman (17) who laboured also under the like constitutional disorder.

[F] *Who shewed him an extraordinary respect.*] Mr Le Clerc tells us (18), they were much pleased with Mr Locke's conversation, and the following story which the same author relates as an instance of the liberty that he took with them, whether it was as that author declares, suitable to his character or not, certainly furnishes an illustrious proof of their politeness to him. Three or four of these Lords, says Mr Le Clerc, having met at Lord Ashley's, rather for conversation than business, after some compliments, very little conversation had passed when the butler brought in the cards: Mr Locke looked on for some time while they were at play, and then taking his pocket-book, began to write with great attention. One of the company observing this, asked him what he was writing? my Lord, says he, I am endeavouring to profit, as far as I am capable, in your company; for having waited with impatience for the honour of being in an assembly of the greatest geniuses of the age, and having at length obtained this good fortune, I thought I could not do better than write down your conversation; and indeed I have set down the substance of what has been said for this hour or two. He had no occasion to read much of this dialogue, those noble persons saw the ridicule, and diverted themselves with improving the jest; and presently quitting their play, entered into a conversation more suitable to their characters, and spent the rest of the day in that manner.

[G] *The fundamental constitutions of Carolina.*] The Latitudinarian spirit of the two following articles in these constitutions gave great offence to the Clergy at that time. Art. xcv. 'No man will be promoted to 'be a freeman of Carolina, or to have any vote or 'habitation within it, that doth not acknowledge a 'God, and that God to be publickly and solemnly 'worshipped. xcvii. Since the natives of that place, 'who will be concerned in our plantation, are utterly 'strangers to Christianity, whose idolatry, ignorance, 'or mistakes, give us no right to expel, or use them 'ill; and those who remove from other parts to plant 'there, will unavoidably be of different opinions con'cerning matters of religion, the liberty whereof they 'will expect to have allowed them; and it will not 'be reasonable for us on this account to keep them out: 'that still peace may be maintained amidst the diversity 'of opinions, and our agreement and compact with all 'men may be duly and faithfully observed, the breach 'whereof, upon what pretence soever, cannot be 'without great offence to Almighty God, and great 'scandal to the true religion, which we profess: and also 'that Jews, Heathens, and other Dissenters from the 'purity of the Christian religion, may not be scared 'and kept at a distance from it; but by having an op'portunity to acquaint themselves with the truth and 'reasonableness of its doctrines, and the peaceableness 'and inoffensiveness of its professors, may, by good 'usage and persuasion, and all those convincing me'thods of gentleness and meekness, suitable to the 'rules and design of the gospel, be won over to em'brace and unfeignedly receive the truth. Therefore 'any seven or more persons agreeing in any religion 'shall constitute a church or profession, to which they 'shall

(15) He frequently mentions this spirit even with the greatest fondness, particularly where, after a high elogium of Mr Whiston's Theory of the Earth on that account, he writes thus to Mr Molyneux: 'Of all the motto's I ever met with, this, writ over a water-work at Cleve, best pleased me: *Natura omnes fecit Judices, paucos Artifices.*' Familiar Letters, ubi supra, p. 177.

(16) Ibid. p. 20, 21.

(17) Dr John Arbuthnot, in an Essay on the Qualities of the Air. Lond. 1731, 8vo.

(18) Ubi supra, p. 357, 358.

following year, he began to form the plan of his Essay upon Human Understanding, but was hindered from making then any great progress in that work by other employments, which were found for him by his patron, who in 1672 (o), being raised to the post of Lord Chancellor (p), did not forget to let his faithful client share in the fruits of his power, by appointing him Secretary of the Presentations. This place he held as long as his master kept the Great Seal; but that being taken from him in November, the year following (q), our author, to whom the Earl had communicated his most secret affairs, fell into disgrace together with him, and afterwards contributed his mite to some pieces, which the Earl procured to be published, with a view of exciting the nation to watch the Roman-Catholicks, and to oppose the designs of that party. However, his Lordship being still President at the Board of Trade (r), Mr Locke had been made, in June the same year, Secretary to a commission of that kind, an office which was worth to him 500 pounds per annum as long as it lasted; but the commission was dissolved in December 1674 (s). Our author had all this while kept possession of his student's place at Christ-Church, whither he used not unfrequently to resort, as well for the conveniency of books, as also upon account of his health, the air of London not agreeing well with his constitution: and, having taken his degree of Bachelor of Physick on the sixth of February this year (t) [H], he went the following summer to Montpelier, being apprehensive of a consumption.

(o) Mr Le Clerc thought he was made a Fellow of the Royal Society about this time.

(p) Nov. 17. Salmon's Chron. Hist. under the year 1672.

(q) Viz. on the ninth of that month. Idem, in 1673.

(r) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 723.

(s) Le Clerc, p. 364.

(t) Wood's Fasti, Vol. II. col. 196.

'shall give some name to distinguish it from others.' Thus this famous instrument stood in the original draught by our author. But some of the chief proprietors probably seeing the great scandal that would be given by putting, as is here done, not only all denominations of christians, but the wildest sectaries and foulest hereticks, nay even Jews and Pagans, upon the same foot with true Christianity, and entitling all equally to the same privileges, without any respect had to the Church of England, of which they professed themselves members, thought proper, between these two articles, to insert the following Art. XCVI. 'As the country comes to be 'sufficiently planted and distributed into fit divisions, 'it shall belong to the Parliament to take care for the 'building of churches, and the publick maintenance 'of divines, to be employed in the exercise of religion, 'according to the Church of England, which being 'the only true and orthodox, and the national reli'gion of all the King's dominions, is so also of Caro'lina, and therefore it alone shall be allowed publick 'maintenance by grant of Parliament.' This article being introduced against Mr Locke's judgment, as he expresly declared (19), 'tis no wonder if from thence his affection to the Church of England began much to be suspected; and as this opinion was confirmed by several of his subsequent writings, he has been generally placed among the chiefs of the Latitudinarians. Accordingly not very many years ago, we find Dr Waterland seating him next to Lord Herbert of Cherbury, at the head of Barbeyrac, Le Clerc, &c. and stretching such principles even wider than those his followers. 'But 'he, says that learned and orthodox divine, speaking of 'Mr Barbeyrac, refers us for explication of fundamen'tals to a noted Treatise of Le Clerc's, at the end of '*Grotius de veritate religionis christianæ*, A. D. 1709. 'A Treatise so indefinite and loose, that one scarce 'knows what it aims at; except it be, that nothing 'should pass for a *fundamental*, which has been ever '*disputed* by men calling themselves *christians*, and 'professing *scripture*, however interpreted to be their '*rule*. Which is judging of important truths, not by 'the word of God soberly understood, nor by catholick 'tradition, nor by the reason of things, but by the 'floating humours and fancies of men, as if all christian 'doctrines were to be expunged out of the list of *ne'cessaries*, which have had the misfortune to be dis'puted amongst us, and a short creed were to be made 'out of the remainder. *But what if others, with 'Baron* Herbert of Cherbury, *or with the author of 'the* fundamental constitutions of Carolina, *building 'upon the same principles of latitude, and willing to 'compound all* differences, *should advise us to admit no'thing for a* fundamental, *but what all mankind have 'hitherto agreed in, and for the future shall agree in,* 'Atheists *only excepted; where will then at length these 'presumptuous schemes end?* (20)'

(19) To a friend, whom he presented with a copy of these Constitutions. Des Maizeaux's note, p. 42.

(20) Importance of the doctrine of the Trinity, p. 450. 2d edit. 1734.

[H] *He took the degree of M. B.*] We have observed already, that he always practised physick among a few select friends. At the same time, he likewise kept up an acquaintance with several of the faculty (25), and what was his reputation therein, may be known from the testimony that is given of it by the celebrated Dr Sydenham, who in his book, intitled, *Observationes Medicæ, circa morborum acutorum historiam & curationem*, printed in 1676, writes thus (22), 'You know likewise how 'much my method has been approved of by a person 'who has examined it to the bottom, and who is our 'common friend: I mean Mr John Locke, who, if we 'consider his genius, and penetrating and exact judg'ment, or the strictness of his morals, has scarce any 'superior, and few equals now living. *Nosti preterea;* '&c.' To this book there is prefixed a copy of commendatory verses by our author (as has been already mentioned) (23) to which he subscribes himself J. Locke, *Artium Magister ex æde Christi*. This subscription shews the verses were written some years before their appearance here in 1676, when he had been two years *Medicinæ Baccalaureus*. We have many instances which shew, that in his method of practice our author formed himself intirely upon Dr Sydenham. In a letter to Mr Molyneux, having commended Sir R. Blackmore's Preface to K. Arthur, for the expressions against hypotheses, and taken notice how much the illiterate Americans in curing diseases surpassed our learned physicians that went thither; he proceeds thus: 'You cannot imagine how far a little observation, care'fully made by a man not devoted to the four humours, 'or sal sulphur and mercury, or to acid and alkali, 'which has of late prevailed, will carry a man in the 'curing of diseases, though very stubborn and dangerous, 'and that with very little and common things, and al'most no medicines at all; of this I could, from my 'own experience, convince you, were we together but 'a little while.' We have also a Letter of his to Dr Molyneux, where he gives his sentiments about the use which may be made of hypotheses in physick in the following terms. — 'Upon such grounds as are the 'established history of diseases, hypotheses might with 'less danger be erected, which I think are so far use'ful, as they serve, as an art of memory, to direct the 'physician in particular cases, but not to be relied on 'as foundations of reasoning, or verities to be contend'ed for; they being, I think I may say, all of them 'suppositions taken up *gratis*, and will so remain 'till 'we can discover how the natural functions of the body 'are performed, and by what alteration in the humours, 'or defects in the parts they are hindered or disordered. 'To which purpose I fear the Galenists four humours, 'or the chymists sal sulphur and mercury, or the late 'prevailing invention of *acid* and *alkali*, or whatever 'hereafter shall be substituted to them with new ap'plause, will, upon examination, be found to be but 'so many learned empty sounds, with no precise deter'minate signification. What we know of the works 'of nature, especially in the constitution of health, and 'the operations of our own bodies, is only by the sen'sible effects, not by any certainty we can have of the 'tools she uses, or the ways she works by. So that 'there is nothing left for a physician to do, but to ob'serve well, and so by analogy to argue to like cases, 'and thence make to himself rules of practice: and he 'that is this way most sagacious, will, I imagine, make 'the best physician, though he should entertain distinct 'hypotheses concerning distinct species of diseases sub'servient to this end, that were inconsistent one with 'another, they being made use of in those several sorts 'of diseases but as distinct arts of memory in those cases. 'And I the rather say this, that they might be relied

(21) In a letter to Dr Molyneux, who had asked his opinion of Dr Moreton, he writes as follows. 'The Doctor, concerning whom you enquire of me, had, I remember, when I lived in town, and conversed among the Physicians there, a good reputation amongst those of his own Faculty.' Familiar Letters, p. 283.

(22) Viz. Dr Mapletoft, who turned this piece into that most elegant Latin we see it in.

(23) In remark [B].

sumption. This step was not taken without the approbation and advice of his patron, to whom he had, just before his departure, been particularly serviceable in drawing up an extraordinary pamphlet, intitled, *A Letter from a Person of Quality to his Friend in the Country, &c* [I]. At Montpelier, our author fell into the acquaintance of Mr Thomas Herbert, afterwards Earl of Pembroke, to whom he communicated his design of writing his Essay on Human Understanding (*u*), which now chiefly employed his thoughts. From Montpelier he went to Paris, where he contracted a friendship with Mr Justel (*w*), at whose house he saw Mr Guenelon, a celebrated Physician of Amsterdam, who held anatomical conferences there with great reputation. It was now also, that the familiarity commenced betwixt him and Mr Toignard, by whom he was favoured with a copy of his Harmony of the Gospels, when there were no more than five or six of them complete (*x*). From Paris, also, he wrote a letter to a friend at London in 1677, intimating, that the Physick Lecture at Gresham-college would be acceptable to him [K]. Upon the discovery of the Popish plot, the Earl of Shaftesbury was again taken into favour at Court, and made President of a new Council (*y*), erected by his Majesty in 1679. This new turn occasioned him to send for Mr Locke; but his Lordship happening to be laid aside again in less than half a year (*z*), had no opportunity of serving him in that post. Notwithstanding this, our author continued unalterably attached to his patron in all the traverses of his fortune; and, in 1682, when that nobleman escaped a prosecution for high-treason, by flying into Holland (*aa*), Mr Locke followed him thither [L]: neither upon the death of

(*u*) See the dedication to that work.

(*w*) This gentleman's house was at that time the usual resort of men of letters. See a Letter from Dr George Hickes to a friend, &c. He came afterwards to England, and was made Keeper of the Royal Library at St James's. See Dr Bentley's article, in this work, Vol. II.

(*x*) Le Clerc, p. 365.

(*y*) See an account of this council in the article of Sir William Temple.

(*z*) The council was erected April 21, and his Lordship was displaced the 15th of October following. Salmon's Chron. Hist. under the year 1679.

(*aa*) The warrant was issued out in October, and his Lordship withdrew in November. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 724. and Salmon's Chron. Hist. in the year 1682.

'on only as artificial helps to a physician, and not as 'philosophical truths to a naturalist (24).'

[I] *A letter from a person of quality, &c.*] The whole title runs thus, *A letter from a person of quality to his friend in the country, giving an account of the debates and resolutions in the House of Lords, in April and May 1675, concerning a Bill, intitled, An Act to prevent the dangers which may arise from persons disaffected to the Government.* Our author, we are informed (25), drew up this letter at the desire of the Earl of Shaftesbury, and under his Lordship's inspection, only committing to writing what the Earl did in a manner dictate to him; and this indeed is evident, with regard to that part which contains remarks upon the characters and conduct of several of the nobility, since these could be known only to his Lordship. But as this reason extends not to other parts of the same letter, so neither is any doubt suggested by our author's apologist, that he did not heartily concur in the *gibes*, as Mr Wood calls them (26), which are unsparingly thrown therein upon the spiritual Lords; we shall mention one of these in the bill which goes by the name of the Test Act. The Ministry proposed to make an addition to the corporation-oath in these words, *I will not at any time endeavour to make any alteration of the government either in church or state.* The author of the Letter, speaking of this addition, the devising whereof he charges principally upon the Bishops, declares in general of the clergy of all religions, that they have trucked away the rights and liberties of the people, in this and all other countries wherever they have had opportunity, that they might be owned by the Prince to be *jure divino*, and maintained in their pretensions by the absolute power and force they have contributed so much to put into his hands: and that Priest and Prince may, like *Castor and Pollux*, be worshipped together as divine in the same temple by us poor lay-subjects, they actually assert that monarchy is *jure divino*. For a proof of the truth of this remark, the editor, in a note upon it, cites a passage from Bishop Usher's *Power of the Prince*, and several others also from Bishop Sanderson's Preface to that Treatise, which seem indeed to be very agreeable to the mind of the Letter-writer, and therefore in that view not improperly introduced; and that is declared by the annotator to be his sole intention, leaving the justice of his author's censure to shift for itself, that so he might not be drawn into the controversy. Mr Wood we see calls it a *gibing upon the spiritual Lords*; and so far is certain, that almost all the tribe of writers who have affected to give us a cast of their wit upon Orthodoxy, have acknowledged this Letter-writer for their master, in copying not only his matter bnt his manner (27) and expression, not even disdaining to borrow his very words. As to the two divines quoted by Mr Des Maizeaux, not to insist in their behalf on the seasonableness and prudence of pressing the doctrine of non-resistance absolutely, at the times when the forementioned treatise was wrote by one, and published by the other; the first being apparently moved by the sad prospect of misery with which the nation was threatned, from the opposite extreme at the breaking out of the rebellion; and the second still more moved with the actual feeling of that misery from which the nation was then scarcely well recovered. To pass by, I say, these and such like topics, which candour prompts in their defence, it is observable, that if we hearken to the author of the letter in question, we shall be obliged to confess, that nothing but these could be the true motive both of writing and publishing that book *, since it follows from his own argument, compared with other parts of their writings, that they knew as well as he, that their monarch was no such divinity as he charges them with asserting. Thus far our Letter-writer we see declares, that Episcopacy was founded by the clergy upon the *jure divino* equally with monarchy: but it is well known, that both these Bishops expresly maintained, that Episcopacy, as established in the Church of England, was not *jure divino* (28); whence it necessarily follows, from this way of reasoning, that monarchy also, as established in the State of England, was equally maintained by them not to be *jure divino*. 'Tis not the design of this remark to take any side in a dispute which has now been long worn out, much less to defend the doctrine of absolute non-resistance from those absurdities which inseparably attend it in all ages. But our business is to represent every fact that comes in the course of these memoirs impartially as we find it, after the best inquiry which we are able to make, and in the present instance, if the fact is found to turn out in favour of the two mentioned Bishops, that disdain which appears in relating it, may be thought not improper in the view of testifying a real hearty concern for the cause of truth in general, on what side soever it stands.

[K] *A desire to obtain the physick lecture at Gresham.*] This intimation was sent by him in a letter dated from Paris, June 22, 1677, to Dr Mapletoft abovementioned, then physick professor at Gresham, where he expressed himself as follows. 'If either absence '(which sometimes increases our desires) or love (which 'we see every day produces strange effects in the world) 'have softned you, or disposed you towards a liking of 'any of our fine new things, 'tis but saying so, and I 'am ready to furnish you, and should be sorry not to 'be employed. I mention love, for you know I have 'a particular interest of my own in it. When you 'look that way, nobody will be readier, as you may 'guess, to throw an old shoe after you, much for your 'own sake, and a little for a friend's of your's. But 'were I to advise, perhaps I should say to you, that 'the lodgings at Gresham were a quiet and comfortable 'habitation (29).'

[L] *Mr Locke followed him thither.*] Mr Wood having intimated that our author (as well as his patron) found it convenient to make his escape, tells us, that when he left Oxford, he conveyed away with him several letters and writings without being searched (30): Mr Le Clerc also informs us, that Mr Locke gave his assistance in some pieces published by the Earl of Shaftesbury after his disgrace, and after the Earl's flight, did not think himself safe in England (31); and we shall see in the next remark his conduct had for some time before been strictly watched by Dean Fell.

(24) Familiar Letters, p. 224, 225, 285, 286.

(25) By Mr Des Maizeaux, in a note to this piece.

(26) Under the article of Mr Locke, in Ath. Oxon. Vol. II.

(27) We need only mention Lord Bolingbroke, and refer to his Philosophical Works, Essay 4. passim. Vol. III. 8vo. edition, 1754.

* Viz. The Power of the Prince.

(28) See Usher's Original of Bishops and Metropolitans, edit. 1641, 4to. and Sanderson's Episcopacy, as established by Law in England, not prejudicial to regal power. 1661.

(29) Ward's Lives of the Gresham Professors, p. 275.

(30) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1046. where he says, Mr Locke was actually assisting to the Earl when the Popish plot broke out.

(31) Bibliotheque Choisie, Tom. VI. p. 363, & seq.

[M] The

of his patron, which happened soon after (*bb*), did he think proper to return home, where he knew his conduct had created him some powerful enemies (*cc*). And he had not been a year in Holland, when he was accused at the English Court of having written certain tracts against the Government; and though another person was afterwards discovered to be the author (*dd*), yet being observed to join in company with several English malecontents at the Hague (*ee*), this conduct was communicated by our Resident there to the Earl of Sunderland, then Secretary of State; who acquainting the King therewith, his Majesty ordered the proper methods to be taken for expelling him from the college, and application to be made for that purpose to Bishop Fell the Dean; In obedience to this command the necessary information was given by his Lordship, who at the same time wrote to our author, to appear and answer for himself, on the first of January ensuing; but, immediately receiving an express command to turn him out, was obliged to comply therewith, and accordingly Mr Locke was removed from his student's place on the sixteenth of November 1684 (*ff*) [*M*]. Upon the accession of King James the Second to the throne, Sir William Pen, the famous Quaker, procured the promise of a pardon for our author, whom he had known at Christ-Church; but his fellow-collegian declined the acceptance of that offer, alledging, that he had no occasion for a pardon, not being guilty of any crime (*gg*). In May 1685, the English Envoy at the Hague demanded him to be delivered up by the States-General, upon suspicion of having been concerned in the Duke of Monmouth's invasion [*N*]. This obliged him to lie concealed near twelve months,

(*bb*) His Lordship died of the gou at Amsterdam, January 21, 1682-3. Wood, where last quoted, col. 727.

(*cc*) See remarks [*L*] and [*M*].

(*dd*) Le Clerc, p. 368. This seems to be a pamphlet, intitled, *A Vindication of the Association*, the author of which, Mr Wood tells us in the place last mention d, was afterwards discovered to be Robert Ferguson.

(*ee*) Wood, ibid. col. 1046. where he mentions particularly Lord Grey of Werke and Robert Ferguson.

(*ff*) Wood, ubi supra, and Le Clerc, p. 374.

(*gg*) Le Clerc, ibid. No body will be surprized at Mr Pen's kindness for our author, who compares the articles about a religious establishment in the *Constitutions of Carolina* with those of Pensilvania, together with *the frame of the government* in this last province.

[*M*] *Mr Locke was removed*, &c.] As this affair has been differently represented, even by authors of repute, we shall lay before the reader the fact, as it appears from the several letters * wrote on the occasion. The first, from Sunderland to the Bishop, runs thus:

Whitehall, November 6, 1684.

'The King having been given to understand, that one Locke who belonged to the late Earl of Shaftesbury, and has, upon several occasions, behaved himself very factiously against the Government, is a student of Christ-Church; His Majesty commands me to signify to your Lordship, that he would have him removed from being a student; and that, in order thereunto, your Lordship would let him know the method of doing it, &c.'

To this the Bishop answered in these terms November 8. 'Mr Locke being a great friend of the late Earl of Shaftesbury, and being suspected not to be well affected to the government, I have had my eye over him for several years; but he has always been so much upon his guard, that after several strict enquiries I can confidently assure you, there is no person in our college, how familiar soever he has been with him, that has heard him say any thing against the government, or that any ways concerns it. And though we have often designedly given him occasion in publick and private discourse to talk of the Earl of Shaftesbury, by speaking ill of him, his party, and designs; yet we could never see, either by his words or looks, that he thought himself at all concerned in the matter: so that we believe there is not a man in the world so much master of his tongue and passions as he is †. He has a Physick place here, which frees him from the exercise of the college, and the obligation which others have to residence in it; and he is now abroad for want of health. But, notwithstanding this, I have summoned him to return home, which is done with this prospect, that, if he comes not back, he will be liable to expulsion for contumacy; and, if he does, he will be answerable to the law for that which he shall be found to have done amiss. It being probable, that, though he may have been thus cautious here, where he knew himself suspected, he has laid himself more open at London, where a general liberty of speaking was used, and where the execrable designs against his Majesty and his government were managed and pursued. If he don't return by the first of January, which is the time limited to him, I shall be enabled of course to proceed against him to expulsion. But, if this method seems not effectual or speedy enough, and his Majesty, our founder and visitor, shall please to command his immediate remove, upon the receipt thereof, directed to the Dean and Chapter, it shall accordingly be executed by your Lordship's &c.'

To this the following was received, dated November 12, enclosed in a letter from the Secretary, and addressed to the Dean and Chapter.

'Whereas, we have received information of the factious and disloyal behaviour of Locke, one of the students of that our college, we have thought fit hereby to signify our will and pleasure to you, that you forthwith remove him from his student's place, and deprive him of all rights and advantages thereunto belonging; for which this shall be your warrant. And so we bid you heartily farewell.

'Given at our Court of Whitehall, the 11th of November, 1684.

'By His Majesty's command,

'SUNDERLAND.'

The Bishop answered thus November 16.

'Right Honourable,

'I hold myself bound to signify to your Lordship, that his Majesty's command for the expulsion of Mr Locke from this college is fully executed.'

Upon these letters, Le Clerc observes, that the Bishop, in what he wrote, without doubt designed to serve Mr Locke, for whom he had always a respect and kindness, as appears from his immediately, on the receipt of the first letter, sending for Mr Tyrrell, who was Mr Locke's friend, to speak with him about it. On the other hand, a late writer cites the letters, as an evident proof, that the Bishop was capable of some excesses in some cases, where the interest of party could biass him. The letters, as here seen, need no comment to clear his conduct from both these misrepresentations, and sufficiently shew the mistake of Le Clerc on one hand, who, willing to have the virtuous and learned Dean, as he stiles him, for his friend's patron, tells us, he was convinced of Mr Locke's innocence; and the no less mistake, on the other hand, of Dr Birch, who calls this, his [the Dean's], expulsion of Mr Locke (32).

[*N*] *Suspected of being concerned in the Duke of Monmouth's invasion.*] The Duke was in Holland in the spring of this year 1685, with several English gentlemen of his party, and was preparing for the invasion which proved fatal to him. This coming to the ears of K. James II. he ordered his Envoy at the Hague to demand that 84 persons by name should be delivered up; among these was Mr Locke, under the title of Secretary to the Earl of Shaftesbury. He was named last of all, and it was said then that his name was not in the list sent from England, but that the English Consul there procured it to be inserted. This hearsay story of a fact, not very probable in itself, must be left to the reader's judgment; what Le Clerc tells us afterwards, carries more a face of truth, we may be assured, continues he, that Mr Locke had no correspondence with the *Duke of Monmouth*, of whom he had no great opinion; besides, he was far from being fond of commotions, and was rather timorous than remarkable for his resolution (33).' This character of our author's cowardly nature being given apparently from Le Clerc's own observation, who was well acquainted with him for several years from this time, may help us to another motive, besides what is mentioned

* They have been lately printed in a periodical paper called *The Student*, &c. collected into two volumes, 8vo. Vol. I. p. 202, & seq. edit. 1750.

† Le Clerc observes, that this command of his temper was the more extraordinary, as Mr Locke was by nature a little hasty; but that he perceived their design to trepan him. Ibid. p. 567.

(32) Life of Archbishop Tillotson, p. 95. 2d edit.

(33) Le Clerc, ubi supra, p. 372.

months, 'till it became sufficiently known that he had no hand in that enterprize. During this privacy, which, by the assistance of some friends, was rendered very secure from any danger of a discovery [*O*], he composed his first letter upon Toleration [*P*]; but he spent his time chiefly in finishing his Essay upon Human Understanding, and sometimes amused himself

mentioned in the last remark, of the exact caution observed by him at Christ-Church in regard to the Earl of Shaftesbury.

[*O*] *Being secured by his friends from danger*] At the end of the year 1684, Mr Locke had been at Utrecht, and returned in the spring of 1685 to Amsterdam, with a design to go again to Utrecht, as he actually did, to avoid being charged with having any hand in the *Duke of Monmouth*'s enterprize. Before he left Amsterdam, he had some inclination to lodge with Mr *Guenelon* abovementioned, who excused himself because it was not the custom of that city to admit strangers to lodge, tho' he received Mr *Locke*'s visits with great civility: but as soon as Mr *Guenelon* saw that he was in danger, he served him with great generosity, and engaged Mr *Veen*, his father-in-law, to receive Mr Locke into his house: this done, he wrote to Mr Locke at Utrecht, and Mr *Limborch* did the same on the part of Mr *Veen*. Upon this Mr Locke went to Amsterdam, where he lay concealed at Mr Veen's house two or three months. In the mean time Mr Limborch took care to deliver him the letters which were written to him, and had the custody of his will, Mr Locke desiring him in case of death to deliver it to some relations whom he named. For his further satisfaction, one of the principal magistrates of the city was consulted whether he might continue there in safety; to which the magistrate answered, that tho' indeed, in case he should be demanded by the King of England, they could not protect him; yet that he should not be betrayed, and that his landlord should have timely notice if there was occasion. This gave him some kind of confidence, and he continued with Mr *Veen* 'till September, without going abroad, except at night, for fear of being known. About this time, by the persuasion of some friend, he went to *Cleves*, but returned about the beginning of November, and lodged again at Mr *Veen*'s. At the end of the year he went to live with Mr *Guenelon*, where he continued likewise the year following, viz. 1686, in which he began to appear again in publick, In autumn he went to *Utrecht*, and at the end of the year returned to *Amsterdam*, lodging at Mr *Guenelon*'s as before. In 1687, he went to *Rotterdam*, where he lodged at Mr *Farley*'s (34), and passed his time in one or other of these two cities 'till he returned home.

(34) Our author's friend Mr Collins also lodged there when he was in that city in 1711-12. Mr Farley was a moderate English Quaker of some learning, and wrote very well against Antoinette Bourignon, the famous female visionary of Lisle.

[*P*] *His first letter upon Toleration*] Mr Le Clerc informs us, that letter was wrote while our author lodged with Mr Veen in 1685, tho' not published 'till 1689, when being wrote in Latin, it was printed at Tergou in 12mo, with the following title, *Epistola ad clarissimum virum*, T.A.R.P.T.O.L.A. i e. *Theologiæ apud Remonstrantes Professorem Tyrannidis osorem Limburgium Amstelodonensen scripta a* P.A.P.O I.L.A. *sc. Pacis amico Persecutionis osore Johanne Lockio, Anglo* It was translated into Dutch and English, the latter of which being printed twice in London in 1690, was attacked the same year by Mr Jonas Proast, Chaplain of All-Souls-College, Oxford, in a piece, intitled, *The argument of the letter concerning Toleration briefly considered and answered.* Oxford, 1690, 4to. Upon this Mr Locke published a *second letter concerning Toleration* the same year Lond. in 4to. dated May 27. And Mr Proast replying in *A third letter concerning Toleration; in a defence of the argument of the letter concerning Toleration briefly considered and answered* Oxford 1691, 4to. He rejoined in a third letter for Toleration in 1692, containing 350 pages in 4to. This letter is dated June the 29th. In it he declares his opinion concerning the miracles of the primitive Church as follows: 'And so I leave you, 'says he to his antagonist, to dispute the credit of ecclesiastical writers as you shall think fit, and by your authority to establish and invalidate theirs as you please. 'But this I think is evident, that he who will build 'his faith or reasonings upon miracles delivered by 'church historians, will find cause to go no farther 'than the Apostles times, or else not to stop at Constantine's; since the writers after that period, whose 'word we take as unquestionable in other things, speak 'of miracles in their time with no less assurance than 'the fathers before the fourth century; and a great 'part of the miracles of the second and third centuries 'stand upon the credit of the writers of the fourth: 'So that *that* sort of argument, which takes and rejects the testimony of the Ancients at pleasure as it 'may best suit with it, will not have much force with 'those who are not disposed to embrace the hypothesis without any arguments at all.' We find this passage inserted in the Preface to An inquiry into the miraculous powers, &c. printed in 1648, 4to. by Dr Conyers Middleton, who there gives the following eulogium of our author. 'It was an unexpected satisfaction to me, says the Doctor, to be informed lately 'by a friend, that Mr Locke had many years ago declared the same opinion with mine concerning the 'miracles of the primitive Church, which I shall offer 'the reader in his own words, being persuaded that 'the authority of so eminent a writer, and so singularly qualified by his talents and studies to discern the 'exact relations and consequences of things, will add great 'weight and confirmation to the cause which I am here 'defending.' But perhaps this ingenious divine was not aware upon what sort of inquiry Mr Locke had grounded his opinion; his authority therein will hardly be thought to have much weight in a point wherein he declared his ignorance a few months before to his friend Mr Limborch; In the postscript of a letter, dated Feb. 29, 1692 (35) to that gentleman, he writes thus, 'De miraculis 'post Apostolorum tempora certiorem fieri cupio, non 'ego satis sum versatus in ecclesiastica historia, ut quid 'de iis statuam nôrim. Rogo igitur obnixe, nam mea 'interest scire, an post Apostolorum tempora edita 'fuerint in Ecclesia Christiana miracula, quibus autoribus & qua fide memoriæ tradita, quam frequentia, '& an ad Constantini imperium, vel diutius duraverint, & quis fuit ille Thaumaturgus, & quid ab eo 'actum est, cujus tam speciosa appellatio ad nos pervenit. Non quæro miraculorum quæ in scriptoribus 'ecclesiasticis memorantur catalogum, sed an constat 'ex fide dignis historicis fuisse vera miracula, an raro 'vel sæpius edita, & quamdiu donum illud Ecclesiæ 'concessum.' It appears by this postscript, that our author was then meditating about his third letter abovementioned to Mr Proast, and it is highly probable that he took his opinion there declared concerning the miracles of the primitive Church, not so much from his own discernment of the exact relations of things, as from the authority of Mr Limborch. Mr Proast, after twelve years silence, returned an answer to this third letter of Mr Locke, who, tho' then in a very declining state of health, determined to reply in *a fourth letter concerning Toleration*, but he died the same year before it was finished (36). Le Clerc had once designed to translate the second and third letters into French, but forbore it, being, as he says, of opinion, that the first which he had before translated into that language, was sufficient to inform us of Mr Locke's sentiments. This is so very true, that 'tis in the first alone that his real sentiments are to be found, and not at all in the two subsequent ones, as is suggested by Mr Warburton, who speaking in defence of assuming a personal character on proper occasions, observes, that 'when the dispute is about the practical obligation of 'some truth to the good of a particular society, there 'it is fair to take up a suitable character, and argue '*ad hominem*, for there the end is a benefit to be 'gained for that society; and it is not of so great moment what principles the multitude is prevailed with 'to make the society happy, as it is that it should speedily become so. — A famous example, continues he, 'will illustrate this observation. Our great British 'philosopher, writing for religious liberty, combats 'his intolerant adversary quite through the controversy 'with his own principles, well foreseeing, that at such 'a time of prejudice arguments built on received opinions would have greatest weight, and make quickest impression on the body of the people, whom it 'was his business to gain.' Whether Mr Locke was indeed blest with such a foresight in this case as is here ascribed to him we need not determine; but his apologist however does him the justice to acknowledge, that he observed a contrary, plain, and direct conduct in managing his dispute with Dr Stillingfleet.

(35) Familiar Letters, p. 338, 339.

(36) The Fragment was printed among his Posthumous Works. See remark [*EE*].

[*Q*] He

(*b b*) Among others he made an extract of Mr Boyle's treatise on specific medicines; and, in 1686, he inserted into the second tome of the Bibliotheque, his new method for a common-place-book, under the title of *Nouvelle methode de dresser des Recueils.*

himself with making extracts of books to be inserted in the *Bibliotheque Universelle* (*b b*). Towards the latter end of the year 1686, he appeared again in public, and, in the following year, he formed a weekly assembly at Amsterdam, with Messieurs Limborch and Le Clerc (*i i*) [*Q*], who were joined by some others, in the view of holding conferences upon subjects of learning; and, about the end of that year, he finished the forementioned Essay [*R*], after having spent more than nine years upon it. At the same time, he also made

(*i i*) Le Clerc, p. 372.

[*Q*] *He settled a philosophical society with Limborch and Le Clerc*] These two divines were among our author's first friends in Holland, and he held a correspondence with both of them 'till the day of his death; not long after which there came out several letters that had passed between him and the former, whereby it appears, that Mr Limborch was very serviceable to our author, as well with respect to some improvements in his *Essay on human Understanding*, * as to his *Reasonableness of Christianity*; and, on the other hand, these favours were repaid by Mr Locke in procuring him Archbishop Tillotson's assistance in his History of the Inquisition, which was afterwards dedicated by that author to his Grace. As to Mr Le Clerc, the dedication of his Ontologia to our author, shews the profound esteem he had for him; and soon after came out the *causes of incredulity*. This piece, the principles of which were intirely to our author's mind, falling into the hands of Mr Molyneux, that gentleman, always studious to oblige Mr Locke, proposed to procure something for Le Clerc in Ireland. The proposal being exceedingly approved and encouraged by our author, who particularly mentioned a prebend as furnishing ease, and a sure retreat to write on, which he thought might be of great use to the christian world, such a preferment was in a fair way of being obtained for him by Mr Molyneux; but this whole affair was blasted, as it seems, by Le Clerc's declining to submit to a new ordination, as also to comply with the subscriptions required in our Church (37).

* Particularly on the subject of Liberty, which he explains very accurately in the same manner with Dr S. Clarke. Mr Locke solved it in the way of Dr Henry More, but very confusedly; and it has often been observed, that the chapter of Power in this view is the worst part of his Essay.

(37) See several letters between Mr Locke and Molyneux, wherein this affair is mentioned in the year 1697.

[*R*] *His Essay on human Understanding, &c.*] It is a little remarkable, that Sir Isaac Newton's Principia was finished about the same time with Mr Locke's Essay; both the works introduced a new and the only true way of philosophizing grounded upon experience and observation, and both effectually overthrowing the philosophy of Des Cartes, one with regard to the great system of the world, and the other in the system of man. As to the former, see his article; with regard to Mr Locke, the doctrine of no innate ideas, upon which he declares his Essay is founded, together with this, that the soul does not always think, are both directly against Des Cartes's principles. This celebrated work made its way by degrees into the publick. First of all, Mr Le Clerc translated the abridgment into French, and inserted it in the 8th vol. of the *Bibliotheque Universelle* for January 1688. He also ordered some copies to be printed off separately, to which Mr Locke prefixed a short dedication to the Earl of Pembroke. This abridgment pleased a great number of persons, and raised a general desire of seeing the work itself. Accordingly our author put that to the press soon after his arrival in England, and it came out at the time mentioned in the text. As the natural history of the human understanding was handled in a manner intirely new, wherein nothing was advanced but upon observation and experience, and the whole thrown into a method quite different from that of the Schools, and recommended by an easy and handsome stile, it presently gained many admirers. Among the rest, Mr William Molyneux of Ireland was particularly delighted with it to such a degree, that publishing his Dioptrics in 1692, he took occasion, in the dedication of that piece, to pass an extraordinary compliment upon Mr Locke, and at the same time made him a present of his book (38); this gave rise to a correspondence between them, where we have an account of the several improvements that were made by our author in those subsequent editions of his Essay, which were published before the death of Mr Molyneux, the second in 1694, and the third in 1695. After this, Mr Locke gave a 4th edition in 1700, which was translated into French with great accuracy, under his inspection, by Mr Peter Coste, who then lived in the same house with him. Diverse passages in the original were also corrected, in order to make them clear and easy to be translated. The version was likewise revised by Mr Locke, and published under this title, *Essai philosophique concernant l'entendment humain, ou l'on montre quell' est etendue de nos connoissances certaines, & la maniere dont nous y parvenons.* Amstelod. 1700, 4to. This 4th edition of the Essay was also translated into Latin by Mr Burridge (39), and printed in 1701. An abridgment from the second edition of this work was published in 1695, by Mr Wynn, fellow of Jesus College in Oxford, and afterwards Bishop of St Asaph. This abridgment was made, as near as possible, in our author's own words, and had his approbation; which probably was the occasion of it's being also translated into French, with the title of *Abregé de l'Essai de M. Locke sur l'entendment humain traduit de l'Angloise*, par M. Bossuet. Lond. 1720, 8vo. In 1702 was published, A defence of Mr Locke's Essay, wherein it's principles, with reference to morality, revealed religion, and the immortality of the soul, are considered and justified: in answer to some remarks on that Essay, dedicated to Mr Locke; in the preface, the author declares, that he knew no philosopher, before Mr Locke, that had fixed morality upon so solid a foundation, as he gives many hints in that Essay, whenever the subject will permit. However, among the crowd of admirers which the Essay met with, there were found some persons who could not digest several new notions started in it. On this account it was first attacked by Mr John Norris at the end of his *Christian blessedness, or discourses upon the beatitudes*, 1690. 2dly, By Mr Leibnitz, in a letter communicated to our author. These antagonists only combated some particular parts of the Essay, but afterwards there came out a piece with the following title, *Anti-Scepticism, or Notes upon each chapter of Mr Locke's Essay concerning human understanding, with an explication of all the particulars of which he treats, and in the same order, in 4 books*; by Henry Lee, B. D. *formerly fellow of Emanuel-College, Cambridge, now rector of Ticmarch in Northamptonshire*, Lond. 1702, in fol. It was also animadverted on by Mr Lowde, in *A Discourse concerning the nature of man, and in his moral Essays*; by Mr Norris again in his *Theory of the intelligible world*, part 2d; by Mr Serjeant, author of *Sure-footing*; by Mr Broughton, in his *Treatise on the nature of the soul*; and last of all, by Dr William Sherlock, Master of the Temple, in a *Digression concerning connate ideas*, in the third section of the second chapter of his *Discourse concerning the happiness of good men, and punishment of the wicked in the next world*, 1704, 8vo. Of all these which arose in our author's life-time, he took no publick notice, and in the mean time did not spare to make himself merry at their expence among his intimates. As the turn of his wit and rallery on these occasions makes a part of the character of his genius, we shall insert the following specimen. Mr Collins having sent him some extracts from Dr Sherlock's book, he returned this answer, 'The samples you have given me, I must acknowledge, from the abilities of the author, to be very excellent. But what shall I be the better for the most exact and best proportioned picture that ever was drawn, if I have not eyes to see the correspondence of the parts. I confess the lines are too subtle for me, and my faculties cannot perceive their connection. I am not envious, and therefore shall not be troubled, if others shall find themselves instructed in so extraordinary and sublime a way of reasoning. *I am content with my own mediocrity*: and, though I call the thinking faculty in me *mind*, yet I cannot, because of that name, call in any thing of that infinite and incomprehensible being, which, for want of right and distinct conceptions, is called God, also on the eternal mind. I endeavour to make the best use I can of every thing, and therefore, though I am in despair to be the wiser for this learned instructor, yet I hope I shall be the merrier for them, when I take the air in the calash together (40).' We may, perhaps, too, form some idea of the particular turn of Mr Locke's mirth in that airing, from what had happened some time before. Dr Sherlock, it seems, had, in the year 1696, expressed

(38) The substance of it is, that Mr Locke had herein rectified several received mistakes, and delivered several profound truths, and had overthrown all those metaphysical whimsies, whereby men feigned a knowledge where they had none, by making a noise with words without clear and distinct significations. Familiar Letters, &c. Letter I. and the note to it.

(39) That gentleman, Chancellor of Down and Connor in Ireland, undertook it at the request of Mr Molyneux. Ibid. p. 122, 123, and 143. It had been translated into this language before Mr Locke left Holland, by one of that country; but that translation being disapproved by our author, was suppressed. Ibid. p. 100. Mr Locke was very sollicitous to have it well translated into this language.

(40) Letter to Mr Collins, among some Familiar Letters printed in the collection by Mr Des Maizeaux in 1720.

made an abridgment of that work in English. In 1689, he published in Latin his first letter concerning Toleration; and, in February the same year, he returned to England in the

expressed his sentiments of the dangerous tendency of our author's doctrine against the innate idea of God, in such a way as had provoked his talent; for giving which, he indulged them to his friend Mr Molyneux in the following terms. 'However, you are pleased, 'out of kindness to me, to rejoice in your's of September the 26th, that my notions have had the good 'luck to be vented from the pulpit, and particularly 'by Mr Bentley (41); yet that matter goes not so 'clear as you imagine. For a man of no small name, 'as you know Dr S——— is, has been pleased to declare against my doctrine of no innate ideas from the 'pulpit in the Temple, and, as I have been told, 'charged it with little less than atheism. Though 'the doctor be a great man, yet that would not much 'frighten me, because I am told, that he is not always obstinate against opinions, which he has condemned more publickly than in an harangue to a 'Sunday's auditory. But that it is possible he may be 'firm here, because it is also said, he never quits his 'aversion to any tenet he has once declared against, ''till change of times brings change of interest, and 'fashionable opinions open his eyes and his heart, and 'then he kindly embraces what before deserved his 'aversion and censure.' In return to this, Mr Molyneux, the whole series of whose letters furnishes an undeniable proof of his excellent talent at well-judged flattery, where he saw it was always kindly taken, thus echoes back his friend's bitter sarcasm with redoubled virulency. 'Both Whiston and Bentley are 'positive against the idea of God being innate, and I 'had rather rely on them (if I would rely on any man) 'than on Dr S———. 'Tis true, the latter has a 'great name; but that I am sure weighs not with you 'or me. Besides, you rightly observe, the doctor is 'no obstinate heretick, but may veer about when another opinion comes in fashion; for some men alter 'their notions, as they do their cloaths, in compliance 'to the mode. I have heard of a Master of the Temple, who, during the siege of Limerick, writ over 'hither to a certain prelate, to be sure to let him 'know, by the first opportunity, whenever it came to 'be surrendered: which was done accordingly; and 'immediately the good doctor's eyes were opened, 'and he plainly saw the oaths to King William and 'Queen Mary were not only expedient but lawful, 'and our duty. A good roaring train of artillery is 'not only the *ratio ultima regum*, but of other men 'besides (42).' 'Tis certainly of great advantage to a Polemical writer, to be endued with a competent share of Socratism. We see our author was not defective in this ingredient of happiness, and no doubt he died in perfect good humour with himself, as to the design and usefulness of his Essay. But it may be doubted, whether this serenity might not have been ruffled, had he lived to see that monument of his fame attacked with much keener weapons, and by a person of much nearer concern to him than was the Dean of St Paul's. I believe the reader is before-hand with me in pointing out the man, and fixing upon the Earl of Shaftesbury. That noble author, in some directions which he gave to a young student at Oxford, designed for the Church, having observed that Dr Tindal's (43) principles, whatever they may be as to Church government, are, in respect of Philosophy and Theology, far wide from those of the author of the rhapsody, proceeds thus. 'In general, truly, it has happened, 'that all those they call free-writers now a-days have 'espoused those principles, which Mr Hobbes set on 'foot in the last age. Mr Locke, as much as I honour him on account of his other writings, viz. on 'Government, Policy, Trade, Coin, Education, Toleration, &c. and, as well as I knew him *, and can 'answer for his sincerity as a most zealous Christian 'believer, did, however, go in the self-same track, 'and is followed by the Tindals, and all the other ingenious free authors of our time. It was Mr Locke 'that struck the home blow; for Mr Hobbes's character, and base slavish principles in government, took 'off the point of his Philosophy. It was Mr Locke 'that struck at all fundamentals, threw all order out 'of the world, and made the very ideas of these, 'which are the very same as those of God, unnatural 'and without foundation in our minds. *Innate* is a 'word he poorly plays upon. The right word, tho' 'less used, is *connatural*. For what has birth, or 'progress of the fœtus out of the womb, to do in this 'case? The question is not about the time the ideas 'entered, or the moment that one body came out of 'the other, but whether the constitution of men be 'such, that, being adult and grown up, at such and 'such a time, sooner or later, no matter when, the 'idea and sense of order, administration, and a God, 'will not infallibly, unavoidably, necessarily, spring 'up in them. Then comes the credulous Mr Locke, 'with his Indian Barbarian stories, of wild nations 'that have no such idea, as travellers, learned authors, 'and men of truth, and great Philosophers, have informed him: not considering, that this is but a negative upon a hear-say, and so circumstantiated, that 'the faith of the Indian denyer may be as well questioned, as the veracity or judgment of the relater, 'who cannot be supposed to know sufficiently the mysteries and secrets of these Barbarians, whose language 'they but imperfectly know, and to whom we good 'Christians have, by our little mercy, given sufficient 'reason to conceal from us, as we know particularly 'in respect of simples and vegetables; of which, tho' 'we got the Peruvian bark, and some other noble remedies, yet it is certain, that, through the cruelty 'of the Spaniards, as they have owned themselves, 'many secrets in medicinal affairs have been suppressed. 'But Mr Locke, who had more faith, and was more 'learned in modern wonder-writers than ancient Philosophy, gave up an argument for the deity, which 'Cicero, though a professed sceptic, would not explode, and which even the chief of the atheistic Philosophers anciently acknowledged, and solved only 'by their *primus in orbe Deos fecit timor*. Thus virtue, according to Mr Locke, has no other measure, 'law, or rule, than *fashion* and *custom*; morality, justice, equity, depend only on *law* and *will*; and 'God, indeed, is a perfect *free*-agent in his sense, 'that is, *free to any thing that is however ill*; for, if 'he wills it, it will be made good, virtue may be vice 'and vice virtue in it's turn, if he pleases; and thus 'neither *virtue* nor *vice*, *right* nor *wrong*, are any 'thing in themselves; nor is there any trace or idea 'of them *naturally imprinted* on human minds. Experience and our catechism teach us all. I suppose, ''tis something of like kind which teaches birds their 'nests, and how to fly the minute they have full feathers. Your THEOCLES, whom you commend so 'much, laughs at this; and, as modestly as he can, 'asks a Lockeist, whether the idea of *woman* (and 'what is fought after in woman) be not taught also by 'some catechism, and dictated to the man. Perhaps, 'if we had no *schools of Venus*, nor such horrid lewd 'books or lewd companions, we might have no understanding of this, 'till we were taught by our parents; and if the tradition should happen to be lost, 'the race of mankind might perish in a sober nation. '—This is very poor Philosophy; but the gibberish 'of the schools for these several centuries has, in these 'latter days of liberty, made any contrary Philosophy 'of good relish, and highly savoury with all men of 'wit, such as have been emancipated from that egregious form of intellectual bondage (44).' Thus did this spirited author let fly some of his most pointed raillery against our opposer of innate ideas; nor was this the only time that he entertained himself with making Mr Locke's Essay the subject of his ridicule. 'Tis true, our author had then been many years in his grave; but his fame was still alive and flourishing, and his memory found a champion, who, many years also after his Lordship was in that place of profound silence, having observed that Mr Locke had some share in his education, was not afraid to rebuke him under the character of Mr Locke's pupil, in the following very gross terms. 'The spite he bore his master is inconceivable. He did not disdain to take up with those 'vulgar calumnies that Mr Locke had again and again 'confuted. *Some even* (see his Charact. Vol. I. 'p. 80. edit. 3d) *of our most admired Philosophers had* '*fairly told us, that virtue and vice had, after all,* '*no other law or measure than meer fashion and vogue.* 'The case is this: when Mr Locke reasons against 'innate ideas, he brings it as an argument against 'them,

(41) In his Sermons at Boyle's Lectures in 1692-3. Mr Whiston had also commended the Essay in his Theory of the Earth; and these two questions were held at the commencement at Cambridge in 1696: *Non dantur innatæ ideæ. Probabile est animam non semper cogitare.* And it had been introduced into the college of Dublin in 1694. Familiar Letters, p. 92.

(42) These two letters; the first is dated Feb. 1, 1696-7, and the second March 16 following. But Mr Molyneux's censure is the more unpardonable, if Dr Sherlock had taken the oaths, and was actually made Dean of St Paul's before the surrendry of Limerick, as is recorded in Salmon's Ch. Hist. anno 1691.

(43) Author of the Rights of the Christian Church, &c.

* Our author had a share in the education of this nobleman, who was grandson to his patron.

(44) Letters of the Earl of Shaftesbury to a Student in the University, printed first in 1716, and reprinted in 1751, 8vo. Letter 8. p. 44, &c.

the fleet which convoyed the Princeſs of Orange to her conſort. Not long after his arrival, he put in a claim to his ſtudent's place at Chriſt-Church, but that ſociety rejected his pretenſions, as the proceedings in his deprivation were conformable to their ſtatutes [*S*]. However,

'them, that virtue and vice in many places were not regulated by the nature of things, which they muſt have been, were there ſuch innate ideas, but by meer faſhion and vogue. Is this, then, fairly told of our admired modern Philoſopher? But it was crime enough, that he laboured to overthrow innate ideas, things that the noble author underſtood to be the foundation of his moral ſenſe (ſee Charact. Vol. III. p. 214.). In vain did Mr Locke inceſſantly repeat, that the Divine Law is the only true touchſtone of moral rectitude; this did but increaſe his pupil's reſentment, who had all his faculties ſo poſſeſſed with the moral ſenſe, as the only true touchſtone of moral rectitude, that, like the knights errant of old, he ſtood up challenger againſt all oppoſers for the ſuperior charms of his idol. But the *whole Eſſay itſelf, one of the nobleſt, the uſefulleſt, the moſt original, books the world ever ſaw*, cannot eſcape his ridicule. *In reality*, ſays he (Char. Vol. I. p. 299.), *how ſpecious a ſtudy, how ſolemn an amuſement, is raiſed from what we call philoſophical ſpeculation! The formation of ideas, their compoſitions, compariſons, agreement, and diſagreement! Why do I concern myſelf in ſpeculations about my ideas? What is it to me, for inſtance, to know what kind of idea I can form of ſpace, divide a ſolid body, &c.?* And ſo he goes on in Mr Locke's own words; and, leſt the reader ſhould not take the ſtory, a note at the bottom of the page informs us, that theſe are the words of the particular author cited.——But the invidious remark in this quotation ſurpaſſes all credit.——*Thus the Atomiſt or Epicurean.* The Freethinkers after this can never ſure upbraid us with our flippancy, in giving the titles of Deiſt and Atheiſt to thoſe we don't like, when the very hero of their cauſe is taken in the fact (45).'

[*S*] *His expulſion was conformable to their ſtatutes.*] We have already obſerved, that he was removed by virtue of a ſpecial order from the Crown, whoſe power, as being viſitors of that college, is indiſputable; but ſtill it is inſinuated, that this was done in a reign, when the Prerogative was avowedly carried too high; and that this act in particular was ſuch a ſtretch of the Prerogative, as, indeed, it muſt needs have been, if (as is alledged) Mr Locke *had done nothing juſtly to incur the forfeiture* (46). But the caſe was apparently otherwiſe; for, firſt, he had given ſufficient grounds for ſuſpicion of being obnoxious to the government, by aſſiſting his patron in ſome of his ſeditious libels; and, though no legal proof was made in form thereof, yet his flight (for ſuch we have ſeen it was) did, by the rules of the law, imply guilt, and, according to the eſtabliſhed practice, could not be refuſed for a proof ſufficient of itſelf to authorize an expulſion. But to let that paſs. The bare fact alone of going out of the kingdom without leave from the college, as it is allowed he did, was, in ſtrictneſs, a forfeiture of his ſtudentſhip, by the ſtatutes of that as well as other colleges. However, Le Clerc tells us, that our author had no deſign to return to the college, but only to make it appear by his reſtoration, that he had been unjuſtly deprived. If, indeed, that injuſtice could have been made appear, the Crown, and the Queen eſpecially, with whom he was ſo great a favourite, would, 'tis probable, have been inclined to reſtore him, as might juſtly have been done by the viſitatorial power already mentioned. Neither does it ſeem at all likely, that Mr Locke would have deſiſted from his pretenſions ſo eaſily as he did, upon the bare refuſal of the college, if any redreſs could have been had from the Court. 'Tis ſaid, indeed, that he was ſatisfied with the offer of being made a ſupernumerary ſtudent, intimating, as if he deemed that offer to be an acknowledgment of his innocence and the injuſtice of his expulſion. The pretence is plauſible, and might have paſſed very well, if his ſubſequent conduct had not rendered the truth of it juſtly ſuſpected. Mr Des Maizeaux (48) has given us an anecdote concerning our author, which implies a reſentment ſo ſtrong, that he did not ſpare upon occaſion once to tell his Majeſty King William plainly, that, *if thoſe bodies* [the two univerſities] *were not reformed, and other principles taught there than had been of late inculcated, they would either deſtroy him or ſome of his ſucceſſors* (48). We have already taken notice of Mr Locke's early imbibed and unalterably fixed averſion, to the method obſerved in the univerſities of training youth up in the road to knowledge by diſputations, which he maintained to be productive of nothing ſo much as a habit of vain and impertinent trifling. On the other hand, theſe learned bodies were not convinced, by any thing he had newly advanced againſt it, that their old method was not eſtabliſhed upon a juſt and thorough knowledge of human nature. It is needleſs to enumerate the many advantages of this diſcipline; they are obvious enough. In the mean time, the inconveniencies incident thereto were alike obvious, and equally ſeen and acknowledged. But this is the caſe in every human inſtitution whatſoever. Theſe inconveniencies, then, were no ſufficient reaſon for aboliſhing the old method, 'till another ſhould be deviſed more, or at leaſt equally, uſeful, and leſs liable to be abuſed; but no ſuch method had been given by Mr Locke. On the contrary, his Eſſay, which contains a part, and the moſt difficult part, of the natural hiſtory of Man, was deemed very unfit to be put into the hands of a boy juſt come from the grammar-ſchool: the abſtruſe enquiries into the nature of our ſouls, ſenſations, paſſions, and prejudices, and the ſprings of wrong judgment, could not, it was thought, be entered upon to any good purpoſe, without ſome previous diſciplining of the mind, to prepare and give it ſufficient ſtrength to purſue ſuch enquiries. Another and a ſtill more important objection lay againſt this treatiſe: ſeveral new opinions were ſtarted therein of the laſt conſequence to religion, which required a thorough examination, and that by a maſterly underſtanding, before it could be prudent to deliver them as certain truths or certain falſehoods, in the principles of ſcience; and the leaſt miſtake in the author's meaning, was preſently ſeen to be productive of the moſt miſchievous conſequences (49). No doubt, it was ſome ſuch conſiderations as theſe, which occaſioned that *meeting* of the Heads of Houſes at Oxford, where we are told, it was *propoſed to cenſure and diſcourage the reading of this Eſſay; and that after various debates it was concluded, that, without making any publick cenſure, each Head of a Houſe ſhould endeavour to prevent it's being read in his college* (50). This paſſed a little before Mr Locke's death; and ſince that, in the ſame judgment, not very many years ago, a ſmall tract was drawn up by an eminent tutor in the ſame univerſity (51), in vindication of the old diſcipline, and recommended to the youth by the Heads of Houſes. The following extract from this piece, which is now rarely to be met with, will ſerve to explain and illuſtrate what we have advanced. This author having obſerved, that, from the firſt improvements in knowledge, ſome ſyſtem or other of Logic had been framed, proceeds to remark, that they were all generally ſuited to the taſte of the times, and appeared in a faſhionable dreſs. And therefore, as in many former ages, ſcholaſtic learning was moſt in vogue, all the treatiſes on this ſubject were wrote in abſtruſe ſcholaſtic language.—'As the taſte of the preſent age is very different, our moſt celebrated performances in this way are of a quite different kind. The contempt of harſh language, and the very ſyſtematical method of delivering rules, and the ridicule which has been ſo liberally beſtowed upon the pedantry of the ſchools, have led men into the contrary extreme, of affecting to philoſophize in a new language, more copious, polite, and elegant. But, as ſome of the ſcholaſtic Logicians endeavoured to make their logical ſyſtems the whole magazine of ſcience, and thus diſparaged the real uſefulneſs of this art, by raiſing an expectation which they could never anſwer; ſo moſt of the Moderns ſeem to have been intent, rather to give a ſpecimen of their own improvement in knowledge, than to aſſiſt a young learner. They launch out into various diſquiſitions upon abſtruſe ſubjects, and often draw the illuſtration of their rules from the depth of other ſciences; and, by this means, while they ſeem to enrich the mind with new diſcoveries, and therefore entertain the fancy, they perplex the judgment; while they promiſe to give the underſtanding more activity and freedom, they really rob it of that ballaſt,

(45) Note at p. 26, in the dedication of the Divine Legation of Moſes, Vol. I. by Dr Warburton.

(46) See remark [*M*].

(47) In his notes on the collection publiſhed by him of Mr Locke's pieces.

(48) Ibid. *Accordingly*, a royal viſitation was reſolved on, and ſeveral ſteps taken in order thereto, but the deſign was afterwards dropped, for a reaſon which may be ſeen in the article of Dr Humphrey Prideaux.

(49) In the inſtance of Mr Toland particularly. And it is obſervable too, that Mr Collins defends the neceſſity of human actions, expreſsly from Mr Locke's doctrine, in the chapter of Power.

(50) Des Maizeaux, where laſt cited, p. 284, in a note to a letter of Mr Locke to Mr Collins.

(51) Edward Bentham, A. M. Fellow of Oriel-college, in a piece intitled, *Reflections upon the Nature and Uſefulneſs of Logick, as it has been commonly taught in the Schools.* Oxford, 1740, 8vo. p. 33.

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However, he had an offer of being admitted a ſupernumerary ſtudent, which he did not think proper to accept. As he was looked upon to be a ſufferer for the principles of the Revolution, he might eaſily have obtained a very conſiderable poſt; but he contented himſelf with that of Commiſſioner of Appeals, worth about 200 pounds a year, which was procured for him by the Lord Mordaunt, afterwards Earl of Monmouth, and then of Peterborough. About the ſame time he was offered to go abroad in a publick character; and it was left to his choice, whether he would be Envoy at the Court of the Emperor, that of the Elector of Brandenburg, or any other, where he thought the air moſt ſuitable to him; but he waved all theſe, on account of the infirm ſtate of his health (*k k*), which diſpoſed him gladly to embrace another offer, that was made him by Sir Francis Maſham and his lady, of an apartment in their country-ſeat at Oates in Eſſex. This ſituation proved in all reſpects ſo agreeable to him [*T*], that he ſpent a great part of the remainder of

(*k k*) Id. ibid. p. 376, 377, 378.

' laſt, by which in prudence it ſhould be kept ſteady, and be prevented from being haſty and precipitate in it's determinations. He concludes, therefore, that the peruſal of theſe treatiſes will be better poſtponed, 'till a competent degree of knowledge from other ſciences be acquired; then, indeed, they may direct a perſon how to digeſt and how to reflect with advantage upon what he knows already, and point out the particulars wherein he is deficient. In the mean time, they who can effectually reſolve to beſtow their attention upon what is fallen under the cenſure and ridicule of ſome parts of the preſent polite world, may find their account in making the firſt regulation of their underſtandings upon the old plan. Novelty would be far from being a recommendation to any performance of this kind: for, as good ſenſe and truth will be always the ſame, the received principles of reaſoning muſt be invariable. At the ſame time, therefore, that we admire the ingenuity and great learning of later Philoſophers, let the exact method and accuracy of the ſcholaſtic ſyſtematical Logicians be intitled to our praiſe and imitation.' What is hitherto ſaid by our tutor, is not aimed *directly* againſt Mr Locke, whoſe good ſenſe would not ſuffer him to incur the ridicule here marked; he knew very well, that Logic lay in a ſmall compaſs, and was to be conſidered as a part of education, like Grammar; both having, in reſpect to wiſdom and eloquence, the uſe and office of a foundation, which is not deſigned to appear above-ground, though neceſſary to give ſtrength and ſupport to the fineſt ſuperſtructures. Mr Locke is not then concerned directly in this remark, but indirectly, no doubt, it is meant to glance at his Eſſay, which the young academician was frequently ſeen to take up from his firſt entrance, as the only fundamental book, treating the ordinary manuals of Logic with ſingular diſdain and contempt. The modern treatiſes of Logic too, the expreſs objects of this cenſure, were obſerved to owe their birth entirely to the Eſſay, being, indeed, little elſe than the ſubſtance of that, extracted and modelled ſomething nearer the ſcholaſtic form. In the further proſecution of this argument, theſe remarks are immediately and fully pointed upon Mr Locke, eſpecially upon the ſubject of diſputations, the uſefulneſs of which our tutor defends in the following terms. 'The ſcholaſtic doctrine of ſyllogiſms is confeſſedly very ingenious. It is comprized within three or four technical lines, and therefore one would think, ſhould be without much difficulty accommodated to the apprehenſion, and familiarized to the underſtanding. But, perhaps, nothing can do this ſo effectually, as a little exerciſe in ſcholaſtic diſputations. Thoſe that are ſtrictly logical, are intended to habituate a young beginner, both to the uſe of logical terms, and an acquaintance with it's rules; the principles of the debate, and the preciſe explication of the words to be made uſe of, being ready drawn out to his hand by logical writers, he will have no intricacy in his ſubject to fatigue his invention, and may therefore more eaſily attend to the form of argumentation, obſerve it's accuracy, or correct it when deficient. Although, therefore, it be confeſſed, that, as in Grammar, ſo in Logic, a man ought to be a maſter in the art, before he preſumes to *decide* concerning the nature or juſtice of it's rules; yet in this view, the exerciſe in a young beginner will not be prepoſterous; nor will a little of his time and pains be miſ-ſpent in logical diſputation, though it bring with it no immediate increaſe of knowledge.—In general, diſputation is very uſeful, as it habituates us to bring a queſtion to the point, as it exerciſes and puts the ſpirits upon their activity, as it diſciplines our notions, and makes them ready to appear upon ſummons: add to this, that the keeping our underſtanding upon the ſtretch, whether upon the offenſive or defenſive, has a natural tendency to ſtrengthen it's powers. Our thoughts will mechanically fall into that train to which they have been accuſtomed, without any exerted act of memory, and, perhaps, without our being able to quote the rule of our argumentation. Moreover, ſince diſputation is not ſo much intended for the diſcovery of truth, as for tryal and exerciſe, there can be no harm or ſhame, if as the opponent argues againſt a plain truth, to ſee whether the reſpondent can defend it; ſo the reſpondent be allowed to deny a plain truth if not uncapable of proof, to ſee whether the opponent can defend it.' He then proceeds to explain the uſe of ſcholaſtic terms and diſtinctions; which done, he vindicates this method from an objection that had been made, as we have already ſeen by Mr Locke. '*Since the decline of ſcholaſtic learning*, continues he, *though ſcience of every kind has received prodigious improvements by the labour and ſagacity of exalted geniuſes, yet we find the common run of reaſoners as bad as ever—not more knowing, but much more conceited; not ſo ambitious to improve their knowledge, as to conceal their ignorance—determining magiſterially upon points, without knowing or conſidering the firſt principles of what they are diſcourſing—taking themſelves to be maſters of every ſubject upon which they can raiſe an objection, and adventuring to make their firſt eſſays in the face of the world*, which a more modeſt ſet of men formerly thought hazardous enough within the circle of a publick ſchool. *So that to be trifling and poſitive are infirmities, not ſo much owing to the ſchools, as to the warmth and inexperience of youth. The human mind is a ſoil naturally productive of them in all ages, and is naturally weeded by experience and meditation.*' Our author having ſupported and recommended his reflections all along, from ſpecimens of the ſentiments of Cicero and Quintilian, concludes with giving his reaſon for that choice, as follows: 'Their obſervations upon the nature and uſefulneſs of Logic, are particularly adapted to the purpoſes of Oratory, and therefore entertain us more agreeably than what others have delivered upon the ſame ſubject, with a main view to abſtruſer points of Philoſophy; but ſtill the ſubſtance of it appears, beyond contradiction, to be the ſame, however varied it may be in it's application. Let, then, the authority of thoſe celebrated authors be allowed to over-rule a popular objection, that is too favourably admitted, againſt this art, as if the ſtudy of it was at beſt a trifling amuſement, and not only uſeleſs, but deſtructive to all taſte of polite learning (52).—And, with regard to the figure which any profound Logician is likely to make upon the ſcene of active life, it happens to him, as, in the ordinary courſe of things it muſt, to every man that will give himſelf true pains, to lay a foundation of ſound ſcholarſhip in any other branch of uſeful learning. *The hermitage of his ſtudy has made him ſomewhat uncouth in the world, and men make him worſe by ſtaring on him. He is ſilly and ridiculous, and it continues on him for ſome quarter of a year out of the univerſity. But practiſe him a little in men, and bruſh him over with good company, and he ſhall out-ballance the gliſterer, as far as a ſolid ſubſtance does a feather, or gold gold lace* (53).

[*T*] *Oates, a ſituation in all reſpects agreeable.*] Beſides the air of this place, the temperament of which was ſo nicely adjuſted to his conſtitution, that it reſtored

(52) The author here ſeems to have his eye upon Lord Shafteſbury, who recommends the Eſſay in theſe terms. 'No one has done more towards the recalling of Philoſophy from barbarity, into the uſe and practice of the world, and into the company of the better and politer ſort, who might well be aſhamed of it in it's other dreſs.' Letters to a Student, &c. p. 3. edit. 1751. It appears by this letter, which is dated Feb. 24, 1706-7, that the Eſſay was then generally condemned at Oxford.

(53) Biſhop Earle's characters.

of his life at it. In 1690, he publiſhed *Two Treatiſes of Civil Government* [U], in defence of the Revolution: and the ſame year came out alſo his *Eſſay on Human Underſtanding* in folio; nor was the year expired, when he ſent his letter to Edward Chipley, Eſq; upon the ſubject of Education [W]. As the ill ſtate of the ſilver coin employed every body's thoughts at this time, and indeed was become a national concern of the laſt importance, our author appeared in this publick cauſe, and, in 1691, printed *Some Conſiderations of the Conſequences of the lowering of Intereſt, and raiſing the Value of the Money, in a Letter ſent to a Member of Parliament* [X]. This being taken notice of by the Miniſtry, when that affair

ſtored him almoſt to a miracle in a few hours after his return at any time from the town, quite ſpent and unable to ſupport himſelf. I ſay, beſides this firſt felicity of health, the neceſſary foundation to all other enjoyments, he found in Lady Maſham (54) a friend and companion exactly to his heart's wiſh; a lady of a contemplative and ſtudious complexion, and particularly enured, from her infancy, to deep and refined ſpeculations in Theology, Metaphyſics, and Morality, and ſo much devoted to Mr Locke, that, to engage his reſidence there, ſhe provided an apartment for him, of which he was wholly maſter, and took care that he ſhould live in the family with as much eaſe as if the whole houſe had been his own (55); and he had the additional ſatisfaction of ſeeing this lady breed up her only ſon exactly upon the plan which he had laid down for the beſt method of education; and, what muſt needs pleaſe him ſtill more, the ſucceſs of it was ſuch, as ſeemed to give a ſanction to his judgment in the choice of that method. Accordingly, we find him making uſe of this example to encourage his friend Mr Molyneux to obſerve the ſame in one rule there recommended, to which that gentleman had particularly objected in regard to his ſon. The inſtance of young Mr Maſham very luckily happened to be a caſe exactly in point, both the children being only ſons, and both of a like tender and delicate conſtitution. 'One thing (ſays our author writing to Mr Molyneux upon this ſubject) give me leave to be importunate with you about: you ſay your ſon is not very ſtrong: to make him ſtrong you muſt uſe him hardly, as I have directed; but you muſt be ſure to do it by very inſenſible degrees, and begin any hardſhip you would bring him to only in the ſpring. This is all the caution needs be uſed. I have an example of it in the houſe I live in, where the only ſon of a very tender mother was almoſt deſtroyed by a too tender keeping. He is now, by a contrary uſage, come to bear wind and weather, and wet in his feet; and the cough, which threatened him under that warm and cautious management, has left him, and is now no longer his parents conſtant apprehenſion, as it was (56).'

(54) She was Dr Cudworth's daughter.

(55) Des Maizeaux, ubi ſupra.

(56) This letter is dated Aug. 23, 1693. Familiar Letters, &c.

[U] *Two Treatiſes of Civil Government.*] The whole title runs thus: *Two Treatiſes of Government. In the former, the falſe principles and foundation of Sir Robert Filmer and his followers are detected and overthrown. The latter is an Eſſay concerning the true original extent and end of Civil Government.* In the preface our author tells us, 'This was only the beginning and end of a diſcourſe concerning government; what fate has otherwiſe diſpoſed the papers that ſhould have filled up the middle, and were, ſays he, more than all the reſt, it is not worth while to tell thee. If theſe papers have that evidence I flatter myſelf is to be found in them, there will be no great miſs of thoſe which are loſt, and my reader may be ſatisfied without them: for, I imagine, I ſhall have neither time nor inclination to repeat my pains, and fill up the wanting part of my anſwer, by tracing Sir Robert Filmer again through all the windings and obſcurities which are to be met with in the ſeveral branches of his wonderful ſyſtem.' This knight had formerly publiſhed animadverſions upon Milton's *Defence of the People of England* in 1652, of which neither Milton nor any of his friends took any notice, probably out of contempt. On the other hand, Salmaſius was an author of the firſt reputation in the learned world; Milton, therefore, took him to taſk. Mr Locke had no better opinion than Milton had of Filmer's abilities, or the ſtrength of his reaſoning; but the numbers and characters of thoſe who had imbibed his principles in prejudice to the Revolution were far from being contemptible. This laſt conſideration induced him to take up his pen in this argument, and the firſt diſpoſed him to ſink the greater part of what he had wrote thereon. In the ſecond treatiſe, our author advances this for an undoubted maxim, that no one can be obliged to ſubmit to the laws of that government under which he happens to be born, but by his own conſent; inſomuch that, when arrived at the years of diſcretion, he has a right either to chuſe that, or elſe to remove to any other. I have met with a ſmall piece wrote by a nonjuror, not long after the acceſſion of King George the Firſt to the throne, wherein this principle is obſerved to be contrary to the following rule laid down by all the beſt writers upon this ſubject, and taken from the Civil Law; *nemo poteſt ipſius voluntate de origine ſua ſe eximere.* And it may be ſeen in the article of Mr William Molyneux, what kind of reception his piece met with here, wherein he attempted, from the ſame fundamental principle of our author, to aſſert the independency of Ireland upon England, with regard to the power of making Acts of Parliament.

[W] *A Letter upon Education.*] This piece was not printed 'till 1693, when it came out under the title of *Some Thoughts concerning Education*, in a Letter, &c. in 8vo. Our author wrote the ſubſtance of it many years before in Holland. Mr Molyneux, in a letter dated March 2, 1692, having mentioned his promiſe of publiſhing it, together with the particular joy that promiſe had given him, on account of the education of his own ſon, proceeds thus: 'My brother [Dr Molyneux] has ſometimes told me, that, whilſt he had the happineſs of your acquaintance at Leyden [which was ſeven or eight years before], you were upon ſuch a work as this I deſire, and that, too, at the requeſt of a tender father for the uſe of his only ſon.' To this Mr Locke anſwers: 'That which your brother tells you is not wholly beſides the matter: the main of what I now publiſh is but what is contained in ſeveral letters to a friend of mine, the greateſt part whereof were writ out of Holland (57).' He printed a third edition with additions in 1695, and another in 1698. It came out likewiſe after our author's death, with a great many more additions. Mr Peter Coſte, who had tranſlated the piece into French, and publiſhed it with this title, *De l'Education des Enfans*, Amſterdam, 1695, 12mo. afterwards reviſed his tranſlation, and inſerting the poſthumous additions, together with a conſiderable number of paſſages added by himſelf from Montaigne, by way of explanation of Mr Locke's ſentiments, publiſhed the whole at Amſterdam in 1721, 8vo. Another edition from that of Amſterdam had been printed at Paris in 1708, and a tranſlation of this book into Low Dutch was alſo printed at Rotterdam in 1698, 8vo. Our author appears to have the ſucceſs of his method much at heart, and had a great opinion of it; which he expreſſes to his friend Mr Molyneux in the following terms (58): 'I am extremely glad to hear, that you have found any good effects of my method on your ſon. I ſhould be glad to know the particulars; for, though I have ſeen the ſucceſs of it in the child of the lady in whoſe houſe I am (whoſe mother has taught him Latin without knowing it herſelf when ſhe began), yet I would be glad to have other inſtances; becauſe ſome men, who cannot endure any thing ſhould be mended in the world by a new method, object, I hear, that my way of education is unpracticable. But this I can aſſure you, that the child abovementioned, but nine years old in June laſt, is now reading Quintus Curtius with his mother, underſtands Geography and Chronology very well, and the Copernican ſyſtem of our vortex; is able to multiply well, and divide a little; and all this without ever having had one blow for his book.' We ſee here, his method had been from it's appearance objected to as unpracticable, nor has any ſubſequent experience cleared it from the ſame cenſure.

(57) Ibid. p. 41.

(58) In a letter dated July 2, 1695.

[X] *Some Conſiderations, &c.*] Our author informs us, that this piece was drawn up by him 20 years before. He does not ſay what occaſioned him to turn his

affair began to grow ripe for execution, in 1695, he was consulted upon the occasion; when he started an expedient for supplying the necessities of commerce, and the exigencies of the people during the recoinage, which was approved and recommended by Lord Somers; hereupon, King William observing him to be very capable of serving the publick (*ll*), appointed him that year one of the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations. By this means he became engaged in the immediate business of the State; and, with regard to that of the Church, in order to promote the scheme which his Majesty had much at heart, of a Comprehension with the Dissenters, he published the same year his treatise, intitled, *The Reasonableness of Christianity, as delivered in the Scriptures* [*Y*]. This being attacked

(*ll*) Mr Molyneux congratulates his friends on this occasion in the following terms. 'In your writings concerning money, you have given such demonstrative proofs of your reach even in the business of the world, that I should have wondered had the King overlooked you.' His Letter to Locke, dated June 6, 1696.

his thoughts then upon the subject; but it is observable, that his reasoning is the same, and frequently expressed too in the same words, as are found in a treatise published in 1675, 8vo. with this title: *A Treatise of Money, or a Discourse on Coin and Coinage: also Tables of the Value of all sorts of Pearls, Diamonds, Gold, Silver, and other Metals.* By Rice Vaughan, Esq; In these considerations of Mr Locke, several arguments are brought to prove, that lowering the interest of money would be a great detriment to trade. These experience has since shewn to be ill grounded. However, as the book was thought in general to have merit, being reprinted in 1695, our Philosopher thereby obtained the additional reputation of understanding somewhat of business; and, in that opinion, a little before King William's return from Holland that year, when the Lords Justices took into consideration the arduous affair of recoining the silver, they sent for our author, among others, to have his sentiments upon it. This produced his two following tracts: (1.) *Some Observations upon a printed paper, intitled,* A Proposal for encouraging the coining of Silver Money in England, and after for keeping it there. (2.) *Farther Observations concerning raising the Value of Money; wherein Mr Lowndes's Arguments for it, in his late Report* concerning an Essay for the Amendment of the Silver Coin *are particularly examined.* In all his tracts, Mr Locke asserts the necessity of preserving the old standard in the proposed new coinage, a policy which was afterwards observed in the execution of that affair. He likewise maintains, that, nothing else, without the increase of our foreign trade, and thereby bringing the ballance thereof in our favour, would be sufficient to prevent the melting down of our coin, and carrying it out of the nation, an argument which was made use of by Mr Montague (59) in the debates of the House of Commons, upon the article of settling the standard in the recoinage. Besides Mr Lowndes, our author had several other antagonists of an inferior class upon this subject, whom he thought proper to take no notice of, particularly one who subscribes himself J. H. in a pamphlet intitled, *The State of England in relation to Coin and Coinage.* This piece is mentioned with great contempt by Mr Molyneux, to whom Mr Locke complains much of the trouble that this business had brought upon him. 'The business of our money,' says he, in a letter dated March 30, 1696, to that gentleman, 'has so near brought us to ruin, that, 'till the plot broke out, it was every body's talk, every body's uneasiness; and, because I had played the fool to print about it, there was scarce a post wherein some body or other did not give me fresh trouble about it (60).'

(59) See his article.

(60) Familiar Letters, p. 142.

[*Y*] *The Reasonableness of Christianity, &c.*] This piece was likewise translated into French by Mr Coste, and the two Vindications also, which were printed at Amsterdam, 1703, 8vo. The whole was reprinted there in 1715, in two tomes, 12mo. In this edition a great many repetitions, which are frequent in our author's stile (61), are retrenched by the translator, who has also added two dissertations by another hand; one concerning *the true and only means of reuniting all Christians, notwithstanding their differences in opinion*; and the other concerning *the religion of a lady.* What reception this piece met with at it's first appearance, our author himself will inform us, in a letter to Mr Limborch (62); where he acquaints that divine, that the clergy of all parties were offended with it. *Theologis nostris tam conformistis quam nonconformistis displicere audio.* His professed design extends no farther, than to convert the Deists to Christianity, by shewing them, that, in order to become Christians, nothing more was necessary, than to believe Jesus to be the Messias. But as he acknowledges that this design unavoidably led him to consider several other points, as particularly the doctrine of Original Sin, and the Mediatorial Office of Christ; so, in explaining these, he expressed himself in such a manner, as brought him into the suspicion of Socinianism. This occasioned the title of Mr Edwards's book against him mentioned in the text; and this censure did not only pass generally among the English clergy, but even Mr Limborch and other friends of our author in Holland, confessed, in effect, he had given too much reason for it (63). We have said, that Mr Locke's professed design was to reconcile the Deists to Christianity; however, this design was executed in such a manner, as evidently shewed, that promoting the scheme of an universal comprehension was his first and principal view; and, indeed, every species of schism in the Church must needs effectually be extirpated, by equally admitting all into it, who professed their belief that *Jesus is the Messias.* To this purpose Mr Limborch, a Remonstrant, one of the tenets of which sect was this of a Comprehension, writing to our author concerning his book, gives the following opinion of it (64). *Ego summa cum voluptate lectioni illius incumbo, & in præcipuo (quod toto libro de fidei Christianæ objecto tractat) argumento illi prorsus assentior. Hoc recto percepto gravissimas ac acerbissimas in Ecclesia Christiana disputationes feliciter componi posse puto; saltem Ecclesiæ non obstante opinionum diversitate, pacem facili negotio posse restitui: ea enim quæ nunc a plerisque, ut unicum ferme Christianismi fundamentum urgentur, objecto fidei non comprehendi planum fiet. Quod unicum anathematismis schismatibus & odiis tollendis remedium est.* How much this was to Mr Locke's mind, appears by his answer to it, as follows. *De libro Anglicano in linguam Gallicam verso, cujus lectioni cum ad me scripseras incubuisti, idem tecum sentio contentionum & schismatum radices evellit, quantum id potest religionis Christianæ veritas & fundamentum, si id auctor recte explicuerit, ut mihi videtur.* Our author's doctrine had likewise it's abettors in England. Among others, Mr Samuel Bold, Rector of Steeple in Dorsetshire, in 1697, published a piece in 8vo. intitled *The Knowledge of Christ Jesus. To which are added, Some passages in the Reasonableness of Christianity, and it's vindication; with some Animadversions on Mr Edwards's Reflections on* the Reasonableness of Christianity; *and on his book intitled,* Socinianism unmasked. This writer having intimated our author's design to unite all Christians into one compact body, recommends it in the warmest terms, not without passing a severe censure upon all it's opposers. 'In short, says he, if *the Reasonableness of Christianity, as delivered in the Scriptures,* doth merit no worse a character on any other account than it doth justly deserve, because it advanceth and so fully proveth this point, that Christ and his Apostles did not propound any article as necessary to be believed, to make a man a Christian, but this, that Jesus is the Christ or Messias. *I think it may with great justice be reputed one of the best books that hath been published for at least 1600 years* (65).' The truth is, the author of *the Constitutions of Carolina*, it was thought, might be easily discerned in the *Reasonableness of Christianity*; and it happened in Mr Locke's case, as it had done in all others who were concerned in the controversy about a Comprehension, and, indeed, as it ordinarily does in religious disputes of all kinds, that few speak with moderation; and it would be in vain to think of exempting our author from the general censure. Notwithstanding the unusual degree of art and caution, for which he was so remarkable, yet he was not without his unguarded moments; and particularly, whenever that odious thing called *orthodoxy* came across him, he could not help stumbling against it. Thus, he could not mention his disappointment to his friend Limborch in the act of Toleration, without some bitterness in reflecting upon the clergy. *Tolerantiam* (sic scribit in Epistola

(61) The same censure is passed by Mr Locke himself upon the second edition of his Essay; but he informs us, that he left these repetitions in for the sake of illiterate men and the softer sex, not used to abstract notions and reasonings. Familiar Letters, p. 111.

(62) Dated Sept. 3, 1696. Ibid.

(63) See Limborch's letter of March 26, 1697, where he takes notice, that a very partial and invidious abstract of Mr Locke's book had been printed in the Leipsic acts for October that year, where the justice of Mr Edwards's charge of Socinianism upon it was also asserted.

(65) Some passages, &c. p. 52.

attacked in 1696 by Mr Edwards, in his *Socinian unmasked*, Mr Locke wrote two *Vindications* of his doctrine against that author's charge the same year. He was scarcely disengaged from this controversy, before he entered into another on the following occasion. Some arguments in his Essay on Human Understanding having been made use of by Mr Toland (*mm*), in his *Christianity not mysterious*, and several treatises being published at the same time by the Unitarians, maintaining, that there was nothing in the Christian religion but what was clearly intelligible, Dr Stillingfleet, in 1697 (*nn*), published a defence of the doctrine of the Trinity; wherein he censured some passages in the just mentioned Essay, as tending to subvert the fundamental articles of Christianity. An answer to this charge was immediately wrote by our author; to which the Bishop replied, and the controversy was carried on the following year 1698, when it ended by the death of the latter [*Z*]. This was also the last time that our author employed the press (*oo*). The

(*mm*) It is proper to observe, that our author was acquainted with, and had given encouragement to, Mr Toland 'till this time; but finding after this, that his own character would be hurt thereby, he entirely discarded him. See the letters which passed between Mr Molyneux and Mr Locke this year, and a full account of this matter in Mr Toland's article.

(*nn*) The Bishop's book, and our author's letter to him occasioned by it, were both published in 1696, according to the English computation at that time.

(*oo*) That is in any new work. We say this, that it may not be thought to be forgot what is inserted in remark [*R*], that the fourth edition of the Essay on Human Understanding was printed, as well as Mr Coste's translation into French, in the year 1700.

Epistola 6 Jan, 1689, data) *apud nos jam tandem lege stabilitam, te ante hæc audiisse nullus dubito. Non ea forsan* latitudine *qua tu & tui similes*, veri & sine ambitione vel invidia, Christiani *optarent*. Indeed, he continues with temper enough to express his hopes, that this might prove the earnest and fore-runner of a Comprehension, as follows. *Sed aliquid est prodire tenus. His initiis jacta spero sunt libertatis & pacis fundamenta, quibus stabilienda olim erit Christi Ecclesia.* But when these hopes were extinguished in the overthrow of the last efforts in this reign for such an establishment in 1692, he entirely lost his temper; and, in another letter to the same friend, dated February 2d that year, he pours forth the rancour of his heart in the following terms. *Recte facis quod persecutionem religionis ergo in pontificiis solum damnas. Si quam inter Christianos sectam seligas, cujus crudelitatem insecteris a reliquis, laudaberis*, quanquam persecutio ubique eadem est & plane pontificia. Quælibet enim Ecclesia sibi verbis arrogat Orthodoxiam, re infallibilitatem. That a writer of Sir Richard Steele's gaiety should confound Protestant certainty with Popish infallibility, to serve a turn to his wit, is no more than one expects, and quite in character; but who would be perswaded, without seeing this instance, that a person, so justly celebrated for his extraordinary talents in discerning the exact relation of things as Mr Locke, should suffer his pen to fall into the same indistinction; and this is the more enormous, as the point had been then so lately and so clearly adjusted in the popish controversy. In reality, the fault lay in his will, not in his understanding. He knew the sobriety of the doctrine taught and maintained by the orthodox Protestants against the furious zeal of Popery. This he plainly intimates, and he must have seen it truly and impartially stated in his deservedly admired author, Chillingworth; but, because these Orthodox were perswaded, that the certainty they maintained was sufficient to convince the gainsayers of an unreasonable dissention, and after they had opened the gates of the Church by the Toleration, could not see the policy of blowing up it's walls and fortifications (as they called it) by the scheme of a Comprehension, our Philosopher run into the vulgar cry against it, and spares not to regale his spleen with the word Orthodox, as wantonly and luxuriously as we see is done by his lately professed pupil (66); who, however, differs from his master in this point, entirely approving the orthodox practice even upon his master's very unorthodox principles. For, in order to prevent the mischiefs of persecution, and to obtain that sort of peace which he contends to be the end and design of the Gospel, he proposes the following method.

(66) Lord Viscount Bolingbroke. See Philosophical Works, p. 355, Vol. III. edit. 1754, 8vo. in the fragment.

'There are arguments, no doubt, says he, even of 'the political kind, and of irresistible force, against 'Atheists who reject all religion, Latitudinarians who 'admit all alike, and Rigidists who suffer one alone. 'If the first prevail, there will be no religious con'science at all; if the second, there will be as many 'as there are religious sects in every society; if the 'third, persecution for religion will be made a maxim 'of government.' He then takes notice how shamefully this last is done in the countries where the Romish religion prevails, and proceeds thus. 'In other coun'tries, though a rigid spirit prevails, yet, if inquisi'tions are not established, and if ecclesiastics do not 'govern, it is very possible, by skill and management, 'to allay, for the most part, the ferments which 'Theology is apt to raise in the State, and to blunt 'the fury of those who call themselves *Orthodox*, and 'every man who dissents in opinion from them here'tical. In countries where this rigid spirit is not that 'of the government, though dissention cannot be en'tirely prevented, the bad influence and effects of it 'may. To make government effectual to all the good 'purposes of it, there must be a religion; this religion 'must be national; and this national religion must be 'maintained in reputation and reverence; all other 'religions and sects must be kept too low to become 'the rivals of it. These are, in my apprehension, the 'first principles of good policy. The establishment of 'a religious order, subject to the civil magistrate, and 'subservient to the civil power, not that of a religious 'society, pretending to be the allies, and aiming to 'be the masters, of the civil, may be reconciled very 'well to these principles: and sure I am, that they 'may be pursued, not only without persecution, but 'without the invasion of any one right, which men 'can justly claim under the freest and most equitable 'government. The parliament of 1641 declared, 'that human laws cannot bind conscience; which is a 'declaration every sect makes out of power, and none 'observe willingly in it. But be it so. Human laws, 'however, may and ought to exclude those men from 'power in the State, Kings especially, who profess a 'private conscience repugnant to the public conscience 'of that state. Such men will make use of power, 'and the better men they are, the more to propagate 'their own schemes of religion, to strengthen their 'own party, and to recommend their particular no'tions about ecclesiastical government: which cannot 'be done without manifest danger to the publick 'peace. *The wisdom of our constitution has therefore 'joined admirably well together the two most compatible 'things in the world, how incompatible soever they may 'have been represented, a Test and a Toleration; and, 'by rejecting alike the principles of Latitudinarians and 'Rigidists, has gone far to the prevention of those evils 'that gave occasion to the objection of Atheists* (67).'

(67) Ibid. p. 328 to 331 inclusive, in Essay 4.

[*Z*] *The dispute ended with the death of the Bishop.*] This dispute (68) consists of five letters, two by the Bishop, and three by our author. In the last of which, besides other incident matters, he explains at large his sentiments concerning certainty by reason, certainty by ideas, and certainty of faith; the resurrection of the same body, and the immortality of the soul; shews the consistency of his opinion in these points with the articles of faith; and clears himself from the charge of scepticism. Mr Des Maizeaux, from whom we borrow this, observes, that Mr Locke was generally allowed to have had the better of the Bishop in the dispute, who had not considered these points so thoroughly as his antagonist (69). However that be, 'tis certain, that an abstract of this dispute being published in the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, it came thereby to Mr Bayle, who soon after expressed himself of the same opinion (70), that is, as to the arguments produced by each in proof of the points in dispute; but this must be carefully distinguished from the real truth of those points, with regard to some of these, at least, for instance, the immortality of the soul. In the explanation of which, Mr Locke had asserted the possibility of matter's thinking, and at the same time allowed the incomprehensibility of it. Mr Bayle having made his own use of that concession, proceeds to observe, that the question, Whether the soul of man is distinct from matter? makes a part of the famous dispute

(68) We have the motive which particularly induced our author to undertake this controversy, in a letter to Mr Molyneux, where he writes thus: 'What sentiments I have of the usage I have received from the person you mention [the Bishop of Worcester], I shall shortly more at large acquaint you. What he says is, you observe, not of that moment much to need an answer, but the sly design of it I think necessary to oppose; for I cannot allow any one's great name a right to use me ill.' Familiar Letters, p. 180.

(69) Mr Limborch, in a letter dated Oct. 2, 1699, acquaints our author, that he had lately received one from a learned person in England with the following passage: *Non dubito quin jamdudum audivisti de indubitata victoria quam amicus tuus* D. Locke *retulit de* Episc. Vigorn. *in ejus responsione ultima.* Episc. eam vidit nec multo post mortuus est. Mr Whiston tells us, that Dr Bentley said it had killed the Bishop. Memoirs, p. 251.

(70) In this Dictionary, under the article Dicæarchus, note [*M*].

The aſthma, to which he had been long ſubject, increaſing with his years, began now to ſubdue his conſtitution, and rendered him very infirm; and, in 1700, he reſigned his ſeat at the Board of Trade, becauſe he could no longer bear the air of London on account of that diſorder [*AA*]. From this time he continued altogether at Oates, in which agreeable retirement, he employed the remaining laſt years of his life entirely in the ſtudy of the Holy Scriptures (*pp*). His ſtrength began to fail more remarkably than it had done at the entrance of the ſummer before his death, a ſeaſon, which, in former years, had always reſtored him ſome degrees of ſtrength. This made him ſo very ſenſible of his approaching diſſolution, that, though he neglected none of thoſe means which his ſkill in Phyſick had taught him to prolong his life, yet this was done without calling in any other aſſiſtance. At length his legs began to ſwell, and that ſymptom daily increaſing, his ſtrength diminiſhed very viſibly. He had often before this ſpoken of his departure, and always with great compoſure; and now plainly diſcerning how ſhort a time he had to live, he prepared to quit the world. As he was incapable for a conſiderable time of going to church, he thought proper to receive the Sacrament at home; and two of his friends communicating with him, as ſoon as the office was finiſhed he told the miniſter, that he was in the ſentiments of perfect charity towards all men, and of a ſincere union with the Church

(*pp*) We are told, that his application to this ſtudy had given him a more noble and elevated idea of the Chriſtian religion than he had before; and that if he had had ſtrength enough to have begun new works, it is very probable he would have written ſome, in order to have inſpired others with this grand and ſublime idea in all it's extent. See an Account of his Life and Writings prefixed to his Works in folio.

diſpute between Dr Stillingfleet and Mr Locke. The firſt maintained, that matter is incapable of thought, and thereby became the defender of a fundamental article of Philoſophical Orthodoxy. He made uſe of this argument among others, *that we cannot conceive how matter can think.* Mr Locke admits this principle to be true, and contents himſelf with denying the conſequence; for he aſſerts, that God can do things which are incomprehenſible to human underſtanding. He then proceeds to give our author's reaſoning upon this principle, and proceeds thus. Here is a formal confeſſion of the incomprehenſibility of the thing, and a recourſe to the extent of God's power with regard to effects which are beyond the limits of our underſtanding. It is much after the ſame manner, continues he, ridiculing the argument, that the ſchoolmen ſuppoſe there is in creatures an obediential power, by which God might raiſe them, if he pleaſed, to any ſtate whatever: a ſtone might become capable of the beatific viſion, and a drop of water might become capable of waſhing away all the pollution of original ſin. Take notice, that, to refute this obediential power in matter with reſpect to knowledge, we may urge a proof, which it does not appear Dr Stillingfleet has made uſe of. It has always ſeemed to me very proper to ſhew the impoſſibility of joining together the three dimenſions and thought in the ſame ſubject. You will find the ſubſtance of this proof in the books which I cite (71). To purſue that argument, would carry us much beyond the limits which we have ſet to this remark, eſpecially as it would lead us unavoidably to examine another notion imputed to Mr Locke (72) among others, concerning the manner of God's omnipreſence, by a diffuſion of his ſubſtance. We ſhall content ourſelves at preſent with obſerving, that the unphiloſophicalneſs, as well as abſurdity, of ſeeking recourſe in God's omnipotence for the poſſibility of thought's being ſuperadded to ſome ſyſtems of matter properly diſpoſed, has been ſufficiently evinced by Dr Clarke (73). But there is another point in this ſubject, which we ought not to omit. In the third letter to the Biſhop now under conſideration, our author particularly inſults his Lordſhip, who aſſerting that *it takes off very much from the evidence of immortality, if it depends wholly upon God's giving that, which, of it's own nature, it is not capable of.* This, ſays he, I 'could not have imagined to find in a book written in 'defence of the myſtery of the Holy Trinity;' and then makes the following reply. 'Any one's not being able to demonſtrate the ſoul to be immaterial, 'takes off not very much, nor at all, from the evidence of it's immortality, if God has revealed that it 'ſhall be immortal, becauſe the veracity of God is a 'demonſtration of the truth of what he has revealed; 'and, in a clear demonſtration, there is as much evidence as any truth can have that is not ſelf evident.' Here the ſophiſm is notorious, in calling ſcripture-proof a demonſtration, which is not pretended to riſe above a moral certainty, or a ſufficient probability; and therefore it undoubtedly admits of degrees, and muſt needs be leſs, where there is no internal evidence from the nature of the thing. Upon this account, we ſee, St Paul did not think it enough barely to declare the reſurrection and immortality of the body, but took pains to inforce the credibility of it, by an argument drawn from the analogy of nature; whereas, that of the ſoul is rather ſuppoſed than proved, wherever it's condition of happineſs or miſery in that ſtate is explained.

(71) Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, Nov. 1699, p. 510. and the book intitled, Parrhaſiana, p. 388, &c.

(72) See the Philoſophical Elements of Natural and Revealed Religion, Vol. I. by the Chevalier Ramſay, in two vols, 4to.

(73) In his Defence of his Letter to Dodwell.

[*AA*] *He reſigned on account of his aſthma.*] Mr Locke had another reaſon, beſides his aſthma, for reſigning this poſt, which he gave to his friend Mr Molyneux (74). 'The corruption, ſays he to that gentleman, of the age gives me ſo ill a proſpect of any 'ſucceſs in deſigns of this kind [for the publick good] 'never ſo well laid, that I am not ſorry my ill health 'gives me ſo juſt a reaſon to deſire to be eaſed of the 'employment I am in.' The King would have had him continue in it, and told him expreſly, that, tho' he could ſtay at London but a few weeks, his ſervices in that office would be yet very neceſſary to him. But at length his Majeſty yielded to the repreſentations of Mr Locke, who could not prevail upon himſelf to hold an employment of that importance, without doing the duties of it more regularly. He formed and executed this deſign, without communicating it to any perſon whatſoever, though he might eaſily have entered into a compoſition with any perſon, who, being befriended with his intereſt, would probably have carried this poſt from any other ſuitor. He was told of this, and that too by way of reproach. 'I knew it very well, replied he, but that was the very reaſon why I communicated my deſign to nobody. I received this 'place from the King himſelf, and to him I reſolved 'to reſtore it, to diſpoſe of it as he thought proper '(75).' The truth is, if we may believe his own account of the matter, he was never very fond of this preferment, and ſeems to have accepted it purely in compliance to his Majeſty. 'Though I can never think 'any pains or time of mine too much, ſays he to Mr 'Molyneux (76), in the ſervice of my country, as far as 'I may be of any uſe, yet I muſt own to you, this '[upon intereſt and money] and the like ſubjects are 'not thoſe which I now reliſh, or that do with moſt 'pleaſure employ my thoughts; and therefore I ſhall 'not be ſorry, if I eſcape a very honourable employment with a thouſand pounds a year ſalary annexed 'to it, to which the King was pleaſed to nominate me 'ſome time ſince.' When his friend had congratulated him upon the occaſion, he returned this anſwer (77). 'Your congratulation to me I take, as you meant, 'kindly and ſeriouſly, and, it may be, it is what another would rejoice in; but, if you will give me leave 'to whiſper truth without vanity in the ear of a friend, ''tis a preferment which I ſhall get nothing by, and I 'know not whether my country will, though that I 'ſhall aim at with all my endeavours. Riches may be 'inſtrumental to ſo many good purpoſes, that it is, I 'think, vanity, rather than religion or philoſophy, to 'pretend to contemn them. But yet they may be 'purchaſed too dear. My age and health demand a 'retreat from buſtle and buſineſs, and, the purſuit of 'ſome enquiries I have in my thoughts, makes it 'more deſirable than any of thoſe rewards which publick employments tempt people with. I think the 'little I have enough, and don't deſire to live higher, 'or die richer, than I am. And therefore you have 'reaſon rather to pity the folly than congratulate the 'fortune that engages me in the whirlpool.'

(74) In a letter dated 22 Feb. 1696-7. Familiar Letters, p. 177, 178.

(75) Mr Coſte's Letter, in the Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, for Feb. 1705, art. II.

(76) In a letter dated March 30, 1696.

(77) In another dated July 2, the ſame year.

[*BB*] *A*

Church of Christ, under whatever name distinguished [*B B*]. He lived some months after this, which time was spent in acts of piety and devotion; and, the day before his death, Lady Masham being alone with him, and sitting by his bed-side, he exhorted her to regard this world only as a state of preparation for a better; adding, that he had lived long enough, and thanked God for having passed his life so happily, but that this life appeared to him a meer vanity. He had no sleep that night, and resolved to try to rise the next morning, as he did; and, being carried into his study, he was placed in an easy chair, where he slept a considerable while at different times; and, seeming to be a little refreshed, he would be dressed as he used to be, and called for some small beer, which he seldom used to taste. He then desired Lady Masham, who was reading the Psalms low while he was dressing, to read aloud: she did so; and he appeared very attentive, 'till, the approach of death hindering him, he desired her Ladyship to break off, and in a few minutes expired (*q q*), on the 28th of October, 1704 (*r r*), in the 73d year of his age. He was interred in the church of Oates, where there is a decent monument erected to his memory, with an inscription in Latin wrote by himself [*C C*]. In the latter end of his life,

(*qq*) Le Clerc, p. 398 to 401.

(*rr*) See his monument, ubi supra.

[*B B*] *A sincere union, &c.*] This declaration is entirely agreeable to the whole tenor of Mr Locke's former conduct, which, indeed, gives room enough to think he had no particular esteem for the Church of England, above other Protestant Churches; and that at this time he retained that opinion, may be collected from two letters (78) wrote by him to his cousin Richard King. In one of which, dated August 25, 1703, in answer to the question of that kinsman, Which was the shortest and surest way for a young gentleman to attain a true knowledge of the Christian religion? To study, says he, the Holy Scriptures, especially the New Testament; therein are contained the words of eternal life: it has God for it's author; Salvation for it's end; and Truth, without any mixture of error, for it's matter. And, when that gentleman desired some farther explanation, he replied a few weeks before his death in these terms. 'The method I proposed would, I presumed, bring you the surest way to that Church, which I imagine you already think most conformable to the word of God.' This Mr Richard King was a relation of the Lord Chancellor King, to whom, while he was young, Mr Locke was very serviceable in his studies, and at his death left him by his will one moiety of the books in his library (79).

(78) Printed in Mr Des Maizeaux's collection.

(79) Des Maizeaux's note to one of these letters.

[*C C*] *An inscription written by himself.*] We shall insert this in justice to our author, as it exhibits a specimen of his excellent judgment *Siste viator. Hic situs est* Joannes Locke, *si qualis fuerit rogas, mediocritate sua contentum se vixisse respondet. Literis eo usque tantum profecit, ut veritati unice litaret; hoc ex scriptis illius disce, quæ, quod de eo reliquum est, majori fide tibi exhibebunt, quam epitaphii suspecta elogia. Virtutes, si quas habuit, minores sane quam quas sibi laudi, tibi in exemplum una proponeret. Vitia una sepeliantur. Morum exemplar si quæras, in Evangelio habes; vitiorum utinam nusquam; mortalitatis certe (quod prosit) hic & ubique.* This is all that he thought proper to leave concerning his character, a more particular one was first published by Mr P. Coste (80), whom we have frequently mentioned, and republished by Mr Des Maizeaux (81). Some particulars hereof have been already taken notice of in the course of this memoir; but, as many others were afterwards contradicted by Mr Coste himself, to insert the whole would be to abuse the reader. We shall therefore lay before him only such parts, as we apprehend to have been least controverted, as follow. 'Mr Locke had great knowledge of the world, and of the business of it. He won peoples esteem by his probity; his wisdom, his experience, his gentle and obliging manners, gained him the respect of his inferiors, the esteem of his equals, the friendship and confidence of those of the highest quality. He was at first pretty much disposed to give advice, where he thought it was wanted; but experience of the little effect it had, made him grow more reserved. In conversation, he was most inclined to the useful and serious turn; but, when occasion naturally offered, he gave into the free and facetious with pleasure, and was master of a great many entertaining stories, which he always introduced properly and told naturally; nor was he any enemy to rallery when delicate and innocent. He loved to talk with mechanicks in their own way, and used to say, that the knowledge of the arts contained more true Philosophy than learned hypotheses. By putting questions to artificers, he would sometimes find out a secret in their art, not well understood by themselves, and by that means give them views entirely new, which they put in practice to their profit. He was so far from affecting any airs of studied gravity, that he would sometimes divert himself with imitating it, in order to ridicule it with better success; upon these occasions he always remembered this maxim of the Duke de Rochefaucault, which he admired above all others, That gravity is a mystery of the body, in order to conceal the defects of the mind. One thing, continues Mr Coste, which those who lived any time with Mr Locke could not help observing in him, was, that he took a delight in making use of his reason in every thing he did; and nothing that was attended with any usefulness seemed unworthy of his care; so that we may say of him what was said of Queen Elizabeth, that he was no less capable of small things than of great. He often used to say himself, that there was an art in every thing; and it was easy to be convinced of it, to see the manner in which he went about the most trifling thing he did, and always with some good reason.' The truth seems to be, and, indeed, plainly shews itself through all this studied colouring, that our author was too formal and precise in trifles, a foible which did not escape the censure of some of his adversaries (82). Such a shaft, however, was harmless enough; but that of Lord Shaftesbury beforementioned is of another kind, and wounds deeply, if it be true that Mr Locke was indeed credulous. His Lordship, as we have seen, intends it chiefly with respect to believing too hastily the stories of travellers, which he there mentions; and besides those, there is another remarkable instance of his credulous disposition in the same way, which was kindly hinted to him by his friend Limborch. The occasion of it was this. Mr Locke having, in 1694, received the present of this friend's *History of the Inquisition*, thought fit, by way of improving it, to insert in the margin such further accounts as he met with of the proceedings in that terrible tribunal. In this view he transcribed the following passage from a voyage to the East, published that year. 'Le St Office, ce redoutable tribunal fameux par ces injustices & ces cruautes, regne ici [a Malthe] plus tyranniquement qu'a Rome meme, & on m'a fait cent funestes recits, dont je vous epargneroi le tristesse, seulement vous dirai je, que les confesseurs, qui par tout ailleurs sont tenus de garder le secret sur peine de feu, sont ici dans l'obligation de les reveler toutes les fois qu'il s'agit d'un cas de l'inquisition, quoi qu'ils ne l'avoüent pas, car ce seroit le moyen d'empecher les gens de se confesser, mais c'est une chose qu'on sçait pourtant bien. Cependant pour en ôter tout soupçon, on demeure quelquefois un an ou deux sans dire mot, apres quoi l'inquisiteur envoye prendre un homme, & lui demande s'il sçait bien pourquoi il l'a fait seisit; alors c'est a lui de se ressouvenir de tout ce qu'il peut jamais avoir dit; que si malheureusement la memoire ne lui fournit pas, ou que le delit, dont il est coupables, ait este si secret, que le seul confesseur en ait eu connoisance, & que se reposant la dessus, il ne veuille pas avoüer; c'est fait de cet homme la, on l'estrangle dans la prison, & puis quelque tems apres on dit a ses parens, qu'il n'est pas besoin de lui porter a manger. Heureux sont ceux qui ne sort point assujettis a ce joug (83).' Any one who is never so little skilled in the French language, will easily perceive, by the turn of this narrative, that our Protestant author was not so sollicitous to examine into the truth

(80) In the Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, where last cited.

(81) As a proper vindication of him against Mr Coste, who in several writings, and in his common conversation throughout France, Holland, and England, had aspersed and blackened the memory of Mr Locke in this very respect, wherein he was his panegyrist before. Des Maizeaux's Letter, prefixed to this character, in the collection published by him in 1720.

(82) See the preface to an English translation of Tully de Amicitia, by Mr Parker, son to the Bishop of Oxford of that name.

(83) Du Mont nouveau voyage au Levant 158/473 a la Haye, edit. 12mo.

life, he contracted a friendship with Anthony Collins, Esq; and left him a remarkable letter to be delivered after his death [DD]. Mr Peter Coste, who had known him long, and some few years before he died lived with him as an amanuensis (ss), published a paper in 1705, entitled, the Character of Mr Locke, representing him in a very advantageous light. But the highest elogium upon him was that of the late Queen Caroline, who, on having erected a pavilion (tt) in honour of Philosophy, placed therein our author's bust, on a level with Bacon, Newton, and Clarke, as the four prime English Philosophers. In 1706, there was published in 8vo. Mr Locke's Posthumous Works, containing five tracts

(ss) He was also tutor to Lady Masham's son Francis-Cudworth Masham. Familiar Letters, p. 256.

(tt) Merlin's cave in Richmond park.

truth of the fact, as he was to proclaim the scandal of it.' This Mr Limborch saw, and therefore in his answer declares, that he very much doubts the truth of the story, not only on account of the general objections to which such travelling tales are justly obnoxious, but also because it is contrary to all the instructions, rules, and laws, of the Roman Church, requiring confession to be kept secret. Wherefore I durst not affirm, continues he, this for truth upon the credit of any, but an approved author of unquestionable knowledge and fidelity; and then concludes with this gentle rebuke. 'Quare loco quem mihi suggessisti ex itinerario Du 'Mont addi posset, si vera sit illius narratio, exinde 'evidenter liquere Inquisitorum praxin, sæpe adversari 'Inquisitionis instructionibus & legibus; Inquisitoresque unice tantum spectare, qua ratione miseros captivos per fas & nefas decipiant, atque ita fraudibus irretitos misera morte perdant (84).' In a subsequent letter, dated March 11, 1698-9, he writes thus. 'Digna mihi hæc narratio videtur, quæ historiæ meæ 'inseratur, si scriptoris alicujus pontificiis non suspecti 'autoritatis confirmari posset.' In short, the character of Mr Locke's mind (as that of others) shews itself under the least disguise in his familiar letters; and these present us with other instances besides this, where his fond passion for the marvellous, as well as an affectation of novelty, is seen to betray the soundness of his judgment.

(84) Mr Locke's Letter is dated Oates, October 26, 1694, and Limborch's answer, Amstelod. Dec. 12, 1694.

[DD] *A Letter to Mr Collins*] It was dated August 25, 1704, and directed for Anthony Collins, Esq; to be delivered after my decease.

'Dear Sir,

'By my Will you will see, that I had some kindness for ———; and I know no better way to 'take care of him, than to put him, and what I designed for him, into your hands and management. 'The knowledge I have of your virtue of all kinds, 'secures the trust which by your permission I have 'placed in you; and the peculiar esteem and love I 'have observed in the young man for you, will dispose him to be ruled and influenced by you; so that 'of that I need say nothing. But there is one thing 'which it is necessary for me to recommend to your 'especial care and memory.———May you live long 'and happy in the enjoyment of health, freedom, content, and all those blessings which Providence has 'bestowed on you, and your virtue intitles you to. 'You loved me living, and will preserve my memory 'now I am dead. All the use to be made of it is, 'that this life is a scene of vanity, that soon passes 'away, and affords no solid satisfaction but in the consciousness of doing well, and in the hopes of another 'life. This is what I can say upon experience, what 'you will find to be true when you come to make up 'the account. Adieu.

'I leave my best wishes with you,

'JOHN LOCKE.'

The latter part of this letter, viz. *May you live long*, &c. was printed by Mr Whiston in the postscript to his *Reflections on an anonymous pamphlet, intitled*, A Discourse of Free-thinking, in 1713, 8vo. and against the end of his *List of Suppositions and Assertions in the late Discourse of the Grounds and Reason of the Christian Religion, which are not therein supported by any real and authentick evidence, for which some such evidence is expected to be produced.* Lond. 1724, 8vo. Mr Whiston's design is to confront Mr Collins with the testimony of his friend in favour of revealed religion. In the same spirit Mr Warburton, who does nothing by halves, reproaches Mr Collins with the first part, but Lord Shaftesbury with the latter part, of this their friend's letter. 'Mr Locke,' says he in an address to the Free-thinkers, 'the glory of this age, and the 'blessing of futurity, shews us, in the treatment he received from his friend and his pupil, what a believer 'is to expect from you. It was enough to provoke 'their spleen, that he had shewn the reasonableness of 'Christianity, and had placed all his hopes of happiness in another life. The intimacy between him 'and Mr Collins is well known. Mr Collins appears 'to have idolized Mr Locke while living, and Mr 'Locke was convinced Mr Collins would preserve his 'memory when dead. But no sooner was he gone, 'than Mr Collins publickly insulted a notion of his 'concerning the *possibility of conceiving how matter 'might first be made and begin to be*; and goes affectedly out of his way to do it (85). The noble author of the Characteristicks had received part of his 'education from this great Philosopher; and it must 'be owned, that this Lord had many excellent qualities both as a man and as a writer. He was temperate, chaste, honest, and a lover of his country. In 'his writings he has shewn, how largely he had imbibed the deep sense, and how naturally he could copy 'the graceful manner, of Plato. How far Mr Locke 'had contributed to the cultivating of these good qualities I will not enquire; but that inveterate rancour 'with which he indulged Christianity, it is certain he 'had not from him. It was Mr Locke's love of him, 'that seems chiefly to expose him to his pupil's bitterest insults. One of the most precious remains of 'the true piety of this incomparable man are his last 'words to Mr Collins.' He then transcribes the latter part of the just cited letter, and proceeds in these terms. 'One would imagine, that, if ever the parting breath of pious men, or the last precepts of dying Philosophers, could claim the reverence of their 'survivors, this inestimable monument of friendship 'and religion had been secure from outrage; yet hear 'in how unworthy, how cruel, a manner his noble 'disciple apostrophizes him on this occasion. *Philosopher, let me hear concerning life, what the right 'notion is, and what I am to stand to upon occasion, 'that I may not, when life seems retiring, or has run 'itself out to the very dregs*, cry vanity! condemn the 'world, and at the same time complain, that life is 'short and passing; *for why so short, indeed, if not 'found sweet? Why do I complain both ways? Is 'vanity, meer vanity, a happiness? or can misery pass 'away too soon.* [Characteristicks, Vol. I. p. 302. 3d 'edit.] I will leave the strong reflections that naturally arise from hence to the reader, who, I am sure, 'will be beforehand with me in judging, that Mr 'Locke had reason to condemn a world that afforded 'such a pupil.' Thus far Mr Warburton (86), roughly, indeed, and confidently, as his manner is; for which he was rebuked, however, in his turn by one of his first readers, I mean his friend Dr Conyers Middleton, who having received the present of his Divine Legation, returns him the following remark upon it. 'Some take notice, that you treat the Freethinkers 'too roughly, and that your address to them is a defiance, rather, and declaration of war, than an invitation to a conference; not likely, therefore, to 'conciliate their favour or attention, which ought to 'be the care of one who professes to write for their 'conviction.' He then proceeds to give his opinion in the part of the noble author, so rudely treated. 'Lord Shaftesbury's rallery of Mr Locke does not 'seem strange to me; a Philosopher, who at parting 'with life has nothing to preach but it's vanity, certainly makes a poor figure, by shewing, that he was 'deceived in the end, and mistaken in the use of it; 'and not that life itself, but his pretensions to Philosophy, were vain (87).'

(85) In his answer to Dr Clarke's third defence of his letter to Mr Dodwell.

(86) In the dedication of his Divine Legation of Moses, &c. p. 25. But, perhaps, somebody will say, that these gentlemen looked upon themselves obliged no further by the laws of friendship, than to be guardians of their friend's *honest fame*, and not to sacrifice what they esteemed the truth, either to that or any other consideration whatsoever.

(87) Dr Middleton's Letters, at the end of the 2d volume of his Works in 4to. 1752, Letter V.

[EE] His

tracts [*EE*]; to which is added, his New Method of a Common-Place-Book (*uu*): and, in that and the following year 1707, his *Paraphrase and Notes on several* [five] *of St Paul's Epistles* (*ww*) were printed separately in 4to. *Some Familiar Letters between Mr Locke and several of his Friends* were published in 1708 (*xx*); and in 1714, all his works then in print came out in three volumes in folio. After this, Mr Des Maizeaux, in 1720, published in 8vo. *A Collection of several pieces of Mr John Locke, never before printed, or not extant in his Works* [*FF*]. These pieces are illustrated with notes by the editor, Mr Des Maizeaux, who has also prefixed the character of our author, written by Mr P. Coste abovementioned. This collection was afterwards inserted into the folio edition of his Works, of which the fifth was printed in 1751.

(*uu*) See note (*bb*).

(*ww*) In the general preface to these, he had observed it as the best method of coming at the true sense of these epistles, to compare St Paul with himself; which method has been since approved in the interpretation of the Scriptures in general. Three more of St Paul's Epistles were published afterwards by Mr Pierce, an eminent dissenting minister at Exeter, with paraphrase and notes upon our author's plan; and the first is dedicated to Sir Peter King.

(*xx*) Meaning Mr Molyneux, and his brother Dr Molyneux, and Mr Limborch.

[*EE*] *His posthumous works, containing five tracts.*] These are as follow: (1.) *The Conduct of the Understanding.* (2.) *An Examination of Malbranche's opinion of seeing all things in God.* (3.) *A Discourse of Miracles* (88). (4.) *Part of a Fourth Letter for Toleration* (89). (5.) *Memoirs relating to the Life of Anthony first Earl of Shaftesbury* (90). Mr Le Clerc translated these pieces into French, to which he prefixed his historical elogium of Mr Locke, which he had before inserted in the 6th tome of the *Bibliotheque Choisie*, and which has been of so much use to us in this memoir. He published this collection at Rotterdam, in 1710, 12mo. with this title, *Oeuvres Diverses de M. Jean Locke.* The first and second of these tracts were originally intended by our author to make a part of his Essay; but, upon further consideration, he thought the first of too much, and the second of too little, importance for that design (91). On this occasion it ought to be remembered to his praise, that, in his Philosophy, he equally avoided the two extremes of the Idealists and the Materialists, carefully preserving in this sense that *mediocrity*, which he intimates to be his rule in philosophizing, and in which he frequently expressed the highest satisfaction. With regard to the conduct of the understanding, it is generally esteemed, and not undeservedly, one of his most useful attempts; and had he lived to finish it, would have pointed out to others that method, by the help of which he was able to compose his Essay, and thereby gained the high encomium of being *the glory of the last age, and the instructor of the present* (92).

[*FF*] *A collection of several pieces, &c.*] This collection contains (1.) *The Fundamental Laws of Carolina.* To what we have already said of this piece, we must add in behalf of Mr Des Maizeaux, that he took extraordinary pains to give it as correct as possible. It had been printed very incorrectly in the State Tracts, Vol. I. 1689. (2.) *A Letter from a Person of Quality to his Friend*, &c. (93). (3.) Remarks upon some of Mr Norris's books, wherein he asserts Father Malbranche's opinion, of seeing all things in God. (4.) *The Elements of Natural Philosophy.* (5.) *Some Thoughts concerning Reading and Study, for a Gentleman.* These may be looked on as an appendix to his treatise on education. (6.) *Several of Mr Locke's Familiar Letters.* Lastly, *Rules of a Society, which met once a week for their improvement.* P

(88) This piece was occasioned by two others on that subject, one by Bishop Fleetwood, and the other by Dr Hoadly, now Bishop of Winchester; the first having given a very unsufficient definition of miracles, and the second had wrote upon them without giving any definition of them at all.

(89) See remark [*P*].

(90) This contains only some particular facts as they occurred to his memory; his intention was, from such materials, to have compiled a history of that noble peer.

(91) See his Letters to Mr Molyneux of April 10, 1697; March 8, 1694-5; March 28, 1693.

(92) Defence of Revealed Religion, &c. by Dr John Conybeare [now Dean of Christ-Church in Oxford], p. 256. Lond. 1733, 8vo.

(93) See remark [*H*].

LOWER [Richard], an eminent Physician and Anatomist in the XVIIth century, was descended of a genteel family in Cornwall, and born at Tremere [*A*] near Bodmin in that county, about the year 1631. His parents resolving to give him a liberal education, sent him, at a proper age, to Westminster-school; where, being admitted King's scholar, he was elected thence, according to the connection between the two royal seminaries, a student of Christ-Church in Oxford in 1649. He had not been long at the college, before he made choice of Physick for his profession; but being obliged by the statutes of the university, to lay a suitable foundation for that study in a competent knowledge of Logick and Philosophy, he proceeded regularly through both his degrees in Arts; the first of which he took February 17, 1652 (*a*); and commencing Master June 28, 1655 (*b*), he entered upon the Physick line, and in a little time began to practise under the directions of Dr Thomas Willis, to whose favour he recommended himself, by assisting him in his anatomical dissections [*B*]. These were performed by our author with admirable skill and dexterity, and that celebrated Physician was so much pleased with him, that, in order to acquaint him with the practical part of his faculty, and introduce him into business, he took him as a companion and assistant in attending his country patients. It was in the road to one of these visits in April 1664, that Mr Lower discovered the medicinal spring at East-Thorp, or Astrop, near King's-Sutton in Northamptonshire; and communicating it to the doctor, proper experiments were made by them; which answering expectation, they joined in recommending the water (*c*); so that being collected into a well, and suitable houses of entertainment built near it, the place has been frequented greatly ever since, and is at present well known by the name of *Astrop wells.* Our author's reputation daily increasing with his business, he accumulated his degrees in Physick, at the Act, June 20, 1665 (*d*); and the same year printed a defence of Dr Willis's discourse upon Fevers [*C*]. That celebrated practitioner removing to London the ensuing year, Dr Lower followed

(*a*) Wood's Fasti, Vol. II. col. 98.

(*b*) Ibid. col. 108.

(*c*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 857.

(*d*) Ibid. Fasti, col. 160, 161.

(*e*) Or in the beginning of 1667. See epistle dedicatory to his Historical Account, &c. Lond. 1684, 4to.

[*A*] *Descended of a genteel family at Tremere*] Mr Wood observes (1), that Sir William Lower the Poet was of the same family, and born also at Tremere; and that our author's father and brothers were in expectation of succeeding to his estate after his death, in which, however, they happened to come in for no other share, than that of grief for the disappointment.

[*B*] *He assisted Dr Willis in his anatomical dissections.*] This was particularly in dissecting the brain, in preparing his famous piece, intitled, *Cerebri Anatome*, in the preface to which are these words: *Præter suppetias ob hujus manu* [*Doctoris Lower*] *in dissectando peritissima allatas.* Besides the help furnished by Dr Lower, a most skilful hand in dissections (2).

[*C*] *A Defence of Dr Willis's Discourse upon Fevers*] The title of it is, *Diatribæ Thomæ Willisii, Med. Doct. & Profess. Oxon. de Febribus Vindicatio, contr. Edmund de Meara.* Lond. 1665, 8vo. It was reprinted

(1) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 858.

(2) Cerebri Anatome, Lond. 1664, 4to.

followed his friend and patron to the metropolis, where his fame had prepared the way for him. One of the firft of his laft mentioned pieces had been taken notice of by the Royal Society, who had printed an account of it in the Philofophical Tranfactions (*f*); fo that he was immediately admitted to their meetings, and communicating his new invention of a fafe method for putting in practice the transfufion of blood lately ftarted [*D*], he fhewed feveral experiments to confirm it before them; whereupon, he was propofed a candidate to the fociety by Dr Seth Ward, afterwards Bifhop of Salifbury, October 10, 1667, and elected Fellow on the 17th of the fame month (*g*). He fhewed feveral other anatomical experiments upon live dogs (*h*) about this time to the Society, which gave fo great fatiffaction, that, November 5, he was propofed for another Curator of Experiments to be added to Mr Hooke; but he declined that office on account of his other bufinefs (*i*). He was elected Fellow of the College of Phyficians the fame year, and two years afterwards he publifhed his celebrated treatife upon the heart; wherein he firft of any one fhewed the order of the mufcular fibres to be fpiral, like a fnail-fhell, as if feveral fkeins of thread of different lengths had been wound up into a bottom of fuch a fhape, hollow and divided within (*k*). This curious piece contained fo many excellent obfervations for the advancement of Phyfick [*E*], that his reputation became perfectly eftablifhed, and his practice grew more extenfive; and, as he began to be called frequently to the Court end of the town, he removed from his firft refidence in Hatton-garden, to Salifbury-court Fleetftreet; and afterwards changing that for one in Bow-ftreet, he fettled at laft in King-ftreet Covent-garden, where he was greatly reforted to, efpecially after the death of Dr Willis in 1675, being then reputed one of the ableft Phyficians in London. But, on the breaking out of the Popifh plot in 1678, fiding, as is faid, with the Whigs, who he thought would carry all before them, he became fenfible of his error by the lofs of a great part of his practice at and near the Court, and fo confequently of his credit. This ill-judged ftep made way for Dr Thomas Short, a Roman Catholick, who prefently came into great bufinefs, which upon his death, in the latter end of September 1685, devolved on Dr John Radcliffe: fo that our author continued under the cloud 'till his death, which happened January 17, 1690-91, at his houfe in King-ftreet Covent-garden. He had fome years before purchafed an eftate in his own country, at St Tudy near Bodmin in Cornwall; where his corpfe was carried, and interred in a vault under the fouth fide of the church, according to his own requeft. He left two daughters, Loveday and Philippa, both unmarried at the time of his deceafe. Mr Wood fays there was then a report, that by his laft Will he bequeathed 1000 pounds to St Bartholomew's hofpital in London, 500 pounds to the French Proteftant refugees, 50 pounds to the poor of the parifh of St Paul Covent-garden, and 40 pounds to the poor of the two parifhes where he had land, &c. (*l*).

(*f*) No. 4. p. 77.

(*g*) Birch's Hiftory of the Royal Society, Vol. II. p. 197 and 200.

(*h*) Ibid. p. 198, 200, 202, 208.

(*i*) Ibid. p. 206, 212.

(*k*) Wotton's Reflections on ancient and modern Learning, c. 19. p. 219. Lond. 1694.

(*l*) Ath. Oxon. where laft cited.

reprinted at Amftelod, 1666, 12mo. Dr Meara was Fellow of the College of Phyficians at London, and practifed at Briftol (3).

[*D*] *A fafe method of transfufing blood.*] There are two papers of his upon this fubject, printed in the Philofophical Tranfactions. The firft in No. 20. p. 353. intitled, *An account of the fuccefs of the experiment of transfufing the blood of one animal into another.* The fecond in No. 30. p. 557. containing *An account of the experiment of transfufion, practifed upon a man in London.* He alfo propofed to the Society to try the experiment upon madmen of all kinds (4). Mr Wood, and after him the author of Dr Lower's article in the General Dictionary, tells us (5), that the Doctor, in his treatife upon the heart, affumed to himfelf the firft difcovery of the transfufion, which, in reality, was another's due; but the truth is, Dr Lower's words do not import any fuch prefumption, he only claiming to be the firft who difcovered a fafe method of putting the hint in practice, his right to which has never, that I know of, been difputed (6).

[*E*] *Excellent obfervations for the advancement of Phyfick.*] Thefe are particularly enumerated by Dr Charles Goodall (7), as follow: *The fwift motion of the blood through the heart; the commixture of the air with the blood; the difference between arterial and venal blood; the feparation of the chyle; with it's fole paffage through the* ductus thoracicus; *and it's different degrees and ways of converfion into blood; the vulgar opinion, about defluxions diftilling from the brain, confuted by unanfwerable experiments.* This laft obfervation relates to a piece fubjoined by our author to his treatife upon the heart, with the title of, *Differtatio de origine catarrhi & venæ fectione*, which was reprinted by itfelf at London in 1672, 8vo. His treatife upon the heart bears this title: *Tractatus de Corde; item de motu & colore fanguinis & chyli in eum tranfitu.* P

(3) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 550.

(4) Birch's Hiftory of the Royal Society, Vol. II. p. 207.

(5) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 857. General Dictionary, Vol. VII. p. 182.

(6) See the article of Sir Chriftopher Wren.

(7) In his epiftle dedicatory, &c. ubi fupra.

LOWTH [WILLIAM], a very learned writer, fon of William Lowth, Apothecary and Citizen of London, and Mary his wife, daughter of William Short of Weftminfter, Efq; was born in the parifh of St Martin's Ludgate in the city of London, September 11, 1661 (*a*). He was defcended from a family originally of Lincolnfhire, and afterwards fettled at Sawtrey in the county of Huntingdon; whofe eftate, about two hundred years ago, the entail being cut off, paffed away to an heirefs, married to a younger fon of Sir John Cornwallis [*A*]. His father was a great fufferer in the dreadful fire of London in 1666.

(*a*) Regifter of Ludgate parifh.

[*A*] *Married to a younger fon of Sir John Cornwallis.*] It appears by a letter of his grandfather, Simon Lowth (who is hereafter mentioned in the text), to Elias Afhmole, Efq; Windfor Herald at Arms, at Reading, holding there his vifitation of Berkfhire (which letter is dated at Tylehurft, March 25, 1665); 'That the faid Simon Lowth's grandfather was fecond fon of —— Lowth of Lincolnfhire, Efq; whofe eftate was once entailed on the heirs male, but was by a fine and recovery cut off and fettled upon a daughter, an only child, and fo paffed away with her, married to one of the family of Cornwallis.' Agreeably to which we find in Collins's Peerage (1), that 'Richard Cornwallis, third fon of Sir John Cornwallis [Steward of the Houfhold to Edward VI. when Prince of Wales, who died April 23, 1544], married, according to the appointment of his father, Margaret Lowth, daughter and heir of Lionel Lowth, of *Sawtrey in Com. Linc.* Efq; and was father of Sir Thomas Cornwallis, Groom-Porter to Queen Elizabeth and King

(1) Vol. IV. p. 285.

1666. At the time of this great calamity his son William was in Berkshire, under the care of his grandfather Mr Simon Lowth, Rector of Tylehurst in that county; to whom he had probably been sent the year before, on occasion of the plague then raging in the city of London. His grandfather took great care of his education, and initiated him very early in letters. He was afterwards sent to Merchant-Taylors school in London, where he made so great a progress in learning, that he was elected from thence into St John Baptist's college in Oxford in June 1675, being then not fourteen years of age. He took the degree of Master of Arts March 31, 1683, and of Bachelor in Divinity October 17, 1688. His eminent worth and learning recommended him to the favour of Dr Peter Mew Bishop of Winchester, who had been President, and ever continued to be the kind patron, of St John's college: he made him his Chaplain, and conferred upon him a Prebend in the cathedral church of Winchester in the year 1696, and the Rectory of Buriton, with the chapel of Petersfield, Hants, in the year 1699. He published 'A Vindication of the Divine Authority and Inspiration of the Old and New Testament, in answer to a treatise lately translated out of French, intitled, *Five Letters concerning the Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures.*' Oxford, 1692, 12mo. And a second edition with amendments, and a new preface, wherein the antiquity of the Pentateuch is asserted and vindicated from some late objections. Lond. 1699 [*B*]. 'Directions for the profitable reading of the Holy Scriptures: Together with some Observations for the confirming their Divine Authority, and illustrating the Difficulties thereof. Lond. 1708, 12mo.' and several editions since. 'Religion the distinguishing Character of Human Nature: on Job xxviii. 28. and, The Wisdom of acknowledging Divine Revelation: on Matth. xi. 19. Two sermons preached in the cathedral church of Winchester, at the assizes in the year 1714.' 'A Commentary on the Prophet Isaiah. 4to. Lond. 1714. On Jeremiah, 1718. On Ezekiel, 1723. On Daniel and the Minor Prophets, 1726.' Afterwards republished together, with additions, in one volume folio, as a continuation of Bishop Patrick's Commentary on the other parts of the Old Testament; in which form it has had several editions. 'The Characters of an Apostolical Church fulfilled in the Church of England, and our Obligations to continue in the Communion of it. A Sermon preached in the church of Petersfield in the county of Southampton, June 17, 1722.' London, two editions. This Sermon was occasioned by the erecting of a new meeting-house for the Protestant Dissenters in the town of Petersfield. The author thought it his duty to preach it, in order to confirm his parishioners in their communion with the Church of England; and, 'by the desire of several friends, was prevailed with to publish it, not thinking it proper to deny the request of those to whom he was a debtor, to promote their edification by the best means he could (*b*).' This produced 'Remarks on a Sermon preached at Petersfield June 17, 1722, by the Rev. Mr William Lowth, Rector of that parish, and Prebendary of Winchester, in a Letter to himself: in which his Characters of an Apostolical Church are considered; the Dissenters right to them is asserted and maintained; their Ministers call and ordination defended; 'their

(*b*) Answer to Mr Norman, p. 1.

'King James, who died November 18, 1618, leaving issue by Elizabeth his wife, daughter of John Molineux of Thorp in Com. Nott. Esq; three sons and one daughter.' There is a mistake in this account: it should be, *Sawtrey or Saltrey in Com. Huntingdon, Lincoln Diocese.*

[*B*.] *A Vindication of the Divine Authority and Inspiration of the Old and New Testament.*] Monf. Le Clerc, famous for his extensive learning and numerous writings, as well as for his freedom in delivering his sentiments on the most important points, was the author of the Five Letters. They are a part selected by the translator from two works of his, both written in an epistolary form, the one intitled, '*Sentimens de quelques Theologiens de Hollande sur L'Histoire Critique du Vieux Testament composée par le P.* Richard Simon de l'Oratoire. Amsterd. 1685.' The other. '*Defense des sentimens, &c. contre la Response du Prieur de Bolleville.* Amsterd. 1686.' They make in the French, the 11th and 12th Letters of the *Sentimens*; and the 9th, 10, and 11th, of the *Defense*. In the Letters of which the *Sentimens* consist, the author pretends to give his correspondent an account of several conferences, which himself and three of his friends had held together on the subject of Father Simon's book. As he indulged himself in the liberty of hazarding many conjectures and opinions, which he was sensible would not easily meet with assent in the learned world, and which, perhaps, he himself might not always think proper to maintain, he chose to publish them rather as the sentiments of his imaginary friends, than his own. In the 11th and 12th Letters of the *Sentimens*, he takes the further precaution of making the whole of what he delivers upon the Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, to be an abridgment of a Memorial of one Monf. N. communicated by a friend. In the 9th and 10th of the *Defense*, the same Mr. N. explains more distinctly, and maintains his opinion against several objections that had been made to it. The 11th is a further defence of Mr N. in the person of the author of the Letters. Mr Le Clerc thought it not proper to set his name to either of these works. '*Il composa son Ouvrage en forme de Lettres, & comme si c'eut eté le resultat de quelques conferences qu'il avoit eües avec trois de ses amis. Mais la verité est, que tout étoit de lui. Et s'il prit ce tour, ce fut à cause de certaines questions, sur lesquelles il proposoit des pensées, qu'il prevoioit bien qui paroitroient hardies, & que cependant il ne donnoit que pour de simples Conjectures, prêt à les abandonner des qu'il seroit convaincu qu'elles n'étoient pas bien fondeés. Effectivement il en detruisit lui-même depuis quelques unes, & j'en indiquerai plus bas un exemple* (2).' The instance in which Le Clerc afterwards retracted and confuted his own opinion, which the author of the *Eloge* here refers to, was concerning the author of the Pentateuch. In one of the dissertations prefixed to his Commentary on Genesis, he proves, that Moses is the author; contrary to the hypothesis which he had advanced in the 6th Letter of the *Sentimens.* '*Dans une des trois Dissertations Critiques, qui traite de L'Auteur du Pentateuque, il prouve fortement, que c'est Moïse; & il refute tacitement ce qu'il avoit lui-même avancé dans les sentimens de L'Histoire Critique* (3).' This is what Mr Lowth had confuted in the new preface to the second edition of his book; which he concludes with some animadversions, also on a position which the great Mr Locke had advanced in his *Reasonableness of Christianity*; 'That the Epistles are not of equal authority with the Gospels, nor to be appealed to, for the explaining the Fundamentals of the Christian Faith.'

(2) Eloge Historique de Monf. le Clerc, Amst. 1736, p. 36.

(3) Eloge, p. 52.

'their publick worſhip vindicated; and Mr Lowth's reflections on them and their aſſemblies are proved to be unjuſt and groundleſs. By John Norman of Portſmouth.' Lond. 1723. Mr Norman had opened the new meeting-houſe with a ſermon, which he had publiſhed under the title of, 'The Nature and Extent of Chriſt's Church conſidered: a Sermon preached at Petersfield February 13, 1721-2, at the opening of a new meeting-houſe lately erected by the Proteſtant Diſſenters of that town.' Mr Lowth took no notice of this ſermon of Mr Norman, 'becauſe he would not furniſh him with a pretence to ſay, that he had given him any provocation to anſwer his ſermon (c):' but however unwilling he was to be engaged in this controverſy, he could not avoid being drawn into it. He ſoon publiſhed, 'An Anſwer to the Remarks of Mr John Norman of Portſmouth, on a ſermon preached at Petersfield June 17, 1722: wherein the Apoſtolical Inſtitution of Epiſcopacy is vindicated from his exceptions; and the nature of Church Communion, and our obligations to maintain it, are at large explained.' Lond. 1723. Mr Norman rejoined with 'A Defence of the Remarks, &c. in which Mr Lowth's Anſwer to the Remarks is fully conſidered; his Arguments for the Apoſtolical Inſtitution of Epiſcopacy, and his Explication of the Nature of Church Communion, are impartially examined; and the Rights, Principles, Miniſtry, and Worſhip, of Proteſtant Diſſenters farther vindicated.' Lond. 1724. Mr Lowth had in the concluſion of his *Anſwer* declared, that he ſhould 'here be very willing to take leave of this controverſy, that he might have leiſure for the proſecution of an undertaking of another nature, and more ſuitable to his own inclination.' [viz. His Commentary on the Prophets.] 'Some of our greateſt divines (adds he) have more than once managed this controverſy, with all the advantages that ſtrength of reaſon and calmneſs of temper can give to any cauſe; and yet after all with very little ſucceſs (d).' When Mr Norman's Defence appeared, he did not at all repent of the reſolution, in which he was already fixed, of having no more to do with one whom he thought a very unfair adverſary; at leaſt of troubling the world no further with this diſpute. However, he drew up a full anſwer to Mr Norman's Defence, addreſſed to him in form of a letter, and ſent it to him in manuſcript. Mr Norman returned a ſhort anſwer by letter, waving all further diſcuſſion of particulars, as his antagoniſt did not think proper to lay them before the publick. And ſo the affair dropped. Thus Mr Lowth's labours appear to have been ſtrictly confined within the limits of his own province, and applied ſolely to the peculiar duties of his function; yet, in order to acquit himſelf the better in Theology, he had purſued his ſtudies with a more general and extenſive view. Few had dealt more largely in criticiſm. There is ſcarce any antient author, whether Latin or Greek, profane or eccleſiaſtical, eſpecially the latter, but what he had read with a critical accuracy; conſtantly accompanying his reading with critical and philological remarks, noted in the margin and initial and final leaves of his book, or entered into his Adverſaria. Of his collections in this way, he was upon all occaſions extremely communicative. Hence the notes on Clemens Alexandrinus, ſent to Dr Potter (afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury), and publiſhed with the author's name to each in his edition of that Father [C]. Hence the like remarks on Joſephus, communicated to Dr Hudſon for his edition, and acknowledged in the preface [D]. As alſo thoſe larger and more numerous annotations on the eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians, inſerted in Mr Reading's edition of them at Cambridge [E]. The author of Bibliotheca Biblica was indebted to him for the ſame kind of aſſiſtance, as we find by the preface to the laſt poſthumous volume [F]. The learned Dr Chandler, late Biſhop of Durham, while he was engaged in his

(c) Anſwer to Mr Norman, p. 8.

(d) Anſwer to Mr Norman, p. 76.

[C] *Hence the notes on Clemens Alexandrinus, ſent to Dr Potter, &c.*] A due mention is made of them, in the Preface, in theſe words. 'Poſt nullum vero mihi memorandus eſt W. Lowthius, Eccleſiæ Cathedralis Winton. Præbendarius digniſſimus, qui non ſolum perpetuas fere in Clementem notas ultro mihi obtulit, ſed etiam cohortationem ad Græcos, & octo Stromatum libros pro diverſa materiæ, qua conſtant, ratione, quatenus fieri potuit in capita redegit. Hæc autem infra, propriis auctorum nominibus diſtincta, & ſuis quæque locis diſpoſita, reperientur (4).' i. e. I muſt mention in the firſt place, Mr William Lowth, the moſt worthy Prebendary of Wincheſter; who, not only offered me, without aſking, the remarks he had made upon almoſt all Clement's works, but alſo divided his exhortation to the Greeks, and the eight books of Stromata, into chapters, &c.

(4) Potter præfat. in Clem. Alexand. Oxon. 1715.

[D] *Hence the like remarks on Joſephus, &c.*] Mr Anthony Hall mentions them with due reſpect, in his Preface to Joſephus. 'Neque prætereundus eſt Guilielmus Lowthius, Præbendarius Wintonienſis digniſſimus, cui tantum debuit quantum familiarium nemini (5).' i. e. Nor muſt I paſs over in ſilence Mr Wil. Lowth, the moſt worthy Prebendary of Wincheſter, to whom he was as much obliged as to any other of his acquaintance.

(5) Ant. Halli præfat. ad Joſeph. edit. Hudſon. Oxon. 1720.

[E] *Annotations on the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorians, inſerted in Mr Reading's edition of them.*] He thus gratefully mentions them in his Preface. 'Adjectæ ſunt etiam, conjecturæ dicam? an potius certiſſimæ tam textûs Græci quam interpretationis emendationes, & Hiſtoriæ per totum opus elucidationes, quas mecum pro ſingulari ſua humanitate communicavit Wilhelmus Lowthius, Eccl. Wint. Canonicus. Vir impenſe doctus & Κριτικώτατος, quod, inter alia, nuperæ ejus Clementi Alexandrino paſſim aſperſæ caſtigationes, nuperi in Iſaiam & Jeremiam Prophetas Commentarii, ampliſſimè teſtantur (6).' i. e. There are alſo added conjectures, ſhall I call them? or rather moſt certain emendations both of the Greek text, and verſion, and explanations of the hiſtory throughout; which were very kindly communicated to me by Mr William Lowth, Prebendary of Wincheſter. A man of very great learning, and a moſt excellent critic, as plainly appears, among other things, by his emendations of Clemens Alexandrinus, and his commentaries on Iſaiah and Jeremiah.

(6) Reading, præfat. ad Euſebium, &c. Cantab. 1720.

[F] *As we find by the preface to the laſt poſthumous volume.*] In which is this acknowledgment. 'Among his very particular favourers and friends, ought eſpecially to be mentioned, the late reverend, learned, and pious Mr Lowth; a gentleman of a character in all reſpects unexceptionable. The learned Dr Hudſon out of a juſt ſenſe of the valuable aſſiſtance received from this gentleman, when he deſired his advice upon ſeveral paſſages of Joſephus, was pleaſed to declare, that he took him to be the greateſt ſcholar in the kingdom. This ſmall tribute to the memory

his *Defence of Christianity from the Prophecies of the Old Testament*, against *The Discourse of the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion*; and in his *Vindication of the Defence, in answer to the Scheme of Literal Prophecy considered*; held a constant correspondence with Mr Lowth, and consulted him upon many difficulties that occurred in the course of that work. We should not do justice to Mr Lowth's character, if we did not add, that the most valuable part of it was what least appeared to the eyes of the world; the private and retired part, that of the good Christian and the useful Parish Priest. His unfeigned piety and most exemplary life; his diligence, assiduity, and zeal, in the duties of his function; his hospitality, and constant readiness in performing all the offices of kindness, whether of admonition, advice, or assistance, to his parishioners, gave all the recommendation and weight that could be added to his most earnest exhortations from the pulpit. He married Margaret, daughter of Robert Pitt of Blandford in the county of Dorset, Esq; by whom he had two sons [*G*] and three daughters, who all survived him. By his own orders, he was buried in the church-yard of his parish-church at Buriton, where he died, near the south side of the chancel; and on the inside wall was erected a plain monument, with the following inscription:

Near the outside of this wall
lyeth the Body of Mr William Lowth,
late Rector of this Church:
who died May 17th, 1732.
And being dead still desires to speak
to his beloved Parishioners.
And earnestly to exhort them
Constantly to attend upon the Worship of God,
Frequently to receive the Holy Sacrament,
And diligently to observe the good instructions given
in this place:
To breed up their Children in the fear of God,
And to follow peace with all men
and holiness,
Without which no man shall see the Lord.

God give us all a happy meeting
at the resurrection of the Just.

'mory of so great a man, I am well satisfied, Mr Parker, had he been living, would have looked upon as a poor return for the collection of notes which Mr Lowth has favoured him with in this last volume of the Pentateuch, and a much meaner expression of the value he set on a friendship he had so happily cultivated (7).'

(7) Bibliotheca Biblica, Vol. V. Account of the Life and Writings of the author prefixed, p. viii.

[*G*] *By whom he had two sons.*] One of the sons is the very learned ROBERT LOWTH, D.D. late Poetry-Professor in the university of Oxford, and now Archdeacon of Winchester, &c. Whose excellent Lectures, read whilst he was Professor, were beautifully printed at Oxford in 1753, 4to. with this title, *De Sacra Poësi Hebræorum Prælectiones Academicæ Oxonii habitæ a Roberto Lowth*, A. M. *Collegii Novi nuper Socio, et Poëticæ publico Prælectore. Subjicitur Metricæ Harianæ brevis Confutatio: et Oratio Crewiana.*—— We are obliged to him for the materials of this Life of his good father. C

LUDLOW [EDMUND], a ring-leader of the republican party in the civil wars of the last century, was descended from a family of considerable rank originally seated in Shropshire; but removing thence, had been settled some time in Wiltshire (*a*), when our author was born at Mayden-Bradley (*b*) in that county, about the year 1620 *. His parents resolving to give him an education suitable to his birth, sent him from school † to Trinity-college in Oxford; where, having gone through the usual academical studies, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts November 14, 1636 ‖. After which he was removed to the Temple, in order to acquire a competent knowledge in the laws and constitution of his country, so as to recommend him some time to a seat in Parliament, where his ancestors had frequently represented the county ***. His behaviour was answerable to the hopes and expectations of his father, Sir Henry Ludlow, Knight; who being chosen for the county in the Long Parliament, which met the third of November, 1640, and entering with great zeal into the party against the Court, his conduct and encouragement had such an influence on his son, that he not only very early declared himself on that side, but also took up arms the first opportunity that offered: for while he was a student in the Temple (*c*), he engaged with several others in a kind of military association, and they afterwards inlisted as volunteers in the Earl of Essex's life-guard (*d*) [*A*]. In this station our young soldier

(*a*) Preface to his Memoirs, edit. 1698, 8vo. p. iv.

(*b*) Wood's Fasti, Vol. II. col. 267.

* He died in 1693, aged 73. See his epitaph in Addison's Travels, p. 264. edit. 1645.

† Wood, ubi supra.

‖ Preface to the folio edition of his Memoirs in 1751.

*** Preface to the first edition of his Memoirs.

(*c*) Memoirs, p. 17. folio. edit.

(*d*) Id. ibid.

[*A*] *He and several others entered into a kind of military association.*] We have the following account of this transaction in his Memoirs, where, having mentioned the rise of the dispute between King Charles and the Parliament, he says, 'I thought it my duty, upon consideration of my age and vigorous constitution, as an Englishman, and an invitation to that purpose from my father, to enter into the service of my country, in the army commanded by the Earl of Essex, under the authority of the Parliament. 'Soon

soldier was not long before he came to action, in the first pitched battle between King Charles the First and his Parliament, called the battle of Edge-Hill; which was fought on Sunday the 23d of October, 1642 (*e*): of which action he has given us a very particular and seemingly impartial account, so far as he was concerned therein. The following winter, Sir Edward Hungerford obtaining the command of the Parliament forces in the county of Wilts, he invited our author to raise a troop of horse in his regiment (*f*); which having compleated in the summer campaign, he joined Sir Edward, then besieging Wardour-castle; of which, when taken, Captain Ludlow was made governor, and left with a company of foot, and his own troop, for it's defence: in this service, young as he was, he shewed both in courage and conduct his great capacity in affairs of war, maintaining that post ten months, without any assistance, for the Parliament, which had held out only six days for the King (*g*), though all means had been tried, not omitting even treachery [*B*], according to Mr Ludlow's account (*h*), for regaining it; nor was the reduction compleated, 'till, by battering and mining, it was rendered wholly untenable, and the governor, by wounds and wants, forced to listen to the clamours of his men, who insisted on his consenting to yield upon articles, which were, he says, very badly kept (*i*). He was carried prisoner to Oxford, where they offered him the liberty of the city on his parole; but as they would not in that case give him the freedom of visiting his friends in the castle, he chose to remain with them in confinement; from whence, in about three weeks time (*k*), he was released by exchange and went to London (*l*). Here he found the Earl of Essex very ready to exchange his subalterns and soldiers, and particularly Mr Balsum, whom the Earl made his chaplain, and was very desirous to give Captain Ludlow a command in his army: but the Parliament having appointed the Captain Sheriff of Wilts, and Sir Arthur Haslerig inviting him to accept of the post of Major in his regiment of horse (*m*) in Sir William Waller's army, which was ordered on the western service, he accepted that invitation, and in that post marched to form the blockade of Oxford (*n*). The Earl of Essex not following the King (who broke out of Oxford) pursuant to his orders, but marching into the West in the room of Sir William Waller, who spent the greatest part of the summer of 1644 in attending on the King's motions, without being able to come to any engagement, several officers, whose chief interest lay westward, obtained leave from Sir William to go into their respective countries to raise recruits for his army. Among these was our Captain, to whom that General gave also a commission to raise and command a regiment of horse, and a permission to take with him his own troop consisting of about a hundred men. With these, and another body of the like force commanded by Colonel Alexander and Colonel Edward Popham, they marched to relieve Major Wansey, besieged in Woodhouse near Warmister; but on Warmister heath were attacked by a superior body of the royal horse, and the two Pophams leaving Colonel Ludlow and his party to shift for themselves, he with much difficulty got to Southampton with about fourscore of his men (*o*), soon after which Woodhouse was obliged to surrender at mercy. The Colonel now began to find the ill effects of faction amongst the commanders and others of his own party, which rose so high, that the Wiltshire people not only obstructed his raising his regiment, but kept the arms which had been bought for that

(*e*) Id. p. 18. Gesta Britannorum, by Sir George Wharton, Lond. 1683, p. 440. col. 2.

(*f*) Ludlow, p. 22.

(*g*) Sir Edward Hungerford besieged it on the second, and had it surrendered to him on the 8th of May, 1643, the royal party not recovering it 'till March 15 following, tho' they closely invested it about the beginning of September. Wharton's Gesta Britannorum, p. 442 and 444.

(*h*) Memoirs, p. 28.

(*i*) Id. p. 37, 38. His own account sufficiently refutes this censure.

(*k*) Id. p. 42.

(*l*) Id. p. 43. He observes, that Smith, who kept the castle at Oxford when Lilburne was there, and is so much complained of by him, had been suspended from the execution of his office, and one Thorp put into his place.

(*m*) Our author was firmly attached to Haslerig ever after, and had the greatest esteem for him; several instances of which will be seen in the sequel.

(*n*) Id. ibid.

(*o*) Id. p. 44, 45, 46.

'Soon after my engagement in this cause, I met with 'Mr Richard Feines, son to the Lord Say, and Mr 'Charles Fleetwood, son to Sir Miles Fleetwood, 'then a member of the House of Commons; with 'whom consulting, it was resolved by us, to assemble 'as many young gentlemen of the Inns of Court, of 'which we then were, and others, as should be found 'disposed to this service, in order to be instructed together in the use of arms, to render ourselves fit and 'capable of acting, in case there should be occasion 'to make use of us. To this end we procured a person experienced in military affairs, to instruct us in 'the use of arms; and for some time we frequently 'met to exercise at the Artillery-ground in London. 'And being informed that the Parliament had resolved 'to raise a life-guard for the Earl of Essex, to consist 'of a hundred gentlemen, under the command of Sir 'Philip Stapylton, a member of Parliament, most of 'our company entered themselves therein, and made 'up the greatest part of the said guard; amongst 'whom were Mr Richard Fienes, Mr Charles Fleetwood, afterwards Lieutenant-General; Major-General Harrison, Colonel Nathaniel Rich, Colonel 'Thomlinson, Colonel Twisleton, Colonel Bosewell, 'Major Whitby, and myself (1).' It is observable, that these young hot spirits, who were thus forward to begin, were as tenacious to support what they esteemed the cause of liberty; four of them, Harrison, Bosewell, our Author, and Fleetwood, sitting in the High Court of Justice, as Judges of the King, and Thomlinson commanding the guard that attended his Majesty during the tryal (2).

[*B*] *Not omitting even treachery.*] 'To this end (he 'tells us) one Captain White, a Papist, of Dorsetshire, 'having found a boy at Shaftesbury fit for the purpose, 'gave him such instructions as he thought fit: he was 'not above twelve years of age, and yet, says he, as 'I was afterwards informed, had already attempted to 'poison his grandfather. This boy he sent to the 'castle, to desire of me to be admitted to turn the spit, 'or perform any other servile employment; to which 'I consented, his youth freeing him, as I thought, 'from any suspicion. About three or four days after, 'a party of the enemy's horse appeared before the 'castle; a great wall-gun called a harquebuz de croq, 'being fired from the top of the castle, burst in the 'middle. At night, as this boy was sitting with the 'guard by the fire, some of them conceived a jealousy of him; and strictly examining him about the 'cause of his coming, he affirmed it to be because the 'master whom he served had used him cruelly for 'speaking some words in favour of the Parliament. 'With which answer they not being satisfied, threatned, that unless he would confess the truth, they 'would hang him immediately; and to affright him, 'tied a piece of match about his neck, and began to 'pull him upon a halbert. Upon this he promised to 'confess all, if they would spare his life; and thereupon acknowledged that Captain White had hired 'him to number the men and arms in the castle, to 'poison the arms, the well, and the beer, to blow up 'the ammunition, and to steal away one of my best 'horses to carry him back to them; for which service he was to receive half a crown, confessing that 'he had accordingly poisoned two cannon and the harquebuz that was broken, but pretended that his conscience would not give him leave to poison the water 'and the beer (3).'

(1) Memoirs, p. 41—44. edit. 1698, Vol. I. 8vo.

(2) Reliquiæ sacræ Carolinæ, appendix, p. 25.

(3) Memoirs, folio edit. p. 28. The improbability of this story is remarked by Lord Clarendon. Hist. of the Rebellion, &c. Vol. II. fol. edit.

[C] Of

that purpose, and detained the pay of his troop, because he would not deliver up the commission given him by Sir William Waller, and take a new one from the Earl of Essex (*p*): However, he continued to act with vigour for the service of the Parliament, and reduced two garrisons of the King's at Sturton and Witham, where he found cattle enough to pay his men. He afterwards joined Sir William Waller with about five hundred horse, and was engaged in the second battle fought at Newbury, in which action he lost his kinsman Gabriel Ludlow, who is much lamented by him (*q*). From thence he marched (by order of the committee of both kingdoms) (*r*) at the head of two hundred of his regiment, to assist in relieving Taunton; which service being performed, he returned to Salisbury; from whence he was soon drove out by a large party of the King's horse, under the command of Sir Marmaduke Langdale (*s*), and obliged again to retire to Southampton, being slightly wounded in the breast by a sword in the pursuit. Having rallied his men here, he kept about Lymington and Hurst-castle, to check the incursions of the King's troops, but sent the most serviceable of his horse to the assistance of Portsmouth. Soon after this, the disputes between the Parliamentarians began to run very high, and at last produced the famous self-denying ordinance, by means of which the Earls of Essex and Manchester (rigid Presbyterians), and Sir William Waller, were dismissed from their several commands, and with them Colonel Ludlow (*t*), who came not into play again in any post civil or military 'till 1645, when he was chosen, with James Herbert, Esq; second son to the Earl of Pembroke, Knight of the Shire to represent the county of Wilts (*u*), in the room of his father, who died in 1643 (*w*), and Sir James Thynne, who had deserted the Parliament and retired to the King at Oxford. He says, he entered the House as a Member, in company with Mr Robert (afterwards Admiral) Blake, then a land officer, and just returned to serve for the borough of Taunton, which he had long defended against the King; 'And this, says Colonel Ludlow, I chose to do, assuring myself, that he '(Mr Blake) having been faithful and active in the publick service abroad, we should be as 'unanimous in the carrying it on within those doors (*x*):' and he proceeds to characterize the several parties which he found there, and their ruling interests (*y*) [*C*]. On the surrender of the King to the Scots, the Colonel, as one of the members for Wilts, was commissioned to pay off Major Massey's brigade, which he and Alderman Allen, the other representative for that county, did at the Devizes (*z*). Soon after the death of the Earl of Essex, which happened the thirteenth of September, 1646 (*a*), Cromwell entered into a conversation with Colonel Ludlow, wherein he expressed so much dislike against the Parliament, and so extolled the Army, that the Colonel *was perswaded he had already conceived the design of destroying the civil authority, and setting up for himself*, and was sounding whether he was a fit instrument to be employed to those ends (*b*): but he returned such an answer, as made Cromwell never speak to him again on that subject, though upon another occasion he used very indecent expressions to him in the House, tending to the same purpose [*D*]. When the King was brought from Holmby to the army, our author went down

(*p*) Id. p. 47. Upon this occasion his countrymen, who were of Essex's party, obstructed him in raising his regiment, kept from him those arms which were bought to that end, countenancing his Major against him, and detaining their pay. Ibid.

(*q*) Id. p. 50.

(*r*) Id. p. 52.

(*s*) Id. p. 54, 55. This happened the latter end of December or beginning of January 1644, O. S. Gesta Britannorum, p. 447.

(*t*) Id. p. 57.

(*u*) Id. p. 65.

(*w*) Id. p. 31. A. Wood was misinformed in the time of his death in 1660, though not, perhaps, in the place, which he tells us was at Mayden-Bradley, and that he was buried there. Wood's Fasti, ubi supra. We learn from our author, that he was outlawed by the King. Memoirs, Vol. III. p. 51. edit. 1699, 8vo.

(*x*) Id. p. 66.

(*y*) Id. p. 61.

(*z*) Id. p. 70.

(*a*) Wharton's Gesta Britannorum, p. 453.

(*b*) Ludlow, p. 72.

[*C*] *The several parties he found there, and their ruling interests*] Having mentioned the surrender of Exeter, Barnstable, Dunstar, and St Michael's Mount in Cornwall, and the defeat of Sir Jacob Astley at Stow in the Wold, where that Baronet was taken prisoner. The Colonel observes, that during his imprisonment he was heard to say, *That now they* (the King's party) *had no hopes to prevail but by our* (the Parliament's) *divisions*. 'Which, (continues the Colonel) 'deserves the more reflection, because he being well 'acquainted with the King's secrets, was not ignorant, 'that many amongst us, who at the beginning appear-'ed most forward to engage themselves, and to invite 'others to the war against the King, finding them-'selves disappointed of those preferments which they 'expected, or out of some particular disgusts taken, 'had made conditions with the King, not only for 'their indemnity, but for places and advancements un-'der him; endeavouring by a treaty, or rather by 'treachery, to betray what had cost so much blood to 'obtain. These men, to strengthen their interest, 'applied themselves to the Presbyterian party, who 'jealous of the increase of sectaries, of which the army 'was reported chiefly to consist, readily joined with 'them. By which conjunction, most of the new elect-'ed members were either men of a neutral spirit, and 'willing to have peace upon any terms, or such, who, 'though they had engaged against the the King, yet 'finding things tending to a composition with him, re-'solved to have the benefit of it, and his favour, 'though with the guilt of the blood that had been shed 'in the war upon their heads, in not requiring satis-'faction for the same, nor endeavouring to prevent the 'like for the future; designing at the most, only to 'punish some inferior instruments, whilst the capital 'offender should not only go free, but his authority be 'still acknowledged and adored, and so the nation 'more enslaved than ever to a power, which, though 'it destroys the people by thousands, must be account-'able to none but God for so doing; whom some 'persons, as it is apparent by their usage of mankind, 'either think not to be, or not at all superior to them. 'Another sort of men there was amongst us, who hav-'ing acquired estates in the service of the Parliament, 'now adhered to the King's party for the preserving of 'what they had got; who, together with such as had 'been discharged by the reform of the army, or en-'vied their success, combined together against the 'commonwealth. This party was encouraged and 'supported upon all occasions by the Scots and the 'city of London: the first of them, though they be-'gan the war, and though their assembly of Ministers 'had declared the King guilty of the blood of thou-'sands of his best subjects, their covenant engaging 'them in the preservation of his person, so far only as 'might consist with the laws of the land, and liberty of 'the subject; yet having had many good opportuni-'ties in England, and hoping for more, supposing it 'to be in their power to awe the King to whatsoever 'they should think fit, they were contented to swallow 'that ocean of blood that had been shed, pressing the 'Parliament by their Commissioners, to conclude on 'such terms with the King, as shewed them rather ad-'vocates, than such as had been enemies to him. The 'latter having had their treasure much exhausted by 'the war, and their trade long interrupted, besides 'the influence the Scots had upon them by the means 'of their Ministers, the common-council being also 'debauched by Serjeant Glyn, and others of that par-'ty in the House of Commons; it was not to be won-'dered at, if they earnestly sollicited for a speedy de-'termination of the differences by a treaty (4).'

(4) Memoirs, p. 67.

[*D*] *Cromwell never spoke to him again on that subject, though upon another occasion he used very indecent expressions to him in the House, tending to the same purpose.*] Oliver, soon after Lord Essex's death, meeting our

down to visit the officers, where Commissary-General Ireton apprehending the Colonel and other members, at that time friends to the army, might be jealous of their proceedings, took great pains to satisfy him; desiring him to be assured of their stedfast adherence to the publick interest, and that they intended only to dispense with such things as were not material, in order to quiet the restless spirit of the cavaliers, 'till they could put themselves into a condition to serve the people effectually: but he adds, he could not approve of their practices (c). It appears clearly from our author's Memoirs, that he looked on the Agitators and their party in the army as stanch Commonwealth's men, and therefore when Cromwell, on their growing troublesome, seized twelve of them, one of which he caused to be shot dead upon the spot, delivering the rest over to the custody of the marshal; and on reporting this transaction to the Parliament, had the thanks of the House voted him for what he had done; our author distinguished himself by giving as loud a *No* as he could (d). After the Parliament had passed the vote for non-addresss to the King, and published their declaration for bringing him to a tryal, which declaration was drawn up by Colonel Nathanael Fiennes (e); Colonel Ludlow, Mr Holland, and another member, were sent down to Windsor to release Captain Reynolds and the others (called Levellers) seized as abovementioned by Cromwell; who soon after procured a meeting of divers leading men amongst the Presbyterians and Independents, both members of Parliament and Ministers, at a dinner in Westminster, under pretence of endeavouring a reconciliation between the two parties; but he found it a work too difficult for him to compose the differences between those two ecclesiastical interests; one of which, says our author, could endure no superior, the other no equal. Wherefore finding this produced no effect, he contrived another conference to be held in King-street, between those called the grandees of the House and Army, and the Commonwealth's men; the result of which we shall give in the Colonel's own words [E], he attending amongst those of the latter denomination (f). When Sir Thomas Glenham, by order of the Scots, who were now preparing to raise forces to release the King from his confinement at Carisbrook in the Isle of Wight, had seized upon Carlisle; the Parliament resolving to reinforce the militia of each county, sent several of their members into their respective countries to give life to their preparations, and amongst them the Colonel was sent into Wiltshire, where he soon brought them to agree to the raising two regiments of foot and one of horse (g). Soon after Oliver Cromwell, finding difficulties increasing in his way, took an opportunity of making his complaints, and asking the advice of our author, which he very frankly gave him, as the reader

(c) Id. p. 75.

(d) Id. p. 86.

(e) Id. p. 91.

(f) Id. p. 92.

(g) Id. p. 94.

our author in Sir Robert Cotton's garden, said to him, '*It was a miserable thing to serve a Parliament, to whom let a man be never so faithful, if one pragmatical fellow amongst them rise up and asperse him, he shall never wipe it off; whereas, when one serves under a General, he may do as much service, and yet be free from all blame and envy.* This text, with the comment that his after-actions put upon it (5), convinced Colonel Ludlow, that Cromwell intended to introduce a military government, of which he would, and could with ease, soon make himself the head; and this was much confirmed, when in a debate which came on in the House soon after this meeting, relating to the army, Cromwell whispered the Colonel in the ear, saying, *These men will never leave, 'till the army pull them out by the ears* (6). Which expression (says Colonel Ludlow) I should have resented, if the state of our affairs would have permitted (7).' These last words shew plainly, that the real commonwealth party, were but few in the House at this juncture, since not considerable enough to be courted by either of the two, Presbyterian or Independent, then struggling for the supreme authority.

(5) Id. p. 72.

(6) Id. p. 73.

(7) Id. ibid.

[E] *The result of which, we shall give in the Colonel's own words.*] 'The grandees, of whom Lieutenant-General Cromwell was the head, kept themselves in the clouds, and would not declare their judgments either for a Monarchical, Aristocratical, or Democratical government; maintaining, that any of them might be good in themselves, or for us, according as providence should direct us. The commonwealth's men, declared that monarchy was neither good in itself, nor for us. That it was not desirable in itself, they urged from the 8th chapter and the 8th verse of the first book of Samuel, with divers more texts of Scripture to the same effect. And that it was no way conducing to the interests of this nation, was endeavoured to be proved by the infinite mischiefs and oppressions we had suffered under it, and by it: that indeed our ancestors had consented to be governed by a single person, but with this proviso, that he should govern according to the direction of the law, which he always bound himself by oath to perform: that the King had broken this oath, and thereby dissolved our allegiance; protection and obedience being reciprocal: that having appealed to the sword for the decision of things in dispute, and thereby caused the effusion of a deluge of the people's blood, it seemed to be a duty incumbent upon the representatives of the people to call him to an account for the same; more especially since the controversy was determined by the same means which he had chosen; and then to proceed to the establishment of an equal commonwealth, founded upon the consent of the people, and providing for the rights and liberties of all men, that we might have the hearts and hands of the nation to support it, as being most just, and in all respects most conducing to the happiness and prosperity thereof. Notwithstanding what was said, Lieutenant-General Cromwell, not for want of conviction, but in hopes of making a better bargain with another party, professed himself unresolved, and having learned what he could of the principles and inclinations of those present at the conference, took up a cushion and flung it at my head, and then ran down the stairs; but I overtook him with another, which made him hasten down faster than he desired. The next day, passing by me in the House, he told me he was convinced of the desirableness of what was proposed, but not of the feasibleness of it; thereby, as I suppose, designing to encourage me to hope that he was willing to join with us, though unwilling to publish his opinion, lest the grandees should be informed of it, to whom I presume he professed himself to be of another judgment (8).' Colonel Ludlow here seems to insinuate, that he was the head of the commonwealth party at this meeting; and plainly evidences the King's destruction was a point concluded by both these parties, the republicans, and the grandees: and that the quarrel was no longer who should obey, but who should give the law: and here Cromwell's genius exerted itself, for by uniting the sword with the church, he was an over-match for all the three, Presbyterian, Independent, and Commonwealth men, who each endeavoured to set up for themselves singly; and as they all dreaded, so they all strove to demolish the power of the sword, by which weak measure, they drove the military force to close so much strićter with Oliver.

(8) Id. p. 92, 93.

[F] As

reader will see at the bottom of the page (*h*) [*F*]. After the defeat of the Scotch and English army under the Marquis of Hamilton and Sir Marmaduke Langdale by Cromwell, Colonel Ludlow went down to Sir Thomas Fairfax, then lying before Colchester, to perswade him to make the most of the power which the army had assumed, in order, as he said, to prevent their own and the nation's ruin; to convince him of the necessity of which, he laid before him the bad consequences of entering into a treaty with the King in such strong terms (*i*), that the army in a very short time adopted his system, and drawing nearer London (to Colnbrook) in order to favour their friends in the House, Ireton sent a message to our author, *That now he hoped they* (the army) *should please him.* 'Which (says he) I must acknowledge they did (*k*).' In the same spirit, when the House, on his Majesty's answer from Newport, voted that the King's concessions were ground for a future settlement, he and his party declared their dissatisfaction, and retired to consult how to frustrate that vote (*l*). And several officers coming to town the next day, they held a consultation together; in which, after concluding, that the measures taken by the Parliament were contrary to the trust reposed in them, it was resolved the army should endeavour to put a stop to such proceedings: and thereupon our author, with two other members and three officers, withdrew into a private room, where they agreed, as the best means to attain the end of the above resolution, 'That the army should be drawn up 'the next morning, and guards placed in Westminster-hall, the Court of Requests, and 'the lobby, that none might be permitted to pass into the House but such as had conti-'nued faithful to the publick interest.' How they proceeded in the prosecution of this most arbitrary stretch of power may be seen in the note [*G*]. The King being, in consequence of the above steps, taken off (*m*), and the House of Peers voted both useless and dangerous, their next consideration was, how to carry on the executive part of government; to do which the better, they resolved to constitute a Council of State (*n*), and impowered five members of the House of Commons, among which was our author (*o*), to agree upon the number and persons fit to be proposed to the House for their approbation. The number they pitched upon was thirty-five, four of whom were Lords; to which the House added the above five: so that the Council of State consisted of forty members. The same five, or any three of them, were constituted a committee, to receive satisfaction touching the affections of the publick interest of every member who had not sat since the tryal of the King, and to report the same, with the reasons of his absence, to the House (*p*). The Scots having received and proclaimed Charles the Second for their King, and preparing to march with him into England, to compel the people of that kingdom to acknowledge him in the same capacity, Cromwell, who was recalled from Ireland, and, on

(*h*) Id. p. 95.

(*i*) Id. p. 101.

(*k*) Ibid.

(*l*) Id. p. 104.

(*m*) Our author was one of his Judges, which he mentions in his Memoirs in such terms, as plainly shew he was far from being ashamed of the part he acted in it. Memoirs, p. 274 to 284. Vol. I. and Vol. III. p. 12, & seqq. edit. 1698, in 3 vols, 8vo.

(*n*) Memoirs, folio edit. p. 111.

(*o*) The other four were Lisle, Holland, Robinson, and Scott, all regicides.

(*p*) Id. ibid. where he observes, this was done to exclude those who were likely to undo what the House had done, and yet not to lose the assistance of many honest men, who had been in the country during the late transactions.

[*F*] *As the reader will see at the bottom of the page.*] Whilst each party was labouring to lay the foundation of their own power in the new intended government in church and state, the people, who saw much time elapsed since they had voted no more addresses should be made to the King, or any messages received from him, and yet nothing done towards bringing him to a tryal; found themselves as far from a settlement as ever, and concluded they should never have one, or any ease from their burthens and taxes without an accommodation with the King; and therefore entered into combinations in England, Scotland, and Ireland, for restoring him to his authority. 'To this end (says the Colonel) petitions were pro-'moted throughout all countries, the King, by his 'agents, fomenting and encouraging this spirit by all 'means possible, as appeared by his intercepted let-'ters: so that Lieutenant-General Cromwell, who had 'made it his usual practice to gratify enemies, even 'by the oppression of those who were by principle his 'friends, began again to court the commonwealth 'party, inviting some of them to confer with him at 'his chamber: with which acquainting me, the next 'time he came to the House of Commons, I took the 'freedom to tell him, that he knew how *to cajole and* '*give them good words when he had occasion to make* '*use of them*; whereat, breaking out into a rage, he 'said, they were a proud sort of people, and only con-'siderable in their own conceits (9). But when on 'tumults attending the petitions from Surrey, Essex, 'and Kent, the preparations in Scotland, and the 'rising at Pembroke, he perceived the clouds to gather 'on every side; he complained to me, as we were 'walking in the Palace-Yard, of the unhappiness of 'his condition, *having made the greatest part of the* '*nation his enemies, by adhering to a just cause*: but 'that which he pretended to be his greatest trouble was, '*that many who were engaged in the same cause with* '*him, had entertained a jealousy and suspicion of him*; 'which he assured me *was a great discouragement to* '*him*, asking my advice, what method was best for 'him to take. I could not but acknowledge that he 'had many enemies for the sake of the cause in which 'he stood engaged, and also that many who were 'friends to that cause, had conceived suspicions of 'him: but I observed to him, that he could never 'oblige the former, without betraying that cause 'wherein he was engaged; which if he should do, 'upon the account of an empty title, riches, or any 'other advantages, how those contracts would be kept 'with him was uncertain; but most certain it was, 'that his name would be abominated by all good men, 'and his memory abhorred by posterity. On the 'other side, if he persisted in the prosecution of our 'just intentions, it was the most probable way to sub-'due his enemies, to rectify the mistakes of those 'who had conceived a jealousy of him, and to con-'vince his friends of his integrity: that if he should 'fall in the attempt, yet his loss would be lamented 'by all good men, and his name be transmitted to fu-'ture ages with honour (10).'

(9) Id. p. 93.

(10) Id. p. 94, 95.

[*G*] *How they proceeded in the prosecution of this most arbitrary stretch of power is contained in the note.*] The Colonel tells us, with no small exultation, that, 'To this end we (himself and the other five mention-'ed in the text) went over the names of all the mem-'bers one by one, giving the truest characters we 'could of their inclinations, wherein, I presume, we 'were not mistaken in many; for the Parliament was 'fallen into such factions and divisions, that any one 'who usually attended and observed the business of the 'House, could after a debate upon any question, easily 'number the votes that would be on each side before 'the question was put. Commissary-General Ireton, 'went to Sir Thomas Fairfax, and acquainted him 'with the necessity of this extraordinary way of pro-'ceeding, having taken care to have the army drawn 'up the next morning by seven of the clock (11). 'Colonel Pride commanded the guard that attended 'the Parliament doors, having a list of those members 'that were to be excluded, preventing them from en-'tering into the House, and securing some of the most 'suspected under a guard provided for that end; in 'which he was assisted by the Lord Grey of Grooby, 'and others who knew the members.'

(11) Ibid. p. 104. N. B. This forcible exclusion of members was made on the 6th of December, 1648. Rushworth, Vol. II. p. 1353.

[*H*] Cromwell

on Sir Thomas Fairfax's refusal to march into Scotland, was made Captain-General of all the English forces, one day in the House told Colonel Ludlow, that he observed an alteration in his looks and carriage towards him, and desired a conference with him, which was consented to by our author [*H*], and in which Cromwell proposed to nominate him for Lieutenant-General of horse in Ireland, and one of the commissioners for civil affairs in that kingdom *. But the Colonel having lately married, and purchased some lands [*I*], by which he had embarrassed his affairs too much, to think of quitting England 'till they were put into some tolerable order, he would not therefore seem to understand Cromwell's hints, and even opposed the motion both in the Council of State and in the House, and sollicited Cromwell not to insist on his nomination (*q*), but in vain. Soon after this conference Oliver Cromwell marched to Scotland, from whence (after the victory at Dunbar) he sent Ludlow his commission; the Parliament also ordered a thousand pounds to be advanced to him and his brother commissioners, and directed the same sum to be paid them yearly: they also raised for him a troop of horse, consisting of a hundred men armed with back, breast, and head-pieces for defence, and pistols and musquetoons for offence, and advanced them two months pay (*r*). The Lieutenant-General being quite ready, only waited the determination of Lord Howard's case by the House (*s*), to set out upon his Irish expedition; and setting sail one Thursday morning in the beginning of January 1650, arrived at the fort of Duncannon on Friday (*t*). Immediately after landing, he went to pay his respects to the Lord-Deputy, who ordered his troop into good quarters, both to refresh them and season them to the climate; it having been observed, that the English horse were not so fit for service, 'till they had been seasoned for some time with the

* Our author owns, that in this affair he was duped by Cromwell, 'who, says he, acted his part so to the life, that I really thought him in earnest, and desired him that he would not, in compliment and humility, obstruct the service of the nation by his refusal.' Ibid. p. 122.

(*q*) Id. p. 124.

(*r*) Id. p. 128, 129.

(*s*) His Lordship, as a member of Haberdashers Hall, was charged with bribery for excusing delinquents from sequestrating; he was found guilty, expelled the House, sent to the Tower, and fined 10000 l. a proceeding greatly applauded by our author, as an instance of that just and equitable spirit which then governed. Ibid. p. 129.

(*t*) Id. p. 130.

[*H*] *Cromwell desired a conference with him, which was consented to by our author.*] While Cromwell was upon the road from Bristol, in his return from Ireland, a motion was made in the House of Commons, to settle 2500 *l.* a year upon him. This being earnestly pressed to be passed at least once or twice before his arrival at Westminster, our author, who brands the promoters of this vote with the name of sycophants, apparently, by his own account, testified his dislike of it; and loaded his assent to it with another motion, to settle 1000 *l.* a year upon Major-Gen. Skippon, which was accordingly ordered to be paid him out of the receipt at Goldsmith's-Hall (12). As this could not be unknown to Cromwell, he proposed the conference mentioned above, wherein, having taxed Colonel Ludlow with a coldness of behaviour, he added, that he apprehended the Colonel entertained some suspicions of him; and being persuaded the tendency of both their designs was to the advancement of the public service, he desired a meeting might be appointed, when they might freely discover the grounds of their mistakes and misapprehensions, and create a good understanding between them for the future; to which, the Colonel having first told him, that he was not conscious of any change, and that he had troubled him less of late, from a consciousness of the great weight of business he was charged with, assented, and it was agreed they should meet that afternoon, in the council of state: which they did, and withdrew into a private room. 'Here Cromwell (says the Colonel) endeavoured to 'persuade me of the necessity incumbent upon him, to 'do several things that appeared extraordinary in the 'judgment of some men, who in opposition to him 'took such courses as would bring ruin upon them'selves, as well as him and the public cause, affirming 'his intentions to be directed entirely to the good of 'the people, and professing his readiness to sacrifice 'his life in their service. I freely acknowledged my 'former dissatisfaction with him and the rest of the ar'my, when they were in treaty with the King, whom '(continues our author) I looked upon as the only ob'struction to the settlement of the nation; and with 'their actions at the rendezvous at Ware, where they 'shot a soldier to death, and imprisoned divers others 'upon the account of that treaty, which I conceived 'to have been done without authority, and for sinister 'ends: yet since they had manifested themselves con'vinced of those errors, and declared their adherence 'to the commonwealth; (though too partial a hand 'was carried both by the Parliament and themselves 'in distribution of preferments and gratuities, and too 'much severity exercised against some who had for'merly been their friends, and as I hoped would be 'so still, with other things that I could not entirely 'approve) I was contented patiently to wait for the 'accomplishment of those good things which I ex'pected, 'till they had overcome the difficulties they 'now laboured under, and suppressed their enemies 'that appeared both at home and abroad against them; 'hoping that then their principles and interest would 'lead them to do what was most agreeable to the con'stitution of a commonwealth, and the good of man'kind. He owned my dissatisfaction with the army, 'while they were in treaty with the King, to be found'ed upon good reasons, and excused the execution 'done upon the soldier at the rendezvous, as absolute'ly necessary to keep things from falling into confu'sion, which must have ensued upon that division, if it 'had not been timely prevented. He professed to de'sire nothing more than that the government of the 'nation might be settled in a free and equal common'wealth, acknowledging that there was no other pro'bable means to keep out the old family and govern'ment from returning upon us; declaring that he look'ed upon the design of the Lord in this day, to be 'the freeing of his people from every burden; and 'that he was now accomplishing what was prophesied 'in the 110th Psalm. From the consideration of 'which, he was often encouraged to the effecting those 'ends spending at least an hour in the exposition of that 'Psalm; adding to this, that it was his intention to 'contribute the utmost of his endeavours to make a 'thorough reformation of the Clergy and the law: but, 'said he, the sons of Zeruiah are yet too strong for 'us, and we cannot mention the reformation of the 'law, but they presently cry out, we design to destroy 'property; whereas, the law, as it is now constituted, 'serves only to maintain the lawyers, and to encourage 'the rich to oppress the poor. Affirming that Mr 'Coke, then Chief Justice in Ireland, determined 'more causes in a week, than Westminster-Hall in a 'year. Adding further, that Ireland was a clean pa'per in that particular. And hence, he at last fell 'upon the military government there, and in the most 'artful manner pressed Ludlow to take it upon him'self (13).'

(12) Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 312, 313. edit. 1698.

(13) See Cromwell's article in this work.

[*I*] *Having lately married and purchased some lands*] The lands were the manors of East-Knoel and Upton in Wiltshire, which he purchased of the commissioners appointed for the sale of dean and chapters lands; the money was raised partly by his wife's portion, and a greater sum arising from the sale of part of his patrimonial estate. His motives for making this purchase, he intimates, were to promote the sale of those lands as an advantage to the nation in general, by easing them of some part of their contributions which the publick necessities called for, and was no detriment to any of the purchasers who were heartily engaged in the publick service; since, continues he, if the tide should turn, and our enemies become prevalent, such persons were likely to have no better security for the enjoyment of their own paternal estates. To this may be added another motive, which is, *that these lands, as he tells us himself* (14), were sold at ten or twelve years purchase.

(14) Ibid. p. 122.

[K] A

the air and provisions of that country, and then entered, with the Lieutenant-General and the other commissioners from England, upon consideration of the administration of justice, pursuant to the instructions sent them from the Parliament. After this, our author went to the army, and signalized himself by his bravery in several actions, the particulars of which he has given in his Memoirs. Upon the death of Ireton, which happened November 26, 1651 *, and is much lamented by our author as a real loss to the publick at that juncture † [K], the commissioners of the Parliament immediately sent letters to all the officers of the army, which consisted of upwards of two and twenty thousand foot, and between seven and eight thousand horse and dragoons, to yield obedience to our Lieutenant-General; who, on the commissioners promising to assist him, took upon himself the chief command (u), 'till it should be otherwise determined by the House. He continued still to act with the utmost vigour in the reduction of this kingdom as long as he held this command. In the mean time, he constantly expressed a jealousy of Cromwell's ambitious views [L]; and the following year, Lieutenant-General Fleetwood was appointed in his room [M], as well to prepare the way for Cromwell's intended change, as to lessen our author's

* He died of the plague at Limerick soon after he had taken it. Gesta Britannorum, p. 466.

† As he was the main pillar of the republican party, Ludlow pays no unsparing tribute to his memory. See below.

(u) Memoirs, p. 150.

[K] *A publick loss.*] The plague raging at Limerick when he lay before it, several of the inhabitants fled from the infection into the camp. Two or three of these he ordered to be hanged, and the rest whipped back into the town. Among the last was an old man, whose daughter was destined to die. The father begged to change lots with his child, but was refused. This cruel act Ludlow calls a piece of military justice; and, as a further proof of Ireton's impartiality, produces his suspension of Axtel (15). 'Though, says 'he, it was not clear that Axtel had promised the 'prisoners their lives; yet, because it appeared that 'some of the soldiers had thrown out expressions 'tending that way to the enemy, the Deputy was 'so great a friend to justice, even where an enemy 'was concerned, that though Colonel Axtel was a 'person extraordinarily qualified for the service of 'that conjuncture, he suspended him from his em- 'ployment (16).' He tells us also, that the Deputy was wholly disinterested in his views, and only actuated by a true publick spirit; for when the Parliament sent him word that they had ordered an act to settle two thousand pounds a year upon him, it was so unacceptable to him, that he said, *They had many just debts which he desired they would pay, before they made any such presents; that he had no need of their land, and therefore would not have it; and that he should be more contented to see them doing the service of the nation, than so liberal in disposing of the publick treasure.* 'And truly, says the Lieutenant-General, I believe he 'was in earnest; for as he was always careful to hus- 'band those things that belonged to the state to the 'best advantage, so was he most liberal in employing 'his own purse and person in the public service (17).' Our author also assures us, the Deputy was most indefatigably assiduous in his post, for mentioning his visit to the garrison of Shillalo, he tells us, 'That having passed 'all places of danger, he left his guard to refresh them- 'selves, but he himself rode so hard, as to spoil many 'horses;' but, adds he, 'He was so diligent in the 'publick service, and so careless of every thing that 'belonged to himself, that he never regarded what 'cloaths or food he used, or what horse he mount- 'ed (18).' Nay, Ludlow attributes the Deputy's death to this spirit of assiduity; for having been to reconnoitre proper places to establish garrisons in, for preventing provisions being sent into Galway, then besieged by Sir Charles Coote, and the weather being very severe, 'he took, says my author, a very great 'cold, that discovered itself immediately upon his 'return; but, we could not persuade him to go 'to bed, 'till he had determined a cause that was 'before him and the court-martial, touching an offi- 'cer of the army, who was accused of some violence 'done to the Irish; and as in all cases *he carried him- 'self with the utmost impartiality*, so he did in this, 'dismissing the officer, though otherwise a useful man, 'from his command for the same.' Two days after, the Deputy insisted on Lieutenant-General Ludlow's going to good quarters to take care of his health for a day or two, with which he complied, and on his return to Limerick, found the Deputy in a high fever, though he had been blooded; 'Yet for all this, (says 'he) he continued to apply himself to the pulick busi- 'ness, settling garrisons, and distributing winter-quar- 'ters, which was all that remained to be done of the 'military service for that year. I endeavoured (con- 'tinues our author) to persuade him, as I had often 'done before, that his immoderate labours for his 'country, would much impair, if not utterly destroy 'him; but he had so totally neglected himself during 'the siege of Limerick, not pulling off his cloaths all 'that time, except to change his linnen, that his bo- 'dy was rendered more liable to receive the contagi- 'on. I was unwilling to leave him 'till I saw the 'event of his distemper; but he supposing my family 'was by this time come to Dublin, would not permit 'me to stay, and I finding I could in no way be service- 'able to him, submitted to his desires. Soon after 'my arrival, the sad news of his death was brought 'to us, which was universally lamented by all good 'good men, more especially because the publick was 'thereby deprived of a most faithful, able, and use- 'ful servant (19).' Archdeacon Echard, though he partly admits our author's character of the Deputy, yet justly stigmatizes him for his sanguinary temper, and his remorseless and cynical behaviour (20).

(15) That Colonel was charged with putting some prisoners to death contrary to his promise, which promise, however, he denied.

(16) Ludlow, p. 131.

(17) Id. p. 143.

(18) Id. p. 139.

(19) Id. p. 146, 147.

(20) Echard's History, Vol. II. B. iii. c. 1. p. 693. edit. 1720.

[L] *He expressed a jealousy of Cromwell's ambitious views.*] The Parliament in England having incorporated Scotland, Cromwell got an act of indemnity or general amnesty (except to thirty-eight persons therein named) to be passed, for which Lieutenant-General Ludlow inveighs much against him, saying, it was calculated *to fortify himself by the addition of new friends, for the carrying on of his designs, and that thereby many persons escaped the punishment due to their misdemeanors; and the commonwealth was defrauded of great sums of money* *.

* Memoirs, p. 154.

[M] *Lieutenant General Fleetwood was appointed in his room.*] Our author tells us (21), that Mr Weaver, one of the commissioners for Ireland, being over here, and in the House during this debate, was very instrumental in the opposing any person's being sent to Ireland with the title of Lord-Deputy, which Cromwell had insisted was absolutely necessary, to keep the people in due subordination, particularly the army, which he insisted would not be satisfied unless their chief went over so qualified; but *Mr Weaver assured them, that, upon his knowledge, all the sober people of Ireland, and the whole army there, except a few factious persons, were not only well satisfied with the present government both civil and military of that nation, but also with the governors who managed the same;* he therefore moved that they would make no alteration in either, but renew the commissions of those already there for a longer time. 'This discourse of Mr Weaver (says 'our author) tending to persuade the Parliament to 'continue me in the military command, increased the 'jealousy which General Cromwell had conceived of 'me, that I might prove an obstruction to the de- 'sign he was carrying on to advance himself by the 'ruin of the commonwealth. And therefore, since 'Major-General Lambert refused to go over with any 'character less than that of Deputy, he resolved by 'any means to place Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, 'at the head of affairs in Ireland. By which conduct 'he procured two great advantages to himself, there- 'by putting the army in Ireland into the hands of a 'person secured to his interest by the marriage of his 'daughter; and drawing Major-General Lambert in- 'to an enmity towards the Parliament, prepared him 'to join with him in opposition to them, when he 'should find it convenient to put his design in execu- 'tion (22).'

(21) Id. p. 159.

(22) Id. p. 159, 160.

[N] The

author's power, of whose opposition to his designs the usurper was very jealous (*w*). But while these things were transacting in England, Ludlow was very active in suppressing those Irish, who still continued in arms; and was thus employed in the county of Fermanagh, when he received advice, that Fleetwood having landed at Waterford, was gone to Kilkenny; thither he hastened to attend him with the rest of the commissioners, who for that purpose set out from Dublin (*x*); to which city Ludlow returned with them, after he had saluted the commander in chief, and assured him he was resolved to obey his orders, and he was soon followed by Fleetwood and his family (*y*). The war in Ireland being now ended, a commission was issued out by the commander in chief, for the tryals of those who had, in the first year of the rebellion, or at any time since, murthered any of the English; which being done, the commissioners next entered into methods for satisfying the arrears of the army, and settling the adventurers in the forfeited lands, in order to repeople and improve the country, which the war had almost made desolate; the method they took did not entirely satisfy Ludlow, who censures their conduct as not sufficiently impartial. They also disbanded 5000 horse and foot, and reduced the pay of the general and other officers; which reduction, he says, fell heavier upon him than on others, as his expences were obliged to be higher, in respect of his post of Lieutenant-General of the horse, than the rest of the commissioners; so that he spent upwards of 4500 pounds in the four years of his service there, out of his own proper estate, over and above all his pay (*z*). His arrears, together with those of his regiment, were allotted to be satisfied out of lands in the county of Wexford, where he ordered some of his officers to act for him; and he received 100 pounds the first year, and 200 pounds for the second, and he says it was reported to be capable of further improvements; but as he never saw it, none was made whilst in his possession. These affairs were settling in Ireland, whilst Oliver was paving his way, by dissolving the Long Parliament and cajoling the Council of Officers, in order to play the supreme power into his own hands; which, considering the variety and multiplicity of obstacles, he effectuated in an exceeding short period. The news of the change reaching Ireland soon after his dissolving the Long Parliament, those who were of the republican party flattered themselves, that, whatever might be the practices, principles, or pretences, of him and his party, yet that there were too many on the other side; and that the Commonwealth's men would by their steadiness convince them, how very foolish it would be for any one to set up for himself: they therefore continued still to act in their places and respective stations as before (*a*). But when Cromwell had again dissolved that shadow of a representative of the nation, which, though by many stiled a Parliament, our author would never call more than a convention, and had taken upon himself the title and office of Protector, Ludlow resolved, to the utmost of his power, to oppose what he esteemed so flagrant an usurpation on the liberties of the people, or at least not to do any thing that might contribute to the strengthening of it (*b*); and therefore used his utmost endeavours to prevent Cromwell's being proclaimed in Ireland; but without success (*c*). Hereupon, he refused to act any longer in a civil capacity, as a commissioner of the Parliament; yet having received his military commission of Lieutenant-General of the Horse from the Parliament, he resolved to keep it as long as he could, and to act under it, in order to obtain those ends, *the principal of which*, says he, *were to bring those to justice, who had been guilty of the blood of many thousands of English Protestants (d)*, and to restore to the remaining English the lands which the Irish had dispossed them of. Henry Cromwell being soon after sent by his father to Ireland (*e*), Ludlow received and entertained him at his house (which was near the sea-side where he landed), and also invited him to make use of it on his going back to England. This being accepted, our author entered into a friendly conversation with him on the great revolution, which, though it so highly concerned the nation, had been clandestinely carried on, and huddled up by two or three persons (*f*). Not long after the return of Henry Cromwell to England, there appeared much disaffection in the army, some of whom signed a petition to the Protector; three hundred copies of which, together with another writing called *the Memento*, were sent in a box directed to Ludlow in Ireland, accompanied with a short unsubscribed letter. These, on perusal, appeared to him to contain proper motives to excite people to endeavour at rescuing themselves from the oppressions they laboured under; and accordingly he dispersed as many as he could, in which Captain Walcot, one of his officers, was very assisting to him; Lieutenant-Colonel Brayfield and Major Davis were also acquainted with this design, to the latter of whom, who was then at Dublin, but whose usual residence was in Connaught, he sent some of the papers, that they might be dispersed in that province by his means: but he acquainting Roberts with it, this last informed Fleetwood of the affair, who, after examining Brayfield and Davis thereupon, dispatched a messenger to Moncktown to enquire into the truth. The Deputy * sent for our author, and, after some conference about the papers, told him he had received an order from Cromwell some months ago, signifying that, as he had declared himself dissatisfied with the present government, he, the Deputy, should take care that his charge in the army might be managed some other way; adding that he had hitherto concealed it, but could not any longer, lest he should be accounted his confederate in the distribution of those papers (*g*). Our author's answer, and the effects of this meeting,

(*w*) Ibid. p. 159.

(*x*) Id. p. 164.

(*y*) Id. p. 167.

(*z*) Id. p. 177.

(*a*) Id. p. 175.

(*b*) Ibid. p. 183.

(*c*) He found means to hinder it for a fortnight, and then it was carried by a majority of one vote only, that of Quarter-Master-General Roberts, who came in while the vote was passing. He went only once after this to Cork-house, where the commissioners met at the request of Fleetwood, to give his advice in some things that absolutely concerned the peace of Ireland. Ibid. p. 184, 185.

(*d*) Id. p. 185.

(*e*) Our author says, he was sent to feel the pulse of the officers there, upon the design of his coming over to command in that nation, and that he arrived now with one servant only. Ibid. p. 182.

(*f*) Id. ibid.

* Fleetwood had lately received from Cromwell a new commission under this title.

(*g*) Id. p. 198, 199.

meeting, may be seen in the note [N]. After having refused all expedients proposed for an amicable conciliation of matters, the Deputy sent our author word, that he might make his option, whether he would be confined in Ireland or go to London, which, if he would give his word to appear before Cromwell, and not act any thing against him in the mean time, he should be at liberty to do; upon which he chose the latter, but was desired to defer his journey for a couple of months, under pretence, that matters not being quite easy in England, Cromwell might be reduced on his arrival to treat him with more severity than he would chuse; ordering him, at the same time, a sum of money for his support during his stay, and also to defray the expences of his voyage. But, before the expiration of the two months, Henry Cromwell arrived in Ireland to take the government upon him, and our author's departure was deferred from time to time, 'till having, by the intercession of his wife, obtained a promise from that governour, that, though he would not grant a warrant for her husband to go, yet neither would he order him to stay, though he thought this last would be best for him, he determined at all events to set off, which he accordingly did, accompanied to the shore by near two hundred people, and embarked (having left a letter for Colonel Cromwell to be delivered the next day about noon) between two and three o'clock, and the next day at noon arrived in Beaumaris harbour (b). The Governor met him at his landing the next day, and furnished horses to carry himself and family to the town; and after dinner informed him, in the civilest manner he could, that one Captain Shaw was arrived from Ireland, with an order from Colonel Cromwell, and the rest of the council there, for the detention of him 'till the Protector's pleasure was known; at the same time introducing Shaw, and producing the order signed by Colonel Cromwell, Corbet, and two others. In the evening he was conveyed to a widow's house in the town, where a guard was set over him, a centinel being placed at the stair-head. Here he remained six weeks, and had once a very narrow escape from being sent to the castle, in consequence of a fresh order from Whitehall [O]; but at last Captain Shaw brought

(b) Id. p. 206.

[N] *The effects of this meeting may be seen in the note.*] The Deputy having made the above declaration, Lieutenant-General Ludlow replied, 'That if his life as well as his employment lay at stake, he durst not have omitted what he thought to be his duty: that having no power to dispute their pleasure, he should at that present look upon it to be a law, to which he must submit.' He was however permitted to return to his house. 'Some time after, says he, Mr Benjamin Worseley was 'sent to acquaint me, that Lieutenant-General Fleet-'wood had been in expectation of hearing from me, 'touching my submission to the order he shewed me, 'either by letter, or the surrender of my commission. 'I answered, that I thought neither of them neces-'sary; and hoped, that my retirement into my own 'country, which I suddenly designed, might be suffi-'cient. But it was determined I should not so easily 'quit the public stage. For next morning I was de-'sired to attend the Lieutenant-General, which ac-'cordingly I did, and found eight or ten of his advisers 'with him. The design of their meeting was to per-'suade me either to deliver up my commission, or to 'engage under my hand, not to act by virtue of it, ''till I should first receive commission so to do from 'Cromwell, or from Fleetwood. To the first I an-'swered, that I durst not deliver up my commission to 'any other power save that of the Parliament, who 'had intrusted me with it; and that it was all I 'had to justify me for doing many things wherein the 'lives of men had been concerned. To the second, 'I could by no means consent, because I could not 'tie my own hands from acting by virtue of it, when 'I should be justly called upon so to do. Being re-'turned to my house, doubtful what the event of this 'contest might be, and desirous to have good advice 'before I proceeded any farther, I sent to four or five 'officers of whose integrity I had a good opinion, to 'ask their judgment in the case. The result of our 'conference was, that I should, in a letter to Fleet-'wood, state the justice of my call to the employ-'ment whereof I was possessed, and the conditions on 'which I received my commission, being particularly 'sollicited to it by Cromwell himself, when he ap-'peared in the shape of a commonwealth's man; the 'authority that gave me my commission; the present 'defection from that authority and common cause, 'which Cromwell, as well as I, had engaged to main-'tain; the duty incumbent upon me to disperse the 'said books, because the substance of my dissatisfac-'tions were contained in them; withal to declare 'what I would be satisfied with, if it might be attain-'ed; and if that could not be, how far I thought my-'self obliged to submit (23).' This was done pursuant to the advice, but all the return was, that Cromwell had sent a new order for him either to deliver up his commission or to be secured. Fleetwood sent this order to our author by Miles Corbet, who laboured to induce him to comply, but received an answer in writing to carry back to the Deputy, intimating that the commission was of no more danger in his own hands, than if cancelled at the head of the army; but having received it from the Parliament, to act as their officer in the execution of justice on the murderers and oppressors of the English Protestants, he was not willing by a voluntary submission to own the justice of the present order for depriving him of it. Adding, that if he had even received it immediately from the General himself, he should not be willing to part with it for his pleasure in that conjuncture; since that could be nothing less than betraying that cause, which he, in conjunction with the army, had contended for: especially, if he, who had been honoured with an employment in a war, raised for the defence of liberty against the arbitrary power of a single person, should voluntarily submit to what was proposed. *For since the whole authority in the three nations was assumed by the army, if I, says he, should acknowledge the entire disposal of all things relating to that army to reside in the General, what would this be, but to declare my consent to give up the power of the Parliament, army, and nation, into his hands* (24)? However, in order to avoid extremities, he offered, that if they would call a council of the officers who were about Dublin; and they, upon a full debate of the matter, should be of opinion it was his duty, he would submit as to the higher powers, he having none to appeal to from them then, but God: but this was not approved.

(23) Id. p. 199.

(24) Id. p. 200.

[O] *From being sent to the castle, in consequence of a fresh order from Whitehall*] The order was to this effect. *That whereas Lieutenant-General Ludlow was stolen out of Ireland, the Governor of Beaumaris should take care to keep him in strict and safe custody, and not permit any to speak with him* (25). On the receipt of this, 'The Governor (says our author) resolving to 'make his fortune by any means, proposed to impri-'son me in the castle, the air of which place is so un-'healthy, that the soldiers dare not lodge there; and 'it is observed, that few prisoners who have been con-'fined there, have ever recovered from the distem-'pers they contracted. I told him, that being in his 'power, I could not resist; but the warrant requi-'ring no such thing, a time might come to call him 'to account for what he now did. Whereupon he 'thought fit to let me remain at my lodgings, but 'permitted no man to come to me except my own ser-'vants, and of those, not above two (26).' On Captain Shaw's arrival with the engagement, some persons advised the signing it, either with a reserve of

(25) Id. p. 207.

(26) Id. p. 208.

brought an order for his discharge, provided he signed an engagement sent ready drawn from London, never to act against the government then established. This he absolutely refused to sign, unless under certain explanations, which at last the Governor agreed to accept; and he was thereupon discharged, and set forwards for London, where he arrived the tenth of December 1655. On Wednesday the twelfth (having waited on Fleetwood the night of his arrival) (i) he received a message from Cromwell to attend him at Whitehall, whither he went about eight in the evening, and found the Protector in his chamber with Lambert, Colonel Sydenham, Mr Walter Strickland, and Colonel Montague; and soon after, Fleetwood coming in, there ensued a long discourse, which, as it clearly shews the difference between Cromwell and our author, is inserted below [P]. This

(i) Id. p. 210. Fleetwood had left Ireland upon Henry Cromwell's appointment to govern there.

of the explanations, or a protest as done in duress; to both which our author replied, *he thought it below a man to be compelled to any act against his conscience, with an intention to violate the same; and as to reserving any explanations to himself, as it was against his principles, so it was contrary to his practice:* and when Colonel John Jones, and Colonel Sadler came to let him know the Governor was willing to discharge him on signing it after his own way; he desired the Governor not to do any thing out of respect to him, that might not consist with the duty of his place, or prove to be to his prejudice, his explanation being in his opinion, an absolute repeal of the engagement, as soon as he had rendered himself above. The Governor replying he had considered it, and was willing to accept it signed on his own terms, the Lieutenant-General drew up his explanation in the following words. 'I look upon this engagement now tendered to me for 'my subscription by the Governor of Beaumaris, by 'order from &c. to be no longer of any force than 'till 'I have rendered myself a prisoner at Whitehall, and 'in that sense only I subscribe it (27).' And having made two copies of it, each attested by Jones and Sadler, he delivered one signed to the Governor, with the engagement, and kept the other himself. If the arguments used on both sides during this struggle between Cromwell and our author, are examined with ever so little attention, it will be found that each party, rather impeached, than justified their past conduct, with respect to King Charles and his adherents; since both the Oliverians and Ludlow agree, it was right for any one to act under what he thought a lawful authority; and it would be too great a breach of charity to imagine all who drew their swords in behalf of the King and the Church, when the avowed design of their adversaries was the destruction of both, fought only for mercenary views, against the dictates of their conscience. That many were actuated by a thirst after power, and a desire of revenge, may readily be granted; but then it will take in nearly the same number on both sides, with Oliver Cromwell at the head of one; but this does not seem to be our author's case, either in the beginning, during the progress, or after the conclusion of the war: he appears always inflexibly the same, animated by the love, and steady in the pursuit of what he thought conducive to the liberty of mankind; fixed in his principles, and unreserved in his sentiments; and however he might be mistaken, acting with great integrity, as will be shewn very strongly in the next note.

(27) Id. p. 209.

[P] *Which, as it clearly shews the difference between them, is inserted below.*] 'The first salute I received 'from him [Cromwell] says our author, was to tell 'me, that I had not dealt fairly with him, in making 'him to believe I had signed an engagement not to act 'against him, and yet reserving an explanation, 'whereby I made void that engagement; which if it 'had not been made known to him, he might have 'relied upon my promise, and so have been engaged 'in blood before he was aware. I told him, I knew 'not why he should look on me to be so considerable; neither could I apprehend how it could have 'been possible for me to deal more fairly and openly 'with him than I had done: for I had told his Governor at Beaumaris, that if my life as well as my liberty had been at stake, I could not sign the engagement simply, and therefore had resolved to continue 'there, had not the Governor himself expressed a desire to accept of my subscription with that explanation. And because I accounted it to be in effect a 'repeal of that engagement, I had told him so, and 'desired him to do nothing out of respect to me, that 'consisted not with his duty; notwithstanding which, 'the Governor told me he was free to accept my subscription, so that I knew not but that he might have 'received instructions so to do. No, said Cromwell, 'he had none from me. That was more, said I, 'than I knew; and if you had not notice as well of 'the one as the other, it was not my fault, for I had 'acquainted you with neither; and those who informed you of the one, I presumed had made you acquainted with the other also. He then objected to 'to me, that I was stolen from Ireland without leave: 'to which I made answer, that though I knew no 'cause why I should be detained in Ireland, or obliged to ask leave to depart; yet to avoid all pretence 'of exception against me, I had taken care even to 'procure that too, as far as it was possible, having a 'passport for England from Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, the chief officer of Ireland, with the advice 'of Mr Corbet, one of his council, for my coming, 'and his son Harry's promise not to obstruct me in 'my journey. He next asked me, wherefore I would 'not engage not to act against the present government, telling me, *that if Nero were in power, it would be my duty to submit.* To which I replied, 'that I was ready to submit; and could truly say, 'that I knew not of any design against him. But, 'said I, if providence should open a way, and give 'an opportunity of appearing in behalf of the people, 'I cannot consent to tie my own hands beforehand, 'and oblige myself not to lay hold of it. However, 'said he, it is not reasonable to suffer one that I distrust to come within my house, 'till he assure me he 'will do me no mischief. I told him I was not accustomed to go to any house unless I expected to be 'welcome; neither had I come hither but upon a 'message from him, and that I desired nothing but a 'little liberty to breathe in the air, to which I conceived I had an equal right with other men. He then 'fell bitterly to inveigh against Major Wildman, as 'the author of the petition from the army———— 'reviling him with unhandsome language, and saying he deserved to be hanged; and that he must 'secure me also, if I would not oblige myself never 'to act against him. I told him I had gone as far as 'I could in that engagement which I had given to 'Lieutenant-General Fleetwood; and if that were not 'thought sufficient, I resolved with God's assistance 'to suffer any extremities that might be imposed upon 'me. Yes, said he, we know your resolution well 'enough, and we have cause to be as stout as you; 'but, I pray, who spoke of your suffering? Sir, said 'I, if I am not deceived, you mentioned the securing 'my person. Yea, said he, and great reason there is 'why we should do so; for I am ashamed to see that 'engagement you have given to the Lieutenant General, which would be more fit for a General that 'should be taken prisoner, and that hath yet an army 'of thirty thousand men in the field, than for one in 'your condition. I answered, that it was as much as 'I could consent to give, and what Lieutenant-General Fleetwood thought fit to accept. Then beginning to carry himself more calmly, he said, that he 'had been always ready to do me what good offices he 'could, and that he wished me as well as he did any one 'of his council, desiring me to make choice of some 'place to be in where I might have good air. I assured him, that my dissatisfactions were not grounded 'upon any animosity against his person; and that if 'my own father were alive, and in his place, I doubted 'not but that they would be altogether as great. *He 'acknowledged, that I had always carried myself fairly and openly to him,* and protested that he had 'never given me just cause to act otherwise. When 'Cromwell had finished his discourse, some of those 'who were present began to make their observations, 'and in particular Colonel Mountague thought it 'worthy

This conversation being over, he was desired to withdraw into the next room, where Fleetwood soon came to him, and laboured hard to bring him to enter into an engagement though but for a week; to which he replied, he would not willingly do it for an hour: Fleetwood would then have had him engage himself afresh to him, but this he also refused, saying, he had already gone as far as he possibly could, looking upon himself to be sufficiently obliged, by the conditions of his present engagement, and having so said, returned to his lodging. Soon after this, he endeavoured to draw Major-General Harrison, and the famous Hugh Peters over to his opinion. So that the Protector finding it necessary to call another Parliament, and being very apprehensive a majority, in spite of all his care, might be returned of those who were against him and his schemes, resolved at all events to hinder Ludlow from either standing himself, or in any way intermeddling in the election: and to that end summoned him (together with Bradshaw, Sir Henry Vane, and Colonel Rich) to appear before the Council at Whitehall. Here he was again charged with dispersing treasonable papers in Ireland, and endeavouring to corrupt the officers of the army by discoursing about a new government, and with encouraging a clandestine correspondence carrying on by his party with Spain; and requested to give security in the sum of five thousand pounds, that he would not act against Cromwell: which unless he did he was threatened to be secured. He owned and justified the dispersing of the papers, said he did not know it was criminal to debate about the several forms of government, refused to give security, and said he was very ready to submit to a legal tryal, if he had done any thing amiss, only desiring to enjoy what he and all had fought for, a free government by consent; that it was from the duty he owed the publick he refused to give the security required, conceiving it to be against the liberty of the people, and contrary to the known law of England; in proof of which he produced the act of the 16th and 17th of Charles the First, for preventing the Council-table from imprisoning any of the free-born people of England, asserting, that for his part he durst not do any act tending to the violation of it. Cromwell asked, if the Council of State and Army had not committed many; to which he replied, the Council of State had the authority of Parliament, and the Army did it only in time of war, and in both cases to secure persons that they might be brought to a legal tryal. To this Cromwell returned with some warmth, 'A Justice 'of Peace may commit, and shall not I?' *He is a legal officer*, answered our author, *and authorized by the law to do so, which you could not be though you were King*; *because if you do wrong, there is no remedy can be had against you* (*k*). He desired, therefore, to be referred to a Justice of the Peace, if he had offended against the law, that he might be proceeded with according to law. Upon this he was ordered to withdraw into an adjoining room, and presently after received permission to return to his lodging, whither, in less than a quarter of an hour, he was followed by Mr Strickland, one of the Council, who pressed him earnestly to comply; but he told him, 'That having contended for the liberty of 'others, he was not willing to give away his own, and be made a precedent to the pre-'judice of his countrymen.' A messenger from the Board serving him with an order to give in the security within three days, on pain of being taken into custody, put an end to their conversation, and he not obeying the order, Serjeant Dendy, a day or two after, brought a warrant signed by Henry Lawrence, the President, to apprehend him. Some of his relations discoursed with the Serjeant *, who thereupon left him in his own lodgings; and Cromwell, the next day, meeting his brother Thomas Ludlow, proposed his engaging for the Lieutenant-General, which was agreed to very readily by the brother, but without our author's consent. However, after this he went into Essex, where he spent the remaining part of the summer, which, he says, fully answered the Protector's intention to prevent him from going down into Wiltshire during the elections in 1657; and, indeed, he had no inclination thereto, though he was nominated for Knight of the Shire by many of his friends. Our author staid in Essex 'till Oliver was seized with his last sicknefs, when, coming to town, Fleetwood was directed to enquire the reason of his coming at that critical season; to whom he gave satisfaction on that head, the chief motive of his journey being to fetch his mother and his father-in-law into the country, that the family might be altogether. Upon Oliver's death, which happened two days after, his

(*k*) Id. p. 218.

* Id. p. 219.

' worthy his notice, that I had intimated, *If Providence 'should offer an occasion, I was ready to act against the 'present Government*; but the rest of the company ' seemed ashamed of what he said. Major-General ' Lambert then desired to know from me, why I could ' not own this as a lawful government? Because, said ' I, it seems to me to be in substance a re-establish-' ment of that which we all engaged against, and had ' with great expence of blood and treasure abolished. ' What then, said he, would you account a sufficient ' warrant to act against the present authority? I an-' swered, when I might rationally hope to be support-' ed by an authority equal or superior to this, and ' could be persuaded that the said authority would em-' ploy it's power for the good of mankind. But who ' shall be judge of that, said he? for all are ready to ' say they do so, and we ourselves think we use the ' best of our endeavours to that end. I replied, that ' if they did so their crime was the less, because every ' man stands obliged to govern himself by the light of ' his own reason, which rule, with the assistance of ' God, I was determined to observe. Colonel Syden-' ham said, we might be mistaken in judging that to ' be a power giving us a just and rational call to ' act, which may not be so. I told him, that we ' ought to be very careful and circumspect in that par-' ticular, and at least be assured of very probable ' grounds to believe the power under which we enga-' ged, sufficiently able able to protect us in our under-' taking; otherwise, I should account myself not on-' ly guilty of my own blood, but also, in some mea-' sure, of the ruin and destruction of all those that I ' should induce to engage with me, though the cause ' were never so just (28).'

(28) Id. p. 110, 111, 112.

his son Richard being declared Protector, a new Parliament was called, wherein several of the republican party being returned, to prevent their doing any mischief an oath was required from every member, that he would not act or contrive any thing against the Protector, which Ludlow scrupling to take, refrained for some time from going to the House, 'till Sir Walter St John (one of those appointed to administer that oath) introducing him, he was admitted without taking it. He had sat but little above a week, when he was complained of, and a motion made and seconded, that the oath might be peremptorily required; on which a debate arose, which, after lasting two or three hours, was put a stop to by an accidental discovery of a person's sitting there who was no member, and who, upon examination, proved to be disordered in his senses (*l*); this put an end to all further enquiry about the oath. And now those of the republican interest exerted their utmost endeavours to obstruct the measures of the Court, but without success, 'till they joined with the party of Wallingford-house, that is the Army †; by which means the Long Parliament, called the Rump Parliament, was restored, and our author, who had been very active in obtaining this revolution, took, with the rest, possession of his seat again (*m*). The same day they appointed him one of the Committee of Safety, which consisted of seven members of Parliament, and one other who was not so; which committee were empowered to sit eight days, the House intending in that time to constitute a Council of State (*n*). Soon after they offered our author a regiment, which he accepted at the perswasion of Sir Arthur Haslerig (*o*); and, in a little time, they named him to be one of the Council of State, every member of which was to swear, he would *be true and faithful to the Commonwealth, in opposition to Charles Stuart, or any single person* (*p*). Notwithstanding the House had appointed Fleetwood, Lambert, Desborough, and other officers of the army, to be of the Council of State, the Wallingford-house party were far from being satisfied; wherefore, to prevent any ill consequences, and hinder the sword as far as they could from re-assuming the power, a bill was brought in for constituting Fleetwood, Sir Arthur Haslerig, Lambert, Desborough, Berry, and Ludlow, commissioners for naming and approving officers: and another, for making Fleetwood commander in chief during that session, or 'till the House should make further order therein. In which bill it was ordered, that, for the future, the Speaker, and not the Lieutenant-General, should sign the commissions of such officers as should be appointed by Parliament, and deliver them with his own hands from the chair; and, at the same time that these two bills were passed, the House passed a vote, that the Parliament should be dissolved the May following. But this vote was not sufficient to please the officers, who were so highly disgusted at the two bills, that our author and others of his party were obliged to give them a meeting at Colonel Desborough's to soften the affair: and though every thing was urged on behalf of the Parliament, that the Lieutenant-General and his friend Sir Arthur could think of, yet the officers would not consent to receive new commissions according as the bill directed, until Colonel Hacker and our author, by leading the way with their regiments, rendered the rest more tractable. The Wallingford-house party finding by this, that Ludlow was an obstacle to their design of governing arbitrarily by the sword, recommended him to the House for the post of commander in chief of the forces in Ireland; which, with some reluctance, and after obtaining an order, that, when he had settled affairs in that kingdom, he should be at liberty to return to England, he accepted. Soon after which, Henry Cromwell, pursuant to an order of the House, returned from Ireland, and desired the Lieutenant-General to be at the Council of State when he attended them; but our author could not, being employed in preventing the sale of Hampton-court, for which he was much blamed by some of his party. The time for his departure for Ireland drawing near, he received from the Speaker four commissions; the first appointing him Commander in Chief; the second, Colonel of a Regiment of Horse; the third gave him the command of a regiment of Foot; and, by the fourth, he was again constituted Lieutenant-General of the Horse: in which last a clause was inserted, not in any of the others, that he should not only obey such orders as he might receive from the Parliament and the Council of State, but also those of the Commissioners for Ireland. *This* (says he) *I was so far from disliking, that I procured another order to be made, that the pay of the army should be issued out by the Commissioners, and that no money, except only for contingencies, should be issued out by the Commander in Chief* (*q*). On the road to Chester he received information of Sir George Booth's insurrection, which he immediately dispatched advice of to the House; and embarking at Holy-head, arrived safe in Dublin in August 1659. Immediately on his arrival at Dublin, he dispatched 100 men to reinforce the garrisons about Chester, and soon after sent, pursuant to an order from Fleetwood, a thousand foot and five hundred horse, under the command of Colonel Zanchey, to assist in quelling Sir George Booth and his party (*r*). In September 1659, he received a petition from England, drawn up and signed by the forces under Lambert at Derby, greatly complaining of the conduct of the Parliament, requesting the government to be settled by a representative and select senate, demanding that Fleetwood's commission might be unlimited as to time, and that Lambert might be appointed Major-General, Desborough Lieutenant-General of the Horse, and Monk Major-General of the Foot, insisting that no officer should be dismissed from his command but by a court-martial; copies of which petition were sent to Ireland by Zanchey, who commanded the Irish brigade, with letters to communicate them to the officers there, and obtain their concurrence. This alarmed Lieutenant-General Ludlow greatly;

(*l*) Id. p. 237.

† Ibid. p. 243. Our author observes, that the House was divided into three parties, the Republicans, the Wallingford-house or Army, and the Court party.

(*m*) Viz. May 7, 1659. Gesta Britannorum, p. 481.

(*n*) Ludlow, p. 248.

(*o*) Id. p. 249.

(*p*) Id. p. 250. The Council was to consist of thirty-one; one and twenty members of Parliament, and ten officers and others who were not so.

(*q*) Id. ibid.

(*r*) Id. p. 264. This corps of 1500 horse were called the Irish brigade.

greatly; wherefore, to prevent the ill effects it might produce, he summoned all the officers who lay near Dublin, at which assembly he managed matters so well, that he brought them unanimously to declare their dislike of the petition, and to agree to have a declaration drawn up to that effect, and to declare their resolution of adhering closely to the Parliament, of which our author gave immediate notice to Sir Arthur Haslerig. At the same time he began to think of returning home; in order to which, having nominated Colonel John Jones and Sir Hardress Waller to command during his absence, as soon as he received Fleetwood's approbation thereof, he set out for England. On his arrival at Beaumaris he received an account from the Governor, that the Army had turned the Parliament out of the House, and again resumed the power into their own hands. This *astonishing news* made him hesitate, whether he should return to Ireland, or pursue his journey to London; but after weighing circumstances carefully, and considering on one hand, that he had taken all the care he possibly could to settle things on a good footing there; and that, on the other hand, he might, perhaps, contribute towards a reconciliation, between the Parliament and Army, he determined for the latter, and accordingly set forwards. At Conway he was met by Colonel Barrow, who had been dispatched from the Council of Officers at London, to acquaint those in Ireland with the alteration of affairs; and having read the letters he brought, our author delivered those for the officers in Ireland to him again, and continued his journey to Chester, where he halted a day. There he received another pacquet from London, wherein he found the Army's scheme of government, pursuant to what they had set forth in their petition, with the addition, that all who had any military command were to receive new commissions from Fleetwood; and the messenger further acquainted him, that there was a Committee of Safety appointed, consisting of twenty-one members, of which he was one, and that he was also continued one of the Committee for nomination of officers. The day after he received this advice, he set out for London, where he arrived on Friday the 29th of October, 1659 (*s*), and immediately went to wait on Fleetwood, but refused to go with him to the Council of Officers, then sitting at Wallingford-house, on some letters from Monk, whom Fleetwood charged with insincerity, our author told him, that whatever Monk's designs were, his publick declarations had a better appearance than those of Wallingford-house, who were for governing by the sword. When this party prevailed both in the Council of Officers and that of State, to have a new Parliament called, our author opposed it with all his might, in defence of the Rump, and when a new Parliament was determined on, he proposed to qualify the power of the Army by a council of twenty-one, to be chosen by the Council of Officers, who should settle the differences, when any arose between the Army and the Parliament, under the denomination of the *Conservators of Liberty*; which being agreed to, he gave in a list of persons to be chosen, and they proceeded to ballot upon it: but here, breaking in upon the rule they had established, and putting many persons names to the ballot which were not contained in his list, our author grew impatient, and told them openly, that seeing they intended only to carry on a faction, and govern the nation by the sword, he would have no more to do with them. The city of London was in some confusion at this time, occasioned by the apprentices petitioning the Aldermen and Common-Council for a free Parliament, which had brought the military power to take possession of that capital; but the magistrates applying to the Council of Officers to be relieved, and to have the guards withdrawn, six of that council, of which number they constrained our author to be one, were appointeed to meet them at Whitehall; at this meeting, Lieutenant-General Ludlow earnestly disswaded the Londoners from joining with the Royalists; at which, he says, *divers of them seemed much surprized, because they had taken other resolutions*. Our author, therefore, seeing every thing going into confusion, resolved to go to his post in Ireland, and acquainted Lieutenant-General Fleetwood with his intention, and also went to take his leave of the principal officers, but found they had altered their minds about calling a new Parliament, on receiving advice, that the fleet had unanimously declared for the old one. This made him delay his journey a little while, but the officers varied again from that determination the same afternoon; whereupon, he fully resolved to set out the next day, which he accordingly did, but had the satisfaction to know before he left London, that it was at last carried carried to restore the old Parliament (*u*), which was done two or three days after [*Q*]. While Ludlow was on the road to Chester in his way to Ireland, he received from his brother-in-law, Kempson, an account of the posture of affairs in Ireland, which made him hasten his journey; but, on his arrival in Bullock's-bay, not thinking it proper to land 'till he had received a full information

(*s*) Ibid. p. 276. and Gesta Britannorum, p. 483.

(*t*) Id. p. 2, 3.

(*u*) Id. p. 298.

[*Q*] *Which was done in a day or two after.*] This circumstance we learn from a letter, said by our author (29) to be sent to him, while besieged in Duncannon Fort, from the council of officers in Dublin, wherein it is made a part of their charge against him, that when he found he could do no more in opposition to the Parliament, he had refused to wait their sitting, and had departed for Ireland a day or two before their restitution; which fixes the time of his setting out for Ireland, to the 24th or 25th of December 1659, the Rump Parliament as then called, being restored to the freedom of their house the 26th of that month (30); Lieutenant General Fleetwood, on finding himself deserted, having sent the keys to the Speaker, with notice that the guards were withdrawn, and that the members might attend the discharge of their duty (31). At the same time Lieutenant-Colonel Miller, who was in possession of the Tower, sent the Speaker word, that he and his garrison, were ready to receive his orders; and the forces in and about the town after being mustered in Lincoln's-Inn Fields, likewise declared for the Parliament, marched through Chancery-Lane, and saluted the Speaker as their General (32).

(29) Id. p. 305.

(30) Wharton's Gesta Britannorum, p. 484.

(31) Ludlow, p. 307.

(32) Id. ibid.

[*R*] *General*

information of things, he sent a letter of notice of his arrival to Sir Hardress Waller and the other officers, acquainting them with the restitution of the Parliament (which they had declared for), and that he was come to join with them in support of their authority. Mr Kempson and other officers came on board to the Lieutenant-General, and the former informed him, that things were in a much worse state than they were when he wrote last to him, and that the Council of Officers would not receive him. And the next day our author was told by one of his servants, that those at Dublin, as soon as they heard of his arrival, had sent a party of horse to seize him at his house, who not finding him there, had concealed themselves in ambush to take him on his landing. He also received a message from Dublin by Captain Lucas, who acquainted him with the resolution of their Council of Officers concerning him. Finding the passage to Dublin barred against him, he set sail for Duncannon, where he had placed one Captain Skynner as commander, in whom he had great confidence, and who did not deceive him, but, with the whole garrison, received him with the utmost demonstrations of joy. The Lieutenant-General having been informed at Passage about a league from Duncannon, that the Governor of Waterford had promised to adhere to him on his arrival, immediately sent him notice, that he was come to Duncannon, and took all care to victual and recruit his little garrison; he also wrote to the garrisons of Ross, Wexford, Cork, and Kinsale, encouraging them to persevere in their duty to the Parliament, and revictualled his man of war with beef and other necessaries, which he procured from his own estate of Ballymagger. He had scarce finished these cautionary steps, when he was blocked up by a party of horse under the command of Colonel Edmund Temple. Whilst this siege, or rather blockade, was carrying on, our author received a long letter from the Council at Dublin, wherein they laid many things to his charge, in order to injure his reputation; the principal of which were, that, on the interruption of the Parliament by the Wallingford-house party, instead of returning to his duty in Ireland, he had continued his journey to London; that he had encouraged Colonel John Jones in his correspondence with the Army party in England; refused to wait the sitting of the Parliament on their late restitution; and posted away to Ireland, in order to serve the Army by his interest there; and that finding Dublin secured for the Parliament, by those who obeyed their orders and would obey him as Commander in Chief, if the Parliament thought fit to continue him in that post, he had not only refused to return to England 'till their pleasure was known in that respect, but had endeavoured, by all hostile means, to get the power into his hands, at the same time neglecting his duty in Parliament, which honour they pretended his miscarriages had rendered him incapable of. To this long and heavy charge he wrote a very full answer; but, before he he had sent it away, he received an account, that the Parliament had acknowledged all that those at Dublin had done was for their service; and, in about a week after, received a letter sent from thence, signed *William Lenthall*, requiring him (as they had also required Jones and Corbet the two other commissioners) to attend the Parliament with an account of the Irish affairs; which request he resolved to comply with the very first opportunity, and accordingly embarked on board a Dutch vessel, having first given positive orders to Captain Skynner not to deliver up the fort of Duncannon, unless they were directed so to do by the Parliament or himself. Soon after his arrival at Milford-Comb, he found by the publick news, that Sir Charles Coote had exhibited a charge of high-treason against him *(w)*, which made him quicken his diligence to reach London. Arriving there, he first went to consult and expostulate with Sir Arthur Haslerig, and then took his place in the House, and got a copy of his charge: he then moved to be heard upon that head, but could only prevail to have a day appointed for that purpose; but on that day was again put off, so that he never could be heard thereupon. This motion was made by Ludlow on the first of February, 1660, according to our present reformation of style; two days after which, Colonel (afterwards General) Monk marched into London, and was waited on by our author the same evening [*R*]. The commission for lodging the command

(w) Id. p. 307.

[*R*] *General Monk was waited on by our author the same evening.*] Lieutenant-General Ludlow, after giving an account of the mutiny at Somerset-House, on the forces being ordered to remove from London to make way for General Monk and his army, and the appeasing that tumult, goes on thus: 'The following 'day Monk marched to London at the head of his 'party, which for the most part were quartered about 'Whitehall, where lodgings had been provided for 'him: and immediately some members of Parliament 'were sent to congratulate his arrival. The same evening I met Vice-Admiral Lawson at Sir Henry Mildmay's lodgings at Whitehall, and knowing him to 'be familiarly acquainted with Monk, I desired that 'we might make him a visit together, which he readily consented to. We found him alone in the Prince's lodgings; where having congratulated the success of his attempt to restore the Parliament to the 'exercise of their authority, I took the freedom to 'tell him, that having an opportunity put into his 'hands to free these nations from the danger of being 'oppressed, as they had lately been, by the power 'of the sword, I hoped he would improve it to the 'public advantage, by giving his assistance to the Parliament in settling the government upon so just a 'foundation, that it might be supported for the future 'by the love and affections of the people. He answered, that *as God had owned him in his work, so he desired that he alone might have the glory: that it was true factions had been carried on; but that he was fully resolved to promote the interest of a Commonwealth.* Which resolution, when I had commended and encouraged him as well as I could to continue, 'he said, *We must live and die for and with a Commonwealth.* Then I told him, that I had met lately 'with one Mr Courtney, who said he was his relation, 'and having drunk too much at the inn where I lay 'in my way to London, boasted that his cousin Monk 'would do great things for the King; but that upon 'my objecting his publick declarations and protestations to the contrary, he began to doubt, and said, 'that his cousin being a man of honour he feared he 'would

command of the forces in England and Scotland in seven persons being near expiration, a new act was made to vest it in five, any three of them to be a quorum, of which Colonel Monk was the first; but our author was left out, notwithstanding he obtained the command of the forces in Ireland to be inserted in the said commission. This step gave some umbrage to General Monk; whereupon our author made him a visit, in order to settle matters between them, and to efface any ill impressions the General might have received against our author or his party, and thought he had succeeded; but finding soon after, that matters were tending apace to overturn his darling scheme, a Commonwealth Government, he applied to Sir Arthur Haslerig to draw their scattered forces together, in order to oppose Monk and his confederates; but Sir Arthur would not listen to the proposal. News arriving shortly after from Ireland, that Sir Charles Coote had seized the castle of Dublin, and not only expelled Sir Hardress Waller from thence, but likewise removed him and several others from their command in the army, he advised Sir Arthur to adjourn the Parliament to the Tower, and to draw their troops together; but was again answered by him, that all would be well, and that Monk would be honest, even after he had seen the London populace, by his encouragement, burn the Rump, as they then called the remains of the Long Parliament, whose power was openly contemned, and whose very name was grown odious to the majority of the nation. The election of a new Parliament had been some time determined, as we have mentioned above; notwithstanding which, the Republicans endeavoured to evade their own dissolution, by ordering writs to be issued to fill up the vacant seats in the House; but the Speaker refused to sign the warrant for their being sealed. This occasioned much confusion; in the midst of which, Ludlow foreseeing the consequences of these disputes amongst themselves, pressed very earnestly to be heard concerning the charge of high-treason lodged against him from Ireland, *Alledging* (says he), *for the reason of my importunity, that though my enemies in that country had, by their late actions, manifested to all the world, that their enmity to the Parliament was much greater than to me; yet being uncertain what sort of men might soon have the principal influence in that House, I could not believe they would think it convenient, that a charge of high treason, how frivolous soever, should be transmitted to them against one of their old and faithful servants.* But he was as unsuccessful in the House in his own cause, as he had been without doors, in what he esteemed that of the publick. The members who had been secluded by the Lieutenant-General, Ireton, and others, in 1648, having obtained Monk's consent for returning to the House, our author was so highly irritated thereat, that he withdrew himself from the service of the House, but frequently appeared in Westminster-hall, to shew he did not decline serving the publick, nor was, as had been thrown out, at the head of any forces; and was followed in this procedure by Mr George Mountague and others. Every thing now tending to forward the restoration of King Charles the Second, the Commonwealth's-men grew very uneasy at the dangerous situation of their affairs, and held frequent meetings to consult measures for preserving their power; at one of which the Lieutenant-General tells us, he took the liberty to make the following propositions: 'That seven of the Council of State, and three of the Generals that had 'been appointed by the Parliament, should sign such orders as were necessary for carrying 'their design into execution. That Moss's regiment, which lay in Kent, and not far 'from London, and another, which lay in the borough of Southwark, commanded by 'Lieutenant-Colonel Farnley, consisting in all of more than 2000 old soldiers, of whose 'integrity and affection we had good assurance, should be ordered to the Tower to join 'Colonel Morley's regiment already there, and would be ready to receive them, having 'sent to me to let me know, that the Tower should be at my command whensoever I 'pleased to desire it *; that the commanders of these forces should take six months 'provisions, giving tickets for the quantity, payable by the Parliament; that the militia 'of London, which had been listed during the government of the Parliament, should 'be authorized to meet as there should be occasion, to assist the forces in the Tower; 'that four or five places of rendezvous should be appointed for the forces of the army, which lay scattered up and down in several parts of the nation; and that officers 'should be agreed upon to appear at the head of them; that the soldiers, both horse and 'foot, should have the liberty either to follow their old officers, or to appoint new; that 'those officers who should prevail on the major part of their men to follow them, should 'be continued in their respective posts; and that those who appeared heartily to promote this design, though they could not perswade the greater part of their soldiers 'to follow them, should have provision made for them equal to their merits; that the 'country militia both horse and foot should be authorized to draw together, and be 'impowered to seize and disarm such persons in the respective counties, as were known 'to be enemies to the Commonwealth; that the fleet should be ordered to declare at 'the same time, and to send one or two thousand seamen, to the assistance of those in 'the Tower. That all who acted by the Parliament's authority in this service, should 'be

* In General Monk's life (Lives English and foreign, 8vo, 1704, Vol. II. p. 164.) it is said, Col. Morley had joined the King's party, and secured the Tower for that interest.

'would be as good as his word. *Yea*, said Monk, *if 'there were nothing in it but that, I must make good 'my word, and will too* (33).' That General, 'tis well known, was at this time busy in concerting measures to bring about the Restoration; which being observed, the reader will need no other key to unlock the true meaning of this last answer to Ludlow.

(33) Id. p. 313.

'be juſtified in ſo doing: that the governors of garriſons ſhould be required to refuſe 'obedience to any power, which was not derived from the lawful authority of the Parliament; and that a Declaration ſhould be forthwith prepared, to ſhew the grounds and 'reaſons, together with the neceſſity of theſe proceedings.' Whether theſe propoſals, or any part of them, were received, or attempted to be carried into execution, he does not tell us; only obſerves, that *We being ripe for the correction of Heaven, nothing could prevent it, our enemies, i. e.* thoſe who were ſo to a Commonwealth, *ſucceeding in all their attempts, and all our endeavours proving abortive (x).* Soon after this, Hull was taken from Major-General Overton, and the militia alſo was new modelled, and put under perſons more in the intereſt of Monarchy than it was before, after which, the famous long Parliament was diſſolved; whereupon our Lieutenant-General began to act with more caution, and to appear leſs frequently in Weſtminſter-Hall than he had uſed to do, and receiving advice that Sir Arthur Haſlerig was now convinced that General Monk's deſign was to reſtore the King, and that the new Council of State had reſolved to ſeize Mr Scot, our author began to provide in the beſt manner he could for his own ſecurity, ſeldom lying at his houſe in town, and ſoon after ſetting out for the country. He had not travelled far, before a Meſſenger overtook him with the news, that, about an hour and a half after he had left the town, the Council had ſent him a ſummons (as they had alſo done to Colonel John Jones, Colonel Thomlinſon, and Mr Miles Corbet, the other Commiſſioners for Ireland) to attend them: on receiving this intelligence, he quitted his wife and chariot, and (having provided a led horſe) croſſed the heath between Egham and Bagſhot, and avoiding the publick road, came in the evening to his couſin Mr Robert Wallop's houſe at Farley, where he ſtaid but two nights; from thence he continued his rout to Sutton, and at laſt took up his quarters at Saliſbury, where he received advice that his fellow-Commiſſioners had, on attending the Council of State, been obliged to enter into an engagment not to diſturb the reigning power; and this piece of information made him look on his eſcape in a much higher light than he had yet done, as it convinced him he had avoided being impriſoned, (ſince he ſays, he could not have conſented to have ſigned ſuch an engagement now, any more than he could under Oliver Cromwell) and conſequently, being detained in cuſtody 'till the return of Charles the Second, and what would have been his fate then, who reckoned it an honour to have been one of Charles the Firſt's Judges, is pretty eaſy to be determined. From Saliſbury, he proceeded to his ſeveral eſtates in Wiltſhire, in order to raiſe what money he could amongſt his tenants againſt the evil day, which, with reſpect to him, he found approaching very faſt, the Royaliſts having every where the ſuperiority over the Commonwealth-men; and that to ſuch a degree, that though ninteen votes out of twenty ſix, choſe the Lieutenant-General for the borough of Hindon (part of his own eſtate), yet the cavaliers prevailed to have a double return made, in favour of Sir Thomas Thynne; but this was ſet aſide above, and the Lieutenant-General reported duly elected (y). Having ſettled his affairs as well as he could in the time, he reſolved to keep himſelf out of the reach of thoſe in power, 'till it was ſeen what turn things would take; and having lain thus concealed about eight days, he ventured to pay a viſit to his wife at Saliſbury, with whom he ſtaid a night, and the next day received an account that Lambert had made his eſcape from the Tower: this made the Lieutenant-General return to his place of ſecrecy in haſte, and here he received ſeveral meſſages from Lambert; but as that officer had fixed no plan, nor cared to make any declarations of his intentions, the Lieutenant-General was cautious how he embarked either himſelf or his friends, in an undertaking which never promiſed more than it produced, viz. deſtruction to thoſe who were engaged therein. However, while they were in treaty together, our author took the prudent ſteps he thought neceſſary for the ſupport of the declining cauſe, and might have created ſome trouble to the government, had Lambert been equally cautious, equally active and ſteady: but the ſuddenneſs of his defeat (z) put an end to all expectations from any projects of that kind. The time for the meeting of the Houſe being now near at hand, the Lieutenant-General repaired to London, and lodged with a friend in Holborn, where he had not reſided many days, before he had the mortification to hear that, 'the nominal Houſe of Commons,' as he is pleaſed to call them †, 'though called by a Commonwealth writ in the name of the Keepers of the Liberties of England, 'paſſed a vote, that the government of the nation ſhould be by a King, Lords, and 'Commons, and that Charles Stuart ſhould be proclaimed King of England, &c.' But the Lieutenant-General was ſomething comforted even under this heavy misfortune, by receiving advice that he had again eſcaped the malice of his purſuers, who had ſent orders it ſeems, to ſeize his perſon in the Weſt, the very day that he arrived in London from thence; this obliged him, on receiving an order to attend his duty in the Houſe, to apply to Mr Arthur Anneſley for inſtructions how to behave in this critical conjuncture, who adviſed him to take his ſeat as ſoon as he could, which he accordingly did. He now alſo ſent orders to collect his rents and diſpoſe of his effects in Ireland, but was prevented from doing either by Sir Charles Coote, who ſeized both, the ſtock alone amounting to fifteen hundred pounds ‖; Sir Charles, having alſo ſeized Cooke the ſolicitor againſt Charles the Firſt, but then Chief Juſtice in Ireland; and others thereupon, without warrant or authority, according to our author, ſeizing Colonel Harriſon in England; the cavaliers in the Houſe of Commons, eaſily obtained an order to ſeize all who had ſigned the

(x) Ibid. p. 326.

(y) Id. p. 341. This was to ſerve in the Convention-Parliament, which met the 25th of April, 1660.

(z) He eſcaped from the Tower April 9, 1660, and was recommitted thither the 24th of the ſame month.

† Ludlow, p. 335.

‖ Ibid. p. 344.

the warrant for the King's execution, and consequently the Lieutenant-General: but he received timely notice enough to keep out of their reach, and to consult with his friends the properest methods for his security, the principal one now advised and practised being to shift his abode very frequently. During his recess, the House was busy in preparing the bill of indemnity, in which he was more than once very near being inserted as one of the seven persons to be excepted from all benefit thereby, either as to life, or estate; wherein General Monk and his Lady, and Colonel Skipwith were very assiduous, and though they failed in that particular, yet they carried their point in another, which was the issuing out a proclamation soon after the King's return, for all the late King's judges to surrender themselves in fourteen day's time, on pain of being excepted out of the said Act of Indemnity. This alarmed the Lieutenant-General greatly, and occasioned a consultation to be held with his friends, where it was debated whether, as he was not one of the seven excepted in the Bill of Indemnity, he should not surrender himself according to the proclamation, as Mr William Heveningham, Mr Simon Mayne, and some other of the late King's judges had already done; but being divided in their opinions, and some, who seemed to be best versed in the then state of affairs, not encouraging him to venture his life on such a risque, there being strong expectations that the Lords would increase the number to be excepted, he chose to wait the event a little longer, before he put himself into their power: and though he was inclined to surrender, that he might have the more time to settle his private affairs, yet he first drew up a petition, setting forth, that though he had been engaged in the establishing a Commonwealth, during which he had behaved with as much tenderness as affairs would permit, yet now the former government being re-established, he thought it his duty to submit thereto, that he might be entitled to the protection thereof. This he sent by his wife to Mr Annesley for his opinion; but that gentleman (being now, says our author, sworn a Privy-Counsellor) on perusal said, he thought it would be better to say nothing, than endeavour to justify any thing that had been done. Upon this, he sent his wife to the Earl of Ormond, to ask his advice how to demean himself; who made large promises, but would enter into no particulars, unless she would discover whether her husband was still in England, as to which she begged his excuse. The Lieutenant-General then sent her to Sir Harbottle Grimston, Speaker of the House of Commons, to acquaint him with her husband's difficulties and doubts; Sir Harbottle entered very freely into the affair with her, telling her, *He believed the House of Lords would be content with what was already done, but if they should not, it would be the most horrid thing in the world, if the House of Commons should join in excepting any man who had rendered himself:* letting her know, at the same time, that there was no undertaking for what they would not do; but that he would consult Mr Hollis, and other leading men with whom he should dine that day, and inform himself fully in every particular, and would then give her the best advice he could. The consequence was, that they were unanimously of opinion, that the House would never be guilty of so unworthy an action; and therefore, the Lieutenant-General's best way would be to come in; and to make it both the safer and easier Sir Harbottle granted him his warrant to protect him from arrests by the way, and promised to speak to the Serjeant to be moderate in his demands, which he accordingly did, and the Lieutenant-General surrendered. As this surrender was chiefly made to get time and opportunity to settle his affairs, the bail he procured were not very substantial, and those he honestly told, that if he found his life was at all in danger, he would go off, if possible; he therefore kept the strictest guard during the sitting of the House every day, to prevent being seized by any order of theirs during the contests about the bill, which was hotly debated in the House of Lords, where the Royal Party seemed inclined to except all the Judges of Charles the First, and did add several to the bill, even of those who had come in upon the proclamation. Yet the Lieutenant-General was fortunate enough to escape being named, and well it was for him that he did so; for the House of Commons confirmed the additions made by the Lords, with very few restrictions, no less than nineteen who had surrendered themselves being inserted, and delivered over by the Serjeant at Arms to the Lieutenant of the Tower, as would the Lieutenant-General have been (though not yet inserted) had he not withdrawn himself to Richmond, on notice that the Lieutenant of the Tower (Sir John Robinson) would move the House that all the persons in the Serjeant's custody might be delivered up to him. On notice of these proceedings, and that there was much clamour at his secreting himself, he came privately to town, and again sent his wife to Sir Harbottle Grimston for advice; who was still positive for his surrendering himself into custody: at which, she hesitating, he told her, that *he would wash his hands of her husband's blood, by assuring her, that if he would surrender himself his life would be as safe as his own; but if he refused to hearken to that advice, and should happen to be seized, he was like to be the first man they would execute, and she would be left the poorest widow in England.* But the advice of another friend, backed with the friendly counsel of Lord Offory, son to the Marquis of Ormond, out weighed all that the Speaker had said, and determined the Lieutenant-General's resolution to quit England, which he instantly put in practice, and having taken leave of all his friends, he went over London-Bridge in a coach, to St George's church in the Borough of Southwark, where he took horse, and travelling all night, arrived at Lewes a sea-port on the coast of Sussex by break of

day

(a) Though the Lieutenant-General does not mention the precise time of his setting out on this escape; yet, from several hints, it may be pretty certainly fixed to the beginning of September 1660, he being gone before the Parliament adjourned, and they adjourned on the 13th of that month 'till November 6.

day the next morning, without having passed through any principal town by the way (a). On the tuesday after he left London, he went on board a small open vessel prepared for him, but the weather being very bad, he quitted that, and took shelter in a larger, which had been got ready for him (and in which but a few weeks before, Richard Cromwell had gone over to France) but struck upon the sands in going down the river, and lay then a-ground; and was hardly got on board this, when some persons came to search that he had quitted, but not suspecting any body to be in that ashore, did not examine it, by which means he escaped: and waiting a day and a night for the storm to abate, (during which the master of the vessel asked him whether he had heard that Lieutenant-General Ludlow was confined amongst the rest of the King's Judges) the next morning he put to sea, and landed at Dieppe that evening, before the gates were shut. He was recommended to the house of one Madame de Caux, who with great civility making him an offer of going to her country-house, he readily embraced it, as well to avoid the many Irish then in the town, as to enjoy the liberty of taking the air. Soon after his going off, a proclamation was published for apprehending and securing him, with a reward of 300*l.* one of these proclamations came to his hands, inclosed in a pacquet of letters, wherein his friends earnestly desired he would remove to some place more distant from England; and this made him resolve for Geneva: in pursuance of which resolution, he took the way of Roan for Paris, where he staid several days to view what was remarkable. From hence he travelled through Lyons to Geneva, where he arrived without meeting with any molestation by the way, and took up his quarters at one Mr Perrot's, who had served in the Parliament army during the civil war, and thereby had acquired the English language. Here he was joined by Messrs Lisle and Cowley, two of those who sat as Judges on the late King, and, together with them, made private application to one of the principal Syndics for the protection of the republick, which was secretly promised; but his two companions not being satisfied therewith, would address the council publickly (against his advice) and thereby gave offence; so that they found it necessary to withdraw to Lausanne, and seek protection from the Canton of Bern; which was readily granted, both for themselves and Ludlow, who in a few days followed them (b). Here the Lieutenant-General remained many years, in the two first of which, the Duchess of Anjou he says, meaning Madame Henrietta Duchess of Orleans, offered a person of quality ten thousand crowns to assassinate him, but the bribe was refused, and the offer discovered to a merchant of Lausanne, who informed the Lieutenant-General thereof. In September 1662, they were joined by seven more of their party, viz. Mr Serjeant Dendy, Mr Nicholas Love, Mr Andrew Broughton, Mr Slingsby Bethel, Colonel Biscoe, Mr William Say, and Mr Cornelius Holland; these persons having passed through Bern in their way, and paid a visit to Mr Humelius the principal Minister there, were by him informed of the Lieutenant-General and his companions residing at Lausanne, in procuring the order for which, he had been very serviceable; and now, by this means, gave them notice, that it would be much better for them to remove to Vevay, than to remain any longer where they were: on which, six of them, amongst whom was the Lieutenant-General, accordingly removed thither, where they were received with great kindness, and visited in form by the chief magistrates. Here they were visited also by Mr Algernoon Sidney, as he returned from Rome; and who, when he left them, passed through Bern, where he did them some kind offices, and informed them, that it would be proper for those amongst them, who could bear travelling, to make a tour to Bern, to pay their publick acknowledgements to the Lords, for their kind protection granted to them. Hereupon, the Lieutenant-General (accompanied with Messrs Love and Broughton, who were accidentally come over from Lausanne) set out for Bern. Being arrived there, they first paid their respects to Mr Humelius, as well to thank him for the many kind offices he had done for them, as to beg he would assist them in making their address to the Council in as private a manner as they could, which he approved of, and obtained liberty for them to do it in what manner they thought proper, either by speech or writing, which latter method they chose, and presented by the hands of the Advoyer or President of the Council, an address, as the reader will find in the note [S]. Our author, on this occasion, gives us the history of the first establishment of the Republic of

(b) Ibid. p. 380.

[S] *The address was presented by the president of the council.*] This address was drawn in the usual form and style of such papers, and presented the 3d of September 1663, as appears from the date of the answer returned by the council, which is as follows:

September the 3d, 1663.

'Concerning the three English Gentlemen who have for some time resided at Vevay, and have this day presented in our assembly of council, their thanks for our protection formerly granted to them; 'tis resolved, that they shall be saluted on our part with a present of wine, and that Mr Treasurer Steiger, with Mr Kilberger, and you our Doyne, do acquaint them with our affection and good will to them, and assure them of the continuation of the same for the time to come.' This was brought to them the day after the date by their friend Mr Humelius, who had, in the interim, very politely entertained them with the sight of every thing curious in Bern. The next day after presenting this address, three of the Senators came to dine with them; and when dinner was over, one of them asking *how it came to pass, that they who for many years had the whole power of the three nations in their hands, were removed from the government without shedding one drop of blood.* To this our author made an answer, which, as it contains a summary of his memoirs, may be acceptable to the reader as follows: 'I told them, says he, with all the brevity I could, that most of those persons who at first engaged in the war, having made their own peace, had endeavoured to deliver us, and the cause itself

of Bern, with which the Lieutenant-General is fo tranfported, that he forgets while he applauds the fpirit of freedom, that he is an advocate for the doctrine of affaffination, againft which, in his own perfon, he raifes great exclamation, and indeed, not without reafon; for foon after his return from Bern to Vevay, he received information that an Irifhman called Riardo, and faid to belong to the Duchefs of Orleans, was come to Turin, with an intention to form fome defign againft the lives of our author, and the other Englifh fugitives: and it was alfo reported, that King Charles the Second had wrote to the magiftracy at Bern, to demand the delivery of their perfons. Many letters from Turin, Geneva, Lyons, and other places, confirmed the account of Riardo's being in the country of Vaux upon the defign mentioned, adding, that fo many, and fuch defperate perfons were engaged with him in the fame defign, that it would be next to impoffible for the Englifhmen to efcape; on this they held a confultation, the refult of which was not to quit Vevay, but as there was to be a fair there foon, to apply to the magiftrates to have the guards doubled for that day, and to change their lodgings for one night. Thefe precautions were far from unneceffary, for on Saturday the 14th of November 1663, a Savoy boat, in which (as the Lieutenant-General was afterwards told) were Dupow and Cerife, two of Lyons, Dupré a Savoyard, Riardo and others, about an hour after fun-fet arrived at Vevay, and took up their quarters in feveral inns for that night; the next morning as Monf. Dubois, the Lieutenant-General's landlord went out to go to church, he obferved the boat lying with four watermen in her, and their oars all in readinefs to put off at a minute's warning; near the boat were two perfons cloaked, fitting under a tree, and not far from them two more in the fame guife and pofture. This alarmed Monf. Dubois, who immediately conjectured their defign muft be againft his lodgers, he immediately returned home to give them the alarm, being confirmed in his fufpicion from hearing there were fix more who had pofted themfelves, two in the way between his houfe and the church, and four in the market-place. But their appearance and garb, every one fufpecting they had arms under their cloaks, had made the town's people obferve them fo much, that they all retired from the town toward the lake, and left the paffage free for the Lieutenant-General and his friends to go to church; on their return from whence, hearing the ftrangers were at dinner in one of the inns, our author went down to take a view of the boat, which he found as before defcribed, and a great quantity of ftraw, under which his landlord informed him they had concealed their arms, and that they had cut all the withs (which fecured the oars) of the town boats to prevent being purfued: however, finding themfelves watched fo narrowly, and being apprehenfive from Monf. Dubois's behaviour, that he would have them feized; foon after they had dined, they took to their boat and returned to Savoy. This attempt (which was foon after acknowledged by Dupré and others concerned) *(c)* alarmed the magiftrates of Bern, who inftantly fent fpecial orders to the bailiffs of Vevay, Laufanne, and Morges, to be efpecially careful of the Englifh under their protection, to fearch all boats coming from Savoy, to let no ftrangers refide in the town without giving an exact account of themfelves and their bufinefs, to double the guards at Vevay, and to give the Lieutenant-General and his companions leave to ring the alarm bell (which being fituated near one of the gates, they could do from one of their own apartments) in cafe of any fudden attack [T]. They were attempted again by fome

(c) Ibid. p. 394, 395.

itfelf into the hands of our enemies; and though they had many opportunities to have ended the difpute, by deftroying the King's army: they neglected all, and only endeavoured to reduce the crown to their own terms. This was vifible in the conduct of the Earl of Effex on feveral occafions, and that of the Earl of Manchefter after the battle of Newbury, who, though he had 20000 men in his army, flufhed with that victory, yet fuffered the King with 7000 only, to carry off the cannon he had left at a place which ftood near the ground, where he had been routed a few weeks before, without once offering to attack him; giving this at a council of war for the reafon of his refufing to fight; that if the King were beaten twenty times by us, he would be ftill King, but if he fhould once beat us, we fhould be all treated as traytors; for which, being accufed in the Houfe of Commons, though they thought not convenient to proceed againft him criminally, yet upon this, and divers other confiderations, they removed him together with the Earl of Effex and the reft of the nobility, from their commands in the army, making choice of commoners to fill up their places, whofe intereft they knew it was, to take away the monarchy itfelf. By this means, they foon put an end to the war, fentenced the King to die for the blood that had been fhed, eftablifhed a free Commonwealth, brought their enemies at home to fubmit to their authority, and reduced thofe abroad to accept fuch terms as they would give. In the midft of all this profperity they were betrayed by Oliver Cromwell, whom they had intrufted with the command of their army; who having moulded the greateft part of the officers to his purpofe, by calumniating the Parliament, propofing advancement to the ambitious, and deluding the fimple with a fhew of religion, backed by the affiftance of the clergy and lawyers (who had been threatned by the Parliament with a reformation of their practices) ejected his mafters, and ufurped their authority; endeavouring, during the five years of his reign, to ruin all that had been faithful to the intereft of the Commonwealth, and advancing thofe who would not fcruple to facrifice their confciences to his ambition. By thefe ways the army became fo corrupted, that though after the Ufurper's death they had been perfuaded with great difficulty to depofe the fon, and to permit the reftitution of the Parliament, yet they were foon after induced, under frivolous pretences, to offer violence to them a fecond time; which rendering them odious to the people, gave an opportunity to Monk by declaring for the Parliament, to divide their councils, and to render them ufelefs. And when the Parliament had, in gratitude for their reftitution, conferred many undeferved favours upon Monk; he alfo, who had been a creature of Cromwell, and advanced by him, betrayed his truft, and contrary to many proteftations, oaths, and folemn affeverations, brought a great number of Perfons to vote in Parliament, who had formerly been ejected by the Houfe, which turned the ballance from the fide of the Commonwealth, and under the influence of his forces, brought in the fon of the late King.'

[T] *To ring the alarm bell in cafe of any fudden attack.*] The bailiff of Morges foon after apprehended one of the watermen who had brought the affaffins (who

some persons who came by land about eight days after, but these were also discovered, as were several others who endeavoured to surprize them, but were always disappointed, except in the case of Mr Lisle, where they succeeded but too well, as mentioned below; and which affected Mr Say and Colonel Bisco so much, that they removed first into Germany, and then to Holland: whither, upon the breaking out of the first Dutch war soon after with King Charles II. they earnestly invited the Lieutenant-General to come, in order, as they said, to head a body of Dutch troops, with which De Wit proposed to invade England; but the States having tamely suffered Corbet, Okey, and Barkstead, three of the regicides, who had taken shelter at Delft in 1661 to be trapanned and sent prisoners to England, by Sir George Downing, King Charles the Second's Minister, the Lieutenant-General would never hearken to any offers from the Hague or Amsterdam, unless the States would first disclaim that action, and next promise not to make any treaty without securing all who should engage with them: but as this was never complied with, he did not stir from Vevay, though he had procured a pass [U] from the Count D'Estrades for that purpose, had he received the acknowledgment he demanded. Whether the English Court had any knowledge of these negotiations, or only guessed that something of this sort might be set on foot between the fugitives and the Dutch and French, we know not; but she renewed and redoubled her diligence, through the Duchess of Orleans and the Queen-Mother of England's means, to get the Lieutenant-General, and his friends assassinated, many attempts being made during this treaty, and even after the peace with the Dutch, who took no sort of care of any of the regicides: but it pleased Providence, says he, to frustrate not only all those bloody designs, but also to baffle all the endeavours used by Charles II. and his mercenary tools, to deprive any of the exiles of the protection granted, and more than once openly avowed, by the canton of Bern to them (d). By this means, the Lieutenant-General not only survived King Charles II. but lived to see the ruin of King James II. by the Revolution, in which he earnestly desired to have been an assistant; and left his retreat at Vevay, and came to England, in order to exert his old age in that cause; having some expectations of being employed in Ireland, against the Popish and other adherents to the (as he styles him) abdicated King*. In this design he ventured to appear so openly in London, that an address was presented to his Majesty King

(d) Id. p. 417, & seqq.

* 'Tis said he was sent for as a fit person to be employed to recover Ireland from the Papists. Preface to the first edition of his Memoirs, p. v.

(who were twelve in number) to Vevay, and upon threatening him with the strapada he confessed the whole affair, but pretended he knew nothing of it 'till after the miscarriage. To those already named, he joined De la Breette, and Du Fargis two of Savoy, adding that Dupré on their return, told them, had they succeeded, they should have had money enough. Notwithstanding this disappointment and discovery, many of the Lieutenant-General's friends (it being publickly given out that he was the person principally pursued) and amongst them Mr Steiger, treasurer of Bern, proposed his removal with his friends from Vevay to some place more in the center of their territories, as Yverden or Lausanne, where their enemies would not have the advantage of coming by water to attack or surprize them; but he resolved to remain where he was: Mr Lisle, however, took the advice, and removed to Lausanne, where, on Thursday the 21st of July 1664, he was way laid by some of the same gang, but not happening to go to church that morning, and they being suspected by the townsmen, they returned to Savoy by water, as they had come, saying, loud enough to be overheard, *Le bougre ne viendras pas*, the scoundrel won't come, while they waited near the church: and on Thursday the 11th of August following, N. S. he was shot dead in the church-yard, by a person who had a companion on horseback, with a horse for the assassin, on which, (though knocked down with the recoil of his piece) he escaped (36). A staunch cavalier has transmitted an account of this manly exploit to posterity, in the following words. *August the 21st, that notorious regicide Lisle, overtaken by divine vengeance at Lausanne, where the miserable wretch was shot dead by the gallantry of three Irish gentlemen, who attempted the surprisal of him and four more impious parricides* (37). Thus party zeal extinguishes every christian and humane sentiment, and makes the all-gracious Supreme Being the author of the blackest crimes.

(36) Id. p. 398, 399.

(37) Wharton's Gesta Britannorum, p. 504. Mr John Lisle was the son of Sir William Lisle of the Isle of Wight, and was a member of the first Long Parliament, one of the Council of State, a Commissioner of the Great-Seal, and an assistant to President Bradshaw in the High Court of Justice erected for the tryal of Charles the First, which last office now cost him his life.

[U] *He did not stir form Vevay, though he had procured a pass.*] The Lieutenant-General tells us, he was not only strongly importuned to embark in the design of restoring, by assistance of the Dutch, a Commonwealth in England, by letters written from Holland by Mr Say, of one of which he gives a long extract (38); but that two of his friends made a journey from Holland to Vevay to persuade him to consent: this was backed by a letter from some of the party in Holland, couched in the following terms.

(38) Ludlow, p. 402.

'Sir,

'We cannot look upon the frequent and earnest applications of so many of our friends, for your coming into these parts to be lost. We are fully satisfied of our interest with you, and have heard with joy the report of those Gentlemen who were lately at Vevay, how much you are concerned for the publick cause. We cannot but be sensible of the difference between treating with a monarch and engaging with a free state, and are glad to find that the same principles which arm you against the one, cause you to incline to the other upon reasonable terms; which we doubt not would be offered, if you would appear among us. They have here received such an account of the condition of our friends in England, that they have inclined to give us considerable succours of all things necessary for our enterprize. This is the second time that the States have caused a body of land forces to be shipped on board their fleet purely on our account, protesting in the most solemn manner, that they have no other design than to give the good people of England a seasonable and effectual aid. If we lose this opportunity, we may probably repent our folly, but shall hardly redeem our credit. For these reasons we renew our most affectionate desires, that you would hasten to us, and hope for a speedy answer, rather in person than by writing, lest this also be added to our former afflictions, that another opportunity be lost.' The passport which the French Ambassador to the States sent him ran thus (39), in English,

(39) Id. p. 418.

'The Count D'Estrades, Lieutenant-General in chief of the King's armies, Governor of Dunkirk, Perpetual Mayor of Bourdeaux, Vice-Roy of America, Knight of his Majesty's Orders, and his Ambassador Extraordinary in Holland. We require all Governors, Commanders, Captains, Lieutenants, Mayors, Sheriffs, Judges, and other Officers, as well by sea as by land, to whom it may appertain, each to let pass securely and freely, through the places of their powers and jurisdictions, Mr Edmond Ludlow and four servants, without any trouble or hinderance, but rather all favour, aid, and assistance, and they will do us a singular pleasure. Done at the Hague, the 2d day of March, 1666.

D'Estrades.'

[W] Whereas

King William from the House of Commons, by the hands of Sir Edward Seymour, November 7th 1689; that he would be pleased to put out a proclamation for the apprehending of Colonel Ludlow, attainted for the murder of King Charles the First, &c. Whereupon, our author being informed of the motion, hastened to the sea-side, whence, after waiting near a fortnight for a good wind, he returned † to Vevay; where he continued 'till his death, which happened in the year 1693, and in the 73d of his age *. His corps was interred in the best church there *(e)*, in which, his lady erected a monument of her conjugal affection to his memory, whereon she placed the inscription below [*W*]. His character has been already drawn in the course of this work *(f)*, to which we shall only add an observation of Mr Addison, that during his exile in Switzerland, though he was a constant frequenter of sermons and prayers, yet he would never communicate either with those of Geneva or Vevay *(g)*. I don't find that he left any issue or any writings, except his Memoirs, which were first published about five years after his death, under this title: *Memoirs of Edmond Ludlow, Esq; Lieutenant-General of the horse, Commander in chief of the forces in Ireland, one of the Council of State, and a Member of the Parliament which began the 3d of November* 1640, *in two volumes. Switzerland, printed at Vevay, in the canton of Bern*, 1698; 8*vo*. And in 1699, a third volume was published, with a *Collection of Original Papers*. The same year a translation of the two first volumes into French, was printed at Amsterdam in the same size. In 1751, another edition was printed at London, in one volume folio; to which was added the *Case of King Charles the First*, as drawn up by John Cook of Grey's-Inn, appointed Sollicitor to the High Court of Justice against that Prince, and intended to have been made use of, in case his Majesty had pleaded to their charge. These Memoirs were attacked soon after they came out, by some friend of Cromwell's party and principles, in a pamphlet entitled, *A modest Vindication of Oliver Cromwell, &c.* London 1698, 4to. The author of which published afterwards another piece in 8vo. against the third volume of the Memoirs, with the title of *Regicides not Saints*; and, in 1660, there had been published at London, 4to. *A Sober Vindication of Lieutenant-General Ludlow, in answer to a printed Letter from Sir Hardress Waller in Ireland*, &c.

† Wood, ubi supra.

* Some of his last words were wishes for the prosperity, peace, and glory of his country. Pref. p. 7.

(e) Addison's Travels, edit. 1745, p. 264.

(f) In the article of CROMWELL [OLIVER].

(g) Addison's Travels, ubi supra. Where he tells us also, that the house which our author lived in at Vevay had this inscription over the door, *Omne solum forti patria quia patris.*

[*W*] *Whereon she placed the inscription below.*] The celebrated Mr Addison, in his Travels (40), returning from Italy, passed through Vevay, and transcribed the following inscription.

(40) Edit. 1705, 8vo. p. 463.

Siste gradum & respice.
Hic jacet Edmond Ludlow Anglus, &c.

i. e.

Stop and behold.

Here lies Edmond Ludlow, an Englishman, of the county of Wilts; Son of Henry Ludlow, Knight and Member of Parliament, as he also was; honourable by descent, but more so by his own virtue: by religion a Protestant, and eminent for piety. In the twenty third year of his age, he was made Colonel of a regiment, and soon after Lieutenant-General of the army. In that post, he helped to reduce Ireland; intrepid and careless of life in battle, in victory merciful and humane; a defender of his country's liberty, and a warm opposer of arbitrary power; for which cause, banished from that country 32 years, though worthy of a better fortune, he took refuge in Switzerland, and dying there in the 73d year of his age, regretted by his friends, flew to the eternal seats of joy.

'His most beloved, couragious, and most sorrowful consort, as well in misfortune as in matrimony, Mrs Elizabeth de Thomas (41), who moved by a greatness of mind, and the force of conjugal affection, constantly followed in his exile 'till his death, consecrated this monument in perpetual memory of her true and sincere affection to her deceased husband, in the year of our Lord 1693.' Z.

(41) Her maiden name seems to be Oldsworth, our author frequently mentions his father in-law by that name. She went during her husband's exile occasionally to England, to settle her affairs; and it was by the income of her fortune that he was supported.

M.

MACKENZIE [Sir George] of Rosehaugh, an eminent lawyer and a polite writer, was descended from the noble and ancient family of Seaforth in the shire of Ross in Scotland: his father Simon Mackenzie of Lochlin, being brother to George Earl of Seaforth, and marrying Elizabeth Bruce, daughter to Peter Bruce, D. D. Principal of St Lenard's college in St Andrews (*a*), had by her this son George, who was born at Dundee in the county of Angus, in the year 1636. He gave early proofs of an extraordinary genius, having gone through his Grammar and all the common classic authors usually taught at school, in the tenth year of his age. With this foundation, he was sent by his parents to the universities of Aberdeen and St Andrews, where he finished the course of his studies in the Greek and Philosophy at the age of sixteen (*b*). After which, being designed for the Law, he travelled through France to the university of Bourges, where he studied the Code and Pandects for three years; and then returning home, was called to the bar, and became an advocate in 1656, before he had completed the twentieth year of his age [*A*]; and young as he was, he became an eminent pleader in a few years. However, though he made the Law his principal study, being peculiarly intent to distinguish himself in that which he had chosen for his profession, yet he did not suffer his parts to be buried there, he had an excellent taste and genius for polite learning, which he found spare hours to gratify; and the fruits of this application appeared in 1660, when he published his *Aretino* or *Serious Romance*, wherein he gave a very bright specimen of a gay and exuberant fancy. And he gave a proof no less conspicuous of his eloquence and knowledge of the Law the following year, when he was employed as advocate for the Marquis of Argyle, who was beheaded at Edinburgh on the 27th of May that year, for high treason. In pleading this case he had dropt some unwary expressions in favour of his client, which he was no sooner reprimanded for, but he replied with a surprizing boldness, that it was impossible to plead for a traytor without speaking treason. His abilities were much taken notice of at this time, and he was preferred not long after to the bench of justice in the criminal court (*c*). In 1663, he published his *Religio Stoici* [*B*], or a short discourse upon several divine and moral subjects, which was followed two years afterwards, by his *Moral Essay upon Solitude, preferring it to publick Employment and all it's Appendoges, such as Fame, Command, Riches, Pleasures, Conversation, &c.* And in 1667, he printed his *Moral Gallantry*, wherein he endeavours to prove, that the *point of honour*, abstracted from all other ties, oblige men to be virtuous, and that there is nothing so mean and unworthy of a gentleman as vice; to which is added *A Consolation against Calumnies*, written in return to a person of honour. These, with some other moral essays, besides a play and a poem (*d*) [*C*], were this great man's productions in

(*a*) He was a son of the Laird of *Fingask*, a gentleman of great learning, and descended from a very ancient family. Our author's Life, prefixed to his Works in two volumes, folio, Edinb. 1716, p. 1.

(*b*) Ibid. and preface to his Moral History of Frugality, in his Works, Vol. I. p. 141.

(*c*) His Life, &c.

(*d*) Reflections upon his Pleadings, &c. in his Works, Vol. I. p. 10. See remark [*D*], col. b

[*A*] *He was admitted an advocate before he was twenty years of age.*] The examination which the candidates went through before their admission, was very strict, as appears from the account of it already given in the course of this work (1); so that it is a conspicuous proof of our author's extraordinary parts and industry, at so early a time of his life, as is observed in the text from the authority there cited; but to deal fairly with our readers, we must not omit to observe, that there seems to be a doubt of that earliness from the inscription upon our author's coffin; where he is said to have been *per ann.* xxxi *in Foro Supremo Causarum Patronus* (2), i. e. a Pleader at the Bar for thirty one years: whence, reckoning from the time of his death in 1691, he could not be admitted before the year 1660; and that æra seems also to be countenanced by his *pleadings in some remarkable cases before the supreme courts of Scotland*, which go no higher than the year 1661 (3).

(1) Under the article of GRANT [Sir FRANCIS] in Vol. IV.

(2) See the whole at the end of his Life prefixed to his Works.

(3) These are reprinted in his Works, Vol. I.

[*B*] *Religio Stoici*] The writer of his life tells us (4), that he wrote this piece before he was five and twenty (that is two years before it was published) and thence justly observes, that '’Tis wonderful to find 'so young a person make choice of such grave and 'weighty subjects to employ his thoughts upon, and to 'treat them with such variety of learning and exactness of judgment. His observations upon things are 'far above what one would imagine him capable of, 'at that time.' His design in it was, to use his own words, to shew, *that speculations in religion are not so necessary, and are more dangerous than sincere practice* (5).

[C] *A Poem.*] The poem is intitled *Cælia's Country-House and Closet*; in describing the furniture of which, upon the article of the pictures, Sir George has the following lines upon that of the Earl of Montrose, who was beheaded in Scotland during the rebellion and civil wars; which is inserted in this place as a proper

(4) P. xviii.

(5) Virtuoso or Stoic, chap. xx.

in his retirement, during the vacation between the summer and winter sessions, as long as his growing business allowed him leisure for any thoughts foreign to it [D]. But being advanced to the station of King's Advocate in the year 1674 (e), his thoughts and studies were wholly taken up afterwards in the service of his King and country; an eminent instance of which he gave a little before his advancement to that honourable station, in reconciling the senators of the college of justice and the advocates. The Lords of Session, to strengthen their own power, would not admit of any appeals for remedy of law from their decisions to the Parliament. This the faculty of advocates taking to be an incroachment upon the liberties of the subject, and an infringment of former acts of Parliament; a hot debate arose between them: but the King being informed of it wrote a letter, discharging all appeals, and ordering the advocates to submit to the Lords of Session; whereupon the greatest part of the faculty threw off their gowns and left the bar, which so incensed the Lords of Session, that they obtained an order of council for banishing them twelve miles from Edinburgh. Upon this they retired to Hadington, Linlithgow, and other adjacent places, according to the terms of the act of council. Sir George, though he was one of those that laid aside his employment on this account, yet considering the great loss that the subjects sustained by it, he made a proposal for reconciling them in a speech before the Session, in the month of November 1674; which being delivered with that warmth and concern that accompanied all his pleadings, when there was found the least tendency to the good and welfare of the King and country; the Lords took it into their serious consideration, and Sir George's proposal being accepted, the advocates returned to Edinburgh, and were admitted to plead [E]. For this and other good services, our learned

(e) Ibid. p. 11. In the inscription upon our author's coffin, his promotion to this post is placed in 1677. See that inscription at the close of his Life, p. xiv.

a proper evidence of the nature and fervency of our author's loyalty.

Montrose, his country's glory, and it's shame,
Cæsar (6) in all things equall'd, but his fame;
His heart, tho' not his country, was as great
As his, and fell yet by a nobler fate:
Montrose did fall his country to redress,
But Cæsar fell by them he did oppress.
Duty on valour stamps a just renown,
'Tis nobler to support, than wear a crown.

(6) He supposes this picture placed in company with Charles I. Seneca the Philosopher, Julius Cæsar, Pompey, and Cato.

[D] *In the vacation while he was disengaged from the proper business of his profession.*] Sir George was apparently enough aware, that his publishing things so foreign to the Law might be turned to his prejudice in that profession, and therefore constantly took proper care to guard against that mischief. Thus we find him concluding his *Religious Stoic* with this remark. 'The 'multitude, says he, (which albeit it hath ever been 'allowed many heads, yet hath never been allowed 'any brains) will doubtless accuse my studies of adultery, for hugging contemplations so eccentric to my 'employment. To these my return is, that these 'papers are but the parings of my other studies, and 'because they were put parings, I have flung them 'out into the streets. I wrote them in my retirements, when I wanted both books and employment; 'and I resolve that this shall be the last inroad I shall 'ever make into foreign contemplations (7).' But he was not able to keep this resolution, and therefore, upon transgressing again in his *Moral Gallantry*, he ushered it into the world with an apology prefixed, wherein he treats the matter with more seriousness, as follows. 'I doubt not but some will, out of mistake, '(I hope few will out of malice) think that the writ'ing upon such foreign subjects, binds this double 'guilt upon me, that I desert my own employment, 'and do invade what belongs to those of another pro'fession. But if we number the hours that are spent 'in gaming, drinking, or bodily exercise (at none 'of which I am dextrous); if we consider what time 'is spent in journeys, and attending the tides and re'turns of business, we will find many more vacant 'interludes, than are sufficient for writing ten sheets 'of paper in two years space; especially, upon a sub'ject which requires no reading, and wherein no man 'can write happily, but he who writes his own 'thoughts. With which, pardon me, to think him a 'sober wit, who cannot fill one sheet in three hours; 'by which calculation there needs go only thirty se'lect hours to ten sheets: and his life is most usuriously employed, who cannot spare so many out of two 'years in his divertisment, especially, when the ma'terials are such daily observations as are thrust upon 'me, and all others by our living in the world, and 'are so orthodox and undeniable, that an ordinary dress 'cannot but make them acceptable: and so few, I 'may say none, have written upon the subject, 'that I am not put to forge somewhat that may be 'new. But whatever others judge of this or me, I 'find that it is a part of my employment as a man and 'a Christian, to plead for virtue against vice. And 'really, as a barrister, few subjects will employ 'more my invention, or better more my unlaboured 'eloquence, than this can do.' What he has here urged, might very well pass for a sufficient guard against any harm that could possibly come from this quarter to his business, but he goes still further. He was not, it seems, without some apprehensions that writing at all, though in the way of his profession, might be objected to him, and upon that account when his *Pleadings before the supreme court of Scotland* made their appearance in publick in 1673, he thought proper to introduce them with some necessary reflections, among which one runs thus: 'I have been 'often asked, says he, two contrary questions; one 'was, how I diverted myself during all our six vacant 'months? and by others, how my employment gave 'me leisure to write? to answer both at once, I con'ceive, that a man in two afternoons of each vacant 'week, may write twice more than ever I sent to the 'press; and he must be very busy who has not these 'to spare. When I was too young, continues he, 'to write in my own profession, my love to my coun'try tempted me to write moral philosophy, and to 'adventure on a play and poem. But now that I 'find our countrymen could be happy enough in these 'if their inclinations were not less than their abilities, 'I have abandoned those employments; and the 'spring of my age being past, it is fit those blossoms 'should ripen into fruit.'

(7) Ibid. ch. xxi. intitled, The Author's Apology.

[E] *His speech procured a recall of the advocates to their pleadings.*] This remarkable speech was conceived in the following terms. 'I am, my Lord Chan'cellor, come here this morning with very smooth and 'calm inclinations; for I am resolved that in what re'lates to his Majesty, my very passions shall be good 'subjects; and it is so much my interest as well as my 'duty to obey in this case, my whole comrades em'ployments and respects falling naturally to me *jure devoluto* upon my very entry, that I am sure you 'cannot imagine I must be overacted by some stronger 'principle than money or fame. But lest I should be 'thought to sell my principles, or that your Lordships 'should be thought to command what you cannot 'justify; I do beg leave, with submission to your Lord'ships, to ask satisfaction to two scruples which stick 'with me. The first is, since I am fully resolved to retire 'and not to plead, because of my indisposition, I con'ceive your Lordships cannot in justice force me to de'clare any thing: for by his Majesty's letter you are 'only commaded to debar us, 'till we declare. And 'therefore, by the rule of conversion, you cannot debar 'us, 'till we desire to plead. The condition is here 'adjected to a quality which exists not; and if ye con'sider

learned author was knighted by the King (f); and, as we have said, was made his Majesty's Advocate, and one of the Lords of the Privy-Council in Scotland. His merit as a lawyer had unquestionably it's proper weight in procuring him these distinctions [F]; but besides this, he had another recommendation which rendered him particularly acceptable, if not to say necessary, to his Majesty at this juncture: to understand which clearly, we must take the matter a little higher. The Parliament of Scotland meeting, after the restoration of King Charles the Second, having charged the preceding rebellion upon the Solemn League and Covenant and those who adhered to it, passed an act for re-establishing Episcopacy; but though this was carried by a vote which may be termed unanimous, since

(f) His Life, p. 4. and in the inscription on his coffin he is stiled *Eques auratus*.

'sider the form and even late practices of this house, 'ye will find, that ye have constantly so proceeded: 'for when the act of Parliament ordered all the advocates to take the declaration, which was stronger 'than the case of this letter, because there, there was 'positive law, and in it a positive command; and yet 'ye never cited advocates, but debarred such as would 'not take the oath. And in the regulations, though 'his majesty commanded you by a solemn letter, yet 'ye only debarred, but did not cite. And if we consider the reason of the command, or the interest of the 'commander, or of those in whose favours the command is conceived, ye will find, that ye ought only 'to debar, not cite: for his Majesty designing that 'none should appeal from you, this letter is a fence to 'your jurisdiction: and if I be debarred 'till I declare, 'there can be no fear of my appealing, since I must 'disown those appeals before I plead. And what you 'have done against my comrades can be no preparative against me: for they were pleading in their 'gowns, when you debarred them; but I am not pleading, nor do I desire to plead: and I hope it is not 'his Majesty's interest to force his subjects to declare. 'And now I am a mere Gentleman, and no Advocate, 'and so your jurisdiction reacheth me not; and if 'ever I pretend to be an advocate, I shall obey, and 'conform. This declaration is to be the price of my 'privilege and liberty of pleading, and I hope there 'is no reason I should be forced to pay the price 'till 'I take, or at least need, your wares.

'The second thing wherein I desire to be satisfied, 'is this: I conceive that my employment is my estate; 'and if any of you left your sons advocates, or were 'to marry your daughters to advocates, you would 'think you left them well provided, if their employment were good. It is my plough or my sheep, nay 'it is my *life-rent*-right; and so like these rights it 'cannot be taken from me, except I commit a crime: 'and therefore, 'till I be guilty of a crime, I cannot forfeit my employment. And I conceive I am guilty of no 'fault or crime: For suppose these appeals or protestations were unlawful, which is all his Majesty's letter declares; yet appealing or protesting is no crime, for 'many things are discharged (8) which are not criminal, 'and nothing is a crime but what law makes so; but so 'it is, there is no law that declares appealing to be a 'crime. Thus we see it is declared unlawful to advocate 'causes to you below two hundred merks; and yet to 'raise an advocation for a less sum is no crime; nay not 'punishable. Prelates are discharged to set tacks (9) 'for a longer time than their life-time and 19 years, 'and inferior beneficed persons for longer than three 'years; yet the contravention irritates (10) the deeds, 'but subjects not the contraveners to punishment. I 'have pleaded against the exchequer, who are only 'judges to wards; and yet none thought these a crime 'or punishable. 2. We were in most probable ignorance of this unlawfulness, for lawyers have, after 'this act, declared it lawful to appeal and protest for 'remeid of law; and express acts of *sederunt* have 'allowed protestations for remeid of law since the act 'of Parliament, *et posteriora derogant prioribus*; or 'rather your predecessors, who best knew the import of 'these acts, have so interpreted the ambiguous words 'of the act of Parliament. And whereas it is alledged, that those acts and laws are very old, and so not 'to be founded upon. I conceive this, which is the 'only answer that can be made, is very frivolous; for 'the older they are, by so much the nearer to these 'times, and so were the fitter to interpret the meaning of these old laws: but however they were sufficient warrants for us to have made use of them; and 'the following the faith of them may breed a mistake, 'but must certainly defend against a fault or crime.

'I conceive, my Lord, that neither the King nor 'you are further concerned, than to have this judicatory secured against all appeals; and the proper way 'to do this, is by an act for the future, and we are 'content such an act be made; but it is against the nature of law, especially of punishing [penal] law, to 'be drawn backward: and in law, it's *sanction* is it's 'fence, and needs no assent from such who are to 'obey. And therefore, we ought not in law be 'put to declare our submission to it, but if we transgress, we are to be punished: nor do even the Parliament more to their acts. And was there ever 'more done than this in your or your predecessors 'acts of *sederunt*. But yet to shew our strong inclinations to comply with his Majesty, we are content to 'declare we shall not appeal for the future: so that 'all that is betwixt us and you, is, that ye will have 'us disown what we have done. And will your Lordships lose such useful gentlemen for a word? wherein neither his Majesty or you are concerned; nor 'is it pique or vanity in us to deny it, since no gentleman would disapprove of what he has done. Nor 'can I see how his Majesty loses any honour in allowing us this favour; for what is meanness when done 'to equals, is clemency when done to inferiors. And 'this great *French* King, was yet pleased, when all 'the advocates in France quit their gowns upon his 'imposing a tax upon them, to pass from the one 'half of what he demanded; which was more substantial than what we crave. And I hope his Majesty 'will consider how obsequious we have been; for 'though we and our predecessors were as free from 'taxes as the French advocates were, yet we were to 'pay willingly; and the declarations and regulations 'were imposed upon us; but we preferred our loyalty 'to our just liberty: and therefore, having obeyed 'them exactly, when his royal interest was concerned, 'and being content to secure your interest against future appeals, we conceive, that here you ought not 'to be nice upon a punctilio which is unnecessary.

'Oblige in this your native country who miss us, 'as ye know: oblige in this your law, that needs such 'instruments, especially in it's infancy: oblige your 'selves, who need such informers: and remember, 'that to find out a right defence, is much more hard 'and advantageous, than to judge it rightly.

(8) Prohibited.

(9) Prohibited to lett leases.

(10) Annuls.

[F] *His merit as a lawyer, &c.*] One instance of this merit was shewn by his collection of pleadings in some remarkable cases, to which the decisions of the Lords are subjoined; printed at Edinburgh 1673, 4to. In the same year he also published an answer to some reasons printed in England, against the overture of bringing into that kingdom such registers as are in Scotland: not long after which, he published his observations on the 21st act of the 23d Parliament of James VI. against dispositions made in defraud of creditors. He afterwards made a present of the first treatise to Dr Thomas Bourchier, Law-Professor in Oxford, who returned him an answer in Latin, which begins thus: *Celsiss. Mackenzie. Actiones quas Advocatis seculi tui dedisti non minorem in me voluptatem excitant, quam clientibus tuis victoribus solatium solebant afferre: at, quod clientibus rarius usu venire solet, plures ego desidero, reliquas etiam vehementer peto, &, quod insatiabilis animi vitium est, silenter expecto.*

Alciatus in declamatione quam dedit Minutio suo, ex unica facti specie tentavit quid in hoc genere possit, tu rem ipsam confecisti. Quæcunque excolit is in Burdigaloto aliisque per totam Galliam selectissimis viris, in te uno conveniunt omnia: actiones forenses omnes innocens, doctus, candidus, ab ipsis Juris Naturæ fontibus ubique exorsus, summa cum humanitate ornasti: Leges civiles unde, proh, dolor! deflexæ sunt, rectæ rationis & jucundæ verecundiæ instaurator alter revocas. Neque enim credendum est homines spurcitiem tantam e nostris contracturos, si more tuo arguerent, tuæ si quis uterentur, &c. (11).

(11) Testimonies of the university of Oxford and others, subjoined to his Life, ubi supra.

[G] *We*

since only four or five dissented, yet it was far from being quietly submitted to, by the Presbyterians, who generally held their form of church-government to be *jure divino*, or of divine right; and therefore, to be maintained under the pain of eternal damnation. Hereupon, in order to prevent the old humour from fermenting into a rebellion, another act was passed, prohibiting, under some penalties, any number above five, who were not of the same family or neighbourhood, to meet in a conventicle, which was the name given to their places of worship. Inflamed by this restraint, they broke out into an open rebellion, and were defeated by the King's forces at Pentland-Hills, in November 1666. However, the Government thought proper to relax a little from the former severity, and they were allowed their own ministers, who were settled in churches, and in many places suffered to enjoy the benefices. This indulgence satisfied some of the most moderate among them, but the generality still remained inflexible, and having rallied their scattered forces, they preached up rebellious principles to them, and treated their indulged brethren with as great contempt, as they did the bishops and the Episcopal clergy, calling them *council curates*, and separated from them. These meetings, therefore, were declared to be rendezvouzes of rebellion. On the other hand, the rebels put forth a proclamation at Sanquhar, wherein they declared, *That the Covenant was the original contract betwixt God, the People, and the King; and therefore, that the King having broken it, forfeited his crown: and by that means, since he was only to be considered as a private subject and enemy to God, it was lawful for them to kill him, and all who served him, according to the noble examples of Phineas and Ehud* (*g*). In consequence of this doctrine, the archbishop of St Andrews and several others were murdered, and to defend the murderers, an army was raised, which the King's forces defeated at Bothwel-Bridge in 1679. There was also an insurrection of the field-conventiclers the following year, led by one Cameron, who was defeated and killed by Colonel Bruce (*h*). After this, the malecontents had several meetings in London, in one of which it was agreed, that 20000 men should be raised in Scotland, and that the garrisons of Berwick and Carlisle, and all the officers of state should be seized; which was likewise seconded by Monmouth and Argyle's rebellions in 1685 (*i*). It was in the midst of all these troubles, that Sir George Mackenzie was appointed King's Advocate, a post of the same nature in Scotland, with that of the King's attorney-general in England. By virtue of this office, he was particularly charged with the management of the prosecutions of state-criminals, and his duty concurred with his political principles, which led him to embrace the court-doctrine of passive obedience, maintaining with great zeal, that the uncontroverted magistrate was, if not actively, yet passively, always to be obeyed. We need not observe, that it is not possible for the most upright heart to pass through this office in troublesome and rebellious times, without incurring the hatred of many, and the displeasure of more, who have the misfortune to see the hand of justice fall upon their friends, acquaintance, or relations: nor perhaps will it be denied, that the office has proved a rock upon which lawyers, of otherwise unblemished reputation, have been too often seen to shipwreck a good conscience. Hence, as Sir George was his Majesty's Advocate during the two last mentioned rebellions, it is no wonder that the rebels had a particular spite and malice against him, who, by his office, was obliged to prosecute them for their lives; and therefore it was, that they called him the *blood-thirsty advocate and persecutor of the saints of God*. But how unjustly these aspersions were thrown upon him, will appear, from the great care he took in regulating the forms used in the pursuits of treason, and the mildness and tenderness that he always shewed to the rebels. As to the first of these, it must be observed, that by the law of Scotland treason may be pursued either at the instance of a private informer, or by the King's Advocate, who is *ratione officii calumniator publicus*, that is, by his office, the publick informer against rebels. If a private person inform, then his name must be expressed, that neither he nor any of his relations may be used as witnesses, he must likewise find surety that he shall prove it, and that he shall insist, as being liable *in pœnam talionis*, or the same punishment which the law provided against such a criminal, in case he should fail of proving the crime. (I.) Now always, before Sir George came to this post, the King's Advocate examined the witnesses alone; but Sir George thinking he might be suspected of being too much interested, prevailed with the government to get this examination referred to the judges, who in all nations enquire into the grounds whereupon pursuits [prosecutions] are to be raised. To strengthen the security of the defendant or party accused, Sir George used to interpose with the officers of state, before the depositions were brought into the council, and to represent to them his own scruples: and if the officers of state continued still of opinion, that a process was to be made out, then he desired the learnedest advocates of the nation to be called, before whom the depositions were read; and if they concurred in judgment with the officers of state, then these advocates were ordered to concur with him in the prosecution. (II.) And many of the most learned and most popular advocates did concur with him in the most intricate cases; which it is not to be imagined they would have done, had they thought their pleading in these cases was not according to law, or that it was any guilt or fault in them. Though by the laws of some nations no witnesses are to be produced for the defendant, but such as do appear voluntarily; yet when our learned advocate was a judge in the criminal court, which answers to the King's-Bench in England, he ordered, for the good of the people, the remedy of exculpation; whereby the defendant representing that he has some defences, a warrant is given to force the witnesses whom he names, to appear under severe penalties, and

(*g*) See our author's treatise, entituled, The Method of proceeding against Criminals; as also some of the Fanatical Covenants.

(*h*) Salmon's Chronological Historian, under the year 1680.

(*i*) Sir George's piece, intituled, Processes against Baylie of Jerviswood-Court.

and ſuch time is granted to him and them, as may be ſufficient for their appearance, and they are examined upon oath, and the jury is obliged to believe any two of them (though no witneſſes are allowed in England to ſwear againſt the King) and this order was afterwards turned into an act of Parliament (*k*). And to take off all poſſibility of packing juries in Edinburgh, where generally the juries are choſen, it was ordered by the judges, at Sir George's earneſt deſire, that the town of Edinburgh ſhould give up a liſt of all their houſekeepers, who were able to paſs upon juries, and that all theſe ſhould be named *per vices*, according to the ſituation of the place where they lived. (III.) Becauſe the defendant did not know what witneſſes were to be produced againſt him by the King's Advocate, and ſo could not have witneſſes ready to prove his objections againſt them; therefore Sir George prevailed with the Parliament, that not only he, but all ſucceeding King's Advocates, ſhould be for ever afterwards obliged to give with the indictment, a liſt of what witneſſes and members of inqueſt were to be uſed by them, and an order to be given for citing any witneſſes that the defendant pleaſed, with a competent time for producing them: fifteen days being ſtill the leaſt time allowed by that law for preparing the defendant in all ſuch caſes. (IV.) By the form of the criminal court in Scotland, when the day of trial or appearance comes, the witneſſes who were preſent at giving the citation are obliged to depoſe upon oath, that they ſaw the citation truly given, and then the King's Advocate produced his warrant: and accordingly, Sir George did never proſecute any man, 'till he produced his warrant, as appears from the records of the council and criminal court. The advocates for the King and defendant being both called in before the court, the defendant hears the indictment or ſummons read, and then forty five jury-men are called, and the defendant's objections againſt them are diſcuſſed. And though of old, the King's Advocate had the naming of the jury, as being preſumed diſintereſted, yet Sir George prevailed to get an act of Parliament made (*l*), whereby the nomination of the jury was referred to the judges, and fifteen of theſe forty five are only admitted as a ſufficient jury; and the defendant is allowed to challenge or reject any thirty that he pleaſes of the forty five, without giving any reaſon for it, and the fifteen who remain make up the jury, and are ſet by the judges. (V.) In this court likewiſe, after the depoſitions were taken, the advocates for the King and defendant ſpoke to the jury in a full harangue: but becauſe the publick intereſt was ſtill to be preferred to that of private men, therefore the Scotiſh law allowed the King's Advocate to be the laſt ſpeaker in all criminal caſes, 'till Sir George prevailed with the Parliament (*m*) to give the laſt word to the defendant in all caſes, except that of treaſon; becauſe ordinarily the greateſt impreſſion is ſuppoſed to be made by the laſt pleading. (VI.) Laſtly, in this court of old, the clerk uſed to be incloſed with the jury for their direction; but Sir George procured, that becauſe the clerk had ſome dependance upon the Crown, he might be excluded from going in with them, and that they might chuſe their own clerk, which was accordingly done, and eſtabliſhed by act of Parliament (*n*). To conclude in our author's own words: 'No man who endeavoured to 'leſſen the power of the King's Advocates by acts of parliament and regulations, can be 'thought to have had any inclination to ſtretch it. As alſo, he may value himſelf for 'refuſing to accept the King's Advocate's place, 'till his predeceſſor reſigned it under 'his hand: that he never informed againſt any man, nor ſuggeſted any proſecution: 'that when a proſecution was motioned, he pleaded as much in private for the defendant, 'if the caſe was dubious, as any of his Advocates did in the trial, except when he was 'ſuſpected of friendſhip to the defendant, or of a deſire to become popular. And no age 'did ſee ſo many thouſands pardoned, nor ſo many indemnities granted, as was in his 'time; which as it muſt be principally aſcribed to the extraordinary clemency of the 'Kings he ſerved, ſo it may in ſome meaſure be aſcribed to the biaſs which Sir George had 'to the merciful hand (*o*).' And the truth of all this evidently appears, if we conſider, that during theſe rebellions, although twenty thouſand had been publickly guilty, yet there died not two hundred by the criminal court (*p*), and above a hundred and fifty of theſe might have ſaved their lives by ſaying, *God ſave the King*: not that the refuſing to ſay this was made a crime, but that this eaſy defence was allowed them to ſave their lives; and there died not above ſix in all the time that Sir George was advocate, except for being in actual rebellion, and for aſſaſſination clearly proved againſt them. But the moſt clamorous inſtances of our author's cruelty, is, in the deaths of ſome particular perſons who were executed, as was pretended, by Sir George's ſtretching the laws too far. It muſt be owned, if this charge was well ſupported, that no excuſe of his acting therein miniſterially, by virtue only of his office, would be a ſufficient vindication of his conduct; therefore it will be neceſſary to employ a note in laying before the reader, a true ſtate of the caſe in each of theſe inſtances [G], in order to ſhew that none of theſe people were executed but upon moſt

(*k*) Act of ſeſſ. 3. Parl. 2. Charles II. art. 2.

(*l*) Act 3. ibid.

(*m*) Act 10. ibid.

(*n*) Act 8. ibid.

(*o*) Vindication of King Charles the Second's Government.

(*p*) Ibid.

[G] *We ſhall give a true ſtate of the caſe in the notes.*] The caſes are thoſe of Mitchel, Lermouth, Baillie of Jerviſwood, the Earl of Argyle, and two poor women. But as it may be thought too tedious to run through them all, we ſhall only ſpeak to the moſt remarkable, referring the reader for the reſt to our author's book itſelf. Theſe two are Baillie of Jerviſwood, and the Earl of Argyle. As to the firſt, it is beyond all diſpute, that miſpriſion of treaſon is by the laws of Scotland puniſhable as treaſon: and it having been proved againſt him, that he was acceſſary to and concealed a deſign of raiſing 20,000 men, and ſeizing the garriſons of Berwick and Carliſle, and the officers of ſtate, he could not eſcape the puniſhment of the law. Yet Sir George had ſuch a regard for this gentleman, that he would not bring an indictment againſt him, 'till Sir George Lockhart, and one of the moſt learned of the Judges, did declare that the point of law and the

most just grounds. In the mean time, it must needs raise a great idea of the activity of his genius and extensive knowledge, that, notwithstanding the prodigious throng of business, and that upon the most important affairs of the nation was dispatched by him, yet he found so much leisure, and employed it so well, that if we consider the productions of his pen, in illustrating the laws and customs of his country, in vindicating the monarchy against the contrivances, aspersions, and principles, of the Fanaticks, and other enemies, together with what he wrote for advancing the honour and glory of his country, we should be apt to think most part of his time had been spent in his closet. This will appear from a view of his excellent writings upon all these subjects. For instance, to illustrate the laws and customs, besides the pieces already mentioned, he published *A Discourse upon the Laws and Customs of Scotland in matters criminal:* where is to be seen, how the Civil Law, and the Laws and Customs of other nations, do agree with and supply those of Scotland. Printed at Edinburgh, 1678, 4to. This was followed by his *Idea Eloquentiæ forensis hodiernæ* [*H*], *una cum actione forensi ex unaquaque juris parte.* Edinb. 1681, 8vo. A book greatly esteemed by the learned, both for the usefulness of the matter and the purity of the language (*q*). To the same purpose he published *The Institutions of the Laws of Scotland*, Edinb. 1684, 12mo (*r*), a book then of so great use for the understanding of their law, that it has gone through several impressions both there and in England. Two years afterwards came out his *Observations upon the Acts of Parliament.* Edinb. 1686, fol. Besides these, several other treatises of Law are inserted in his Works, printed at Edinburgh,

(*q*) Mr Macdouald, in the preface to his Institutes of the Laws of Scotland, printed in 1753, speaking of the preceding writers on that subject, begins with this piece of our author, which he calls a Compendium of our [Scots] Laws, after the manner of Justinian's Institutes, and is, says he, a valuable performance, as it comprehends in miniature most of the principles of our Law.

(*r*) Several elogiums of this piece, by the university of Bourges, and by the Professors of Law at Leyden Frankfort, Dantzic, Paris, and Oxford, are printed at the end of Sir George's Life, ubi supra.

the probation were both most clear, and concurred in the process with him: and some of the witnesses were his own relations and of his own persuasion; I mean Presbyterians (12).

But the case of the Earl of Argyle has made the greatest noise of any, because it was rescinded by an act of K. William and Q. Mary's Parliament. But the undeniable matter of fact was this: The Test being enacted to be a bulwark to the Protestant religion, as upon the event it proved; the Earl would not take it but with a declaration, that *he did take it as far as it was consistent with itself, or with the Protestant religion: and,* saith he, *I declare, that I mean not to bind up myself to wish or endeavour any alteration I think to the advantage of the Church and State.* The Privy-Council observing that the Test, by one part of this declaration, appeared ridiculous, and by the other became ineffectual to all the intents and purposes for which it was designed, (for by this every man's opinion became the rule of his loyalty, and therefore obliged to be no farther loyal than he thought convenient) they earnestly dealt with the Earl, to acknowledge that he was in the wrong, or else to suppress it; since by act of Parliament all such as put limitations upon their loyalty are guilty of treason, and that this act was made upon most just and necessary motives. For the foundation of the rebellion in K. Charles the First's time, was, *That by the Covenant, the subjects were no further obliged to own the King's interest, than in so far as it agreed with the word of God, and the laws of the land, of which every private man made himself judge.* And if this were allowed, no oath of allegiance could bind, and consequently all society must be dissolved. Yet the Earl would neither do the one nor the other. The Duke of York, then High-Commissioner to the Parliament of Scotland, being assured by one of the best lawyers in the nation, that the Earl's declaration imported treason, Sir George was obliged by his office, though much against his own inclination, on account of the personal kindness he had for the Earl, to prosecute him for high-treason, and he was found guilty, after a full debate, wherein eight or nine of the best lawyers of the nation by a positive command from the council, did assist the Earl: and whereas many have admired that he was not prosecuted, and condemned afterwards, when the Earl by an open rebellion invaded his country, it proceeds from their ignorance of the laws of England and Scotland; by which no person can be tried for the very same crime for which he stands convicted, though he may for a crime which deserves a greater punishment: for the law has exhausted it's revenge by the first sentence. Yet Sir George observes, 'where a new notorious aggravation supervenes, as in this case of *Argyle*, which is so clear, that it can admit of no debate, nor needs no probation; it were very unjust, that the law should not here be put in execution, though the first sentence had been thought too severe to deserve it.' (13)

(12) Process against Baylie of Jerviswood, in Sir George's Works, Vol. II.

(13) See his Answer to the Scotch Ministers, in vindication of the proceedings against Argyle.

[*H*] *Idea eloquentiæ forensis hodiernæ, &c.*] Besides this, our author wrote an *Essay upon what Eloquence is fit for the Bar*, which is prefixed to his pleadings before the supreme court of Scotland; wherein, among others, he makes the following remark in honour of his country. 'It may seem, says he, a paradox to others, but to me it appears undeniable, that the Scottish idiom of the British tongue is more fit for pleading, than either the English idiom or the French tongue. For certainly a pleader must use a brisk, smart, and quick way of speaking; whereas the English, who are a grave nation, use a too slow and grave pronunciation, and the French a too soft and effeminate one. And therefore, I think, the English is fit for haranguing, the French for complimenting, but the Scots for pleading. Our pronunciation is like ourselves, fiery, abrupt, sprightly, and bold; their greatest wits being employed at Court, have indeed inriched very much their language as to conversation, but all ours, bending themselves to study the Law, the chief science in repute with us, hath much smoothed our language as to pleading. And when I compare our law with the law of England, I perceive that our law favours more pleading than theirs does; for their statutes and decisions are so full and authoritative, that scarce any case admits pleading; but, like an hare killed in the seat, 'tis immediately surprized by a decision or a statute. Nor can I enough admire, why some of the wanton English undervalue so much our idiom, since that of our gentry differs little from theirs; nor do our commons speak so rudely. as those of Yorkshire. As to the words wherein the difference lies, ours are for the most part old French words, borrowed during the old league betwixt the two nations, as *canel* for *cinnamon*, and *servit* for *napkin*, and a thousand of the like stamps; and if the French tongue be at least equal to the English, I see not why ours should be worse than it. Sometimes also, our fiery temper, has made us, for haste, express several words into one, as *stour* for *dust in motion*; *sturdy* for *an extraordinary giddiness*, &c. But generally words *significant ex instituto:* and therefore one word is hardly better than another. Their language is invented by courtiers and may be softer, but ours by learned men and men of business, and so must be more massy and significant. And for our pronunciation, beside what I said formerly of it's being more fitted to the complexion of our people, than the English accent is; I cannot but remember them, that the Scots are thought the nation under heaven, who do with most ease, learn to pronounce best the *French*, *Spanish*, and other foreign languages, and all nations acknowledge that they speak the Latin with the most intelligible accent; for which no other reason can be given, but that our accent is natural, and has nothing, at least little in it, that is peculiar. I say not this to asperse the English, they are a nation I honour; but to reprove the petulancy and malice of some among them, who think they do their country good service, when they reproach ours.

Nec sua dona quisque recuset.

[*I*] *Observations*

burgh, 1716, in two volumes, folio. Accordingly, in vindication of Monarchy, he wrote his *Jus Regium: or, The just and solid Foundations of Monarchy in general, and more especially of the Monarchy of Scotland, maintained against* Buchanan, Naphtali, Doleman, Milton, &c. This piece was published at London in 1684; and, being dedicated and presented by the author to the university of Oxford, the members thereof, assembled in Convocation on the ninth of June the same year, ordered a letter of thanks to be sent to him (s). In the same spirit he published his *Discovery of the Fanatick Plot*, printed at Edinburgh the same year in folio; and his *Vindication of the Government of Scotland during the reign of Charles II, &c.* 1691, 4to. To which was added, the method of proceeding against criminals, as also some of the Fanatical Covenants, as they were printed and published by themselves in that reign. Edinb. 1683, 4to. Sir George was no less concerned and zealous in whatever contributed to the honour of his nation, of which he gave four noble instances. The first was, his *Observations on the Laws and Customs of Nations as to Precedency, with the Science of Heraldry, as a part of the Law of Nations* [*I*], *&c.* The second was in his *Defence of the Royal Line and Antiquities of Scotland.* The devastations that had happened through the long and bloody wars between the two kingdoms, and the unaccountable proceedings of the Scotish reformers in burning and destroying all their religious houses and libraries, had destroyed most of their records; so that an overture was made for taking from them what records remained. Hereupon Sir George, in 1673, published *An Answer to some Reasons printed in England, against the overture of bringing into that kingdom such registers as are in Scotland (t).* But the rudest attack upon the antiquity of the royal race of Scotland, and the veracity of their historians, was made in *An Historical Account of Church Government, as it was in Great Britain and Ireland, when they first received the Christian Religion; by the learned Dr* William Lloyd, *then Bishop of St Asaph.* In 1680. To this Sir George made a very warm reply, in his book intitled, *A Defence of the Royal Line of Scotland, with a true account when the Scots were governed by Kings in the island of Britain.* This was printed at London in the latter end of June 1685; but before the publication, it was animadverted on by the famous Dr Edward Stillingfleet (who had seen it in manuscript) in the preface to his book intituled, *Origines Britanicæ*, &c. To which Sir George made a reply the following year, under the title of *The Antiquity of the Royal Line of Scotland further cleared and defended, against the Exceptions lately offered by Dr Stillingfleet, in his Vindication of the Bishop of St Asaph.* Lond. 1686. After which there was no more heard of this controversy. But an appeal seemed to have been made some time afterwards to the learned abroad on the side of Sir George, whose books were put into Latin, and printed at Utrecht in 1689 (u), and then presented to William-Henry Prince of Orange. His Highness wrote two very obliging letters of thanks to Sir George for his performance [*K*]. The third instance of our author's zeal for the honour

(s) It is printed at the end of his Life.

(t) The author of the Reasons had alledged, that these registers were introduced into Scotland, on account of the poverty and severity of that people, which Sir George endeavours to disprove.

(u) With the following title: Defensio Antiquitatis Regalis Scotorum prosapiæ, quo ostenditur a quo primum tempore Scotia Regibus gubernata sit: Libris Episcopi *Asaphensis*, & doctissimi *Stillinfletii*, S. S. T. D. opposita. Auctore *Georgio Mackenzio*, Regio in Scotia Advocato. Ex Anglico in Latinam linguam versa a P. S.

[*I*] *Observations on Precedency, and the science of Heraldry, &c.*] We have the following account of this performance by a person of unrivalled knowledge in this art: it is the subject of a letter to Sir George Mackenzie, which begins thus: 'Sir, There's no man readier than myself to give all honour and respect due to the merits of your friend the worthy Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh. Their Majesties Charles II. and James IId's advocate, a faithful and loyal servant all his life; who was an ornament to his country, and gave lustre to his name and family, by his many virtues and eminent qualities scarce to be found in one but himself, which do, and will appear in all ages, by his many learned works and merit, to be perpetuated by the politest pen.

'Two of which, his Precedency, and Science of Heraldry, relate to my profession of armories: the first being somewhat extrinsic, containing observations upon precedency . . . . . . so well done, with many noble questions of law, there learnedly discussed, to the satisfaction of all, that I shall say no more of it.

'As for the other, his Science of Heraldry, I shall with all brevity give my opinion, (it being your desire) of it's worth and parts, as it was the first work of that nature published with us, adds no less to Sir George's honour than his others do, being the best done system (considering it altogether) of it's kind yet extant, and is preferable not only to such published in England, but in other countries. Menestrier's works of that nature, in some parts, may be excepted.' The letter proceeds in describing the particulars of this performance both in the speculative and practical part of Heraldry, and mentioning a manuscript left by Sir George to supply a defect in the latter part, observes, that this manuscript has furnished ground and encouragement to others to work upon. After which the writer concludes thus: 'Having shewn the beauties and defects of Sir George's Heraldry, I cannot but in justice to him, continue to say of it, as I have done before in my Essay of Marks of Cadency, that our country has been happier of late than others, in his System of Heraldry being more exact, and his observations and remarks more profitable, than many other pieces of that nature to be met with, and to be preferred to any our neighbouring nation can brag of; and what could we not have expected from him, had he been less concerned in the publick business of the kingdom, when in all the throng of affairs, his different works prove him a great man, whose genius could not be confined to one subject, being a perfect master of many; and his merits are too well known to stand in need of any encomium,

From, Sir,

Your very humble servant

Alexander Nisbet. (14).

(14) The author of the Heraldry of Scotland, a book in the highest esteem. A copy of this letter is inserted at the end of our author's Life, ubi supra.

[*K*] *Letters of the Prince of Orange, &c.*] These are in French as follow:

'Monsieur, A la Haye le 20 de May 1685.

'Jay receu votre lettre du 19 d'Avril, ensemble avec le livre, dont vous avez voulu ma faire present. Celuy dont vous faites encore mention dans la mesme lettre, m'a rendu du mesme, & je vous remercie beaucoup de l'un & de l'autre; au reste vous pouvez etre assuré, qu'ayant une grande estime pour votre merite, je feray toujours tres aisé de vous le temoigner aux occasions, que je pourray en avoir par des effets, qui vous feront connoitre qui je suis,

Monsieur,

Votre tres affectione

Mr George Mackenzie. G. H. Prince d'Orange.'

'Monsieur,

honour and good of his county was, the founding of the Lawyers Library at Edinburgh in 1689. This goes by the name of the *Advocates Library*, and was afterwards ftored with variety of manufcripts, efpecially relating to the antiquity of the Scotifh nation, and with all forts of books in all the fciences, claffed in that excellent order, and planned by him in an elegant Latin oration, which he pronounced upon that occafion (*w*). The laft inftance we fhall give of his zeal for the honour of his country, is his folid and judicious reflections upon *the advantages and difadvantages that would happen by an incorporating union between the two kingdoms*, illuftrated by an hiftorical account of three attempts that had been made fince King James the Sixth's acceffion to the throne of England; all of which proved ineffectual, but was compleated by Queen Anne in 1707. Sir George's zeal for propagating piety and virtue was no lefs confpicuous, than that which he had fhewn in illuftrating the laws, and defending the rights, privileges, and honours, of his country. Befides thofe excellent moral and divine effays which he publifhed in his youth, as already mentioned, he wrote feveral others, the titles whereof may be feen below [*L*]. But it is time to proceed to the laft fcene of our author's life. Upon the abrogation of the penal laws by King James the Second, our Advocate, however fteady in his loyalty, thought himfelf under a neceffity of laying down his place, being convinced, that he could not, with a good confcience, perform the duties of it in that point. He was fucceeded by Sir John Dalrymple, who, however, did not long continue in it; for that unfortunate Prince being convinced of his error, reftored our author to his former poft, in which he continued 'till the Revolution, always firm to his mafter's intereft and the Proteftant religion. Upon this principle, in the firft council that was called in Scotland after the Prince of Orange's landing, the propofal being made, that an addrefs fhould be fent up to the Prince with the higheft acknowledgments of gratitude, for his generous undertaking to free them from Popery, and the offers of their fervice to him for the future, Sir George told them; that this was againft their duty and allegiance to their lawful fovereign, and therefore advifed them to confider ferioufly what they were going to do; which put a ftop to it at that time. Not long after this he gave over acting either as Advocate or Counfellor, hoping that the Prince of Orange would ftand by his declaration, and return to his own country when matters were adjufted between the King and his fubjects; and that he might contribute all that was in his power to fo good a defign, he wrote his *Memorial to the Prince of Orange* (*x*). In the mean time a propofal was made to that Prince, that Sir George and feveral others fhould be declared incapable of any publick employment; but the Prince abfolutely refufed it, being refolved to put no body in defpair, 'till once he knew how they intended to behave for his intereft. When the Convention of Eftates met, in order to determine the point about the vacancy of the Throne, and accepting the Prince of Orange for their fovereign, as had been done in England, Sir George argued warmly in defence

(*w*) This fpeech is intituled, Oratio inauguralis in aperienda Jurifconfultorum Bibliotheca a Domino Georgio Mackenfio, e Valle Roforum, Facultatis Advocatorum Decano habita. To which is added, Characteres quorundam apud Scotos Advocatorum. A moft ingenious performance, wherein the characters of fome of his contemporary Advocates are drawn with that fmart and brifk vivacity, which he obferves is the diftinguifhing talent of the Scots. See his *Idea Forenfis Eloquentiæ*.

(*x*) Printed in his Works, Vol. II.

'Monfieur, A la Haye le 17 de May 1686.

'Jay receu devotre part le livre, que vous venez de 'donner nouvellement au publicq, vous pouvez etre 'affuré, que j'eftime beaucoup le zele, que vous con'tinuez de temoigner pour l'honneur & la gloire de la 'Maifon Royale, & pareillement l'affection, que vous 'confervez a mon égard. Vous pouvez être affeuré de 'ma reconnoiffance pour les occafions, que je pourray 'avoir de vous en donner des marques, & de la verité, 'dont je fuis,

Monfieur,

Votre tres affectione,

a vous rendre fervice,

Sir George Mackenzie. G. H. Prince d'Orange.'

[*L*] *The titles whereof may be feen below.*] Thefe are, I. Moral Effays on Happinefs. 1. That nothing without us can make us happy. 2. How far the Moral Philofophy of the Ancients can make us happy. 3. That the Moral Philofophy of the Heathens was not able to make us happy. 4. That the Chriftian religion is excellently contrived for rendering men happy both here and hereafter. II. Solitude preferred to publick Employment. III. The Moral Hiftory of Frugality. IV. A Moral Paradox, maintaining that it is eafier to be virtuous than vicious. V. *Reafon, an Effay.* Part 1. How weakly men reafon in matters of greateft importance. Part 2. Whence proceeds it that man is fo unreafonable, and how to improve our reafon. Bifhop Burnet, who, as his manner was in general, efpecially to thofe of different political principles, reprefents our author as a flight and fuperficial writer, and fays his books of law are many and full of faults, yet allows him to be a man of life and wit (15). And he has given an admirable proof of it in this Effay; where he fhews the true ufe of wit, and in doing it gives a moft confpicuous example of that true ufe, which he concludes with this excellent remark. 'I defign not this, fays he, to leffen the efteem due to true wit, and that pleafantnefs of converfation which arifes from it, as flowers from the root. The Almighty certainly defigned to make all men happy, and there is no happinefs without pleafure; and that as he rejoiced when he faw that all that he had made was good, fo he was defirous that man might find out this good, both for making himfelf thereby happy, and for inviting him the more to magnify the Creator. And therefore, to fweeten the miferies which naturally embitter human life, God has illuminated fome with a pleafantnefs of humour which rejoices the fociety into which they come, as the fun illuminates the room into which it enters. Thefe are they who having peace of confcience at home, are thereby allowed to be glad; and who having wit, employ it in turning the right fide of things to them, underftanding as well to find out what is pleafant in any object, as artifts do to find a piece of gold in a barren mountain. This is the true ufe of wit; and if at any time they ufe it to treat vice or extravagancy in ridicule, it is not from any malice to the perfon, but from a defire to reform him, and mankind by him. There is a juftice in fcourging, defaming, and banifhing vice, and this jurifdiction is given by heaven, immediately to fuch as have fenfe; of whom, upon that account, the greateft rulers ftand in awe: and fo much reverence is due to them, that the reft of mankind beftow applaufe according to their inclinations. Bitternefs then, and fullen morofenefs, in wit is the tyrrany of this jurifdiction. If it be infolent, it is the wrong fide of this delicate picture, a flafhing light, which at firft dazzles, but thereafter blinds: a delicious fruit corrupted into bitternefs, and a beautiful face wrinkled by fretting humours.

The Ancients termed wit a falt, and that is not fit for food, but for feafoning; it may be ufed plentifully in converfation, moderately in bufinefs, but never in religion.'

(15) Hiftory of his own Times, Vol. I. B. iii.

[*A*] *Defcended*

(y) See the article of GRANT [Sir FRANCIS], Vol. IV. p. 2255.

(z) Wood's Fasti, Vol. II. col. 236. Our author's Moral History of Frugality was planned at this time, as appears by the dedication of it to the university, and finished during his illness at Lord Cockburne's. Letter subjoined to the dedication.

(aa) This was written in 1716.

defence of his old master, against both these propositions (y); and soon after the vote was carried he left the Convention and retired to England, resolving to spend the rest of his days in the university of Oxford, where he arrived in the month of September, 1689, and prosecuted his studies in the Bodleian library, being admitted a student there, by a grace passed in the congregation June 2, 1690 (z). In the beginning of the next spring he went to London, where he fell into a disorder, which, proving incurable, put a period to his life, May 2, 1691. He died at his lodgings in St James's, near the royal palace, from whence his corpse was carried by land into Scotland; and, after it had lain some time in the abbey church of Holy-Rood-house at Edinburgh, was buried on the 26th of June following, with great state and solemnity, in the Franciscan or Grey-Friars church-yard, in a vault which he had directed to be made for himself, with a cupola of free-stone over it. His funeral was attended by all the Council, Nobility, College of Justice, College of Physicians, University, Clergy, and Gentry, and such a concourse of people as was never seen upon the like occasion. There was fastened on his coffin a plate of brass, whereon was ingraved an inscription in Latin, containing an account of his birth, family, and preferments; to which is added, as usual, an elogium of him [*M*]. And the writer of his life having collected what had been said of him by several learned men in their writings, has given us his character, as follows: That he was a gentleman of a pleasant and useful conversation, but a severe opposer of vicious and loose principles in whomsoever he found them. He was a great lover of the laws and customs of his country; and from his many excellent writings upon them it appears, that no man understood the Law of Nations, the Civil Law, and the Laws of his own country, better than he did. He was regardless of riches and popularity; frugal in his expences; temperate in his diet, being a great enemy to all sorts of extravagance and debaucheries. He was a faithful friend, a loyal subject, an able statesman, a constant advocate for the clergy and university, a zealous defender of piety and religion in all companies and on all occasions, against the attacks of Atheists, Deists, and all sorts of sectaries that differed from the Church of England, of which he was a true and faithful son. His abilities in his profession were great, being a great master of eloquence, as appeared in all his pleadings at the Bar, which were constantly accompanied with all those hidden and wandring beauties, which never fail to charm and captivate the affections of mankind, and which he never exerted but with the greatest integrity, being a person of strict honour and justice in all his actions. His natural parts were extraordinary good, which he improved by indefatigable pains, and made himself thoroughly acquainted with the best writers ancient and modern. The gaiety of his fancy and fertility of his invention were corrected by so exact a judgment, that he is copious upon all his subjects, and yet very close and pertinent. All his thoughts are clear and coherent, and his most serious discourses have such variety of curious remarks and observations, as render them very pleasant and diverting. He was acquainted with most of the learned men in Britain, particularly with those of the university of Oxford and of the Royal Society; nor was he less famous among the learned men abroad, especially the Lawyers in France and Holland. He was twice honourably married; first to a daughter of Dickson of Hartry, one of the Senators of the college of Justice, by whom he had three sons and two daughters. The sons died before him unmarried. His eldest daughter, Agnes, was married to the Sheriff of Bute, whose predecessor, Sir John Stewart (commonly called the Black Stewart), was son to King Robert the Second. She brought her husband the present Earl of Bute (*aa*), and one daughter, married to the Viscount of Garrack. His other daughter, Elizabeth, was alive in 1716, and had been twice married, first to Cockburn of Langton, a gentleman of an ancient and honourable family; and then to Sir James Mackenzie of Royston, one of the Senators of the college of Justice, and son to the Earl of Cromarty; to both whom she has brought several children. Sir George's second lady was a daughter of the Laird of Pitcur in the county of Angus, a gentleman of an ancient family; she was a lady of great piety and virtue, and remarkably distinguished by the affectionate regard she bore to her husband's memory, which was extended to all his relations. This lady brought him two children, a son and a daughter, both of whom died unmarried. Besides what he published himself he left several manuscripts, some of which were printed in his Works [*N*], already mentioned.

[*M*] *Elogium of him.*] Many other epitaphs and poems were composed on him, of which first the writer of his life has preserved three, which he says had obtained an universal approbation. The first is a Latin epigram placed beneath his picture in tail douce 1686, by Thomas Gleg, D. M. and one of the best poets in his age. The second is in Latin too, by the famous Dr Archibald Pitcairne; and the third in English, by an anonymous author.

[*N*] *Some manuscripts printed in his works.*] Several of these have been mentioned in the course of this memoir, to which we shall only add one more, and that is intitled, an Index of some illustrious Cases lately controverted in Europe, more especially in Britain, upon which Sir George Mackenzie designed to write; found among his manuscripts, and writ with his own hand. This contains no less than forty-four cases, upon some of the most interessing occurrences of those times, the forty-second of which is, *Whether Dr Burnet might have transferred his Allegiance.*

P.

MACLAURIN

MACLAURIN [Colin (a)], an eminent Mathematician, descended of an ancient family [A] in Argyleshire in Scotland, was born in February 1698, at Kilmoddan in that county. Six weeks after his birth he lost his father. However, that loss was in a good measure supplied to the orphan family by the kindness of their uncle Mr Daniel Maclaurin, Minister of Kilfinnan. Not long after her husband's death, Mrs Maclaurin left Argyleshire (where, jointly with her sisters, she was possessed of a small patrimonial estate) and settled at Dumbarton for the sake of her childrens education; but dying in 1707, that care afterwards devolved entirely to their uncle. In 1709 Colin was sent to Glasgow, and placed under the care of Mr Gersham Carmichael, an eminent Professor in that university. Here he prosecuted his studies with uncommon diligence and surprizing success [B], especially in the Mathematicks, to which learning his genius discovered itself by an accident at twelve years of age [C]. In his 15th year he took the degree of Master of Arts, and applying himself to Divinity, he spent a year in that study; after which he left the university, and lived retired for the most part at his uncle's house [D], 'till near the end of 1717, when he was appointed Professor of Mathematicks in the Marishal college of Aberdeen [E]. And two years after, he took the opportunity of the vacation to go to London; where, besides Dr Hoadley then Bishop of Bangor, Dr Samuel Clarke, and several other eminent men, he became acquainted with Sir Isaac Newton, whose friendship he ever after esteemed the greatest honour and happiness of his life. At this time he was admitted a member of the Royal Society; two papers of his were inserted in their Transactions, and his treatise, intitled *Geometria Organica* [F], was published with the approbation

(a) The particulars relating to this author are chiefly taken from an Account of his Life and Writings, by Patrick Murdoch, A. M. and F. R. S. prefixed to Mr Maclaurin's account of Sir Isaac Newton's Philosophical discoveries, &c. L nd. 1748, 8vo.

[A] *Descended of an antient family*] The family had been long possessed of the island of Tyrrie upon the coast of Argyleshire. His grandfather Daniel, removing to Inverara, distinguished himself in restoring that town after the ruin it suffered in the civil wars; and has left some memoirs of his own times, which shew him to have been a person of worth and superior abilities. John the son of Daniel, and father of our author, was minister of Glenderule, where he was a faithful and diligent pastor; and has left in the register of his provincial synod, lasting monuments of his talents for business, and of his publick spirit. He was likewise employed by that synod in completing the version of the Psalms into Irish, which is still used in those parts of the country where divine service is performed in that language. He married a gentlewoman of the family of Cameron, by whom he had three sons. John who is still * living, a learned and pious divine, one of the ministers of the city of Glasgow; Daniel, who died young, after having given proofs of a most extraordinary genius, and Colin, of whom we now write.

* Viz. in 1748.

[B] *With uncommon diligence and a surprizing success.*] Among his oldest manuscripts were found fragments of a diary, in which he kept an account of every day, and of almost every hour of the day; of the beginning and success of almost every particular study, inquiry, or investigation: of his conversations with learned men, the subjects of them, and the arguments on either side. Here appeared the names of Professor Carmichael, the celebrated Mr Robert Simson, Dr Johnston, and several other gentlemen of learning and worth; who all vied who should most encourage our young philosopher, by opening to him their libraries, and admitting him into their most intimate society and friendship. He could not afterwards find time to keep so formal a register, but the habit, 'tis said, never left him; and that every hour was continually filled up with something which he could review with pleasure.

[C] *His genius discovered itself by an accident at twelve years of age.*] At this age, he met accidentally with a copy of Euclid in a friend's chamber, in a few days he made himself master of the first six books, without any assistance; thence following his natural bent, it appears, that he was very soon after engaged in the most curious and difficult problems, and in his sixteenth year, 'tis certain, he had invented many of the propositions in his book intitled *Geometria Organica*. The two papers inserted in the Philosophical Transactions in 1719 were probably composed about this time. The first is, *Of the Construction and Measure of Curves*, No. 356. The other, *A new Method of describing all Kinds of Curves*, No. 359.

[D] *He lived retired at his uncle's house*] In this retirement he continued his researches in mathematicks and philosophy, and sometimes read the best classic authors, for which, 'tis said, he had an exceeding good taste. And in the intervals of his studies, climbing up the lofty mountains amidst which he lived, would sometimes break out into a hymn, or poetic rhapsody, on the beauties of nature, and the perfection of it's author. Of these some fragments still remain; which, though unfinished, yet shew a genius capable of much greater things in that way.

[E] *Appointed professor of mathematicks in the marishal college of Aberdeen.*] He obtained this professorship after a comparative tryal of ten days, with a very able competitor. Being fixed in the chair, he soon revived the taste of mathematical learning, and raised it higher than it had ever been in that university.

[F] *His treatise intitled Geometria Organica.*] In this work he treats of the description of curve lines by continued motion. The first and simplest of curves (the circle) is described by the motion of a right line upon a plane round one of it's extremities. Sir Isaac Newton had shewn, that the conic sections might all be described by assuming two centres or poles in a plane, and moving round them in two given angles, so as the intersection of two legs be always found in a streight line given in position in the same plane; for thus the intersection of the other two will trace some conic section. In a similar way he describes such lines of the third order, as have a double point, that is to say, which returning upon themselves, pass twice through the same point; but the description of the far greater number of those lines, which have no such point, Sir Isaac declares to be a problem of much more difficulty. This was reserved for Mr Maclaurin, who not only happily resolved it, but carried the same method of description much higher, by assuming more poles, or by moving the angular points along more lines given in position; or, lastly, by carrying the intersections along curves lines instead of streight, he has extended or given hints of extending the method as far as it can go. And because by the motion of rulers actually combined as the case requires, such descriptions may be effected, he calls them by the general name of Organical. When he wrote this treatise, the subjects being new and entertaining, his invention in it's prime, and the ardour of his curiosity continually urging him on to farther discoveries, he did not take time to finish every demonstration in so elegant a manner as he might have done. His page we must own is incumbered with algebraical calculations, and these have offended the delicate eyes of some criticks; but in answer to this it may be said, that what offends them may be very acceptable to younger students: nor indeed should we at all have mentioned this blemish in so great a work, if himself had not somewhere hinted at it; and, in a letter to one of his friends, expressed an intention of resuming with his first leisure that whole theory, and adding to it a supplement, the greatest part of which had been printed several years ago, but whereof we have only an abstract in the Philosophical Transactions, December 1st, 1732. *On the Description of Curves; with an Account of farther Improvements, and a Paper dated at Nancy*, November 27th, 1722; No. 439. In the same volume, he gives a new theory of the curves, which may be derived from any given curve, by conceiving perpendiculars to it's tangents, to be

tion of their President. In 1721 he undertook a second journey to London, in which he became acquainted with Martin Folkes, Esq; [G], afterwards President of the same Society. And the year after, he was engaged by Lord Polwarth to go tutor and companion to his eldest son, who was then to set out upon his travels. After a short stay at Paris, and visiting some other towns in France, they fixed in Lorrain [H], where Mr Maclaurin wrote his piece on the percussion of bodies [I], which gained the prize of the Royal Academy of Sciences for 1724. Soon after this, an unhappy accident brought him back to his profession at Aberdeen [K]; but he had not been there long, before he was pre-elected to succeed

be drawn continually through a given point, whose intersections with the tangents will form a new curve; from which last, another new curve may be formed in the same manner, and so on *in infinitum*. This furnishes many curious theorems: there are likewise some propositions concerning centripetal forces and other subjects, which, with the quotations he uses, shew the great progress he had already made in every part of mathematical learning, and how well acquainted he was with the writings of the best authors.

[G] *Became acquainted with Martin Folkes, Esq;*] From this time he cultivated a most unreserved friendship with this gentleman, a frequent correspondence by letters was carried on between them, and Mr Maclaurin communicated all his views and improvements in the sciences to him. Two of his pieces sent to that gentleman were inserted in the Philosophical Transactions, No. 394, 408, concerning Equations with impossible roots. The subject is among the most difficult in Algebra, and our author's doctrine was attacked by Mr Campbell of the Dock-yard at Woolwich.

[H] *They fixed in Lorrain.*] Here, besides the advantage of a good academy, they had that of the conversation of one of the most polite courts in Europe, that of Stanislaus, twice King of Poland, and father-in-law to the present King of France. Mr Maclaurin gained the esteem of both sexes in the place, and at the same time quickly improved that easy genteel behaviour which was natural to him, both from the temper of his mind, and from the advantages of a graceful person.

[I] *His piece on the percussion of bodies.*] In 1686, Mr Leibnitz observing that a body projected perpendicularly upwards, with a double velocity, ascended to four times the height; thence inferred that the force of bodies in motion, or, which is the same thing, the force of percussion, was not truly estimated by compounding the quantity of matter in the body, with the velocity simply; for that this force was actually as the squares of the velocity. A doctrine of so much importance in mechanicks, together with the name of Mr Leibnitz, quickly drew all peoples attention. The most eminent mathematicians in Europe were divided in their opinions, and engaged warmly in disputes about it. Hence, in 1724, the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris made it their prize question, which was carried by Mr Maclaurin, who determined the controversy in favour of the old doctrine, which had been taught by Sir Isaac Newton. Upon this subject he observes, first, in answer to Mr Leibnitz, that when a body descends by it's gravity, the motion generated may be considered as the sum of the uniform and continual impulses accumulated in the body, during the time of it's falling. And when a body is projected perpendicularly upwards, it's motion may be considered as equivalent to the sum of the impulses of the same power, 'till they extinguish it. When the body is projected upwards with a double velocity, these uniform impulses must be continued for a double time, to be able to destroy the motion of the body; and hence it arises, that the body, by setting out with a double velocity, and ascending for a double time, must arise to a quadruple height before it's motion is exhausted. But this proves, that a body with a double velocity moves with a double force, since it is produced or destroyed by the same uniform power continued for a double time, and not with a quadruple force, though it arises to a quadruple height. This however, says he, was the argument upon which Mr Leibnitz first built this doctrine, and those which have been since derived from the indentings or hollows produced in soft bodies (as clay or tallow) by others (as large leaden bullets) falling into them, are much of the same kind and force.

2. Mr. Bernoulli the most learned and skilful advocate for the new doctrine, had grounded his arguments upon the third general law of motion, that *action and reaction are equal*; hence the sum of the absolute motions of bodies in their collisions is always preserved the same; which is so immediate a consequence of the equality of action and reaction, that to endeavour to prove it, would only render it more obscure; the augmentation or diminution of the force of the one, being a necessary consequence of the diminution or augmentation of the force of the other. Upon this principle he had advanced the following celebrated argument: A body with a velocity as two, is able to bend and overcome the resistance of four springs, one of which alone is equivalent to the force of the same body, moving with a velocity as one; from which he inferred, that in the former case the force is quadruple, though the velocity be only double of what it is in the latter case. In like manner, because a body moving with a velocity proportional to the diagonal of the rectangle, is able to ballance the resistance of two springs, proportional to the sides of the same rectangle; he thence inferred, that the force of a body moving with a velocity as the diagonal, is equal to the sum of the forces of two bodies moving with velocities proportional to the sides of the rectangle; and because the square of the diagonal is equal to the sum of the squares of the two sides; he thence inferred, that the forces of equal bodies are as the squares of their velocities.—But in all these arguments Mr Maclaurin observes, the third law of motion is greatly mistaken, though indeed these are the most plausible of any that have been offered, and the most likely to mislead their readers, yet therein it is not considered that the force which one body loses in acting upon another, is not equal to that which it produces or destroys in the other, estimated in any direction at pleasure, but in that only in which the first body acts. Hence it comes to pass, that it is not the sum of the absolute motions or forces of bodies, but this sum estimated in a given direction, that is preserved unaltered in their collisions, in consequence of the third law of motion; nor can the preservation of the sum of the absolute forces of any sort of bodies be considered as an immediate consequence of it. On the contrary, the sum of the absolute motions of even perfectly elastic bodies, is sometimes increased, and in some cases diminished by their collisions, as is evident from the composition and resolution of motions: if it be objected, that if the case were so, it would follow, that a cause would sometimes produce effects whose sum is greater than itself. In answer to this, Mr Maclaurin observes, that as this is allowed on all hands of motions and pressures, it cannot be absurd to extend it to forces, but must obtain in them for the same reasons. But farther he observes, that in consequence of the *inertia* of body, it not only resists any change of it's motion, but likewise any change in the direction of it's motion; and that when the action of bodies upon each other is not in a right line, both these are to be taken into the account. Upon the whole, as, in the former instances, Mr Leibnitz and his followers neglect the consideration of time in reasoning concerning the forces of bodies, so here they have not due regard to the directions of motions and forces in estimating and comparing their effects; which, however, in mechanical enquiries, are of no less importance than the motions or forces themselves (1).

(1) An Account of Sir Isaac Newton's Philosophy, Book ii. chap. 2.

We must not omit to take notice, that in 1740, the academy adjudged Mr Maclaurin a prize, which did him still more honour, for accounting for the motion of the tides from the theory of gravity; a question which had been given out the former year without receiving any solution. He happened to have only ten days time to draw up this paper, and could not find leisure to transcribe a fair copy, so that the Paris edition of it is incorrect; but he afterwards revised the whole, and inserted it in his treatise of fluxions.

[K] *An unhappy accident brought him back to his profession at Aberdeen.*] Having quitted Lorrain, and got into the southern provinces of France, Mr Hume was seized

ceed Mr James Gregory in the Professorship of the Mathematicks at Edinburgh. This place was obtained for him by the particular recommendation of Sir Isaac Newton, from whom he received likewise a very kind letter on the occasion [*L*]; and, in November 1725, was introduced into that university [*M*]. In 1728, he wrote the History of the progress which Philosophy had made before Sir Isaac's time [*N*]. To this he afterwards added the more recent proofs and examples given by himself or others, on the subjects treated of by Sir Isaac; and the work was published after his decease, under the title of *An Account of Sir Isaac Newton's Philosophical Discoveries* [*O*]. In the year 1733, Mr Maclaurin quitted the Bachelor's state, and married Anne, daughter of Mr Walter Stuart, Sollicitor-General to his late Majesty for Scotland. Dr Berkeley, Bishop of Cloyne in Ireland, having, in the year 1734, published a treatise, intitled the *Analyst*, to explode the method of Fluxions, and at the same time to expose the Mathematicians in general as infidels in religion, our author thought himself concerned, both to vindicate his favourite study, and to repel an accusation, in which he was most unjustly involved. Accordingly he entered upon the design, but the work swelling in the prosecution, produced his treatise of Fluxions [*P*], which was published at Edinburgh in 1742, in two volumes, 4to. While

seized with a fever, and died at Montpelier. Mr Maclaurin, in some letters written on that occasion, appears quite inconsolable: his own grief for his pupil, his companion, and friend; and his sympathy with a family to which he owed great obligations, and which had suffered an irreparable loss in the death of this young nobleman, rendered him altogether unhappy.

[*L*] *This place was obtained for him by the particular recommendation of Sir Isaac Newton, from whom he received likewise a very kind letter on the occasion.*] The curators of the university were desirous of engaging Mr Maclaurin to supply the place of Mr Gregory, who through age and infirmities was become incapable of teaching. Several difficulties retarded this design for some time; particularly, the competition of a gentleman eminent for mathematical abilities, who had good interest with the patrons of the university; and the want of an additional fund for the new professor. Both these difficulties were got over, upon the receipt of two letters from Sir Isaac Newton. In one addressed to Mr Maclaurin, with allowance to shew it to the patrons of the university, Sir Isaac expresses himself thus; 'I am very glad to hear that you have a prospect of being joined to Mr James Gregory, in the professorship of the mathematicks at Edinburgh; not only because you are my friend, but principally because of your abilities, you being acquainted as well with the new improvements of mathematicks, as with the former state of those sciences; I heartily wish you good success, and shall be very glad of hearing of your being elected: I am with all sincerity your faithful friend and most humble servant.'

In a second letter to the then Lord Provost of Edinburgh, which Mr Maclaurin knew nothing of, 'till some years after Sir Isaac Newton's death, he writes thus, 'I am glad to understand that Mr Maclaurin is in good repute amongst you for his skill in mathematicks; for I think he deserves it very well; and to satisfy you that I do not flatter him, and also to encourage him to accept the place of assisting Mr Gregory, in order to succeed him, I am ready, (if you please to give me leave) to contribute twenty pounds *per annum* towards a provision for him, 'till Mr Gregory's place becomes void, if I live so long, and I will pay it to his order in London.'

[*M*] *Was introduced into that university.*] Here there were generally upwards of a hundred young gentlemen attending his lectures every year. These he divided into four or five classes, in each of which he employed a full hour every day, from the first of November to the first of June: in the first or lowest class (sometimes divided into two) he taught the first six books of Euclid's Elements, plain trigonometry, practical geometry, the elements of fortification, and an introduction to algebra. The second class studied algebra, the eleventh and twelfth books of Euclid, spherical trigonometry, conic sections, and the general principles of astronomy. The third class went on in astronomy and perspective, read a part of Sir Isaac Newton's Principia, and had a course of experiments for illustrating them performed and explained to them. He afterwards read and demonstrated the elements of fluxions. Those in the fourth class read a system of fluxions, the doctrine of chances, and the rest of Newton's Principia.

[*N*] *The history of the progress which philosophy had made before Sir Isaac's time.*] It was wrote at the request of Mr Conduitt, who then had a design to publish an account of Sir Isaac Newton's life, in which this history was to have been inserted. Mr Maclaurin sent it up to London, where it had the approbation of some of the best judges: Dr Rundle, in particular, afterwards bishop of Derry, was so pleased with the design, that he mentioned it to her late majesty; who did it the honour of a reading, and expressed a desire to see it published. But Mr Conduitt's death having prevented the execution of his part of the proposed work, Mr Maclaurin's manuscript was returned to him.

[*O*] *An account of Sir Isaac Newton's philosophical discoveries.*] Our author's main design in this treatise seems to have been to explain only those parts of Sir Isaac's philosophy, that have been and are still controverted; for this reason, his grand discoveries concerning light and colours are but transiently touched upon, it being known, that since the experiments on which Sir Isaac's doctrine of light and colours is founded, have been repeated with due care, this doctrine has suffered no contestation: whereas his system of the world, his accounting for the celestial motions and the other great appearances of nature from gravity, is misunderstood, and even ridiculed to this day: the weak charge of occult qualities has been frequently repeated; foreign professors still amuse themselves with imaginary triumphs; even the polite and ingenious Cardinal de Polignac is seduced to lend them the harmony of his numbers. It was proper therefore that these gentlemen should once more be told (and by Mr Maclaurin) that their objections are altogether out of season; that the spectres they are combating are a creation of their own, no more related to Sir Isaac Newton's doctrines, than observation and experience are to occult qualities; that the followers of Sir Isaac Newton will for ever assert their right, to stop where they find they can get no further upon sure ground; and to make use of a principle firmly established in experience, adequate to all the purposes they apply it to, and in every application uniform and consistent with itself; although they perhaps despair of tracing the ulterior cause of that principle.

[*P*] *His treatise of fluxions.*] Our author was induced to enlarge and improve his first view of the *Analyst*, by the performances of others who had undertaken that task, and the publick became a great gainer by this change. The treatise of fluxions is Mr Maclaurin's master-piece. His great work, on which he bestowed the greatest labour, and which will for ever do him honour. We are at a loss what most to admire in it; his solid and unexceptionable demonstrations of the grounds of the method itself, or it's application to such a variety of curious and useful problems. With respect to the first, he agreed with Dr Berkeley, that the terms infinite and infinitesimal, were become much too familiar to mathematicians, and had been abused both in arithmetick and geometry: at one time introducing and palliating real absurdities, and at others giving these sciences an affected mysterious air, which does not belong to them. In executing this part he has given so much greater a variety, and more interesting proofs of that abuse, as he had looked further into, and was much better acquainted with the mathematical science than the Bishop's inclination led him to. And Mr Maclaurin

While he was engaged in this work, he was appointed Secretary to the Society for improving Medical Knowledge [Q] at Edinburgh, having procured their plan to be made more extensive, so as to take in all the parts of Physicks; together with the antiquities of the country. He likewise proposed the building of an astronomical observatory, and a convenient school for experiments [R], in the university; of which he drew an elegant and well contrived plan. In 1739, at the request of the Earl of Morton, he drew up a memorial of such observations as he thought necessary, for improving the natural history and settling the geography of the Orkneys and Shetland. He likewise furnished the proper instruments for this design, and recommended to his Lordship a fit operator * for managing them; after which he employed several of his scholars, who were then settled in the northern counties, to survey the coasts [S], in order to correct the erroneous geography

* Viz. Mr Short the famous Optician.

Mr Maclaurin certainly deserved more from the publick than his Lordship's other antagonists, by the means which he took to remedy this growing evil; he was prevented by them in the simple character of an apologist, and he was resolved to turn it to the advantage of his own reputation, with which the publick service was inseparably connected. In order therefore to take away the handle which former methods had given for cavilling, he determined, in demonstrating the principles of fluxions, to reject whatever exceptionable terms had been made use of before, and to suppose no other than finite determinable quantities, such as Euclid treats of in his geometry; nor to use any other form of demonstration, than what the Ancients had frequently used, and which had been allowed as strictly conclusive from the first rise of the science: by which means he has secured this admirable invention from all future attacks, and at the same time, done justice to the accuracy of the admirable inventor. The work cost him infinite pains, but he did not grudge it: he thought that in proportion as the general methods are valuable, it is important that they be established above all exception; and since they save us so much time and labour, we may allow the more for illustrating the methods themselves. To his demonstrations of this doctrine he has added many valuable improvements of it, and has applied it to so many curious and useful enquiries, that his work may be called a store-house of mathematical learning, rather than a treatise on one branch of it. The particulars we need not enumerate, especially as there is printed in the Philosophical Transactions (2) a clear and methodical account of them, to which we refer the reader. Throughout the whole there appears a masterly genius, and an uncommon address; though, because of the infinite extent of the matter, it is not equally perfect in all it's parts. After all, in fixing the method of fluxions upon a different foundation from that of the great inventor, he disappointed the expectations of Sir Isaac Newton's friends, who, notwithstanding his incidental proofs to evince the truth of that foundation, could not help seeing a slur manifestly put upon it by this shift. Nor did he succeed in his own expectations, by making such a sacrifice to Dr Berkeley, who, notwithstanding the high compliment of sending the sheets of this treatise to him as they were printed off, for his approbation, was so far from being convinced of the legality of the method, that in his *Syris*, or treatise on tar-water, published in 1744, he renewed the charge, alledging that, 'nothing more had still been done, than 'that different persons had expressed the same thing 'in different ways.' Neither, lastly, did the account our author gave of the way which led him to his own foundation of the method prove satisfactory; he says, it was first suggested to him from a particular attention to Sir Isaac Newton's brief reasoning in that place of his principles of philosophy, where he first published the elements of this doctrine; and that it was not 'till after the greatest part of the treatise on fluxions was wrote, that he had the pleasure of observing, that geometricians of the first rank had recourse to it long ago on several occasions, as a method of the strictest kind. 'Mr de Fermat, continues he, in a letter to 'Gassendi and Mr Huygens, in his *Horolog. Oscillat.* 'have employed it for completing the demonstration of 'some theorems that were proposed by Galileo, and 'proved by him in a less accurate manner; and Dr 'Barrow has demonstrated by it a theorem concerning 'the tangents of curves (3)' Now to pass over Fermat and Huygens, the supposition that a person of Mr Maclaurin's known skill in the history as well as science of the mathematicks, should, 'till the time herein implyed, be ignorant of Dr Barrow's rule for the inverse method of tangents has been thought unaccountable, and must depend wholly upon the strength of his moral character (4).

(2) No. 468, 469.

(3) Introduction to the Treatise on Fluxions at the end.

(4) See the article of GREGORY [JAMES] in the text, note (q), and in remark [I].

[Q] *Appointed secretary to the society for improving medical knowledge*] At the monthly meetings of this society, Mr Maclaurin generally read some performance or observation of his own, or communicated the contents of his letters from foreign parts; by which means the society was informed of every new discovery or improvement of the sciences. Several of these papers are printed in the fifth and sixth volumes of the Medical Essays. Some of them are likewise published in the Philosophical Transactions, and Mr Maclaurin had occasion to insert a great many more in his Treatise of Fluxions, and in his account of Sir Isaac Newton's philosophy, by which means the publication of any volume of the works of the society since his death has been retarded.

[R] *He drew a plan for an observatory, and contributed to the building, &c*] An observatory being much wanted in the college, the city magistrates were frequently applied to for their assistance in so desirable a work, especially in the year 1736, when it was almost agreed to; but a stop being put by the troubles which befel Edinburgh on the unhappy murder of John Porteous, a lieutenant of the town-guard, by the populace, all proceedings in this affair were laid aside 'till the year 1741, when our author considering, that a sum of money amounting to 110 *l.* sterling was already raised, and by the promises of a certain gentleman, considerable benefactions were to be expected, provided the intended observatory was built in his lifetime; he revived the design, by petitioning the Town-Council for their assistance, either in their publick or private capacity, and of all others, who had a regard for the welfare of Edinburgh and advancement of learning; and to encourage them, he proposed to read a course of lectures in experimental philosophy, and the money to be applied for that use. By this means contributions were raised which increased the former sum to 300 *l.* sterling. The Earls of Morton and Hopton shewed their liberality, as well as their love of the sciences on this occasion; as did the honourable Baron Clerk, Vice President of the Philosophical Society, and several noblemen and gentlemen offered to contribute what instruments of value they were possessed of, as soon as the observatory should be ready to receive them. Some time after, the plan abovementioned being finished, our professor acquainted the Town-Council that he intended forthwith to set about the work, and begged so much of the southern row of buildings in the upper court of the college as was sufficient for the purpose, and that the sum of 22 *l.* sterling for stone bought by the city for the use of the said observatory might be remitted; all which was not only granted, but also the materials of the houses to be taken down on this occasion, as an additional encouragement for him to proceed; and the intended edifice, for the greater conveniency, was to be erected in the middlemost part of the said southern row of buildings; but on Mr Maclaurin's death, which happened soon after, the design was again laid aside (5) and has not been resumed since. We see the design was first started in 1736, and very possibly might take it's rise from the annular eclipse of the sun at Edinburgh, which happened the 18th of February that year, and was not only carefully observed there by himself, but he also invited and encouraged others every where to do the like, herein copying the example of Dr Halley (6), in regard to the like eclipse which happened in 1715.

(5) Maitland's History of Edinburgh, p. 173. edit. 1753, fol.

(6) See his article, remark [OO], at the end; and Phil. Trans. No. 447.

[S] *Employed several of his scholars to survey the coasts.*] The reverend Mr Bryce composed, from observations, a map of the coasts of Caithness and Strathnaver,

geography of thofe parts, and thereby help to procure a good map of Scotland, which was much wanted. The fame zeal for the publick fervice prompted him to undertake the drawing of another memorial, in defence of a north-eaft paffage into the South-Seas in 1744 [T]. But the moft remarkable inftance of this zeal appeared on occafion of the rebellion in 1745, which taking it's rife in the north of Scotland, was not long before it fpread itfelf fouthwards, and began to threaten the capital. Mr Maclaurin was among the firft to roufe the friends of the government from the fecurity they had then continued in; and though he was fenfible that Edinburgh, far from being able to ftand the attack of a regular army, could not even hold out a confiderable time againft the undifciplined and ill-armed force that was coming againft it; yet, as he forefaw of how much advantage it would be to the rebels to get poffeffion of that capital, and the King's forces under the command of Sir John Cope being daily expected, he drew plans of the walls; propofed the feveral trenches, barricadoes, batteries, and fuch other defences as he thought could be got ready before the arrival of the rebels, and by which he hoped the town might be kept 'till the King's forces fhould come to it's relief. The whole burden, not only of contriving, but alfo of overfeeing, the execution of thefe hafty fortifications, fell to Mr Maclaurin's fhare; he was employed night and day in making plans, and running from place to place; and the anxiety, fatigue, and cold, to which he was thus expofed, affecting a conftitution naturally of weak nerves, laid the foundation of the diftemper which proved fatal to him. How this plan came to be neglected, and the rebels to get poffeffion of the town, is not our bufinefs to relate; we muft refer the reader to the hiftory of this rebellion (*b*). They got poffeffion of it; and their fpirits being raifed by that fuccefs, and by the fupply of arms and provifions which it gave them, they foon after defeated the King's troops at Prefton-Pans. Hereupon they grew more confident, and expected obedience to all their orders and proclamations. Among thefe, one contained a command to all who had been volunteers in defence of the town, to wait on their Secretary of State before a limited time, to fubfcribe a recantation of what they had done, and a promife of fubmiffion to their government, on pain of being treated as rebels. Mr Maclaurin had been too active and diftinguifhed a volunteer, to think he could efcape the fevereft treatment if he fell into their hands; he therefore withdrew privately into England before the laft day of receiving the fubmiffions; but, previous to his efcape, found means to convey a good telefcope into the caftle, and concerted a method of fupplying the garrifon with provifions. He fled to the North of England, where he foon received a friendly invitation from Dr Thomas Herring, then Archbifhop of York, afterwards of Canterbury, to refide with him during his ftay in that country. Mr Maclaurin gladly accepted this kindnefs, the fenfe of which foon after drew the following expreffion from him in a letter to a friend. 'Here, fays he, I live with his Grace as happily as a man can do, who is ignorant of the ftate of his family, and who fees the ruin of his country.' His Grace kept a regular correfpondence with him after his return to Edinburgh, as he did on the rebels marching into England; and when it was fufpected, upon their return thence, that they might once more take poffeffion of that city, the Archbifhop invited his former gueft to take refuge with him again. At York he had been obferved to be more meagre than ordinary, and with a fickly look, though, not being apprehenfive of any danger at that time, he did not call in the affiftance of a Phyfician; but having had a fall from his horfe in his journey fouthward, and when the rebel army marched into England, having, in his return home, been expofed to moft tempeftuous cold weather, upon his arrival he complained of being much out of order. In a little time his difeafe was difcovered to be a dropfy of the belly, to remove which, variety of medicines, prefcribed by the moft eminent Phyficians of London as well as Edinburgh, and three tappings, were ufed without making a cure. His behaviour, during this tedious and painful diftemper, was fuch as became a Philofopher and a Chriftian, calm, chearful, and refigned, his fenfes and judgment remaining in their full vigour 'till within a few hours of his death. Then, for the firft time, his amanuenfis, to whom he was dictating the laft chapter of his *Account of Sir Ifaac Newton's Philofophy* (in which he proves the wifdom, the power, goodnefs, and other attributes, of the Deity), obferved fome hefitation or repetition; no pulfe could then be felt in any part of his body, and his hands and feet were already cold. Notwithftanding this extremely weak condition, he fat in his chair, and fpoke to his friend, Dr Monro, with his ufual ferenity and ftrength of reafon, defiring the doctor to account for

(*b*) Particularly the tryal of Mr —— Stuart the Provoft.

Strathnaver, with remarks on the natural hiftory and rarities of the country, together with directions to feafaring people. This map was prefented to the philofophical fociety at Edinburgh, and publifhed by their order. The reverend Mr Bonnar drew likewife a map of the three moft northerly iflands of Shetland, which is among Mr Maclaurin's papers; and a correct map of the Orkneys from his own obfervations has been lately publifhed by Mr Mackenzie.

[T] *Memorial for the difcovery of a north eaft paffage, &c.*] After reading all the accounts he could procure of voyages both in the fouth and north feas, he imagined the fea was open all the way from Greenland to the South-fea by the North Pole; of which he was fo much perfuaded, that he had been heard to fay, if his fituation could admit of fuch adventures, he would undertake the voyage even at his own charges. But when fchemes for finding out fuch a paffage were laid before the Parliament in 1744, and he was confulted about them by feveral perfons of high rank and influence, before he could finifh the memorials which he propofed to have fent, the premium was limited to the difcovery of a north weft paffage, and Mr Maclaurin ufed to regret that the word *weft* was inferted, becaufe he thought that paffage, if at all to be found, muft lie not far from the pole (7).

(7) Ibid. p. 21.

for a phænomenon which he then observed in himself. Flashes of fire seemed to dart from his eyes, while, in the mean time, his sight was failing, so that he could scarce distinguish one object from another. In a little time after this conversation he desired to be laid upon his bed, where, on Saturday the fourth of June, 1746, he had an easy passage out of this world Dr Monro spoke his elogium at the first meeting of the university after his death; wherein he shewed, by a variety of instances, that acute parts and extensive learning were in Mr Maclaurin but inferior qualities; that he was still more nobly distinguished from the bulk of mankind by the qualities of the heart; his sincere love to God and men, his universal benevolence and unaffected piety, together with a warmth and constancy in his friendships, that was in a manner peculiar to himself. The Doctor professes likewise, that, after an intimacy with him for so many years, he had but half known his worth, which then only disclosed itself in it's full lustre, when it came to suffer the severe test of that distressful situation, in which every man must at last find himself, and which only minds prepared like his, armed with virtue and Christian hope, can bear with dignity. As his inclinations lay entirely to the Mathematicks, so, by his writings in that science, he has merited the character of a genius. An ordinary artist follows the first, not generally the best, road that presents itself, and arrives, perhaps, at the solution of his problem, but it will scarcely be either elegant or clear; one may see there is something still wanting, the result being little more scientific than that of an arithmetical operation, where the given numbers and their relations have all disappeared. This was not the case with Mr Maclaurin; he had a quick comprehensive view, taking in at once all the means of investigation; he could select the fittest for his purpose, and apply them with exquisite art and method. This is a faculty not to be acquired by exercise only; we ought rather to call it a species of that taste, the gift of nature, which in Mathematicks, as in other things, distinguishes excellence from mediocrity. There appears, in all our author's later works, especially in the Treatise of Fluxions, numberless instances of this address [*U*]. Nor is his humility a less distinguishing mark of his masterly genius. The further he advanced in the knowledge of Geometry and Nature, the greater his aversion grew to perfect systems, hypotheses, and dogmatizing; without peevishly despising the attainments we can arrive at, or the uses to which they serve, he saw there lay infinitely more beyond our reach; and used to call our highest discoveries but a dawn of knowledge, suited to our circumstances and wants in this life; which, however, we ought thankfully to acquiesce in for the present, in hopes that it will be improved in a happier and more perfect state. It may be justly esteemed another proof of his superior genius in these studies, that he saw their great importance in all the arts of civil life, *in assisting*, as Lord Bacon says, *the powers of man, and extending his dominion in nature* (*c*). To this view of general utility Mr Maclaurin had accommodated all his studies; and we find in many places of his Works, an application even of the most abstruse theories, to the perfecting of mechanical arts. He had resolved, for the same purpose, to compose a course of practical Mathematics, and to rescue several useful branches of the science from the bad treatment they often meet with in less skilful hands. But of all this his death deprived the world, unless we would reckon, as a part of his intended work, the translation of Dr David Gregory's *Practical Geometry*, which he revised and published with additions in 1745 (*d*). In his life-time, however, he often had the pleasure to serve his friends and country by his superior skill. Whatever difficulty occurred concerning the construction or perfecting of machines, the working of mines, the improvement of manufactures, the conveying of water, or the execution of any other publick work, Mr Maclaurin was at hand to resolve it. He was likewise employed to determine some disputes of consequence that had arisen at Glasgow concerning the gauging of vessels, and for that purpose presented to the Commissioners of Excise two elaborate memorials, containing rules by which the officers now act with their demonstrations (*e*). But what must have given him a higher satisfaction than any thing else of this kind, was the calculations he made relative to an office of assurance, which is now established by Law, for the children and widows of the Scotch clergy, and the Professors in the universities, entitling them to certain annuities and sums upon the voluntary annual payment of a certain sum by the incumbent. In contriving and adjusting the scheme, Mr Maclaurin had bestowed great labour, and the gentlemen who were appointed to sollicit the affair at London, found the authority of his name of great use to them, for removing any doubts that were started concerning the sufficiency of the proposed fund, or the due proportion of the sums and annuities. But what most endeared his studies to him, and is another instance of his excellent genius for them, was the use they are of in demonstrating the being and attributes of God, and establishing the principles of Natural Religion on a solid foundation. Nor was he less strenuous in defence of Revealed Religion, which he would warmly undertake as often as it was attacked, either occasionally in conversation, or in those pernicious books which have brought the name of Free-thinker into disgrace (*f*), and have so much contributed to spoil our taste as well as our morals: and how firm his perswasion of it was, appeared from the support it afforded him in his last

(*c*) Nov. Organ. lib. i.

(*d*) See the article of GREGORY [Dr DAVID.]

(*e*) Account of his Life, p. xxiv.

(*f*) Ibid. p. xxv.

[*U*] *Instances of this address in his treatise of fluxions.*] Among these, it will be sufficient only to mention his reducing so many solutions, which used to be managed by the higher orders of fluxions to those of an inferior order, and many of the questions concerning the *maxima* and *minima*, even some of the most difficult, to plane geometry.

[*W*] His

last hours. He was survived by his wife and five children; two sons, John and Colin, and three daughters; his concern for whom appeared by his last Will, wherein he bequeathed his manuscripts in trust to Martin Folkes, Esq; then President of the Royal Society; Andrew Mitchell, Esq; Member of Parliament for the shire of Aberdeen; and the Reverend Mr John Hill, Chaplain to Dr Herring Archbishop of Canterbury (*g*). In consequence of this trust, these gentlemen immediately set about publishing what Mr Maclaurin had designed and prepared for the press, his *Algebra* [*W*], and the *Account of Sir Isaac Newton's Philosophy* [*X*]; in which they employed a person, whose regard for the author's memory was a sure pledge of his utmost diligence. They likewise set on foot and sollicited a subscription for the latter of these works, which the situation of Mr Maclaurin's family made necessary. For not to mention, that the thoughts of a Philosopher are not much turned to the saving of money, nor is his curiosity to be gratified but at a considerable expence, our author's liberality was greater than his fortune could well bear. It was not advice and recommendation only that he furnished to young men, in whom he could discover a promising and virtuous disposition; he often supplied them with money, 'till his recommendations could take place. This, however, proved no loss to his family, as it was remembered and rewarded by the generous manner in which many gentlemen of worth promoted the subscription (*h*).

(*g*) P. xxi.

(*h*) P. xxii.

[*W*] *His Algebra*] This was published in 1748, 8vo, and is allowed to be excellent in it's kind, containing in no large volume, a complete elementary treatise of that science, as far as it has hitherto been carried, all the most useful rules which lie scattered in so many authors being clearly laid down and demonstrated, and in that order which he had found to be the best in a long course of methodical teaching. He is more sparing, 'tis true, in the practical applications than most other writers, but it was done designedly, he was of opinion that many of those applications deserve to be treated of apart, and to have taken much of them into his plan would have been like disfiguring the elements of Euclid (as we see the manner is of lesser genius's) by mixing with them the rules of practical geometry. To this work is subjoined, as a proper appendix, his Latin tract *De linearum geometricarum proprietatibus generalibus*. It is carefully printed from a manuscript all written and corrected by the author's own hand, and as it was among the last, so it appears to have been in his own judgment one of the best of his performances (8).

(8) See the introduction to it.

[*X*] *An account of Sir Isaac Newton's Philosophy.*] The plan and execution of this work has been already mentioned with due applause in general; but, as general praise, like general censure, may be thought to merit little or no regard, if utterly unsupported by any instance, we shall conclude this memoir with the following instance, as a sample whereby to form a judgment of the rest, which, at the same time, will confirm what has been said concerning the religious part of Mr Maclaurin's character. In the last chapter of this Account, explaining and defending the famous scholium which closes the *Principia*, having answered some lesser objections to the doctrine laid down therein concerning the Deity, he proceeds thus. 'But the greatest clamour has been raised against Sir Isaac, by those who have imagined, that he represented infinite space as an attribute of the Deity (9), and that he is present in all parts of space by diffusion. The truth is, no such expressions appear in his writings. He observes, indeed, that as the Deity exists necessarily, and by the same necessity exists every where and always, he constitutes space and duration; but it does not appear, that this expression can give any just ground of complaint; for it is saying no more, than that since he is essentially and necessarily present in all parts of space and duration, these, of consequence, must necessarily exist. This idea is so far from giving any just ground of complaint, that it accounts for the necessary existence of space in a way worthy of the Deity. Again, Sir Isaac is so far from representing the Deity as present in space by diffusion, that he expresly tells us, there are successive parts in duration, and co-existent parts in space; but that neither [of these] are found in the soul or principle of thought which is in man, and that far less can they be found in the divine substance. As man is one and the same in all the periods of his life, and through all the variety of sensations and passions to which he is subject, much more must we allow the supreme Deity to be one and the same in all time, and in all space free from change and external influence. He adds, that the Deity is present every where, not by his virtue only, but by his substance also, though in a manner wholly incorporeal, in a manner altogether unknown to us. It is plain, therefore, that he was far from meaning that the Deity was present every where by the diffusion of his substance, as a body is present in space, by having it's parts diffused in it (10).' P

(9) Our author had before, viz. in B. II. chap. i. §. 9. defended Sir Isaac's doctrine of the reality of absolute space and motion in the eighth definition of the Principia, l b. i. against Joseph Clarke's Examination of Dr Clarke's Notions of Space; Mr Edmund Law, in notes to King's Origin of Evil, and his Enquiry into the Ideas of Space, &c. and Dr Waterland's Dissertation upon the argument à priori, &c.

(10) Account, &c. B. IV. chap. ix. §. 9, 10.

MARSH [Narcissus], successively Bishop of Leighlin and Ferns, and Archbishop of Cashell, Dublin, and Armagh, in Ireland, in the end of the last and beginning of this century; was born December 20, 1638, at Hannington near Highworth in Wiltshire [*A*]. He received the first rudiments of learning in that his native place; and being well fitted for the university, was admitted into Magdalen-hall in Oxford the beginning of July, 1654 (*a*). There he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, February 12, 1657 (*b*); and, on the 30th of June, 1658, was elected Fellow of Exeter-college (*c*), as a member of which he took the degree of Master of Arts, July 13, 1660; that of Bachelor of Divinity, 12 December, 1667; and at last that of Doctor in Divinity, 23 June, 1671 (*d*). During these periods he was made chaplain to Seth Ward, Bishop of Exeter, and afterwards of Sarum, and then to the Lord-Chancellor Hyde Earl of Clarendon. He was also chosen one of the additional Proctors for keeping the university in better order, during King Charles the Second's abode there in 1665. On the 12th of May, 1673, he was appointed Principal of St Alban's-hall in Oxford by the Duke of Ormond, Chancellor of that university (*e*): and, by his good discipline and government, brought that hall into a flourishing condition. Being well skilled in the practical part of Musick, he had, in his lodgings

(*a*) The Works of Sir James Ware, as published by Walter Harris, Esq; Vol. I. edit. 1739, p. 449.

(*b*) Wood, Fasti, edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 115.

(*c*) Idem, Athenæ, Vol. II. col. 959.

(*d*) Idem, Fasti, col. 128, 169.

(*e*) Harris, as above; and Wood Athen. col. 959.

[*A*] *Was born at Hannington near Highworth in Wiltshire.*] He was descended by his father's side from a Saxon family of that name, anciently seated in Kent; out of which county his great grandfather removed to the place of this Prelate's birth. His mother was of the Coleburns in Dorsetshire (1).

(1) Harris, as above, p. 449.

[*B*] He

lodgings [B], a weekly meeting or concert of instrumental, and sometimes of vocal, Music, for his own refreshment, and the diversion and entertainment of such gentlemen as delighted in that faculty *. But the most excellent Dr John Fell knowing him to be fit for higher employments, so effectually joined his own interest with that of the Duke of Ormond, then Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, that King Charles the Second nominated him to succeed Dr Michael Ward in the Provostship of Dublin-college, in December 1678; and he was sworn into that office the 24th of January following. Also, the 27th of February, he was admitted Doctor in Divinity in that university. While he enjoyed that great trust, he spent very much of his time in his studies, and yet always performed his publick duties so exactly, as to be a compleat pattern to all his successors. In this useful employment he did not, however, continue long: for, upon the death of Bishop Boyle, he was advanced to the sees of Leighlin and Ferns the 27th of February, 1682-3, and consecrated in Christ-church Dublin the sixth of May following. With these sees, he held the rectory of Kilebban in the diocese of Leighlin in commendam †. He was translated from hence to the Archbishopric of Cashell on the 26th of February, 1690; from thence to Dublin the 24th of May, 1694; and then to Armagh the 18th of February, 1702-3 (f). While he presided over the see of Dublin, he built a noble library near the palace of St Sepulchre's, which he enlarged after his translation to Armagh, and filled it with a choice collection of books; having for that purpose bought the library of Dr Edward Stillingfleet, formerly Bishop of Worcester, to which he added his own collection [C]: and, to make it the more useful to the publick, he plentifully endowed a Librarian and Sublibrarian to attend it at certain prescribed hours. This Prelate also plentifully endowed an almshouse or hospital at Droghedah, for the reception of twelve widows of decayed clergymen; to each of whom he allotted a lodging, and twenty pounds a year for a maintenance [D]. He likewise repaired many decayed churches within his diocese at his own expence; and bought in several impropriations, which he restored to the church. Nor did he confine his good actions to Ireland only, but extended his bounty to the encouragement of the propagation of the Gospel, and to other works of munificence and charity (g). Among the rest, he gave a great number of manuscripts in the oriental languages, chiefly purchased out of Golius's collection, to the Bodleian library (h). After having lived many years in great honour and reputation, and been seven times appointed one of the Lords-Justices of Ireland [E], he departed this life November 2, 1713, in the 75th year of his age [F], and was buried in a vault in the church-yard of St Patrick's, adjoining to his library: where a stately monument of white marble was erected to his memory. But this monument receiving injury from the weather, was removed into St Patrick's church, and placed on the south side of the west isle, in one of the large arches (i). His character [G], with an account of the few things he published [H], are given below in the notes.

* Wood, Ath. and from M.S. Memoirs.

† Harris, as above, p. 450.

(f) Ibid. and p. 487, 358, 131.

(g) Harris, p. 359.

(h) Hearne, præfat. ad suam edit. Camdeni Annal. p. lv, lvi.

(i) Harris, p. 359, 362.

[B] *He had in his lodgings*, &c.] He had been used to have the like meetings in his chambers at Exeter-college, while he continued Fellow there (2).

[C] *He built a noble library*, &c.] It is computed, that, besides the endowment, which amounted to 250l. a year, he expended more than 4000l. in the building and books; and to make every thing secure to perpetuity he obtained an act of parliament for the settling and preserving of it. But there is one thing wanting to render it more compleat: which is a supply of books from the time of its establishment. There being only the small fund of 10l. a year allotted for this purpose, which is little more than sufficient to keep the books in order (3).

[D] *This Prelate also plentifully endowed an Almshouse, or Hospital, for the reception of twelve widows of decayed Clergymen*, &c.] And he appointed that the widows which might be intitled to such provision, should be the widows of those, whose husbands served a cure in the diocese of Armagh; if not enough of such to take up the charity, then the widows of such who served a cure in the diocese of Meath; and for want of a sufficient number of such, then to the widows of the province of Armagh at large: and he provided, that if in such places widows enough were not found to take up the fund, then the same to be applied, to put out children of clergymen apprentices, or upon their education. And he allotted, out of the general fund, forty pounds a year to the Dean and Chapter of Armagh, to be applied to the support of that church (4).

[E] *And been seven times appointed one of the Lords Justices.*] Namely in the years 1699, 1700, 1701, 1701, 1705, 1707, 1710 (5).

[F] *In the 75th year of his age.*] And not in the 76th as the learned Mr Harris has it: for he wanted six weeks of being full seventy five.

[G] *His character.*] It is elegantly described in his epitaph: of which the part, that relates thereto in particular, as translated into English by Mr Harris, runs thus:

(2) Wood, Ath. as above, col. 960.

(3) Harris, p. 359.

(4) Harris, as above, p. 359.

(5) From his epitaph.

Now take the Talents of his Mind,
Which were equal to, nay even greater
Than all these Employments.
As Provost, Prelate, and Governour
He promoted, encreased, and established,
In the Universitie, the study of sound Learning,
In the Church, Piety and primitive Discipline,
In the Republick, Peace and a Reverence for the Laws;
By living always a pious and unblameable Life,
By encouraging the learned,
By defending his Fellow-Citizens.
Among all these great Duties,
He dedicated his leisure hours
To the study of Mathematicks and natural Philosophy;
And above all was highly skilled
In the knowledge of Languages, especially the Oriental:
Endowed with the highest knowledge
Of the sacred Scriptures, and Ecclesiastical History,
He transferred
The truth and beauty of the Christian Religion
Into his life, and the government of the Church.
Thus he became
Dear, worthy, and useful to all.

— — — — — — — —

A Man born
For his Country, the Church, and the World.

[H] *With an account of the few things he published.*] They were, I. *Manuductio ad Logicam*, written by *Philip de Trieu*; to which our author added the Greek text of Aristotle, and some Tables and Schemes. With it he printed Gassendus's small tract, *De Demonstratione*, and illustrated it with notes. Oxon. 1678. 8vo. II. He wrote *Institutiones Logicæ, in usum Juventutis Academicæ*, Dublin. 1681. 8vo. This hath generally

generally gone, ever fince, under the title of the Provoft's Logick. III. He wrote alfo, "An introductory Effay to the Doctrine of Sounds, containing fome Propofals for the improvement of Acouftics." Prefented to the Royal Society in Dublin March 12, 1683, and publifhed in the Philofophical Tranfactions of the Royal Society of London (6). IV. He publifhed likewife, A Charge to his Clergy of the Diocefe of Dublin, in 1694, 4to. (7). C

(6) No. 156. p. 472. Nov. 1683.

(7) Wood, Ath. ut fupra, col. 960. and W. Harris, p. 450.

MARSHAM [Sir JOHN], a very learned Englifh Hiftorian in the XVIIth century, was the fecond fon of Thomas Marfham, Efq; [*A*] Alderman of London, and born in the parifh of St Bartholomew's in that city, Auguft 23, 1602. After a fuitable education at Weftminfter-fchool, he was admitted, in the beginning of the year 1619, into St John's-college in Oxford (*a*), where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, 17 February, 1622-3 (*b*); and that of Mafter, 5 July, 1625 (*c*); in which laft year he went into France, and fpent the winter at Paris. The two following years he travelled into moft parts of that kingdom, vifited Italy, and fome parts of Germany, and then returned to London, where he ftudied the Common-Law in the Middle-Temple. In 1629, he went through Holland and Gelderland to the fiege of Bois-le-Duc; and thence by Flufhing to Boulogne and Paris, in the retinue of Sir Thomas Edmondes, Embaffador Extraordinary, fent to take the oath of Lewis the Thirteenth, to the peace newly concluded between the courts of England and France (*d*). After his return home, he applied himfelf again to the ftudy of the Law; and, in the beginning of the year 1637-8, was fworn one of the fix Clerks in Chancery. Upon the breaking out of the civil wars, he followed King Charles the Firft and the Great Seal to Oxford; for which he was deprived of his place by the Parliamentarians; and they plundering his real eftate, he loft to an incredible value. After the furrender of the garrifon of Oxford, and the ruin of the King's affairs, he returned to London; and having compounded for his real eftate (*e*), for the fum of 356 l. 16 s. 2 d. (*f*), he betook himfelf wholly to his ftudies [*B*] and a retired life. In the beginning of the year 1660, he was returned one of the citizens, or reprefentatives, for Rochefter, in the Parliament which recalled King Charles the Second; about which time being reftored to his place in Chancery, he had the honour of knighthood conferred upon him July 1, 1660, being then ftyled of Whorn-place in the parifh of Cuckfton in Kent, and three years after was created a Baronet. He was a well accomplifhed gentleman; exact in the knowledge of Hiftory, Chronology, and Languages (*g*). His *Chronicus Canon* gained him great reputation [*C*]. This learned perfon dyed at Bufhy-hall in Hertfordfhire,

(*a*) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721. Vol. I. col. 783.

(*b*) Idem, Fafti, Vol. I. col. 222.

(*c*) Idem, Fafti, col. 231.

(*d*) See Hiftorical View of the Negotiations, &c. from the State Papers of Sir Thomas Edmondes, Introd. p xv. and the article EDMONDES [Sir THOMAS]; and Wood, as above, Vol. II. col. 783.

(*e*) Wood, as above.

(*f*) Catalogue of the Lords, &c. that have compounded for their eftates.

(*g*) Wood, Ath. as above.

[*A*] *The fecond fon of Thomas Marfham, Efq;*] This Thomas Marfham had iffue, by Magdalen, daughter of Richard Springham, merchant of London, fix fons, and four daughters, and was buried, March 12, 1624, in Iflington church. We are told, that the Marfham family was fo denominated from the town of Marfham in Norfolk, which is very probable (1).

(1) Arth. Collins's Peerage, edit. 1735, Vol. III. p. 452.

[*B*] *He betook himfelf wholly to his ftudies.*] The fruit of which was, I. *Diatriba Chronologica*; i. e. a Chronological Differtation; wherein he examines fuccinctly the principal Difficulties that occur in the Chronology of the Old Teftament, Lond. 1649. 4to. Moft part of it was inferted afterwards into his *Canon Chronicus*. II. He wrote the Preface to the firft volume of the *Monafticon Anglicanum*, which is intituled, Προπύλαια *Johannis Marfhami*: containing five fheets and a half in folio, 1655.

[*C*] *His Chronicus Canon gained him great reputation.*] What is chiefly new, and moft obfervable in this learned work, is as follows. The Egyptians, 'tis well known, pretended to an exceffive antiquity: and had framed a lift of thirty fucceffive Dynafties, amounting in the whole to 36,525 years; an immenfe number, vaftly exceeding the age of the world (2). Which, from the Creation to this time, is by the beft hiftorians allowed to be but about 5757 years. This whole chaos of Dynafties was rejected at once, by fome of the ableft Chronologers, as fabulous, and of no manner of value or credit (3).—But 'Sir John Marfham firft gueffed, that thefe Dynafties were *not fucceffive*, but *collateral*; and, without rejecting any, was the firft who earneftly fet about reducing the entire feries to the Scripture Chronology. He makes *Menes* the firft king of all Egypt (4), contemporary with Noah and Arphaxad. and fuppofes, that Egypt, immediately after the death of *Menes*, was divided into *four* diftinct kingdoms, viz, *Thebes*, *This*, *Memphis*, and *lower Egypt*; befides fome of leffer note which arofe afterwards, and whofe epochs are more difficult to be fettled; and that it continued fo divided for almoft *feven centuries*, 'till the *Paftors* made themfelves mafters of all, except that of *Thebes*; after whofe expulfion, in about *feven hundred years* after, Egypt became fubject to one Prince, namely Sefoftris.' The authors of the Univerfal Hiftory obferve (5), That Sir John's 'work is full of uncommon learning, and curious obfervations; but they blame him for adhering fo very fcrupuloufly to the Hebrew chronology; whereby he is obliged to make *Menes* the fame with *Ham*, Noah's fon, and not *Mizraim*, the fon of *Ham*; which laft is the moft received opinion; and to begin the date of his reign immediately from the Flood: that is, in effect, to make him a king before he could have any fubjects. He follows Diodorus (6) in reckoning 1400 years from *Menes* to *Sefoftris*, whom therefore he afferts to be the *Sefac* or *Shifak* of the Scriptures, though Diodorus plainly reckons a much larger interval between them. In which laft particular, as he has been ftrenuoufly oppofed by Pezron, Mr Whifton, Mr Bedford, &c. fo he has been followed by Sir Ifaac Newton, Dr Shuckford, Boffuet, Le Clerc, &c. In this work Sir John makes great ufe of the table of the Theban kings given us by Eratofthenes.' But, as to Sefoftris being the fame as Shifhak; that point is fully examined in the Univerfal Hiftory abovementioned (7).—Sir John thinks, Menes to be the fame as *Jupiter Hammon*, *Belus*, and *Saturn*; Taautes, or Thoth, *Mercury*; Thamuz, *Adonis*; Toforthrus, *Æfculapius*, &c. (8).—The learned Dr Shuckford, after having reprefented the foundation of Sir John Marfham's Canon with regard to Egypt, proceeds to give this character of that ufeful work (9) 'Upon thefe hints and obfervations Sir John Marfham has opened to us a profpect of coming at an hiftory of the fucceffion of the kings of Egypt, and that in a method fo natural and eafy, that it muft approve itfelf to any perfon, that enters truly into the defign and conduct of it. He gives us Eratofthenes's Theban kings; he ranges with thefe Syncellus's twenty five kings of Meftræa or lower Egypt, and by taking Africanus's Dynafties in pieces; by feparating the Thinite Dynafties from the Memphite; by collecting the kings of each title into a diftinct catalogue, he offers us two other concurrent lifts of the names of the kings of the other two kingdoms.—However, there is one difficulty, which I wifh our very learned author had confidered and difcuffed for us, and that is, that the catalogues of the kings of three of the four kingdoms are too long to come within the intervals of time, which the true chronology of the world can

(2) See Univerfal Hiftory, folio edit. Vol. I. p. 228 to 236.

(3) Particularly Petav. de Doctr. Temp. L. 9. c. 15.

(4) Nimirum ille Ægypto omni præfuit. Marfhami Canon Chron. edit Francq. 1696, 4to. p. 30.

(5) As above, p. 238.

(6) Lib. i. p. 42.

(7) Vol. I. fol. p. 246, 249, &c.

(8) Canon. Chronicus, p. 30, &c.

(9) Sacred and Profane Hiftory of the World connected, Vol. III. edit. 1727, p. 269, 270.

fordshire, 25 May, 1685, and was interred in Cuckston-church. By Elizabeth his wife, daughter of Sir William Hammond of St Alban's in East-Kent, he left issue two sons, Sir John Marsham of Cuckston, Baronet [D], and Sir Robert Marsham of Bushy-hall, Knight [E].

' can allow for them.'—The Doctor having given afterwards a view of Sir John's scheme, from the beginning of the reigns of the Egyptian kings down to Sesostris, adds (10), that, ' if the reader will take ' the pains thoroughly to examine it, if he will take ' it in pieces into all its parts, review the materials of ' which it is formed, consider how they lie in the au- ' thors from whom they are taken, and what manner ' of collecting and disposing them is made use of, he ' will find, that, however in some lesser points a va- ' riation from our very learned author may be defen- ' sible, yet no tolerable scheme can be formed of the ' Egyptian history, that is not in the main agreeing ' with him. Sir John Marsham has led us to a clear ' and natural place for the name of every Egyptian ' king, and time of his reign, who is mentioned by ' either Eratosthenes, Africanus from Manetho, Jose- ' phus, or Syncellus, that we can reasonably think ' had a place in the Egyptian history.'—It is to be observed, That Sir John supposes, the Jews derived part of their ceremonies from the Ægyptians (11). An opinion wherein Dr J. Spencer, and others, concurred with him. But it is confuted by Mr Menckenius, in the Preface to the Leipsic edition of our Author's Canon.—Sir John applies also the famous Prophecy of Daniel's LXX weeks to Antiochus Epiphanes (12). But he is confuted by Christopher Wagenseil in his *Mantissa de LXX Hebdomadibus Danielis* (13); and others.—Bishop Cumberland hath written a tract, wherein he makes it his business, to prove from Scripture and from Heathen authors, that there was an Assyrian Empire before Nabonassar; in opposition to Sir John Marsham (14). Which is thus far true; that there might be an Assyrian Kingdom, or even Empire, but not an Assyrian *Monarchy*, before Nabonasser. III. Sir J. Marsham's learned work that we have been hitherto speaking of, was first beautifully printed at London in 1672. fol. under this title, *Canon Chronicus Ægyptiacus, Ebraicus, Græcus, & Disquisitiones.* In 1676 it was reprinted at Leipsic, 4to. and said, in the title page, to be, *Longè emendatior recusus, adjectis indicibus locupletissimis.* Notwithstanding which, it is thought not to be much more correct than the former. A third edition was printed at Franeker in 1696, 4to. which is not so much valued as any of the former; though said in the title-page to be *longè emendatior.* IV. Sir John left behind him at his death unfinished, *Canonis Chronici liber quintus: sive Imperium Persicum. De Provinciis & Legionibus Romanis. De Re nummaria,* &c. (15)

(10) Vol. III. as above, p. 278, 279.

(11) Canon, edit. Franeq. p. 63, 67, 154.

(12) Ibid. p. 610, &c.

(13) At the end of his *Tela ignea Satanæ.* Altdorf. 1681, 4to.

(14) Origines Gentium Antiquissimæ, p. 231, &c.

(15) Wood, Ath. ut supra, col. 784.

[*D*] *Sir John Marsham of Cuckston, Bart.*] He was a studious and learned gentleman, and made a great progress in writing the History of England in a more exact and correct manner than any then extant: but no part of it was ever published. He likewise compiled an Historical List of all the Burroughs in England. His father left him his library, which, though diminished by the fire of London, anno 1666, yet was very considerable, and highly to be valued for the exquisite remarks in the margin of most of the books (16). He married Esther (or Hester), daughter of John Sayer, Esq; of Bouchier's-hall in Aldham, Essex, by which he had his only son and heir Sir John Marsham, Bart. who dyed without issue.

(16) Wood, Ath. as above, p. 784. and Nicolson's Eng. Hist. Libr. edit. fol. 1714, p. 6.

[*E*] *And Sir Robert Marsham of Bushy-hall, Knt.*] This second son of Sir John, had, by the gift of his father, his cabinet of Greek medals, more curious than any other private collection; and was also a studious and learned gentleman. He succeeded his father as one of the six clerks in Chancery, and, in July 1681, received the honour of knighthood. He was also constituted by charter in 1664, and 1685, one of the Aldermen of Hertford and St Albans. He served in three several Parliaments in the reign of King William, and in the first of Queen Anne. Upon the death of his nephew aforesaid, he succeeded in his whole estate, and the title of Baronet: and dying 15 July, 1703, was succeeded by his son and heir ROBERT, who was created, 25 June, 1716, *Lord Romney* in Kent. His Lordship married Elizabeth, daughter and coheir to Sir Cloudesly Shovel, Knight, Rear-Admiral of Great-Britain, and dying 28 November, 1724, left issue by her ROBERT, now Lord Romney; and two daughters, Marsham and Harriot (17). C

(17) From M.S. Collections. See also Ar. Collins, as above; and Sir Henry Chauncy's Hist. of Hertfordshire, p. 456, 458.

MARVELL [ANDREW,] a witty droll in the 17th century, was born in the year 1620 (*a*), at Kingston upon Hull in Yorkshire, of which place, his father, the Reverend Mr Andrew Marvell A. M. (*b*) a facetious gentleman was minister; having conformed to the Church of England, though puritannically inclined (*c*). He bore a good character, both for piety and learning (*d*), and being also school-master of the town (*e*), probably took care in that employment to instruct his son, whose quick progress must needs have given him the highest satisfaction. Finding him fit for the university at thirteen years of age, he placed him in Trinity-College Cambridge; where our author was admitted December 14, 1633 (*f*). But he had not been long in this station, before he fell into the hands of the Jesuits; those busy factors of the Romish Church, under the connivance of this as well as the preceding reign, spared no pains to make proselytes, for which purpose several of them were planted in and near the two universities (*g*). The delusion of young scholars was an easy conquest to veteran disciplined craft. Accordingly, Mr Marvell, whose distinguished parts made him a liquorish prey, was unwarily seduced by these restless emissaries, and inveigled up to London. Thus ensnared, those admirable talents which had been his father's greatest joy, became now his greatest grief. However, the mournful scene was of no very long continuance; upon the first news, he hastened to the Metropolis, and after some months, finding his son in a bookseller's shop, prevailed with him to return to Cambridge [*A*]. After this interruption, he plied his studies with more assiduity, and taking his first degree in arts, was chosen scholar upon the foundation the same year 1638 (*h*). Some time before the breaking of the civil wars, he lost his father *, who, by a cruel accident, was unfortunately drowned in crossing the Humber [*B*]. But as

(*a*) Our author's Life, prefix'd to his Works in 1726, Vol. I. p. 4.

(*b*) He took that degree at Emmanuel college Cambridge in 1603. Id. ibid.

(*c*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 818.

(*d*) Rehearsal transprosed, written by our author, p. 183, 2d part.

(*e*) His Life, ubi supra.

(*f*) College Register.

(*g*) See Chillingworth's article, remark [*B*], Vol. II. p. 1322.

(*h*) His Life, p. 5. N. B. reckoning from his first admission, he should regularly have taken this degree the preceding year; perhaps his name might be taken off the college board upon his seduction, and put in again after his return.

* Rehearsal transprosed, ubi supra.

[*A*] *Prevailed with him to return to Cambridge.*] Being now fully convinced of his folly, he warmly resented the practices that had been put upon him, and imputing all his miscarriage to the remissness of the government, in suffering the Romish priests to harbour themselves in England; he gave full scope to the virulency of his wit in lashing the reigns of the Stuarts afterwards, as will be seen in the sequel.

[*B*] *Was drowned in crossing the Humber.*] An account of that melancholy accident, as transmitted from persons intimate with both the families unhappily concerned in the sad catastrophe, is now first given to the public as a curious truth.

On that shore of the Humber opposite to Kingston, lived a lady whose virtue and good sense recommended her to the esteem of Mr Marvell (the father), and his piety and understanding obliged her to take a particular notice of him; from this mutual approbation arose an

as his life was a facrifice to a point of ftrict honour, fo fuch an atonement was made, as left our author in a better condition than before. A confiderable addition was made to his fortune, and the plan of his education being thereupon enlarged, he travelled through moft of the polite parts of Europe. While he was abroad he met with an Englifh prieft at Rome, named Richard Flecno, whofe miferable poetical trafh raifed the indignation of our author's mufe, which difplayed itfelf in a very humorous defcription of that wretched poetafter (*i*). During his travels there happened alfo another occafion of exercifing the drollery of his wit. In France, he found much talk about one Lancelot Jofeph de Maniban, an abbot greatly famed on account of a fecret which he pretended to be mafter of, whereby he was able to enter into the qualities of perfons whom he had never feen, and even to prognofticate their good and bad fortune from an infpection of their hand writing [*C*]. This artift was handfomely lafhed by our author, in a poem which he wrote upon the fpot, and infcribed to that illuftrious madman in thefe words: *Cuidam, qui legendo fcripturam, defcripfit formam, fapientiam, fortemque authoris, illuftriffimo Lanceloto Jofepho de Maniban grammato vanti!* this is all the account we have of Mr Marvell for feveral years, only that he fpent fome time at Conftantinople, where he refided in the quality of Secretary to the Englifh Embaffy at that court (*k*). In 1653, we find him returned to his native country, and employed by Oliver Cromwell in the bufinefs of a tutor to one Mr Dutton, as appears from an original letter to the ufurper [*D*]. His firft appearance in any publick capacity

(*i*) The poem is intituled, Flecknoe, an Englifh Prieft at Rome; whence Dryden gave the name of Mac Flecnoe to his fatire againft Shadwell.

(*k*) His Life, p. 6.

an intimate acquaintance, which was foon improved into a very ftrict friendfhip. This lady had an only daughter, whofe duty, ingenuity, devotion, and general exemplary behaviour, had endeared her to all who knew her, and rendered her the darling of her mother; whofe fondnefs for her arofe to fuch a pitch, that fhe could fcarce bear to let her child be ever out of her fight. Mr Marvell, defiring to increafe and perpetuate the amity between the families, afked the lady to let her loved daughter come over to Kingfton, to ftand godmother to a child of his; which, out of her great regard for him, fhe confented to, though fhe thereby deprived herfelf of the pleafure of her daughter's company, for a longer fpace of time (as the young lady muft neceffarily lie at Kingfton one night) than fhe would have agreed to on any other confideration, but that of obliging her friend, our author's father. The young lady came over to Kingfton, and the ceremony was performed. The next day, when fhe came down to the water fide, in order to return home, fhe found the wind very high, and the water fo extremely rough (a circumftance well known frequently to happen there) as to render the paffage dangerous: fo dangerous at this time, that the watermen earneftly diffuaded her from all thoughts of croffing. But fhe, who fince her birth had never wilfully given her mother a moment's uneafinefs, and who knew how miferable fhe would be 'till fhe faw her daughter again, infifted on going, notwithftanding all that could be urged by the watermen, or by Mr Marvell, who earneftly intreated her to return to his houfe, and wait for better weather. Mr Marvell finding her thus refolutely bent to venture her life, rather than run the rifque of difobliging a fond parent, told her, as fhe had brought herfelf into that dangerous fituation purely upon his account, he thought himfelf obliged both in honour and confcience to fhare it with her: and accordingly, having with difficulty perfuaded fome watermen to attempt the paffage, they both got into the boat. Juft as they put off, Mr Marvell threw his gold-headed cane on fhore to fome friends who attended at the water fide, telling them, that as he could not fuffer the young lady to go alone, and as he apprehended the confequence might be fatal, if he perifhed, he defired them to give that cane to his fon, and bid him remember his father. Thus, he armed with innocence, and his fair charge with filial duty and affection, they both chearfully fet forward, to meet their inevitable fate: the boat was overfet and they were loft.

The lady, whofe exceffive fondnefs had plunged her daughter and friend into this terrible condition, went the fame afternoon into her garden, and feated herfelf in an arbour from whence fhe could view the water, and while with no fmall anxiety fhe beheld the tempeftuous ftate it was in, fhe faw (or rather thought fhe faw) a moft lovely boy with flaxen hair come into the garden; who making directly up to her, faid *Madam, your daughter is fafe now.* The lady greatly furprized, faid, *My pretty dear, how didft thee know any thing of my daughter, or that fhe was in danger?* then bidding him ftay there, fhe arofe, and went into the houfe, to look for a pretty piece of new money, to reward him for his care: but returning into the garden, the child was gone, and on examining her family about him, fhe found nobody but herfelf had feen him, nor could they recollect any child being in the neighbourhood which anfwered her defcription. This gave her fome fufpicion of her misfortune, which was foon after confirmed; with the additional aggravation that her friend was involved in the fame mifchief, and of courfe his family greater fufferers, fhe having only loft her pleafure, they their fupport: and thinking herfelf bound by every tie, to make all the retaliation in her power; fhe fent for our author, charged herfelf with the expence of his future education, and at her death left him her fortune.

[*C*] *Could read their fortune in their hand writing.*] This wonderful improvement in chiromancy, whereby that wonderful art is raifed above the ordinary method of reading people's inclination, and fo telling their fortunes from the lines naturally drawn in the hand, into the fublimer myftery of performing the fame thing, from the lines artificially drawn by the hand, is evidently a rag of the fame fpecific madnefs with that of the famous Campanella, who taught and practifed the power of phyfiognomy in the effects of refemblance. Of which the rule is, to fcrew your face, fo as to counterfeit that of the perfon defigned, and ftreight fancy your felf to have his hair, eyes, nofe, mouth, and all other parts like him. By that means, you will come to know what his natural inclinations, and what his thoughts are, by the fame you find in yourfelf during the time of your making of faces (1).

(1) Gafferell's unheard of curiofities, p. 174. Englifh edit. Lond. 1650.

[*D*] *Wrote by our author to Cromwell.*] That letter was in the following words:

'May it pleafe your Excellence,

'It might perhaps feem fit for me to feek out 'words to give your Excellence thanks for myfelf, but 'indeed the onely civility proper for me to practife 'with fo eminent a perfon, is to obey you, and to perform honeftly the work that you have fet me about. 'Therefore, I fhall ufe the time that your Lordfhip is 'pleafed to allow me for writing, onely to that purpofe 'for which you have given me it; that is to render 'you fome account of Mr Dutton. I have taken care 'to examine him feveral times in the prefence of Mr 'Oxenbridge (2), as thofe who weigh and tell over 'money before fome witneffes, e'er they take charge 'of it; for I thought that there might poffibly be 'fome lightnefs in the coyn, or error in the telling, 'which hereafter I fhould be bound to make good. 'Therefore, Mr Oxenbridge is the beft to make your 'Excellence an impartial relation thereof; I fhall only fay, that I fhall ftrive, according to the beft of 'my underftanding (that is, according to thofe rules 'your Lordfhip hath given me) to increafe whatfoever 'talent he may have already. Truely he is of a gentle and waxen difpofition; and, God be praifed, I 'cannot fay he hath brought with him any evil impreffion; and I fhall hope to fet nothing upon his fpirit, 'but what may be of a good fculpture. He hath in 'him two things, which make youth moft eafy to be 'managed, modefty, which is the bridle to vice, and 'emulation,

(2) Mr John Oxenbridge was, during the civil wars, made a Fellow of Eaton-college, but being ejected after the Reftoration, he retired to Bofton in New-England, where he died in 1674. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 536, 537.

pacity at home, was his being made assistant to the celebrated Mr John Milton, Latin Secretary to the Protector (*l*), which according to our author's own account must have happened in the year 1657 (*m*) [*E*]. After Cromwell's death, the many factions in the Parliament and Army, rendering it impossible for either to establish any firm government, made way for bringing back the King; in order to which, it being agreed to call a new Parliament, that convention accordingly met a little above a month before the Restoration, viz. on the 25th of April 1660, and therein Mr Marvell was a representative for his native town of Kingston upon Hull (*n*); as he also was in that which met on the 8th of May 1661, after the Restoration, and continued to serve them in that quality during the remainder of his life. He discharged this trust with strict integrity and fidelity, and was highly esteemed by his constituents, to whom he constantly sent a particular account of every proceeding in the House, with his own opinion thereon. A conduct so diligently respectful, together with his general obliging deportment towards them, did not fail to endear him perfectly to their affection, and they were not wanting on their side to testify this grateful sense of it, by allowing him an honourable pension the whole time he represented them (*o*). He rarely spoke in the House, but had great influence on many members of both Houses without doors: Prince Rupert in particular had a peculiar esteem for and intimacy with our author, to whose advices he paid a very great regard [*F*]; and frequently came disguised as a private person to see him, when those enemies he had raised through the honest sharpness of his pen, rendered it necessary for him to conceal the place of his abode, to prevent his falling a sacrifice to their treachery or malice: his life having been often threatened, and he obliged to have his letters directed in another name, to prevent discovery that way (*p*) [*G*]. In the year 1672, Dr Samuel Parker, a furious partizan and virulent writer on the side of arbitrary government, both in Church and State, which qualifications raised him to be Archdeacon and Prebend of Canterbury, and in James the Second's reign, to the see of Oxford (*q*); published Bishop Bramhall's *Vindication of himself and the rest of the Episcopal Clergy, from the Presbyterian charge of Popery, as it is managed by Mr* Baxter *in his Treatise of the* Grotian *Religion*, to which the Doctor added a preface of his own [*H*]. This preface our author attacked, in a piece called, *The* Rehearsal transprosed: *or, Animadversions on a late book, intitled,* a Preface, shewing what Grounds there are of Fears and Jealousies of Popery. *The second impression with additions and amendments.* London, *printed by* J. D. *for the assigns of* John Calvin *and* Theodore Beza, *at the sign of the King's Indulgence, on the south side of the lake Leman; and sold by* N. Ponder *in* Chancery Lane, 1672; 8vo. In which, with great strength of argument, and much wit and humour, he exposes the absurdity of the Doctor's tenets [*I*], of which

(*l*) Wood Ath. Oxon. and Life, p. 7.

(*m*) Rehearsal transprosed, 2d part, p. 127, 128.

(*n*) Life, p. 9, 10.

(*o*) Id. ibid.

(*p*) Id. p. 11.

(*q*) Rehearsal transprosed, p. 123, 124, 318. Life, p. 21.

'emulation, which is the spur to virtue. And the 'care which your Excellence is pleased to take of him, 'is no small encouragement, and shall be so represented to him; but, above all, I shall labour to make 'him sensible of his duty to God; for then we begin 'to serve faithfully when we consider, that he is our 'master. And in this both he and I owe infinitely to 'your Lordship, for having placed us in so godly a 'family as that of Mr Oxenbridge, whose doctrine and 'example, are like a book and a map, not onely instructing the eare, but demonstrating to the eye, 'which way we ought to travel. And Mrs Oxenbridge (3) hath a great tendernesse over him also in all 'other things. She has looked so well to him, that 'he hath already much mended his complexion, and 'now she is busy in ordering his chamber, that he 'may delight to be in it as often as his studyes require. 'For the rest, most of this time hitherto hath been 'spent in acquainting ourselves with him; and truly 'he is very chearful, and I hope, thinks us to be 'good company. I shall, upon occasion, henceforward 'inform your Excellence of any particularityes in our 'little affairs; for so I esteem it to be my duty. I 'have no more at present but to give thanks to God 'for your Lordship, and to beg grace of him, that I 'may approve myselfe

'Your Excellence's most

Windsor, July the 28th, 1653. 'Humble and faithful servant

'Andrew Marvell.

'Mr Dutton presents his most humble service 'to your Excellence.'

(3) Mrs Jane Oxenbridge (whose maiden name was Butler) died at Eaton the 22d of April, 1655, and was interred in the college chapel there. She used to preach among the women. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 536.

[*E*] *Which must have happened in the year* 1657.] Our author, in the piece abovecited, declares, 'That 'he never had any, not the remotest relation to publick 'matters, nor correspondence with the persons then 'predominant, until the year 1657; when indeed, 'continues he, I entered into an employment, for 'which I was not altogether improper, and which I 'considered to be the most innocent and inoffensive to 'his Majesty's affairs of any in that usurped and irregular government, to which all men were then exposed (4).' We need not observe, that the correspondence here mentioned must be interpreted by the preceding words, which restrain it to publick affairs, otherwise this declaration would be inconsistent with the former remark.

(4) Rehearsal transpros'd, part ii. p. 128. Life, p. 7, 8.

[*F*] *To whose advices he paid a very great regard.*] This was so well known, that when the Prince voted according to our author's sentiments, which he often did, it was commonly said by the other side, *he has been with his tutor* (5).

(5) Id. p. 10.

[*G*] *To prevent discovery that way.*] The author of Mr Marvell's life above cited says, he has seen a private letter wrote by him to a friend from Highgate, wherein, after mentioning the insuperable hatred of his foes to him, and their design of murdering him, are the following words; *Praeterea magis occidere metuo quam occidi; non quod vitam tanti aestimem, sedne imperatus moriar.* i. e. Further, I fear I should rather kill than be killed; not that I should value life so much, but that I would not die unprepared (6).

(6) Id. p. 14.

[*H*] *The Doctor added a preface of his own.*] Mr Wood, whose talent for abuse was pretty much like the Doctor's, observes there was in that preface, 'a great 'deal of raillery against Dr John Owen, his doctrine 'and writings: and, adds our author, Dr Parker being esteemed by the Nonconformists, a forward, 'proud, ambitious and scornful person, was taken to 'task, purposely to clip his wings or take him shorter, 'by their buffooning champion Andrew Marvell, some 'time one of John Milton's companions, in a book 'which he published entitled the Rehearsal Transprosed, &c. Which title, says Mr Wood, was taken 'from a comedy then lately published by George Duke 'of Buckingham, called the Rehearsal, wherein one 'Mr Bayes acteth a part (7)' This last sagacious remark of Mr Wood's, arose from our author's frequently applying the name of Bayes to Dr Parker.

(7) Ath. Oxon. Vol II. col. 817.

[*I*] *The absurdity of the Doctor's tenets.*] The Doctor, in 1670, published a book called the Ecclesiastical Polity; and in 1671, a defence thereof: in the former of which, he lays down as maxims, these charitable

which we ſhall give a ſpecimen. The Doctor aſſerting, that the King ‘ may, if he pleaſe, ‘ reſerve the Prieſthood, and the exerciſe of it to himſelf;’ our author obſerves archly enough, *if the King may diſcharge the* Function *of the Prieſthood, he may too (and that with all the reaſon in the world) aſſume the revenue.* Adding, *it would be the beſt ſubſidy that ever was voluntarily given by the Clergy* (*s*). Dr Parker anſwered this piece, in a book intitled *A reproof to the* Rehearſal tranſproſed, *in a diſcourſe to it's author*, London 1673, 8vo [*K*]; but did not think proper to ſet his name to it: in this, finding he had no ſhare in the argument, he had recourſe to abuſe, and endeavoured to call the ſecular arm into his aid, by charging our author with having ſerved the Uſurper (*t*). But he cleared himſelf from that aſperſion in a reply called, *The Rehearſal tranſproſed, the ſecond part, occaſioned by two letters: the firſt printed by a nameleſs author, intitled,* a Reproof, &c. *The ſecond letter left for me at a friend's houſe, dated Nov.* 3, 1673; *ſubſcribed* J. G. *and concluding with theſe words:* If thou dareſt to print or publiſh any lie or libell againſt Dr *Parker*, by the eternal God I will cut thy throat. *Anſwered by* Andrew Marvell London 1673, 8vo [*L*]. Our author, who was zealous for moderation in Church as well as in State, in 1676, attacked another Eccleſiaſtic (*u*), who had wrote a book againſt a diſcourſe publiſhed in 1675, by Dr Herbert Croft, Biſhop of Hereford, intitled, *The naked Truth: or, the true State of the Primitive Church.* By an humble moderator [*M*]. Dr Turner's book was called, *Animadverſions upon a late Pamphlet intitled,* The Naked Truth, &c. and Mr Marvell's anſwer thereto, Mr Smirke, *or the Divine in Mode* (*x*): *being certain Annotations upon the* Animadverſions on the Naked Truth, *together with a ſhort hiſtorical eſſay concerning general councils, creeds, and impoſitions in matters of religion*; *by* Andreas Rivetus (*y*) *jun.* Lond. 1676, 4to. In this piece our author obſerves, that ‘ the Naked Truth is wrote with that evidence and demonſtration of ſpirit, that all ſober men cannot but give their aſſent and conſent to it unaſked. It is a book of that kind, that no Chriſtian can peruſe it without wiſhing himſelf had been the author, and almoſt imagining that he is ſo, the conceptions therein being of ſo eternal an idea, that every man finds it to be but a copy of the original in his own mind;’ and wonders, though he never read it before, it could be ſo long before he remembered it. He ſays, ‘ it appears moreover plainly,

(*s*) Life, p. 24.

(*t*) It was in anſwer to this charge, that Mr Marvell made the aſſertion taken notice of in remark [*E*]; where he adds, that he diſcharged that employment without diſobliging any one perſon, there having been opportunity and endeavours ſince his Majeſty's happy return to have diſcovered him, had it been otherwiſe. Life, p. 8.

(*u*) Dr Francis Turner, then Maſter of St John's college Cambridge, and made afterwards Biſhop of Ely, being one of the ſeven Biſhops who were put into the Tower for refuſing to read the declaration in King James's reign, and laſtly, deprived of his Biſhopric for refuſing the oaths to King William III.

(*x*) Smirke is the Chaplain in the Man of Mode, or Sir Fopling Flutter, a comedy, by Sir G. Etheridge; whence our author borrowed it. Life, p. 30.

(*y*) This name is an anagram on *Res nuda veritas, the naked thing truth.* The book contains 76 pages. The Hiſtorical Eſſay was afterwards reprinted ſeparately in fol.

charitable poſitions. *It is better,* ſays he, *to ſubmit to the unreaſonable impoſitions of Nero and Caligula, than to hazard the diſſolution of the ſtate.* And further, *that it is abſolutely neceſſary to the peace and happineſs of kingdoms, that there be ſet up a more ſevere government over men's conſciences, and religious perſuaſions, than over their vices and immoralities* (8): *and that Princes may with leſs hazard give liberty to men's vices and debaucheries, than to their conſciences.* And ſpeaking of the different ſects then ſubſiſting, lays it down as a fixed rule for all Princes to go by, *that tenderneſs and indulgence to ſuch men, were to nouriſh vipers in our bowels, and the moſt ſottiſh neglect of our own quiet and ſecurity.* Theſe ſlaviſh and perſecuting principles which were too frequently inculcated by the church-men of thoſe times, are ſeverely inveighed againſt by Mr Marvell in this piece, and alſo in many of his poems, in one of which he makes a perſon thus expreſs himſelf on that ſubject (9).

Self-preſervation, nature's firſt great law,
All the creation, except man, does awe:
'Twas in him fix'd, 'till lying prieſts defac'd
His heav'n-born mind, and nature's tablets raz'd.
Tell me, ye forging crew, what law reveal'd
By God, to Kings, the *jus divinum* ſeal'd?
If to do good, ye *jus divinum* call,
It is the grand prerogative of all:
If to do ill unpuniſh'd be their right,
Such pow'r's not granted the great King of night.

Hodge's Viſion from the Monument.

December 1675.

[*K*] *In a diſcourſe to it's author,* &c.] Beſides this, five other anſwers came out to our author's book. 1. *Roſemary and Bayes, or animadverſions on a treatiſe called the* Rehearſal tranſproſed. *Lond.* 1673, in 4to, containing three ſheets. 2. *The Tranſproſer rehearſed, or the fifth act of Mr Bayes's Play: being a poſtſcript to the animadverſions on the preface to* Biſhop Bramhall's *Vindication.* Oxford, 1673, 8vo. This was written by Mr Richard Leigh, ſome time a commoner of Queen's college Oxford, and afterwards a player in the united company of comedians (10). 3. *Gregory Father Grey-beard with his Vizard off: or News from the Cabal in ſome Reflections,* &c. *in a Letter to our old Friend* R. L. *from* E. H. *Lond.* 1673, 8vo. ſubſcribed Edm. Hickeringill. 4. *A Common-place-Book out of the* Rehearſal tranſproſed, *digeſted under theſe ſeveral Heads,* &c. London 1673, 8vo. 5. *Stoo him, Bayes: or, ſome Animadverſions on the Humour of writing* Rehearſals tranſproſed. Oxford 1673, 8vo.

[*L*] *Anſwered by Mr Marvell,* &c.] The Doctor did not return any anſwer to this reply: ‘ judging it, ‘ ſays Mr Wood (11), more prudent to lay down the ‘ cudgels, than to enter the liſts again with an untoward-‘ ly combatant ſo hugely well verſed and experienced in ‘ the then but newly refined art (though much in mode ‘ and faſhion almoſt ever ſince) of ſporting and jeering ‘ buffoonery.’ But notwithſtanding Mr Wood's diſlike of this manner of writing, he could not help acknowledging, ‘ that it was generally thought, by ‘ many of thoſe who were otherwiſe favourers of ‘ Parker's cauſe, that the victory lay on Marvell's ‘ ſide.’ And admits ‘ it wrought this good effect on ‘ Parker, that for ever after it took down his high ‘ ſpirit.’ Biſhop Burnet, in the Hiſtory of his own Times (12), ſpeaking of Dr Parker, ſays, ‘ after he had ‘ for ſome years entertained the nation with ſeveral virulent books, he was attacked by the livelieſt droll ‘ of the age, who writ in a burleſque ſtrain, but with ‘ ſo peculiar and ſo entertaining a conduct, that from ‘ the King down to the tradeſman, his books were ‘ read with great pleaſure. That not only humbled ‘ Parker, but the whole party: for the author of the ‘ *Rehearſal tranſproſed*, had all the men of wit on his ‘ ſide.’ And the ingenious Dr Swift, ſpeaking in his apology to the Tale of a Tub, of the uſual fate of common anſwerers to books, obſerves, ‘ there is indeed ‘ an exception, when any great genius thinks it worth ‘ his while to expoſe a fooliſh piece; ſo we ſtill read ‘ Marvell's anſwer to Parker with pleaſure, though the ‘ book it anſwers be ſunk long ago.’

[*M*] *By an humble moderator.*] As the meaſures at that time taken by the court with regard to church matters, are cenſured and condemned, the Biſhop did not think proper to ſet his name to this treatiſe (13); notwithſtanding, he takes care throughout, to obſerve that reſpect and deference which is due to the ſupreme authority. He takes notice that ‘ the intolerant laws had been ſo far from having their deſired effect, that the Church was more divided than ever, that the Papiſts made great advantage of theſe diviſions, and ſeduced numbers daily by their pretended unity. That this conſideration had put him upon thinking what means might prove the moſt effectual, to heal the diviſions and eſtabliſh a perfect unity in the Church.’ Which is the deſign of the book.

(8) Pref. Eccl. Pol. p. 53, 55.

(9) Marvell's Works, Vol. II. p. 87. edit. 1726.

(10) The King's and Duke's companies were united into one in 1684. Life of C. Cibber, 8vo. edit. 1740, p. 81.

(11) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 838.

(12) Vol. I. fol. edit.

(13) It was reprinted in 1680 in folio.

ly, that the author is judicious, learned, conscientious, a sincere Protestant, and a true son, if not a father, of the Church of England [*N*]. For the rest, the book cannot be free from the imperfections incident to all human endeavours, but those so small, and guarded every where with so much modesty, that it seems that there was none left for the animadverter, who might otherwise have blushed to oppose him (*z*) [*O*]. In the *Essay on Councils*, &c. which was a continuation of the above Defence of the Bishops, our author asserts, that 'the 'Christian Religion, as first instituted, was the greatest security to magistrates by the obe- 'dience which it taught; and was fitted to enjoy no less security under them by a practice 'conformable to that doctrine (*aa*).' He also points out the weakness of imposing new articles of faith; gives an ample account of the council of Nice, and of the furious debates there, about Ὁμοούσιος, and Ὁμοιούσιος [co-essentiality, and con-substantiality] and plainly shews the terrible consequences of those debates with respect to religion. Our author, by thus opposing the advocates for conformity by compulsion, and by several very severe things wrote by him in verse against the then reigning Ministry and their measures, created himself many private enemies (as has been observed) and was also very obnoxious to the Government [*P*], as he frequently attacked Majesty itself in his satires [*Q*]; notwithstanding

(*z*) Smirke, p. 3.

(*aa*) Essay, &c. in the beginning.

[*N*] *A true son of the Church of England.*] This character was assumed as a mark of distinction by the zealous assertors of the constitution of the Church, as then established without a toleration; who branded the opposite party with the title of Latitudinarians. Among which last Dr Croft, as appears by this piece, was a first-rate champion; proposing it as the best method of effecting a real union in the Church, to yield to the Dissenters in their demands of abolishing Episcopacy, as a distinct superior order to that of Presbyters; of striking the other creeds out of the liturgy, preserving only that of the Apostles. At the same time, with regard to a set form of worship in the service of the Church, he avoids entering into the dispute, supposing that there are none but such as are either highly fanatick or highly factious, that maintain it to be unlawful, but humbly recommends it to the governors of the Church, calmly to consider, whether such a form as would satisfy most, would not be best. He complains of some abuses in the hierarchy, among which he takes notice of the power of lay-chancellors to excommunicate exclusive of the Bishop, and even against his will: however, as on one hand he charges the separation to the governors of the Church, in not condescending to the Dissenters; so neither, on the other hand, does he clear the Nonconformists from contributing thereto, by their disobedience; concluding with a charitable admonition to them, to consider whether of the two it be not safer, to err in the way of humility than in the way of pride. 'You pretend, says 'he, to be great zealots against Popery, and yet give 'me leave to say, your indiscreet disobedient zeal 'mainly brings it in. Your separation and many following divisions, have caused many to abhor our 'Church, and turn to Popery; and doubtless you are 'to give an account to God for the ruin of those souls. 'For I can never yield that you have any reasonable 'and true conscientious cause of separation, but mere 'mistaken reason and conscience, which I much pity, 'but no ways approve.'

[*O*] *Might have blushed to oppose him.*] That blush was artfully put on in another anonymous piece, published the same year, in answer to Dr Croft, with the title of *A modest Survey of the most considerable Things in a Discourse lately published, intitled, Naked Truth, written in a Letter to a Friend.* The author was known to be Dr Burnet, afterwards Bishop of Sarum. In it he observes (14), that 'the writer of the *Naked Truth* seems a person that is in good earnest, and does sincerely desire the peace of our Church; that so we being at one among ourselves may both carry on the common designs of true piety, and resist the inroads, Popery is making on us. He writes gravely, and like a man that has deep impressions upon him, and so I am heartily sorry so good a man as I verily believe he is, should have been prevailed on to have done so unadvised a thing, as was first the writing, and then the publishing such a discourse.' This probably did not make it's appearance in print, 'till after the publication of our author's defence, who takes notice of another answer published before his defence, under the title of *Lex Talionis, or the Author of the Naked Truth stript naked*, supposed to be written by Dr Gunning, Bishop of Chichester, afterwards of Ely. 'But as to a new book, says Mr Marvell, fresh come out, entitled, The Author of the Naked Truth stript naked (to the fell or to the skin), that hieroglyphical quibble of the great gun on the title page will not excuse Bishop Gunning; for his sermon is still expected (15).' Mr Wood conjectures that the word fell, in the parenthesis alludes to Philip Fell, fellow of Eton college, who was generally supposed to be the author of *Lex Talionis*, though some ascribed it to Dr William Lloyd Dean of Bangor, afterwards Bishop of Worcester.

(14) Page 1.

[*P*] *He was obnoxious to the government.*] Besides what has been observed in the pieces already mentioned, our author wrote *An Account of the Growth of Popery and arbitrary Government in England: more particularly, from the long prorogation of November* 1675, *ending the* 15*th of February* 1676, *'till the last meeting of Parliament the* 16*th of July* 1677 (16). In this tract our author having imputed the Dutch war to the corruption of the Court, asserts that the Papists, and particularly the French, were the true springs of all the councils at this time. These and several other aspersions upon the King and Ministry, drew the following order published in the Gazette.

'Whereas there have been lately printed and pub- 'lished several seditious and scandalous libels against 'the proceedings of both Houses of Parliament, and 'other his Majesty's Courts of Justice, to the dishonour 'of his Majesty's Government, and the hazard of 'publick peace; these are to give notice, that what 'Person soever shall discover unto one of the Secre- 'taries of State, the printer, publisher, author, or 'hander to the press, of any of the said libels, so that 'full evidence may be made thereof to a jury, with- 'out mentioning the informer, especially one libel, 'entitled *An Account of the Growth of Popery, &c.* 'and another called *A seasonable Argument to all the* '*Grand Juries, &c.* the discoverer shall be rewarded 'as follows: he shall have fifty pounds for such disco- 'very as aforesaid, of the printer or publisher of it 'from the press, and for the hander of it to the press 'one hundred pounds, &c.'

(15) Smirke, or the Divine in Mode, p. 75, 76. Bishop Gunning, soon after the publishing of the Naked Truth, preached a Sermon at Court, which was expected in print, pursuant, as was said, to the King's command. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 866.

(16) This was first printed in folio in 1678, and reprinted in State Tracts, Lond. 1689.

[*Q*] *Frequently attacking Majesty itself in his satires.*] Of this we have conspicuous proofs in the following pieces.

Oceana and *Britannia* (17). In which he introduces *Britannia*, speaking thus of Charles the Second.

(17) Works, Vol. II. p. 17.

Shall I ne'er rest for this lewd ravisher?
Rapes, burnings (18), are his royal sport,
These modish monsters haunt his perjur'd court.

(18) Our author several times hints, that he believed the burning of the City was a design of the Court.

Britannia and *Raleigh* (19). Where Britannia tells Raleigh:

(19) Id. p. 26.

A colony of French possess the court,
Pimps, priests, buffoons, in privy-chamber sport.
Such slimy monsters ne'er approach'd a throne,
Since Pharaoh's days, nor so defil'd a crown.
In sacred ear tyrannic arts they croak,
Pervert his mind, and good intentions choak;
Tell him of golden Indias, Fairy-lands,
Leviathan, and absolute commands.

Nostrodamus's Prophecy (20). Which begins thus:

(20) Id. p. 42.

For

withstanding which, King Charles took great delight in his conversation, and tried all means to win him over to his side, but in vain: his inflexible steadiness was proof against all temptations, either of his own distresses, (for he was sometimes reduced to pretty great streights) or of the large offers made him by the Court. And how earnest they were in their endeavours to gain a man of his ability, let the following relation evince. The King having entertained him one night, sent the Lord Treasurer Danby the next morning to find out his lodgings; which were then, up two pair of stairs in one of the little courts in the Strand: where he was busily engaged in writing, when the Treasurer abruptly opened the door upon him. Surprized at seeing such an unexpected visitor, he told his Lordship, he had, he believed, mistaken his way; *Not now I have found Mr Marvell*, replied the Lord Danby; he then assured our author, he was expresly sent to him from the King, and his message was to know what his Majesty could do to serve him? It is not in his Majesty's power to serve me, my Lord, answered Mr Marvell jocularly; but the Lord Treasurer making a serious affair of it, our author told him, that he full well knew the nature of Courts, having been in many; and that whoever is distinguished by the favour of the Prince, is always expected to vote in his interest. Lord Danby told him, that his Majesty, from the just sense he had of his merit alone, desired to know whether there was any place at Court he could be pleased with. To which our author replied with the utmost steadiness, that he could not with honour accept the offer, since if he did, he must be either ungrateful to the King in voting against him, or false to his country, in giving in to the measures of the Court: the only favour which he begged therefore of his Majesty was, that he would esteem him as dutiful a subject as any he had, and acting more truly in his proper interest while thus he refused his offers, than he could possibly do should he accept them. The Lord Treasurer finding his sollicitations on that head to be quite fruitless, and that no arguments could prevail on him to accept any post under the Government, told him the King had ordered him a thousand pounds; which my Lord hoped he would receive, 'till he could think what farther to ask of his Majesty. But our author continued equally inflexible to this temptation also, and rejected the money with the same steadfastness of mind with which he had refused the profer of a place; though he was at that instant so straightened for want of cash, that he was obliged, as soon as Lord Danby took his leave, to send to a friend to borrow a guinea: so far did the love of publick good over-rule all sense of private interest in his honest heart (*bb*). He died (not without strong suspicions of being poisoned) August the 16th, 1678; in the 58th year of his age, and was interred in the church of St Giles in the Fields (*cc*.) Ten years afterwards, viz. in 1688, the town of Kingston upon Hull, to testify her grateful remembrance of his honest services to her, collected a sum of money to erect a monument to his memory, over the place of his burial in the above church, and procured an able hand to compose an epitaph [*R*]: but the parson of the parish would not permit either monument or inscription

(*bb*) Life, p. 11, 12, 13.

(*cc*) Life, p. 35.

For faults and follies London's doom shall fix,
And she must sink in flames in sixty-six.
Fire-balls shall fly, but few shall see the train,
As far as from Whitehall to Pudding-Lane,
To burn the city, which again shall rise
Beyond all hopes, aspiring to the skies
Where vengeance dwells.————

An Historical Poem, &c (21). *On Blood's stealing the Crown*, a severe epigram (22). *Clarendon's House-Warming* (23). *Royal Resolutions*. And his *Dialogue between two Horses*, 1674 (24). which concludes in the following bold manner.

(21) Id. p. 44.

(22) Id. p. 51.

(23) Id. p. 59. See a specimen of it in that Earl's article.

(24) Viz. The marble one under a statue of Charles II. at Stock's market, which he distinguishes by the name of *Wool*, being erected on the site of St Mary Woolchurch near London; and the brazen one belonging to the figure of Charles I. at Charing-cross.

Wool.

But can'st thou conjecture when things will be mended?

Char.

When the reign of the line of the Stuarts is ended.

[*R*] *An able hand to compose an epitaph.*] The following is a copy of it.

'Near this place
'Lieth the body of ANDREW MARVELL Esq;
'A man so endowed by nature,
'So improved by education, study, and travel,
'So consummated by experience and learning;
'That joining the most peculiar grace of wit,
'With a singular penetration and strength of judgment,
'And exercising all these in the whole course of his
'life
'With unalterable steadiness in the ways of virtue,
'He became the ornament and example of his age:
'Beloved by good men, feared by bad, admired by all;
'Though imitated, alas! by few;
'And scarce parallelled by any.
'But a tomb-stone can neither contain his character,
'Nor is marble necessary to transmit it to posterity.
'It is engraved in the minds of this generation,
'And will be always legible in his inimitable writings.
'Nevertheless,
'He having served near 20 years successively in Parlia-
'ment,
'And that with such wisdom, dexterity, integrity, and
'courage,
'As became a true patriot,
'The town of Kingston upon Hull,
'From whence he was constantly deputed to that as-
sembly,
'Lamenting in his death the publick loss,
'Have erected this monument of their grief and gra-
'titude.
'1688.
'He died in 58th year of his age,
'On the 16th day of August, 1678.
'*Heu fragile humanum genus! heu terrestria vana!*
'*Heu quam spectatum continet urna virum!*'

i. e.

Alas, frail human kind! alas, vain earthly things!
How worthy was the man this urn alas! contains!

Z

[*A*] *And*

tion to be placed there. He was, it is said, very reserved among those whom he did not well know, but a most delightful and improving companion among his friends (*dd*); and in his conversation very modest and of few words (*ee*). The author of his life informs us that, 'he was always very temperate, and of a healthful and strong constitution to the 'last; and that he left a small paternal estate (*ff*).' Notwithstanding we are assured he was never married, yet about two years after his death his miscellaneous poems and some other pieces were collected together and published in one volume folio, Lond. 1680; with the following advertisement to the reader prefixed. 'These are to certify every ingenious 'reader, that all these poems, as also the other things, in this book contained, are 'printed according to the exact copies of my late dear husband (*gg*), under his own hand 'writing, being found since his death among his other papers. Witness my hand, 'this 15th day of October, 1680. *Mary Marvell.*' But Mr Cooke tells us, that these were published only with a mercenary view, and indeed not at all to the honour of the deceased, by a woman with whom he lodged; who hoped, by this stratagem, to share in what he left behind him. These were reprinted in two volumes, 12mo. Lond. 1726; under the title of *The Works of Andrew Marvell*, Esq; to which edition the editor, Mr Cooke, has prefixed an account of the life and writings of our author: and in the preface he observes, that the former editions (*hh*) contained many and gross errors, and had besides inserted in them many pieces which were not genuine; all which he hath corrected, and some from original manuscripts. Z

(*dd*) Id. p. 37.

(*ee*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 8.

(*ff*) Life, p. 35.

(*gg*) Ibid. p. 36.

(*hh*) Not only that in 1681, but such of his poems as had been published in the State Poems, or in Dryden's Miscellanies.

MASON [Sir JOHN], an eminent Statesman in the XVIth century, was born at Abbingdon in Berkshire; being the son of a cow-herd (or farmer) by his wife, the sister of a monk in the famous monastery of that place. This monk observing his nephew to be very apt to learn, gave him a proper education; and when fit for the university, procured him a fellowship in All-Souls-college in Oxford. There Mr Mason took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, July 8, 1521 (*a*); and becoming soon noted for the pregnancy of his parts, he was pitched upon by the university to compliment K. Henry VIII. at his coming thither in the year 1523. (*b*). On which occasion, our young scholar, with his comely presence, becoming carriage, flowing expression, and graceful elocution, so highly pleased the King; that his Majesty, at the motion of Sir Thomas More, ordered him to be sent over, and maintained at his own charge, in the university of Paris [*A*], to fit him for publick employments (*c*). After his return from France, he supplicated for the degree of Bachelor of Physic, (being styled Master of Arts;) but whether he was admitted doth not appear (*d*): However, he became a great favourite to K. Henry VIII. who employed him in several embassies [*B*], and appointed him one of his Privy-Council. After that King's death, he was made Privy-Counsellor to K. Edward VI, chief Clerk of the Council, Secretary for the French tongue [*C*], and Master of Requests. He was also sent Embassador to France (*e*). According to the fashion of that reign, he was a great hunter after Church-preferments (*f*); and, tho' a layman and a knight, enjoyed several dignities, particularly the Deanery of Winchester. On the 18th of November 1552, he was elected Chancellor of the university of Oxford; and kept that honourable office 'till October 26, 1556; when he resigned it, to make room for Cardinal Pole, who was designing to visit, and do great things for that university (*g*). At Queen Mary's accession, he declared for her, and, among the rest of the Privy-Counsellors, subscribed the letter to the Duke of Northumberland, commanding him to lay down his arms, &c. (*h*). He was continued a Privy-Counsellor to Queen Mary, and much respected by her. And, among other honourable employments during her reign, he was the English Resident in the Netherlands (*i*). In which station, he was instrumental in preserving Katharine Duchess dowager of Suffolk, and her husband Richard Bertie Esq; during their voluntary exile, on account of their attachment to the Protestant Religion (*k*). Having the art of adapting himself to all the changes in those variable times [*D*], he became a favourite also

(*a*) Wood, Fasti, edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 30.

(*b*) D. Lloyd's State-Worthies, edit. 1679, p. 208, 209. Wood Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. i. p. 249.

(*c*) D. Lloyd, ibid. Wood Fasti, ut supra. Fuller's Worthies, in Berkshire, p. 93.

(*d*) Wood, Fasti, as above, col. 43.

(*e*) Wood ibid. col. 30.

(*f*) Camdeni Annal. ad ann. 1566.

(*g*) Wood Fasti, Vol. I. col. 76, 84.

(*h*) Stowe's Annales, edit. 1631, p. 612.

(*i*) Wood, as above, col. 30.

(*k*) Holinshed's Chron. edit. 1587, Vol. III. p. 1144.

[*A*] *And maintained at his own charge in the university of Paris.*] For, as Dr Fuller observes, 'it was 'the politick discipline of those days to select the 'pregnancies of either universities, and breed them in 'forraign parts for publique employment (1).'

[*B*] *Who employed him in several embassies.*] And, the better to qualify him for them, K. Henry sent him beyond sea, (after he had spent a proper time in the university of Paris, we may suppose) with instructions to guide him, and a pension to support him. His instructions were, 1. To keep exact correspondence with the secretary at home. 2. To entertain the most eminent scholar, who might represent the church; the ripest under-secretary, who might decipher to him the state; the ablest soldier and sea-man, that might open to him the interest of both nations. 3. To take an exact account of the havens, forts, cities, avenues, passages, ways, treasure, and interest of the place he lived in. 4. To follow the respective Embassadors directions in every court. 5. To appear in each place, upon any solemnity, civil or military, suitable to the occasion; all charges to be defrayed from the English Exchequer. His pension was 220 *l.* a year; his circuit France, the Netherlands, Italy, and Spain; and his commission to engage any knowing person of those respective Courts, that could transcribe their edicts or orders, give exact intelligence, make any interest, or had any influence upon their respective governments (2).

[*C*] *Secretary for the French tongue.*] But he doth not appear to have been Secretary of State; as Sir John Hayward styles him by mistake (3).

[*D*] *Having the art of adapting himself to all the changes in those variable times.*] Four things, he said, kept him in, under all the revolutions, during the four Princes reigns whom he served: 1. That he thought few things would save a man. 2. That he was always intimate with the exactest Lawyer, and ablest favourite. 3. That he spake little, and writ less. 4. That he had attained to something which each party esteemed serviceable to them, and was so moderate, that all thought him their own (4).

(1) Fuller's Worthies, as above, p. 93.

(2) D. Lloyd, as above, p. 210.

(3) Life of King Edward VI. edit. 1636, 12mo. p. 254. See it in Compleat History of England, edit. 1706, Vol. II. p. 310.

(4) D. Lloyd, as above, p. 212.

[*E*] *All*

alſo to Queen Elizabeth; who not only continued him in the Privy-Council, and in the office of Secretary for the French tongue, but made him Treaſurer of her Chamber. He was likewiſe, about the ſame time, Maſter of the Hoſpital in Abbingdon, the foundation of which he had newly procured from Queen Mary; with the incorporation of that Town, and the privilege of ſending one Burgeſs to Parliament (*l*). On the 20th of June 1559, he was elected a ſecond time Chancellor of the univerſity of Oxford; but he reſigned that office Decemb. 26, 1564 (*m*). Thus having, by his great accompliſhments natural and acquired, raiſed himſelf from ſmall beginnings to very conſiderable honours and riches; he departed this life April 20, 1566; and was buried in St Paul's cathedral, where a monument was erected to him, but which was deſtroyed by the great fire (*n*). Not having been married, at leaſt leaving no iſſue, he bequeathed his fortune to a nephew (*o*). An Epitaph in proſe on the learned Sir Thomas Wyatt (*p*), is the only thing he is recorded to have written. All that has been ſaid of him by way of Character, is given below in the note [*E*].

(*l*) Wood, as above, col. 30. and Br. Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria, Vol. I. edit. 1730, p. 77.

(*m*) Wood, Faſti, Vol. I. col. 88, 92.

(*n*) Wood, as above, col. 30. See alſo Dugdale's Hiſtory of St Paul's. See the epitaph in Stowe's Survey.

(*o*) Fuller's Worthies, as above, p. 94.

(*p*) Wood, Ath. Vol. I. col. 57, 58.

[*E*] *All that has been ſaid of him by way of character, &c.*] Mr Camden ſtyles him, a man of learning and gravity; *vir gravis atque eruditus* (5). And D. Lloyd informs us that 'they who lived in thoſe times 'ſay, that none underſtood the affairs of England and 'France, together with their mutual advantages or 'diſadvantages, better than Sir John Maſon.—A grave 'and reserved man he was, who underſtood the in'trigues and motion of thoſe dark and uncertain times, 'and his nimble and preſent prudence could accommo'date them. His maxim was, *Do, and ſay nothing.*— 'Many were his penſions to Scholars at home, more 'to Agents abroad, that aſſiſted either his ſtudies or 'employments, whom he deſigned an honour to his 'middle, and a ſupport to his old age. He had a pe'culiar way of ſatiſfying ſuiters by plain dealing and 'diſpatch. No man underſtood better the nature of 'Court places than he, and none ſaw further into 'Court perſons. Two things, he ſaid, always pro'moted a matter: 1. Secrecy. 2. The timing of it, 'with an eye to thoſe about us (6).' And three of his Letters are printed in the Collection of Records at the end of Part III. of Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, p. 577, 583, 595. C

(5) Camdeni Annal. Eliz. ad ann. 1566.

(6) Lloyd, as above, p. 211, 214.

MATHER [COTTON], an eminent Divine of Boſton in New-England, was grandſon of Mr Richard Mather, born at Lowton in the pariſh of Winwick in Lancaſhire [*A*]; and eldeſt ſon of Dr Increaſe Mather, one of the Miniſters of Boſton, and President of Harvard-college in Cambridge near Boſton (*a*). He was born Feb. 12, 1662-3, at Boſton, where he was educated at ſchool 'till he was twelve years old; by which

(*a*) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 428. Calamy's Continuation, Vol. I. p. 495. and D. Neal's Hiſt. of New-England, Vol. II. p. 368.

[*A*] *Was grandſon of Mr Richard Mather, &c.*] This Mr Richard Mather was born at Lowton, within the pariſh of Winwick in Lancaſhire, in the year 1596; educated in grammar learning in the ſchool at Winwick; and in 1612, appointed maſter of a publick ſchool at Toxteth Park near Leverpool in the ſame county: where pretending to receive a new light within him, was converted to godlineſs in 1614 (1). On the 9th of May 1618, he was admitted a ſtudent in Brazen-noſe-college in Oxford, at the age of twenty-two. He became afterwards Miniſter of Toxteth; but, after he had continued a zealous and diligent Preacher there above fifteen years, he was ſuſpended for Nonconformity, in 1633. By the interceſſion of friends, he was reſtored within ſix months. But the ſummer following, Richard Neile, Archbiſhop of York, ſending viſitors into the dioceſe of Cheſter, Dr Coſin one of the viſitors ſuſpended Mr Mather a ſecond time, for not wearing the ſurplice. Finding no interceſſions could procure him the liberty he wanted, he embarked at Briſtol for New-England, and arrived at Boſton Auguſt 17, 1635. He ſettled at Dorcheſter in that country, where he continued a preacher 'till his death, which happened April 22, 1669 (2).

He had four ſons, who were all Nonconforming Miniſters. 1. *Samuel*, the eldeſt, was born in Lancaſhire, May 13, 1626. Being carried over by his father to New-England, he had his education in Harvard college, and was the firſt Fellow of that houſe, who took degrees there. He returned to England in 1650, and became one of the Chaplains of Magdalen-college in Oxford; where, and at Cambridge alſo, he took his degrees again. In 1653, he went with the Engliſh commiſſioners to Scotland, and continued preaching two years at Leith. He paſſed over to Ireland in 1655, and was made ſenior Fellow of the college in Dublin; and Lecturer of St Nicholas's church in that city. Soon after the Reſtoration, being ſuſpended for two ſermons preached againſt the Ceremonies, he came over to England, and preached at Burton-wood 'till the Bartholomew-act took place. Then, he returned to Dublin, where, with ſome interruptions, he exerciſed his Miniſtry 'till his death, which happened October 29, 1671 (3). 2 *Nathanael*, the ſecond ſon, had his education in Harvard college; was ſome time Miniſter of Barnſtable in Devonſhire, then at Rotterdam in Holland, at Dublin where he ſucceeded his brother, and laſtly paſtor of a congregation in London. He dyed July 26, 1697 (4). 3. *Eleazar*, was Paſtor of a church at Northampton in New England, and dyed in July 1669. 4 INCREASE, the fourth ſon, was born at Dorcheſter in New-England, in 1639; educated in Harvard college, where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1656. He came to England in 1657, and thence went to Ireland, where he entered himſelf in Dublin college, and proceeded Maſter of Arts in 1658. The air of the country not agreeing with him, he returned to England; preached ſome time at Great Torrington, and Glouceſter; and in 1659 and 1660, was chaplain to Col. Bingham, Governor of Guerneſey. At the Reſtoration, when he found himſelf under a neceſſity either of conforming or loſing his chaplainſhip, he came back to England, where he was offered conſiderable preferment. But chuſing rather to return to New-England, he ſailed thither in 1661, and was made Miniſter of the New church in the north part of Boſton (5). In 1684, he was elected Preſident of Harvard college (6). He would not conſent to the ſurrendering of the Charters of the colonies of New-England: But, upon King James the Second's Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience, he accepted of the office, of bringing over to England, Addreſſes of Thanks for it from ſome of the Miniſters of New-England and their churches: To which purpoſe he embarked, April 7, 1688. The Revolution happening during his ſtay in England, he applied, with ſome others, for a new Charter for the Colonies in New-England: which being obtained, he ſet ſail for New-England March 29, 1692, and arriv'd at Boſton the 14th of May following. Soon after, he was created Doctor in Divinity. He reſigned his Maſterſhip of Harvard college in 1701, and continued preaching at Boſton, 'till his death, which happened Auguſt 23, 1723. He was author of ſeveral things, of which an account may be ſeen in Wood and Calamy (7). Having married the daughter of Mr *John Cotton*, he had by her three ſons, the eldeſt of whom was Mr COTTON MATHER, the ſubject of this article (8). This Mr *John Cotton* was once Fellow of Emmanuel-college in Cambridge, and Vicar of Boſton in Lincolnſhire. Being moleſted on account of his Nonconformity, he embarked for New England, where he arrived September 3, 1633; and was choſen aſſiſtant preacher at Boſton. He dyed there December 23, 1652, in the 68th year of his age (9).

(1) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 427.

(2) Wood, Ath. as above; and D. Neal's Hiſtory of the Puritans, Vol. II. edit. 1733, p. 276.

(3) Wood, Ath. ut ſupra, col. 489. Ed. Calamy's Account of the Miniſters ejected, &c. Vol. II. edit. 1713, p. 415, &c.

(4) Wood, col. 428. Calamy, as above, p. 238. and Continuation, Vol. I. p. 257, &c.

(5) Calamy's Account, as above, Vol. II. p. 317. and Continuation, Vol. I. p. 494, &c. Alſo Wood, as above, col. 428.

(6) Neal's Hiſt. of New-England, Vol. I. p. 184.

(7) Ubi ſupra.

(8) Calamy's Continuation, Vol. I. p. 494, &c.

(9) Neal's Hiſt. of the Puritans, Vol. II. p. 264. and his Hiſt. of New-England, Vol. I. p. 138, 166, 285, &c.

which time he had made such uncommon progress in the Latin and Greek languages, and entered on the Hebrew, that it was thought proper to remove him to the university. Accordingly, he was admitted into Harvard-college, where the progress he made in his Academical studies was no way short of what he had made at school. Particularly, he drew up systems of the sciences, as he studied them; in order to imprint them the better on his mind: And wrote Remarks on the books he read; which was another excellent means of improvement. At sixteen years of age, he took his first degree; and in his nineteenth proceeded Master of Arts (*b*). When he was but about seventeen years old, he undertook the tuition of young gentlemen, some of them older than himself, whom he carried through the several parts of Academical learning. For their use, he composed catechetical systems of the several Sciences: and, while he thus laboured for the instruction of others, he improved himself, at the same time, in various branches of literature. His chief aim was to make his pupils not only learned, but also good, men; and, for that end, he watched very carefully over their conduct, and moreover, conversed with them upon the most important subjects, and put what he thought the best and most instructive Books into their hands. This service he continued for upwards of seven years; and he had the pleasure of reaping a comfortable harvest from these his labours; many of his pupils proving able and useful ministers (*c*). He had from his cradle an impediment in his speech, which afforded so unpromising an aspect of his usefulness as a preacher, that, for some time, he quite laid aside all thoughts of the Ministry, and applied himself to the study of Physick. But by habituating himself to a deliberate way of speaking, he, in time, got rid of this impediment. And then, by the advice of his friends, he returned to the study of Divinity; which he prosecuted with such successful application, that, before he was eighteen years old, he was thought to be very competently furnished for publick service, and was advised to begin to preach; which accordingly he did August 22, 1680. His eminent abilities were soon taken notice of, so that in half a year after his first beginning to preach, the North Church at Boston gave him an unanimous invitation to be his father's assistant, and made him a handsome offer for his support. This church having had near two years further trial of his ministerial qualifications, unanimously chose him to be Co-Pastor with his father, though he was not yet quite twenty years old. He modestly waved their choice for a while; at length signifying his willingness to accept of it, he was ordained their Pastor May 13, 1684 (*d*). In that station, he behaved with great diligence [*B*], and duly visited his flock; ordinarily making four or five of those visits in an afternoon (*e*). A further instance of his uncommon diligence, were his Writings of various sorts, of which an account is given below [*C*]. The most remarkable of them, was that intituled, 'The Wonders of the Invisible World [*D*].' That he might the

(*b*) Abridgment of the Life of Dr Cotton Mather, by Dav. Jennings, Lond. 1744, 8vo. p. 2.

(*c*) Idem, p. 47, 48.

(*d*) Idem, p. 27—30.

(*e*) Idem, p. 45.

[*B*] *In that station he behaved with great diligence.*] It appears from his own *memoranda*, 'That he preached in one year seventy two publick Sermons, besides many private ones; that not a day had passed without some contrivance to do good; nor in which some of his revenues had not been dealt out to charitable and pious uses; and in that one year he composed and published *fourteen* Books, and kept sixty Fasts, and twenty two Vigils (10).'

[*C*] *A further instance of his uncommon diligence, were his writings of various sorts.*] He published in his life-time, *three hundred eighty two Books*. Many of them were indeed but small Volumes, as single sermons, Essays, &c. yet there are several among them of a much larger size; As his '*Magnalia Christi Americana*, or an Ecclesiastical History of New-England, from it's first planting in 1620 to 1698, fol.—his 'Christian Philosopher.' 8vo.—his '*Ratio Disciplinæ Fratrum Nov-Anglorum*:' i. e. Reason of the Discipline of the Brethren in New England:—his Directions to a Candidate for the Ministry:'—'his Life of his Father,'—'His *Psalterium Americanum*,' or American Psalter. Besides all these, he left behind him several Books in manuscript, one of which, viz. his *Biblia Americana*, or Illustration of the sacred Scriptures, was proposed to be printed in three volumes, folio (11). - - - - The largest of the Books published by him, were his *Magnalia Dei Americana*, &c. But they have been criticized upon by several writers. Mr *D. Neal*, for instance, gives this character of them '—The most famous Historian of New England is the Reverend and learned Dr Cotton Mather, who with great diligence and industry has collected a variety of useful materials, for the Ecclesiastical and Civil History of his country, and published them to the world in folio, under the title of *Magnalia*, &c. with the attestation of the Reverend Mr Higginson, one of the oldest Ministers of the country, prefixed to it. The Doctor is certainly a Gentleman of great probity and vertue, and having been at the head of affairs in his country for a great many years, is as capable of knowing the truth of the Facts he relates as any man living; Had the Doctor *put his materials a little closer together, and disposed them in another method, his work would have been more acceptable to this part of the world*, but as it is, his great integrity and diligence deserve the publick Thanks of his country (12).'——*J. Oldmixon* calls that History, 'a miserable jargon, full of puns, anagrams, miracles, prodigies, speeches, and epistles; loaded with many random learned quotations, school-boy exercises, Romance-like legends, and barbarous rhimes (13).'—— Dr *Douglass* also makes the following animadversions on the Map inserted in that History. 'Dr Cotton Mather's Map of New-England, New York, Jersies and Pensylvania, is composed from some old rough draughts of the first discoveries, with obsolete names not known at this time, and has scarce any resemblance of the country; it may be called a very erroneous antiquated Map (14).'

[*D*] *The most remarkable of them, was that intituled, The Wonders of the invisible World.*] The title will shew the substance of what it contains; viz. 'The Wonders of the invisible World: Being an Account of the Tryals of several Witches, lately executed in New-England: And of several remarkable Curiosities therein occurring. Together with, 1. Observations upon the nature, the number, and the operations of the Devils. 2. A short Narrative of a late outrage committed by a knot of Witches in Swedeland, very much resembling, and so far explaining, that under which New-England has laboured. 3. Some Councels directing a due improvement of the terrible things lately done by the unusual and amazing range of evil Spirits in New England. 4. A brief Discourse upon those Temptations which are the more ordinary Devices of Satan. By Cotton Mather. Published by the special Command of his Excellency the Governor of the Province of Massachusett's-Bay in New-England (15). Printed first at Boston in New-England; and reprinted at London 1693, 4to. (16).' The occasion and main part of this Book, as the Reader will observe, is the Tryal of

(10) Abridgm. of his Life, &c. as above, p. 25.

(11) Ibid. p. 61.

(12) Neal's History of New-England; edit. Lond. 1720. Preface to Vol. I. p. 7, 8.

(13) British Empire in America, 2 vols, 8vo.

(14) Summary, &c. of the British Settlements in North America, Vol. I. edit. Lond. p. 362.

(15) Sir William Phipps.

(16) See Dr Douglass's Summary Historical, &c. Vol. I. p. 449.

the better extend his usefulness beyond the limits of his own country and profession, he applied himself to the study of the modern languages, and learned particularly French and Spanish:

'of several Witches, executed in New-England; namely, Mr George Burroughs, a Minister; Bridget Bishop, alias Oliver; Susan Martin, Elizabeth How, and Martha Carrier. They were tried at Salem in June and August 1692, and condemned and executed. 'Mr 'Burroughs had been formerly Minister at Salem, 'but some differences arising between him and his people, he left them and retired to Falmouth, which 'perhaps might be one reason of his being fixed upon 'by these Salemites for a Wizzard (17).' And some prejudice conceived against him by his successor Mr Paris (whose daughter and niece were troubled with uncommon convulsion fits) hastened undoubtedly his ruin. However it be, Mr Burroughs was indicted for witchcraft; and, in the prosecution of the charge against him, he was accused by five or six of the Bewitched as the author of their miseries: He was accused by eight of the Confessing Witches, as being an head-actor at some of their hellish rendezvouzes, and one who had the promise of being a King in Satan's kingdom now going to be erected: He was accused by nine persons for extraordinary lifting, and such feats of strength, as could not be done without a diabolical assistance. And for other such things he was accused, until about thirty testimonies were brought in against him; nor were these judged the half of what might have been considered for their conviction: However, they were *thought* enough to fix the character of a Wizzard upon him; according to the rules of reasoning by one Gaule in that case directed.

(17) These are Mr D. Neal's own words.

More particularly, as in the opinion of Witch-mongers, the Testimonies of the *parties bewitched* add greatly to the Suspicions or Presumptions brought in against one indicted for Witchcraft; there were heard the Testimonies of several persons, who were *said* to be most notoriously bewitched, and every day tortured by invisible hands; and these all charged the spectres of George Burroughs to have a share in their torments. At his examination, the *bewitched* people pretended they were grievously harrassed with preternatural mischiefs, which could not possibly be dissembled, and they still ascribed them unto the endeavours of George Burroughs to kill them. They also deposed, that a little black-hair'd man came to one of them, in her agonies, saying his name was Burroughs; pressed her to set her hand to a Book he shewed her; and, upon her refusal, inflicted cruel pains and hurts upon her.—That he used to bite them.—That, in their torments, George Burroughs tempted them to go unto a sacrament, unto which they perceived him with a sound of trumpet summoning of other witches; who, quickly after the sound, would come from all quarters unto the rendezvous. One of them falling into a kind of trance, affirmed, That Burroughs had carried her away into a very high mountain, where he shewed her mighty and glorious kingdoms, and said, 'He would give them all to her,' if she would write in his Book;' but she told him, 'They were none of his to give;' and refused the motions, enduring much misery for that refusal.—And, as it is reckoned a frequent thing, for the bewitched people to be entertained with Apparitions of murdered people, at the same time as the spectres of the witches trouble them: Accordingly, several of the Bewitched gave in their testimony, that they had been troubled with the Apparitions of two Women, who said, that they were G. Burroughs's two wives, and that he had been the death of them, and that the Magistrates must be told of it. And, at his tryal, they pretended to see those apparitions.—Nay his domestic affairs, proving him an ill man, were brought against him as an evidence of his being a wizzard: And, among the rest, his great and preternatural strength; he being reported, often to have done things beyond the strength of a giant: As the taking up a whole barrel filled with malasses or cider, in very disadvantageous postures, and carrying it through the difficultest places out of a canoo to the shore. The putting his fore-finger into the muzzle of a fowling piece, of about six or seven foot barrel, lifting it up, and holding out at arm's-end (18). Mighty strong and convincing arguments of Witchcraft, undoubtedly! tho' Dr Mather seemed at that time to believe them as firmly as his Bible.—The Depositions against the rest of the Accused, were equally wonderful and incredible.

(18) Wonders of the Invisible World, p. 61, &c.

'Tis certain, as Mr Neal candidly observes (19), 'that these suspected wizzards and witches were convicted on very slender evidence; for the court allowed the witnesses to tell stories of twenty or thirty 'years standing, about over-setting of carts, the death 'of cattle, unkindness to relations, or unexpected accidents befalling after some quarrel: all that was alledged against them to the *purpose* being either from 'the distempered persons themselves, or from those, 'who had been frighted into a confession of their being witches by the threatenings of the Magistrate, 'or encouraged to it with hopes of mercy.' And there is some unfairness in the Tryals that Dr Mather 'has 'published to the world. For, when he has given the 'depositions of the witnesses against the prisoners at 'large, he passes over their defence in such general 'words as these, "They said nothing worth considering; their discourse was full of tergiversations "and contradictions; they were confounded, and "their countenances fell, &c." Whereby his reader 'is left in the dark, and rendered uncapable of judging of the merits of the cause. But, upon such evidence as this, twenty-eight persons received sentence 'of death, of which nineteen were executed (20).' 'They all went out of the world without the least acknowledgment of their guilt, laying their own blood 'at the door of false witnesses. But neither integrity 'of manners, nor the strongest protestations of innocence with their dying breath, were sufficient to 'move compassion, nor stop the tide of the peoples 'zeal against those unhappy persons at this time.—— 'And they were far from being all that were in danger of losing their lives; for there were then a hundred and fifty in prison, and above two hundred 'more under accusation from the Afflicted. Indeed 'the whole country was in confusion, every one being 'jealous of his neighbour (21). Things were come to a 'wretched pass; no man being sure of his life or fortune 'for an hour. And so they continued, 'till the Afflicted 'over-acted their parts so far, as to accuse some of the 'nearest relations of Dr Increase Mather, and of the 'Governor himself. It was time then to make a stand: 'accordingly, the very next sessions, when fifty six bills 'were preferred against persons for Witchcraft, the 'grand Jury brought in thirty *Ignoramus*; and of the 'remaining twenty-six, the petty Jury convicted but 'three, whom the Governor pardoned.——All the 'Confessions that were made, seem to have been either 'the effects of a distempered brain, or extorted to save 'their lives (22).——But, besides the Blood that was 'spilt upon this occasion, several persons and families 'were ruined in their estates and reputations, partly 'by long imprisonment, and partly by the avarice of 'the officers, who took possession of their houses in 'their absence. . . . . . At length, the whole country 'became by degrees sensible of their mistake; [*returned to their senses*;] and most of the actors in this Tragedy repented the share they had in it. One of the 'Judges at those tryals, caused (in a full assembly, at 'one of their Meetings, on a fast-day) a Paper to be 'read to all the people; wherein he acknowledged, 'that he had fallen into some errors in the Tryals at 'Salem, begging the prayers of the congregation, that 'the guilt of such miscarriages might not be imputed 'to the country in general, or to him and his family 'in particular.' The Jury likewise, employed at these tryals, published a paper, signed with their own hands; wherein they confessed, that, 'for want 'of knowledge in themselves, and better information 'from others, they were prevailed with to take up 'such evidence against the Accused, as on further consideration and further information, they justly feared, was insufficient for the touching the lives of 'any.' . . . . And 'acknowledged, that they justly 'feared they were then under the power of a strong 'and general delusion, utterly unacquainted with, and 'not experienced in matters of that nature (23).'— And even our author, Dr C. Mather, since 'declared it as his opinion, that things were carried too 'far;' as appeared to him, 1. From the great number 'of persons accused. 2. From the quality of the persons accused, some of whom were persons of blameless and holy lives. 3. From the number of the Afflicted, which increased to about fifty. This (says 'he)

(19) Hist. of New-England, Vol. II. p. 500.

(20) Idem, p. 512.

(21) Idem, p. 523.

(22) Idem, p. 527, 529.

(23) Idem, p. 536, 537. Dr Douglass declares, that it was a most inhuman murder, by colour of Law, perpetrated upon many ignorant maniacs, and other persons affected in their nerves. Summary, a above, p. 449.

Spanish: also, in his forty-fifth year, he made himself so far master of the Iroquois Indian tongue; that he wrote and published treatises in those languages. In fine, he became

'he) gave just ground to suspect some mistake. 4. 'From the execution of the prisoners, not one of 'which confessed their guilt at their death; though 'several of them were persons of good knowledge, of 'sober lives, and dyed in a serious, affecting man-'ner. And as for the Confessors, no experience was 'had, whether they would abide by their confessions 'when they came to dye; they being all reprieved 'and pardoned. 5. Because when the prosecutions 'ceased, the Afflicted grew presently well; the Accu-'sed were generally quiet, and there was no distur-'bance since that time (24).' Thus, in about fifteen months time ended an affair, which not only confounded the minds of the people of New-England, but struck all Europe with surprize and astonishment. It is a wonder, as Mr Neal observes (25), 'that no 'publick notice was ever taken either of the afflicted 'persons or Confessing Witches: if the agitations of 'the Afflicted were voluntary and artful, the blood of 'the Innocent certainly lay at their door; but if not, 'they should have been treated as lunatics. The con-'fessing Witches might possibly deserve more compas-'sion, if their confessions were extorted by violence, 'or arose from the pure necessity of saving their lives 'this way; but yet their bearing false witness against 'their neighbours, and dipping their hands in their 'innocent blood, ought not to have been passed over 'in silence.'

(24) Mather's Magnalia, &c. book vi. p. 82.

(25) As above, p. 539.

From these examples we learn, how extremely pernicious this absurd and wicked notion of Witchcraft is in its nature, and how dreadful in its effects and consequences. Since it not only disturbs people's imagination; gives them a quite wrong notion of the great Creator and Governor of the Universe, and of all spiritual Beings; but also furnishes them with an opportunity, either to excuse or cover their own wickedness, or to indulge their revenge and other malicious inclinations, and to be a trouble and a plague to their honest and inoffensive neighbours. All facts quite undeniable, and plain from the Tryals of the Witches in New-England, published by Dr Cotton Mather!

We cannot but be concerned, that such a work should come from the pen of a person otherwise of good and untainted reputation. But it must be owned, that he concurred too far in that foul business, not only by publishing the Tryals, but also by supporting in his writings the absurd and shocking Doctrine of Witchcraft; a Doctrine of Devils! And that he did so, is but too plain from the following extracts of some Treatises of his intermixed with those Tryals, and intituled, "Enchantments encountered: A Discourse on the "Wonders of the Invisible World; and the Devil "discovered."——'That the Devil, says he, is come 'down unto us with great wrath, we find, we feel, 'we now deplore. In many ways, for many years, 'hath the Devil been assaying to extirpate the King-'dom of our Lord Jesus here. New-England may 'complain of the Devil as in Psalm 129. 1, 2. But 'now there is a more than ordinary affliction, with 'which the Devil is galling of us: and such an one as 'is indeed unparallelable. The things confessed by 'Witches, and the things endured by others, laid to-'gether, amount unto this account of our affliction. 'The Devil, exhibiting himself ordinarily as a small '*black man*, has decoyed a fearful knot of proud, 'froward, ignorant, envious, and malicious creatures, 'to list themselves in this horrid service, by entering 'their names in a book by him tendered unto them. 'These Witches, whereof above a score have now 'confessed, and shown their deeds, and some are now 'tormented by the Devils for confessing, have met in 'hellish rendezvouzes, wherein the Confessors do say, 'they have had their diabolical sacraments, imitating 'the Baptism and the Supper of our Lord. In these 'hellish meetings these monsters have associated them-'selves, to do no less a thing than, *To destroy the* '*Kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ, in these parts of* '*the World*; and in order hereunto, first, they each 'of them have their Spectres or Devils, commissioned 'by them, and representing of them, to be the en-'gines of their malice. By these wicked spectres, 'they seize poor people about the country, with vari-'ous and bloody torments; and of those evidently 'preternatural torments there are some have dyed. 'They have bewitched some, even so far as to make 'self-destroyers: and others are in many towns here 'and there languishing under their evil hands. The 'people thus afflicted, are miserably scratched and bit-'ten, so that the marks are most visible to all the 'world, but the causes utterly invisible; and the 'same invisible furies do most visibly stick pins into 'the bodies of the afflicted, and scale them, and hi-'deously distort, and disjoint all their members, be-'sides a thousand other sorts of plagues beyond these 'of any natural diseases which they give unto them. 'Yea, they sometimes drag the poor people out of 'their chambers, and carry them over trees and hills, 'for divers miles together. A large part of the per-'sons tortured by these diabolical spectres, are hor-'ribly tempted by them, sometimes with fair promises, 'and sometimes with hard threatenings, but always 'with felt miseries, to sign the Devil's Laws in a 'spectral book laid before them; which two or three 'of these poor sufferers, being by their tiresome suffer-'ings overcome to do, they have immediately been 'released from all their miseries and they appeared in 'spectre then to torture those that were before their 'fellow-sufferers. The witches which by their cove-'nant with the devil, are become owners of spectres, 'are oftentimes by their own spectres required and 'compelled to give their consent, for the molestation 'of some, which they had no mind otherwise to fall 'upon; and cruel depredations are then made upon 'the vicinage. In the prosecution of these witchcrafts, 'among a thousand other unaccountable things, the 'spectres have an odd faculty, of cloathing the most 'substantial and corporeal instruments of torture, with 'invisibility, while the wounds thereby given have 'been the most palpable things in the world; so that 'the sufferers assaulted with instruments of iron, whol-'ly unseen to the standers by, though, to their cost, 'seen by themselves, have, upon snatching, wrested 'the instruments out of the spectres hands, and every 'one has then immediately not only beheld, but hand-'led, an iron instrument taken by a devil from a 'neighbour. These wicked spectres have proceeded 'so far, as to steal several quantities of money from 'divers people, part of which money has, before suf-'ficient spectators, been dropt out of the air into the 'hands of the sufferers, while the spectres have been 'urging them to subscribe their Covenant with death. 'In such extravagant ways have these wretches pro-'pounded, the dragooning of as many as they can, in 'their own combination, and the destroying of others, 'with lingring, spreading, deadly diseases; 'till our 'countrey should at last become too hot for us (26).'— Such is the extraordinary, and indeed improbable, account our author gives of the Witchcrafts, and of the Devil's proceedings in New-England: and no less extravagant are his notions about the Devil's Power and Mischievousness; as will appear by the following samples...... 'I have set myself to countermine the 'whole *Plot* of the Devil against New England, in 'every branch of it, as far as one of my darkness, can 'comprehend such a work of darkness (27).——The 'New-Englanders are a people of God settled in those, 'which were once the Devil's territories; and it may 'easily be supposed that the Devil was exceedingly 'disturbed, when he perceived such a people here ac-'complishing the promise of old made unto our blessed 'Jesus, That he should have the utmost parts of the 'earth for his possession. The Devil thus irritated, 'immediately tryed all sorts of methods to overturn 'this poor plantation.—He has wanted his *incarnate* 'Legions to persecute us, as the people of God have 'in the other hemisphere been persecuted: he has 'therefore drawn forth his more *spiritual* ones to make 'an attacque upon us.—An army of Devils is horribly 'broke in upon the place which is the center, and af-'ter a sort, the first-born of our English settlements '(28).—If the Devils now can strike the minds of 'men with any poisons of so fine a composition and 'operation, that scores of innocent people shall unite, 'in confessions of a crime, which we see actually 'committed, it is a thing prodigious, beyond the 'wonders of the former ages, and it threatens no less 'than a sort of a dissolution upon the world. Now, 'by these confessions 'tis agreed, That the Devil has 'made

(26) The Wonders of the Invisible World, p. 41, 42.

(27) The author's Defence, or Preface, p. 2.

(28) Enchantments encounter'd, p. 7.

became so considerable in Boston, that he was several times consulted by the Magistrates upon

'made a dreadful knot of witches in the country, and 'by the help of witches has dreadfully increased that 'knot (29).—The witches have not only intimated, but 'some of them acknowledged, That they have plotted the representations of innocent persons, to cover 'and shelter themselves in their witchcrafts; now, 'although our good God has hitherto generally preserved us from the abuse therein designed by the 'Devils for us, yet who of us can exactly state, How 'far our God may for our chastisement permit the 'devil to proceed in such an abuse (30).'—The Devil 'has made us like a troubled sea, and the mire and 'mud begins now also to heave up apace. Even good 'and wise men suffer themselves to fall into their 'paroxysms; and the shake which the Devil is now 'giving us, fetches up the dirt which before lay still 'at the bottom of our sinful hearts. If we allow the 'mad dogs of hell to poyson us by biting us, we shall 'imagine that we see nothing but such things about us, 'and, like such things, fly upon all that we see. 'Were it not for what is *in us*, for my part, I should 'not fear a thousand legions of Devils (31).—There 'are very worthy men, who having been called by 'God, when and where this Witchcraft first appeared upon the stage to encounter it, are earnestly desirous to have it sifted unto the bottom of it. And I 'pray, which of us all that should live under the continual impressions of the Tortures, Outcries, and 'Havocks which Devils confessedly commissioned by 'Witches make among their distressed neighbours, 'would not have a biass that way beyond other men '(32)—? Alas! we are not aware of the devil, if 'we do not think, that he aims at inflaming us one 'against another; and shall we suffer ourselves to be 'devil-ridden?—Their Majesties good subjects must 'not every day be torn to pieces by horrid witches, 'and those horrid felons, be left wholly unprosecuted (33)...... The Devils are so many, that some 'thousands can, sometimes, at once apply themselves 'to vex one child of man.—Alas! the Devils, they 'swarm about us, like the frogs of Egypt, in the most 'retired of our chambers. Are we at our boards? 'There will be Devils to tempt us unto sensuality: Are 'we in our beds? There will be Devils to tempt us 'unto carnality: Are we in our shops? There will 'be Devils to tempt us unto dishonesty. Yea, 'though we get into the church of God, there will 'be Devils to haunt us in the very temple itself, and 'there tempt us to manifold misbehaviours. I am 'verily perswaded, That there are very few humane 'affairs whereinto some Devils are not insinuated; 'There is not so much as a journey intended, but Satan will have an hand in hindering or furthering of it. ''Tis to be supposed, That there is a sort of arbitrary, 'even military Government, among the Devils.—— 'Think on vast regiments of cruel and bloody French 'dragoons, with an intendant over them, over-running a pillaged neighbourhood, and you will think a 'little, what the constitution among the Devils is.— ''Tis to be supposed, that some Devils are more peculiarly commissioned, and perhaps qualified, for 'some countries, while others are for others ..... 'It is not likely that every Devil does know every 'language; or that every Devil can do every mischief. ''Tis possible, that the experience, or if I may call 'so, the education of all Devils is not alike, and that 'there may be some difference in their abilities. If 'one might make an inference from what the Devils 'do, to what they are, one cannot forbear dreaming, 'that there are degrees of Devils.——Nor does it look 'agreeably, That the Dæmons, which were the familiars of such a man as the old Apollonius, differ not 'from those baser goblins that chuse to nest in the filthy and loathsome rags of a beastly sorceress.—There 'is a devilish wrath against mankind, with which the 'Devil is for God's sake inspired.—This horrible dragon does not only with his tayl strike at the stars of 'God, but at the God himself who made the stars, 'being desirous to outshine them all (34).—The Devil 'often gets a liberty to make a descent upon the children of men.—He stands with all the instruments of 'death, aiming at us, and begging of the Lord, as 'that King asked of the hood-winked Syrians of 'old, shall I smite 'em, shall I smite 'em?—The Devil, sometimes, does make most rueful havock 'among us..... There is a Court somewhere kept; 'a court of Spirits, where the Devil enters all sorts of 'complaints against us all; he charges us with manifold sins against the Lord our God.—The Devil is a 'Do-evil, and wholly set upon mischief. When our 'Lord once was going to muzzel him, that he might 'not mischief others, he cried out, Art thou come to 'torment me (35)?—What woes indeed must we expect from such a Devil of a Moloch, as relishes no 'sacrifices like those of human heart-blood, and unto 'whom there is no musick like the bitter, dying, 'doleful groans, ejulated by the roasting children of 'men (36).'—According to his notion also, it was the Devil that kept mankind so long from discovering those useful inventions, the knowledge of the Loadstone, Printing, Spectacles, &c.—'Indeed, [as he goes 'on] as the Devil does begrutch us all manner of 'Good, so he does annoy us with all manner of Woe, 'as often as he finds himself capable of doing it. ''Tis 'the destroyer, or the Devil, that scatters plagues 'about the world. 'Tis no uneasy thing for the 'Devil to impregnate the air about us, with such 'malignant salts, as, meeting with the salt of 'our microcosm, shall immediately cast us into 'that fermentation and putrefaction, which will 'utterly dissolve all the vital tyes within us. And 'when the Devil has raised those arsenical fumes, 'which become venemous quivers full of terrible arrows, how easily can he shoot the deleterious miasms 'into those juices or bowels of mens bodies, which 'will soon inflame them with a mortal fire! Hence 'come Plagues, infectious fevers, &c.—Again, *Wars* 'are also some of those woes, with which the Devil 'causes our trouble; and there is in truth scarce any 'war, but what is of his kindling. The Devil is that 'Vulcan, out of whose forge come the instruments of 'our wars, and it is he that finds us employments for 'those instruments. We read concerning Dæmoniacks, or people in whom the Devil was, that they 'would cut, and wound themselves; and so, when the 'Devil is in men, he puts them upon dealing in that 'barbarous fashion with one another. Wars do often 'furnish him with some thousands of souls in one morning from one acre of ground; and so for the sake of 'such Thyestæan banquets, he will push us upon as 'many wars as he can. Once more, why may not '*Storms* be reckoned among those woes, with which 'the Devil does disturb us? It is not improbable that 'natural storms on the world are often of the Devil's 'raising:—Whence perhaps it it, that Thunders are 'observed oftner to break upon Churches than upon 'any other buildings; and besides many a man, yea 'many a ship, yea, many a town has miscarried, 'when the Devil has been permitted from above to 'make an horrible tempest. However that the Devil 'has raised many metaphorical storms [troubles and 'persecutions] upon the Church, is a thing than which 'there is nothing more notorious..... But in reality 'spiritual woes are the principal woes among all those 'that the Devil would have us undone withal. Sins 'are the worst of woes, and the Devil seeks nothing 'so much as to plunge us into sins.—How come so 'many to be feared in their sins? 'Tis the Devil that 'with a red hot iron fetcht from his hell does cauterise them (37).'—While we are sojourning in this 'world, we are in what may upon too many accounts 'be called *The Devil's Country*.—The Birds of prey '(and indeed the Devils most literally in the shape of 'great Birds!) are flying about: would we find a covert from these vultures? let us then hear our Lord 'Jesus from heaven clocquing unto us, O that you 'would be gathered under my wings (38)!'—But, to use our Author's words, 'Enough, if not too much, of 'these things (39).' Such are the absurd Notions, [Notions founded upon weakness, credulity, and false principles,] which then reigned in New-England, and have also but too much reigned in Old England. They have travelled from North to South, and from East to West, in proportion as Ignorance and Superstition have successively prevailed. Our legislature have discouraged them to the utmost (40), and it is to be hoped, they will for ever be banished amongst the Hottentots and Iroquois. Such impious doctrines do certainly tend to downright Manichæism. And, as the learned Bishop Hutchinson observes (41), 'When Religion is 'clogged with such bloody and silly Superstitions, it 'tempts men to be both Sadducees and Atheists.'

(29) Ibid. p. 8.

(30) Ibid. p. 9.

(31) Ibid. p. 10.

(32) Ibid. p. 11.

(33) Ibid. p. 13.

(34) The Wonders of the Invisible World, p. 5, 6, 7.

(35) Ibid. p. 8, 9.

(36) Ibid. p. 10.

(37) Ibid. p. 11, 12.

(38) Ibid. p. 33, 51.

(39) Ibid. p. 7.

(40) Statut. 10 Geo. II.

(41) Historical Essay concerning Witchcraft, &c. Lond. 1718, 8vo. p. 171.

upon affairs of ſtate; and, more than once, quelled threatening riots, merely by the force of his perſuaſions. For the publick good, he ſet on foot there, and promoted ſeveral ſocieties: particularly, a Society for ſuppreſſing diſorders, and for Reformation of manners. And a Society of Peace-makers, whoſe profeſſed buſineſs it was to compoſe differences, and prevent law-ſuits. Moreover, he publiſhed a Propoſal for an Evangelical Treaſury, in order to build churches where they were wanted, diſtribute books of piety, relieve poor Miniſters &c. which his own congregation, and ſome others, readily came into, and encouraged (*f*). His fame was not confined to his own country. For, in 1710, the univerſity of Glaſgow in Scotland conferred on him the degree of Doctor in Divinity; for which they ſent him his diploma, under the ſeal of the univerſity. And, in 1714, the Royal Society of London choſe him one of their Fellows. He was further honoured, by an epiſtolary correſpondence with ſeveral perſons of eminent character for piety and learning: As the late Lord Chancellor King, and the celebrated Dr Frank Profeſſor of Divinity in the univerſity of Hall in Saxony; with many more, both in England, and in other countries (*g*). After a laborious, and well-meant life, he dyed February the 13th, 1727-8; being the next day after he had compleated his ſixty-fifth year (*h*). C

(*f*) Abridgm. of his Life, p. p. 48, 49.

(*g*) Ibid. p. 62, 63.

(*h*) Ibid. p. 143.

MAY [THOMAS], an eminent poet and hiſtorian in the reigns of King James and King Charles I. was deſcended of an ancient and worſhipful family in Suſſex; of which, we ſhall here refer to ſome extract, from an old pedigree in being, at the foot of the page [*A*]; and in this place, only obſerve, that Sir Thomas May of Mayfield, his father, being twice married, took to his ſecond wife, Jane, the daughter of Sir Michael Sandys, of Throwley in Kent, Knight (*a*); by whom, it is not mentioned what iſſue ſhe bore him in the ſaid pedigree, nor what the name of his firſt wife was: but in Anthony Wood, ſhe appears to have been the daughter of —— Rich of Hornden in Eſſex (*b*). By this firſt wife, he had Thomas his eldeſt ſon, the ſubject of our enſuing diſcourſe. He was born at Mayfield aforeſaid, as it is preſumed, in the year 1595; and as it has alſo been, from his epitaph, in the ſaid author computed (*c*). He was trained to good literature in his neighbourhood, from his early youth, and afterwards, entered a Fellow-Commoner in Sidney-Suſſex-college in Cambridge (*d*), where he diligently applied himſelf to his ſtudies; and what treaſures of claſſick learning he there acquired, is apparent in his writings (*e*). We have it from the notes of an author, who is well acquainted with ſuch particulars, that he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1612 (*f*), and that he never proceeded further in any academical advancement. After he arrived in London, his genius inclining him to poetry, he followed not the Court, nor reſided at Weſtminſter ſo early, though he might laterally perform divers things there never parallel'd by any Engliſhman before (*g*). For he was ſoon after an inhabitant, and a member of the ſociety of Gray's-Inn *. Among the eminent courtiers and wits of thoſe times, with whom his learning and ingenuity brought him into favour and friendſhip, were Sir Kenelm Digby, Sir Richard Fanſhaw, Sir John Suckling, Sir Aſton Cokaine (*h*), Thomas Carew, one of the gentlemen of his Majeſty's privy-chamber, eſpecially Endymion Porter, one of his bed-chamber; beſides Ben Jonſon, and others of higher quality, who were as well great lovers of poetry, as poets themſelves; and not only great favourers of thoſe who deſerved that title, but have ſome of them exhibited poetical encomiums on his works. This reputation he ſeems to have maintained about twenty years, even to obtaining the countenance and encouragement of King Charles I. and his Royal Conſort; who had ſuch a ſingular opinion of his abilities, that it was by their particular choice and recommendation, he undertook and publiſhed, ſeveral of his poetical performances. Having been witneſs of the great fame which Shakeſpeare, Jonſon,

(*a*) Pedigree of the Mays, from a Viſitation of Suſſex, fol. MS. temp. Car. I.

(*b*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 414.

(*c*) Id. col. 415.

(*d*) Fuller's Worthies of England, in Suſſex.

(*e*) Ger. Langbaine's Account of the Dramatic Poets, 8vo. 1691, p. 360.

(*f*) In a MS. note of Dr Richard Rawlinſon's.

(*g*) A. Wood, ubi ſupra.

* He was admitted a member thereof Aug. 6, 1615. Regiſter of Gray's-Inne.

(*h*) See Sir Aſton Cokain's Small Poems of divers ſorts, Lond. 8vo. 1658. p. 134. where he recites, to his couſin Charles Cotton, Eſq; his poetical acquaintance.

[*A*] *We ſhall refer to ſome extract from an old pedigree, &c*] By this pedigree it appears, that Thomas May, of Paſhley in Tiſehurſt in Suſſex, had by his wife Margaret, daughter of Robert Whitfield of Wadehurſt, I. Thomas May of Paſhley, and II. George May of Burghurſt. Which Thomas, by his wife Jane daughter of —— Wyborne of Hawkwell in Kent, had Thomas May of Paſhley, who, by Anne, daughter of Anthony Staple of Fromfield in Suſſex, had Anthony May of Paſhley, Eſq; High Sheriff of Suſſex and Surrey, in 1629 (1); and he, by Joan, his ſecond wife, daughter of Walter Roberts of Borſell in Tiſehurſt aforeſaid, had Edward and Adrian May. The ſecond ſon of Thomas May aforeſaid, named George May, of Burghurſt, married Elizabeth, daughter of John Henley of Cranbroke in Kent, by whom he had Sir Tho. May of Mayfield, the father of our poet (2), as abovementioned in the text. There were ſeveral other noted perſons of the name, as we find in ſome other papers, wherein they have been collected; of whom, becauſe they are ſome of them allied to this branch, it cannot be thought very tedious, for the convenience of thoſe who may have occaſion to trace the family more extenſively, here briefly to enumerate theſe few; I. Dr William May, Maſter of Trinity-college in Cambridge, and Dean of St Paul's, who died 1561 (3). II. John May, author of a Declaration of the Preſent State of Cloathing in England, &c. (4). III. Sir Humphrey May, Vice Chamberlain of his Majeſty's Houſhold, and one of his Privy council, alſo Member of Parliament, &c. who died 10 June 1630 (5). IV. Edward May, Doctor of Philoſophy and Phyſic, and *Profeſſor Elect* of them in the college of the academy of noblemen, called, The *Muſæum Minervæ* (6), and Phyſician Extraordinary to the Queen of Great-Britain; who publiſhed *A Relation of a ſtrange Monſter, or Serpent, found in the left Ventricle of the Heart of John Pennant, Gentleman, aged 21 Years, &c.* (7). V. Richard May, Eſq; Recorder and Member of Parliament for Chicheſter in Suſſex 1678: and, VI. Thomas May, Eſq; Member for Chicheſter, 1688-90 (8). VII. Baptiſt May, Eſq; Privy Purſe, &c. to King Charles II. who dying on the 2d of March 1696, aged 69 years, was buried in St George's Chapel at Windſor (9). VIII. Sir Algernon May, who died on the 26 of May, 1704 (10); beſides ſeveral others.

(1) His arms, in Fuller's Liſt of the Sheriffs for theſe counties, are, Gules; a feſs between eight billets, or.

(2) Viſitation of Suſſex, fol. MS. Alſo another Viſit. of that county, by the Heralds in 1633, in the library of the College of Arms, fol. c. 27, p. 38.

(3) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I.

(4) Lond. 4to. 1613.

(5) Whitlocke's Memorials, and Ruſhworth's Hiſtorical Collections, Vol. I. &c.

(6) Of this college, ſee the Conſtitutions of the Muſæum Minervæ, &c. 4to. 1636.

(7) Printed Lond. 4to. 1639.

(8) MS. Collections relating to the family of May.

(9) Aſhmole's Antiquities of Berks, Vol. II. p. 153.

(10) MS. Collections of Peter Le Neve, Eſq; late Norroy.

[*B*] *Shall*

Jonſon, Beaumont, Fletcher, and ſome other cotemporary dramatiſts had acquired, he grew emulous, in ſome degree, to imitate them: accordingly we find, that ſome of his firſt writings were compoſed for the theatre; where, being well received, we ſhall mention his ſaid theatrical works together in the note annexed [*B*]. Beſides theſe plays which are five in number, as appears in the ſaid note, we have ſeveral tranſlations of his, from ſome Latin authors, and other compoſitions of his own alſo in verſe; among which tranſlations are, *Virgil's Georgics*, in four books, with annotations (*i*): and *Selected Epigrams of Martial*; which ſometimes appear bound with the former together (*k*). But he was for none of his tranſlations of the Ancients more famous, than that of *Lucan's Pharſalia*, and his own *Continuation* of the ſaid poem, both in Engliſh and Latin, to the death of Julius Cæſar [*C*]. He had an hand alſo in the tranſlation of a famous book that was written by a celebrated

(*i*) In 12mo. 1622 and 1628.

(*k*) In 12mo. 1629.

[*B*] *Shall mention his ſaid theatrical works together, &c.*] Theſe plays of our author's writing, are five in number; and we ſhall mention them, as they appear in the copies, or titles we have met with, according to their ſeniority. And ſo we muſt firſt ſpeak of, *The Heir*, a Comedy, acted by the company of Revels, 1620, printed in 4to 1633. It is much commended in a copy of verſes written by the ingenious Thomas Carew, Eſq; *To his honoured friend Maſter Thomas May, on his Comedy, The Heir*, and prefixed to it; which verſes are alſo reprinted in the collection of that author's works, which were afterwards publiſhed (11). Winſtanley ſays this play is done to the life, both for plot and language. Gerard Langbaine has obſerved, that among other commendations beſtowed in Carew's poem, on the ſtile, and the natural working up of the paſſions, that the author has theſe lines on the œconomy of the play.

The whole *plot* doth alike itſelf diſcloſe,
Through the five acts, as doth a lock that goes
With letters; for 'till ev'ry one be known,
The lock's as faſt, as if you had found none.

Then he gives it as his own opinion, that, 'There 'are few perſons of judgment, who are true lovers of 'innocent and inoffenſive comedy, but will allow this 'to be an excellent play (12).' The next, according to the time it firſt appeared, is *Cleopatra, Queen of Egypt, her Tragedy*, acted 1626; and printed in 12mo 1639. It is dedicated to the accompliſhed Sir Kenelm Digby, and he is handſomely celebrated in the ſaid dedication. Samuel Daniel had before wrought the ſtory of this Queen into a dramatic poem; which, with his other works, has been twice or thrice printed (13); ſo that thoſe readers, who have the curioſity, may eaſily compare them. The next is, *Agrippina, Empreſs of Rome, her Tragedy*, acted 1628, and printed in 12mo 1639. Here Langbaine raiſes a little cavil, and intimates, as if our author ſhould have forborne the application of ſome lines out of Petronius Arbiter, which reflect upon *Lucan's Pharſalia*; Mr May having ſuch a peculiar value for this poet, as to publiſh a tranſlation of him (14): But as this critic allows thoſe verſes are pertinently applied, and as he has not duly conſidered, that they might have been ſo inſerted into this play, before ever our author had any reſolution to tranſlate Lucan, his book might perhaps have better ſpared that criticiſm, than this play that illuſtration. The next is *Antigone, the Thebane Princeſs, her Tragedy*, printed in 8vo, 1631, and dedicated to the moſt worthily honoured Endymion Porter, Eſq; Our author is obſerved, in the contexture of this tragedy, to have made uſe of the Antigone of Sophocles, and the Thebais of Seneca; and the reader is alſo further referred to the Thebais of Statius, &c. (15) Laſtly, we have his *Old Couple, a Comedy*, which is here laſt mentioned, becauſe laſt printed; though it was perhaps one of his earlieſt written. If there was any edition printed of it before his death, it has not been taken notice of in any account of our dramatic writers: the only edition mentioned of this comedy is in quarto, 1651, after the author's death: However, it is thought little inferior to his other comedy, firſt mentioned, and is ſaid to have been formerly in repute (16); and obſerved to be chiefly deſigned as an antidote againſt avarice (17). There has been alſo aſcribed to our author, by Edward Philips, a Comedy, entitled, *The Old Wives Tale* (18), but as we could never meet with any body who has ſeen it, or who do not believe it appeared too early to be of his writing, we muſt ſubmit it to the determination of thoſe who are better acquainted therewith. Winſtanley alſo, upon his authority, has both adopted that play under our author's name, and fathered another upon him (19), entitled, *Orlando Furioſo, one of the Twelve Peers of France, his Hiſtory; acted before the Queen's Majeſty*, as another writer more fully deſcribes the title (20). It is founded on the epic poem of Arioſto; but as it was printed a year before our author, May, was born, it excludes him quite from having any hand in it.

[*C*] *He was for none of his tranſlations more famous than that of Lucan's Pharſalia; and his own Continuation of it, in Latin and Engliſh, &c*] This hiſtorical poem of the civil wars between Pompey and Cæſar, had not met with ſo early a tranſlator among us, as ſome other works of the famous Roman poets. The firſt of our countrymen we have met with, who deſigned to oblige the public with a verſion of it, was George Turbervile, ſometime ſecretary in that embaſſy to Ruſſia, which was made by Thomas Randolph, Eſq; in the year 1568. But he informs us, in one of his poems, that he was diſſuaded from this hardy enterprize by Melpomone in a dream (21); and recommends Thomas Sackville (afterwards Earl of Dorſet) as the moſt proper perſon to perform it. The next, who did make ſome viſible progreſs in the work, was Chriſtopher Marloe, a celebrated poet and player of thoſe times. Some years after his death, there appeared *The Firſt Book of Lucan*, tranſlated by him, *line for line*; but he neither lived to finiſh this, nor a more famous performance of his whereunto it is joined, and which did meet with the reſpect of a finiſhing hand (22). After this, about the middle of King James's reign, came forth in print, a more complete tranſlation of Lucan's poem, performed by Sir Arthur Gorges, a learned knight, and now Gentleman of the Bedchamber, who had been a valiant ſea officer in the late Queen's reign, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf very ſignally againſt the Spaniards, in ſeveral notable engagements, as under other renowned commanders, ſo alſo under the Earl of Eſſex, and Sir Walter Ralegh, whoſe relation he was; and as Sir Arthur has, in an ample and accurate narrative, commemorated his gallant exploits in the *Iſland Voyage* (23): ſo Sir Walter now, before this work, no leſs celebrates his valour and fortitude, as well for the blood he had ſhed in that and other expeditions, as his ſufferings ſince in other reſpects. This tranſlation (24) though ſcarce known now among our literary antiquaries, has been taken notice of by Fabricius and other foreigners. However, theſe attempts no way diſcouraged our author from reattempting this poet, notwithſtanding alſo the ſupercilious cenſures which had been made of him by ſome hypercritics; whoſe opinions we ſhall ſhew them more favour than here to recite; we mean, Douſa, Scaliger, and ſuch like imperious and dogmatical judges of wit, who might perhaps have moderated their judgments in relation to Lucan, by well examining themſelves, how much they could have excelled, upon ſuch an exalted theme, before they were twenty-ſeven years of age? and whether it is not likely, that he would have gained more reproof for greater fictions than he has uſed, or being *leſs hiſtorical*, on a ſubject than ſo freſh or well known, and wherewith his contemporaries were, on one ſide or other, ſo much affected, than he would *reputation* by their praiſes had he been *more poetical*? Dr Fuller ſays, that others, as judicious as they, have thought Lucan an excellent poet, and to have loſt no luſtre by Mr May's tranſlation (25). The firſt edition of this tranſlation is ſaid to have been printed in octavo 1627. And in the year 1630 was publiſhed in Engliſh, *His Continuation of it*. This poem of his own compoſing he tranſlated into Latin, and it was printed abroad the ſame year. A. Wood ſays, it is written in ſuch lofty and happy Latin hexameters, that he attained much more reputation abroad, than

(11) Poems, by Tho. Carew, Eſq; one of the Gentlemen of the Privy-Chamber, and Sewer in Ordinary to his Majeſty, 8vo. 1640, p. 157.

(12) G. Langbaine's Account of the Engliſh Dramatic Poets, &c. 8vo. Oxon. 1691, p. 363, 364.

(13) And laſtly, in his Works, 2 vols 8vo. 1718.

(14) Langbaine, p. 362.

(15) Ibid. p. 363.

(16) Gildon's Continuation of Langbaine, p. 97.

(17) Idem.

(18) Theatrum Poetarum, p. 179.

(19) Lives of the moſt famous Engliſh Poets, in the account of T. May, p. 164.

(20) Langbaine, p. 544.

(21) See Geo. Turbervile's Tragical Tales, 8vo. 1576, in the introduction.

(22) See Marloe's Hero and Leander, a Poem begun by him and finiſhed by Geo. Chapman; with his tranſlation of the firſt book of Lucan annexed, &c. 4to. 1600.

(23) Printed in Purchaſe's Pilgrims, Vol. IV.

(24) Entitled, Lucan's Pharſalia: containing the Civil Warres betweene Cæſar and Pompey, written in Latine Heroicall Verſe, by M. Annæus Lucanus. Tranſlated into Engliſh verſe by Sir Arthur Gorges, Knt. &c. fol. Lond. 1614, dedicated by his ſon, Carew Gorges, to Lucy Counteſs of Bedford.

(25) Worthies of England, in Suſſex, p. 110.

a celebrated Scotch wit, John Barclay, sometime Gentleman of the Bed-chamber to King James I. named, his *Argenis*, and another work of the same author's; both which deserve to be spoken of more particularly in a note apart [*D*]. And among his original compositions

than he lost at home (26); he means by a work of his writing in prose, hereafter mentioned. This Latin *supplement* was reprinted several times after, with some noted editions of that Roman poet, by some famous foreigners, very much to our author's honour; as may be seen in Fabricius and others (27). The said Fabricius, in the first volume of the work we have here quoted in the margin, published eleven years before the said second volume, having also spoken of other editions of Lucan at Amsterdam, with the notes of Hugo Grotius, Thomas Farnaby, and others, published by Cornelius Schrevelius, in the years 1658 and 1669; adds, *In quibus etiam subjicitur Lucani supplementum, Libris VII. à Thoma Maieo Anglo, non infeliciter elucubratum.* He has in these works, as well as most of his plays indeed, shewed himself so well acquainted with the antiquities, the history, and geography, the characters, customs, and manners of the Romans, that he was read by many as an ancient classic author; and he has been celebrated by foreigners for the same, as well as his own countrymen. Among the former, Nicholas Heinsius has a copy of verses in his praise (28). And among the latter, we may mention that eminent scholar and statesman, the learned and loyal Sir Richard Fanshaw, knight and baronet, of the honourable privy council to King Charles the Second, and his embassador to Portugal and Spain. This ingenious gentleman has published a Latin poem upon Mr May's translation and his *Continuations* of Lucan, to the extent of fifty lines (29); out of which, a character might be produced, in confirmation of what others have said of them, by those who were inclined to extend this article to the limits, which the materials there are in being for it would allow. The second edition of this translation we suppose was published about the same time with the supplements aforesaid. The third edition, now before us, and perhaps the others, is addressed by the translator, in a polite dedication, to William Earl of Devonshire; besides which, it contains a short account of the life of Lucan, and two copies of verses; the one by *Ben. Jonson, To his chosen friend the learned translator, &c.* the other, by *J Vaughan, upon this unequalled work, and the author.* At the beginning of every book there are the heads of the argument, or subject thereof, briefly recounted in verse; and, at the end, some short annotations, explaining or confirming divers parts of the poem, out of the ancient Greek and Latin historians. We have seen several copies of this edition, but no sculpture before them of Lucan bleeding to death in the bath, according to his own choice; being ordered to die by the tyrant Nero, who had, in envy of his fame and merits, suppressed his works, and thereby driven him to engage in Piso's conspiracy: however, there are some verses of May's, in the leaf before the title, designed as an interpretation of such a frontispiece, which we shall here transcribe, because they are not many, and may serve for a specimen of his versification.

This dying figure, that rare *Lucan* shows,
Whose lofty genius, great *Apollo* chose,
When *Roman* liberty oppress'd, should die,
To sing her sad, and solemn obsequy,
In stately numbers, high, as Rome was great;
And not so much to years indebted yet,
As thou, fam'd *Maro*, when thy infant verse
The gnats low funeral did first rehearse.
Thy favour'd *muse* did find a different *fate*;
Thou got'st *Augustus*' love, he *Nero's* hate:
But 'twas an act, more great, and high, to move
A prince's *envy*, than a prince's *love*.

This third edition of Lucan (30), has the second edition of May's continuation bound with it. To this part is prefixed the author's epistle dedicatory, *To the most high and mighty Monarch Charles, by the Grace of God King of Great-Britain, &c.* on whom he has bestowed a lofty encomium and zealous wishes for his long life and prosperity. This dedication is followed with an English poem by the author, entitled, *The Complaint of Calliope against the Destinies*, for the untimely death of Lucan; and another in Latin, by *Johannes Sulpitius Verulanus*, one of Lucan's commentators, upon the same subject, entitled, *Querela de interitu Lucani, opere nondum perfecto.* This supplement also, has the heads or arguments in verse prefixed to every book, and short annotations at the end of each. As for the character of it, it is rather more smooth and free in the measure, or less crampt in the metre, than his translation is: yet is he generally in his stile close, clear, and grave; but as for bounding the sense in couplets, the use of surprizing contrasts, elegant tautologies, and especially the harmonious *scissuræ*, or pauses, retrenchment of elisions, superfluous epithets, expletives, and some other modern improvements of our poetry, they were then but in their infancy, and but little observed; when the English versification in rhime followed so closely the Latin cadence, as to end so often the sense of one period and begin another in the same line, which, when judiciously managed, is emphatical and sublime in measured prose, or blank verse, yet it untunes our English chimes, and, especially in reading, deadens their melody. Some readers have been of opinion, that the late Mr Addison had been conversant with this supplement (31), when he was writing his *Tragedy of Cato*; which we shall leave those who are at leisure to confirm, by comparing them, and only observe thus much further of it, that in a collection of short characters in verse, now before us, some of them that have never been printed, others that have; there is one of four lines upon this work; the thoughts of which are partly built upon the conclusion of Ben. Jonson's poem on our author beforementioned, and a transposure of part of May's verses upon Lucan before repeated. They are as follow:

To Mr Thomas May.

Thou son of Mercury, whose fluent tongue,
Made Lucan finish his Pharsalian song;
Thy fame is equal, better is thy fate,
Thou hast got Charles his love, he Nero's hate (32).

[*D*] *Both which deserve to be spoken of in a note apart.*] The said author of these two, among other books, the learned and ingenious John Barclay, was the son of William Barclay an eminent Scots Civilian in France, where this John was born in 1582. After his father's death, in 1605, he came into England, where King James employed his pen, for the excellence of his Latin stile, and made him one of the Gentlemen of his Bed chamber. He was afterwards, in no less favour at Rome, with the Pope, and several Cardinals, where he died the 12th of August 1621, while his Argenis was printing in France. This celebrated work was translated into English by Sir Robert le Grys, an old officer of the army (who also translated afterwards, Valerius Paterculus) and our author, Thomas May (33). This book is said to have been calculated for the instruction of the Gentleman Politician, according to his own strain, in the most subtile and refined parts of philosophy, and the language it is writ in. He is characterized to walk upon the smooth carpet of political prose, with Pegasus in his hand, which he gracefully mounts, now and then, like an old Roman Knight of the Equestrian order; whereby it soon became the delight, not only of scholars, but also the greatest statesmen, particularly, Cardinal Richlieu; who is said to have studied Men and Argenis too much for the good of his neighbours, upon whom the conclusions were tried. 'Twas one of the chief books in his cabinet, and more in his head than his Breviary, says my author. Wherefore, and to shew his great skill in refined Latin and Politicks, as well as prophetick *Arcanums*, a noted *Cambrian* prelate is said, many years ago, to have burnt it in his common hall, for the edification of his domestick chaplains (34). The other book, written by the same hand, and translated by our author May, is Barclay's *Icon Animorum*. In this book the author has shewn himself a man of discernment in the different spirit, genius, affections, and dispositions of

(26) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 415.

(27) Thomæ Maii Supplementum, quo Poëma Lucani producitur, usque ad necem Julii Cæsaris, prodiit separatim. Lugd. 8vo. 1630. Lugd. Batav. 12mo. 1640. & Londini, 12mo. 1646. Subjungitur etiam in edit. Amstelod, 12mo. 1713, cum Farnabeii Grotiisque notis, &c. Fabric. Biblioth. Lat. Vol. alterum, Hamburghi, 8vo. 1721, p. 534.

(28) In Thomæ Maii Supplementum Pharsaliæ Lucani, auspiciis serenissimi Magnæ Britanniæ Regis publicatum. Vid. Nic. Heinsii, Dan. fil. Poëmata. Lugd. Bat. 12mo. 1653, p. 61.

(29) See Maius Lucanizans, among the Poems added by Sir Rich. Fanshawe, to his translation of *Il Pastor Fido.* Printed 4to. 1647, and 8vo. 1664, p. 236, &c.

(30) Entitled, Lucan's Pharsalia: or, the Civil Warres of Rome between Pompey the Great and Julius Cæsar. The whole ten bookes Englished by Thomas May, Esq; the third edition corrected by the author, 8vo. 1635.

(31) Entitled, A Continuation of the Subject of Lucan's Historicall Poem, 'till the death of Julius Cæsar. The second edition, corrected and amended, by T. M. 1633. The fourth edit. of May's Lucan, and this Continuation, were printed with enlarged notes, 12mo. 1650.

(32) Poetical Characteristics, Vol. I. 8vo. MS.

(33) John Barclay's Argenis, translated out of Latin into English; the prose, upon his Majesties command, by Sir Robert Le Grys, Knt. and the verses by Tho. May, Esq; with a Clavis, &c. printed by Felix Kingston, 4to. 1628. Another translation by Kingsmill Long, Esq; with cuts, 4to. 1636.

(34) See Icon. Libellorum, or the History of Pamphlets, by Miles Davies, Esq; 8vo. 1715, in pref. p. 50. also Sir T. Pope Blount's Censura Authorum, Mons. Baillet's Judgm. sur les Poet. Tom. IV. Lorenzo Crasso, &c. from the Life of John Barclay, before his Argenis.

compoſitions muſt not be forgotten, *The Reign of King Henry the Second, written in ſeven Books,* (in verſe) *by his Majeſty's Command,* and inſcribed to his ſaid Majeſty King Charles the Firſt. To which is added, in proſe, *The Deſcription of Henry the Second, with a ſhort Survey of the Changes of his Reign:* alſo, *The ſingle and comparative Characters of Henry and Richard, his Sons (l).* Not long after the publication of this hiſtorical poem, it appears, that being one of the ſpectators of a ſplendid maſque, which was performed at court, he received ſome very harſh indignity or ill uſage, from the intemperate Lord Chamberlain, who then was; for which his Lordſhip met with ſuch reproof from the King, as diſpoſed him, in his cooler conſideration, to make both an apology to our poet, and a purchaſe of his reconciliation with him beſides; as may appear in the particulars thereof, from good authorities hereunto ſubjoined [*E*]. Two years after this, he publiſhed *The*

(*l*) Printed by A. M. for Ben. Fiſher, 8vo. 1633.

of human kind, in various countries or parts of the world. It is divided into ſixteen chapters; in the ſecond, he has an ample encomium upon Proſpect Hill at Greenwich in Kent, which he extols as the moſt delightful command of nature and art in the richeſt and grandeſt variety of views not only in England, but perhaps in all Europe. Where the ſcenes are ſo beautified with contrarieties by land and water, and the eyes on all ſides ever diverted and refreſhed with ſuch unexpected novelties, that ſome objects or other will leave impreſſions deeper and more apt to repoſſeſs the memory, than local proſpects are uſually wont to do. He has neither been ſingular in his admiration, nor wanted thoſe readers of him, who have taken notice of it in applauſe of his judgment *. In his fourth chapter, he has ſome obſervable particulars upon our people and products. Among the latter he remarks the tall bay trees we had growing in England; and that Roſemary, which is ſo precious in many countries, by reaſon of the care in planting and preſerving it, is here ſo common, as to grow often in hedges, and as a fence to our gardens: but he ſeems to reflect on our negligence in the culture and propagation of ſaffron, which we have in ſuch perfection, to that plenty, which a flower of ſuch ſovereign virtues and ſo many ways uſeful deſerves. In his character of our people, having ſpoken of our courage, he alſo gives one remarkable inſtance of temerity or raſhneſs in us. 'Tis of an Engliſh ſoldier, who being taken in company with twenty-three Spaniards, by Prince Maurice; it was determined that eight of them ſhould be hanged, in requital of a like ſentence that had been made by Albert the Archduke upon ſome Hollanders, and that it ſhould by lot be decided on whom the puniſhment ſhould fall. The Engliſhman happily drew his deliverance, but one Spaniard expreſſed great reluctance and terror of mind to put his hand into the helmet and try his fate, not ſo much in fear of death, as an antipathy to ſuch an unnatural deciſion, in which he might make his own hand deſtroy himſelf, and be executed for the guilt of others, or acquitted for no innocence of his own. The Engliſhman conſented to take what money he had, which was twelve crowns, and ſtand to the chance for him; the judges conſented alſo to his requeſt, as that of a fool or a madman, who deſerved not the life he had ſo providentially cleared; yet ſuch his fortune was, or ſuch the favour of Providence, that he drew himſelf ſafe again. Whereupon the author pronounces him unworthy not only of that double, but even of a ſingle preſervation, who had ſo baſely undervalued his life †. This author mentions not his name, but we have ſomewhere read, that it was George Haſelwood; and when he was aſked why he would put his life in ſuch danger again for the ſafety of another, and after ſuch a ſignal eſcape, ſo preſumptuouſly hazard it a ſecond time? he anſwered, *becauſe he thought he had a* bargain *of it, for conſidering he daily expoſed his life for the value of* ſix-pence, *he thought he might with much more reaſon venture it for* twelve crowns.

* Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy, fol. edit. 1632, p. 262. Alſo Greenwich-Hill, a Poem, by Mr Manning, fol. 1697.

† See the Mirror of Minds, or Barclay's Icon Animorum, Engliſhed by Tho. May, Eſq; dedicated to Richard Lord Weſton, High-Treaſurer of England, and Knight of the Garter. Printed for T. Walkley, 12mo. 1633, from p. 81 to 83. In p. 92. where King Charles is ſpoken of, it muſt be a period inſerted by the tranſlator, Barcley being dead before that King aſcended the throne.

Beſides the little copies of verſes tranſlated by our author May, in Barclay's Argenis, as before obſerved, there are ſeveral commendatory poems of his upon the works of other authors, that are printed before their books, and never were in any of his own. Among theſe is that copy of verſes he compoſed in praiſe of William Bedwell and a tract of his publication ‖. He has alſo a Latin copy of verſes before one or two of Charles Alleyn's Hiſtorical Poems ‡: and among the Elegiac poems that were collected by Dr Brian Duppa in memory of Ben. Jonſon, we find alſo one written by Thomas May §, beſides others.

‖ See the Turnament of Tottenham, 4to. 1631, and 8vo. 1718.

‡ His Battles of Creſcy and Poictiers, 8vo. 1633.

§ Vid. Jonſonus Verbius, or the Memory of Ben. Jonſon revived, &c. 4to. 1638, p. 21.

[*E*] *As may appear, from good authorities hereunto ſubjoined.*] The account of this groſs or ill uſage of Mr May in publick, is deſcended to us from two credible authors, who knew the perſons concerned; and they both ſpeak of it with ſuch reſpect to our author, as if he was at that time looked upon as a more conſiderable perſon than at this day he is generally accounted. The firſt who mentions it, though his account is the laſt publiſhed, was, I think, a miniſter of the Church, and a correſpondent of the Lord Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford, when he was Deputy of Ireland. He may, throughout that Nobleman's collection of letters, be looked upon, as his news-monger, or gazetteer, ſo full all his letters to him are of the obſervable occurrences about the court. This gentleman, named Mr George Garrard, gave that Lord ſuch ſatisfaction in his communications, that he was afterwards preferred, by his intereſt, to be maſter of the *Charter Houſe;* and his account of this accident, in one of his letters to his Lordſhip, dated the 27th of February 1633, is as follows:—'On Monday after Candlemas-day, the gentlemen of the Inns of Court performed their maſque at court; they were ſixteen in number, who rode through the ſtreets in four chariots; and two others, to carry their pages and muſicians, attended by an hundred gentlemen on great horſes, as well clad as ever I ſaw any; they far exceeded in bravery any maſque that had formerly been preſented by thoſe ſocieties, and performed the dancing part with much applauſe. In their company, there was one Mr Read of Gray's-Inn, whom all the women, and ſome men, cry'd up for as handſome a man as the Duke of Buckingham. They were well us'd at court by the King and Queen; no diſguſt given them, only this one accident fell; Mr *May of Gray's-Inn,* a fine poet, *he who tranſlated Lucan,* came athwart my Lord Chamberlain in the *Banquetting-Houſe,* and he broke his ſtaff over his ſhoulders, not knowing who he was; the King preſent, who knew him, for he calls him *His Poet,* and told the Chamberlain of it; who ſent for him the next morning, and fairly excuſed himſelf to him, and gave him fifty pounds in pieces: I believe he was the more indulgent for his name-ſake (35).' The other author who mentions this affair, is Mr Francis Oſborne, in his well-known Works; a man who has been enviouſly traduced, becauſe he was a man of extraordinary ingenuity and judgment, knowledge and penetration into the actions and characters of his time; whereby he has much expoſed the corruptions of licentious power, and the plauſible deluſions of ambitious, covetous, and deſigning men. As we have ſeen many of his hiſtorical aſſertions confirmed by original letters, and other authentic teſtimonies, ſo the narrative of the event above, and his relation of it, will mutually ſupport each other; whoſe words are theſe, where ſpeaking of Philip Herbert, then Earl of Montgomery, he ſays, 'This I can atteſt for the man, that he was intollerably choleric and offenſive, and did not refrain, while he was Chamberlain, to break many wiſer heads than his own; Mr May, that tranſlated *Lucan,* having felt the weight of his ſtaff, which, had not his office and his place, being the Banquetting-houſe, protected, I queſtion whether ever he would have ſtruck again (36).' He adds upon this occaſion, a tart reflection on thoſe court diverſions, where he ſays, 'ſo diſobliging were the moſt grateful pleaſures of the court, whoſe maſques, and other ſpectacles, though they wholly intended them for ſhew, and would not have been pleaſed without great ſtore of company, yet did not ſpare to affront ſuch as came to ſee them; which accuſeth the King no leſs of folly, in being at ſo vaſt an expence for that which ſignified nothing, but

(35) Thus, in the Earl of Strafford's Letters and Diſpatches, fol. 1739, Vol. I. p. 207. That name-ſake of May's might probably be Sir Humphrey May, who is before-mentioned in the latter end of the note [*A*].

(36) Fra. Oſborne's Miſcellaneous Works, the eleventh edition, 8vo. 1722, in the Traditional Memoirs of King James, Vol. II. p. 134.

The Victorious Reign of Edward the Third, an historical poem, also *in seven Books*; by the special command of King Charles the First (*m*); from both which *Poems*, as well as from his *Continuation of Lucan*, and his *Plays*, the reader may see several of the most choice and observable thoughts or sentiments, extracted in a late collection that has been published out of our old poets (*n*). There were two of his tragedies published four years after that last historical poem, which had been acted many years before, as we have in the first note observed; but after this time we meet with no more of his poetical compositions in print. Dr Fuller is, I think, the first person who offers us a reason for it, where he says, 'That some disgust at court was given to, or taken by, him, as some would have 'it, because his bays were not guilded richly enough, and his verses rewarded by King 'Charles according to expectation (*o*).' This disgust is thought to have partly risen from his disappointment in some hopes he had received of being made *Master of the Revells*, or, as it is more generally accounted for, from B. Jonson's being succeeded in the place of Poet Laureat by W. d'Avenant. We have indeed read before, that the King was wont to call May *his Poet*, therefore he might well hope for the laurel after Jonson's death; but there may appear some reasons to doubt whether, as soon as he died, in 1637, d'Avenant immediately succeeded to that honour, as it is said †, though it is sufficiently known he was Jonson's next successor. Edward Phillips says, that May turned malecontent, for having been frustrated in his expectation of being the *Queen's Poet*, for which he stood candidate with Sir William d'Avenant, who was preferred before him (*p*). Winstanely also ascribes, in the same manner, his revolt or defection from the court, to the same person's being made the *Queen's Poet*; and we are not only informed that d'Avenant is in the same sense stiled, soon after that time, *Her Majesty's Servant*, before some of his own plays (*q*); but we have met with others, who have likewise before their works so intitled themselves (*r*); and indeed the Queens under whom these poets flourished, seem to have had as much business for them as their consorts. However this was, though grace and favour he received for the entertainments of his pen, yet profit or preferment, as we hear of none, 'tis prety evident, that either May, through discontent or interest, did desert the court, or through the ingratitude thereof, or the infelicity of the times, was deserted by it; for while that was driven from place to place during the troubles of the civil war, he certainly was received into the favour, or took up his abode under the sanction, of some General, supposed to be Sir T. Fairfax, in the Republican Army; and was afterwards under the protection, and in the service of the Parliament, as we shall find he declares himself; and more particularly, that he was *Secretary* thereto. With the advantages of having lived formerly so much about the court, and those, he must have had, in these situations, of good intelligence, in relation to the characters of the most active persons and their most eminent transactions, it may be reasonably presumed he was now as well qualified by his knowledge and experience to explain the conduct of the living, as by his learning and ingenuity he had been, to expound the compositions of the dead. To exert such abilities in the service of the Commonwealth, it is not likely that he wanted good encouragement: and thus we may account for the publication of his last work, intitled, *The History of the Parliament of England*; or, as we might now explain it, a brief Narrative of the *Civil Wars* that broke out during the sitting thereof. He was chosen by them to be thus their historian, was influenced in his said history by their directions, and accordingly represents it as a task *imposed upon him*; which he undertook with great reluctance; and 'wished 'more than life, that for the publick-sake, his theme could rather have been, the prosperity 'of these nations, the honour and happiness of the King, and such a blessed condition of 'both, as might have reached all the ends, for which government was first ordained in 'the world, &c. (*s*).' To the various editions of this noted book, we shall hereunder refer [*F*], and only observe in this place, that of one so written, it is no wonder the adverse party

(*m*) 8vo. 1635.

(*n*) Mr Tho. Hayward's British Muse, 3 vols, 12mo. 1736.

(*o*) Worthies of England, in Sussex, as before.

† Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 412.

(*p*) Phillips's Theatrum Poetarum, 8vo. 1675, p. 179.

(*q*) See Sir William d'Avenant's Salmacida Spolia, 4to. 1639, in Athen. Oxon. Tom. II. col. 413.

(*r*) See the Inns of Court Anagrammatist, or the Masquers masked in Anagrammes; by Francis Lenton, Esq; one of her Majesty's Poets, 4to. Lond. 1634.

(*s*) May's Pref. to the History of the Parliament of England, folio.

'but in relation to pride and lust, than the spectators, 'I mean such as were not invited, of madness; who 'did not only give themselves the discomposure of body attending such irregular hours, but to others an 'opportunity to abuse them. Nor could I, that had 'none of their share, who passed through their most 'incommodious access, count myself any greater gainer, who did ever find some time, before the grand 'night, to view the scene, after I had reckoned my 'attendance and sleep; there appearing little observable, besides the company, and what imagination 'might conjecture from the placing the ladies and the 'immence charge and universal vanity, in cloaths, 'treats, &c (37).

[*F*] *To the various editions of this noted book, we shall hereunder refer.*] As noted as it has been, this history is now grown scarce, we mean the first edition of it, the title whereof is here given in the margin (38); before which title there is this *Imprimatur*,—'I have 'read over the *First Part* of this *History*, contained 'in three books; an *impartial Truth*; and judge it fit 'for the publick view, by the printing; *Jo. Langley*: 'May 7, 1647.' Prefixed to this work there is a judicious *preface* in two sheets which was never reprinted, followed by a table of *contents*, in one. In the said preface are these words, which more particularly relate to the author himself; shewing how he was, at the beginning of these civil wars, situated, and what means, share, or degree he had, of intelligence. 'That, says he, which of all other is most likely to be 'differently related, is, concerning the actions of war, 'and soldiery; and in the time of this war, it is a thing 'of extraordinary difficulty, I might say, of impossibility, for those of one party to be truly informed of 'all the councils, or very performances and actions of 'commanders and soldiers on the other side. How 'much *valour* the English nation on both sides have 'been *guilty* of in this unnatural war, the world must 'needs know in the general fame: but for particulars, 'how much worth, virtue, and courage, some particular Lords, Gentlemen, and others, have shewed, 'unless both sides do write, will never perfectly be 'known. My residence, continues he, hath been, 'during these wars, in the quarters, and under the 'protection of the Parliament; and whatsoever is 'briefly related of the soldiery, being towards the end 'of the book, is according to that light which I discerned there. For whatsoever I have missed concern-'ing

(37) Id. ibid. to p. 135.

(38) The History of the Parliament of England, which began November 3, 1640, with a short and necessary view of some precedent yeares: written by Thomas May, Esq; Secretary for the Parliament. Published by authority. Printed by Moses Bell, &c. fol. 1647.

party ſhould ſtrive ſo much as they have done, by all means, to bring it into diſregard; but of all the means uſed, none has been more artful, than by ſcattering abroad their ſuperlative praiſes of his poetry, to confine our eſteem and attention in ſuch manner to that, as we may think his hiſtory not worth the reading. He foretold that his performance would beget him envy (t), which in all likelihood, was not diminiſhed by his preferment: and becauſe no great flaws could be found in his parts or qualifications, for the execution of this work, in his knowledge, judgment, or learning, method, or ſtyle, throughout the ſaid hiſtory; it was eaſy to fix them upon his principles of morality, divinity, &c. as if, after he had forſaken the court, he grew a perfect courtier! turned debauchee, ſpoke ſlightly of the Trinity, kept beaſtly and atheiſtical company; as that of Thomas Chaloner the regicide, and endeavoured to aſperſe and invalidate the King and his cauſe (u). This is a character given of him long ſince his death, and when he could make no defence for himſelf; if any ſuch reproaches he met with alive, it plainly appears he was too much engaged to regard them, at leaſt for the four or five laſt years of his life; in which time he publiſhed three different copies of his ſaid hiſtory; the firſt, larger *Engliſh* edition; the *Latin Breviary*, and *Continuation*; and the Engliſh verſion of it; as may be ſeen in the note laſt adjoined. A few months after this, without any painful or lingring indiſpoſition, he went well to reſt over night, after his chearful bottle as uſual, and died in his ſleep before morning, on the 13th of November 1650, aged 55 years*. It was ſaid, this ſudden death was occaſioned, by tying his night-cap too cloſe under his fat cheeks and chin, which cauſed a ſuffocation, when he turned on the other ſide (w). But Andrew Marvell, to give it a caſt more favourable, and fruitful to his ſatirical vein, has written a long poem of a hundred lines (x), to make him a martyr of Bacchus, and die by the force of good wine. In this poem, though there may be ſome ſtrictures of humour, yet, as ſudden death has not been accounted a very natural ſubject of drollery, and as there ſeems to be more of intereſt or prejudice, than wit in it; and few of the verſes are ſuch good poetry as to deſerve being ſingled out, we ſhall here content ourſelves with extracting a few of the principal heads in proſe; eſpecially, ſuch as may beſt explain ſome hiſtorical

(t) Idem.

(u) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 415.

* There are in the Prerog. Office T. May's Will, 16 ,2, and Will. May's, and Lady Judith May's, 1661.

(w) Ath. Oxon. ut ſupra.

(x) See A. Marvell's Works, in 2 vols. 12mo. 1726, Vol. I. p. 91.

'ing the other party, I can make no other *apology* 'than ſuch as *Meteranus* doth in the preface of his 'Hiſtory de *Belg. Tumultibus*; whoſe words are, *Quod* '*plura de Reformatorum & Patriæ defenſorum quam* '*de partis adverſis rebus geſtis expoſuerim; mirum haud* '*quaquam eſt, quoniam plus commercii & familiaritatis* '*mihi cum ipſis, & major indagandi, opportunitas fuit:* '*Si Pars adverſa idem tali Probitate præſtiterit &* '*ediderit; Poſteritas geſta omnia legere, & liquido* '*cognoſcere magno cum fructu poterit.* In like manner, 'I may aver, ſays he, to give his own tranſlation, that 'if, in this diſcourſe, more particulars are ſet down, 'concerning the actions of thoſe men who defended 'the Parliament, than of them that warred againſt it; 'it was, becauſe my converſation gave me more light 'on that ſide; to whom, as I have endeavoured to 'give no more than what is due, ſo I have caſt no 'blemiſhes on the other; nor beſtowed any more cha'racters, than what the truth of ſtory muſt require: 'if thoſe that writ on the other ſide, will uſe the ſame 'candor, there is no fear but that poſterity may re'ceive a full information concerning the unhappy di'ſtractions of theſe kingdoms.'

The firſt book of this hiſtory begins with ſhort characters of Queen Elizabeth, King James, and the beginning of King Charles the Firſt, to the year 1641. And the laſt ends with a narrative of the firſt battle of Newberry, 1643 (39). As our author herein ſpeaks of the moſt noted perſons and events, he thought it not neceſſary in this edition to be minute in the dates of every action, or numerous in the names of thoſe concerned therein, both being then freſh in every body's memory, and might be afterwards more acceptably diſplayed. He afterwards made an *abſtract* of this Hiſtory, and a *continuation* of it, to the death of King Charles the Firſt, in Latin; ſtill confined in the ſame number of parts, and publiſhed it in a ſmall volume (40). This edition has eſcaped our ſight, but we have ſeen one of the ſame book, in the ſame language, that was republiſhed two years after (41), and how much oftner we know not. But between thoſe two editions, there came out a tranſlation of it into Engliſh by the author. The *Imprimatur* is ſigned by Sir Nathanael Brent on the tenth of June, the ſame year it was printed. Theſe ſmaller editions both in Latin and Engliſh want as well the preface and table of chapters or contents, as the preliminary introduction of the royal characters in the folio beforementioned, beſides moſt of the Latin verſes alluſive to many parts of his ſubject, and applied out of the ancient poets; and the whole of the firſt volume in folio is ſo contracted, that it reaches not half way in theſe which are indeed continued to the death of the King. This Engliſh edition ſeems to be the laſt he publiſhed himſelf (42). Five years after this impreſſion, there was another publiſhed of it, as A. Wood informs us, with the author's picture before it, in a cloak and a wreath of laurel over his head. The ſaid print is but poorly executed, and ſeems not to be taken from any authentic copy. Other editions there were after this, eſpecially one towards the latter end of King Charles the Second's reign, but it is the more needleſs to be any further circumſtantial in them, as moſt of the work has been incorporated in many other hiſtories of that tumultuous time, without any acknowledgements to our author; much having been ſaid in the reign of King Charles the Second to diſcredit it, by Phillips, Winſtanley, and ſuch others, whoſe opinions or characters have been ſince taken by more voluminous authors upon truſt; among whom, Mr Echard, having been by ſome of thoſe writings guided in ſome particulars, as may be ſeen by his recital of their ſenſe, almoſt in their own language, at laſt calls it, *One of the genteeleſt and handſomeſt Libells of thoſe Times.* But ſuch as have pretended to no ſmall acquaintance with the hiſtories of thoſe times, have, on the other ſide, intimated, That the facts in this hiſtory are ſo notorious, they are inconteſtible; that May flies not, like a libeller, to ſecret hiſtory, and undeterminable cauſes or motives, for the ſaid general and deplorable rupture of the national tranquillity, but proves it amply from it's gradual foundations, in the firſt edition of this book, and from a ſeries of wilful violations of the laws and rights, privileges and properties of the people, as others had alſo publickly aſſerted the ſame, in many of the capital points before him: and from the examples thus ſet forth, of this miſerable period of government, have inferred, how manifeſtly it appears, that when a Prince will reſign his moſt princely diſpoſitions, to the councils of a covetous and corrupt, imperious and ambitious miniſtry, and ſuffer himſelf to be led away by the deceitful and dangerous phantom of arbitrary power, under the ſpecious and infatuating title of prerogative, whereby the people muſt live in ſubjection under many Kings, inſtead of one, 'till a diviſion is inflamed unextinguiſhable, but by the blood of both, what an infallible courſe it is, to bring both Prince and people to deſtruction. But in ſhort, our author May, has himſelf given the beſt rule for judging of his own *Hiſtory of theſe Civil Wars*, or any other account of them, in the *Preface* beforementioned, which adviſes, firſt to read the writers on both ſides, before we draw our concluſions.

(39) The whole three books, above 363 pages.

(40) Lond. 8vo. 1649; or thereabouts, ſays A. Wood, as before.

(41) Hiſtoriæ Parliamenti Angliæ Breviarum, tribus partibus explicatum. Authore T. M. juxta Exempl. Londini. Tipis Car. Sumptner, 12mo. 1651, in 223 pages.

(42) Entitled, A Breviary of the Hiſtory of the Parliament of England, expreſſed in three parts. 1. The Cauſes and Beginning of the Civil War of England. 2. A Short Mention of the Progreſs of that Civil War. 3. A Compendious Relation of the Original and Progreſs of the Second Civil War. Written in Latin by T. M. and for the general good, tranſlated out of Latin into Engliſh, 12mo. 1650, in 215 pages.

hiſtorical circumſtances leaſt known, or moſt needful, for the confirmation of others before ſpoken of; which may be enough to give ſuch readers who have not ſeen it, a general ſenſe of it's contents. It ſeems to have been written when Marvell had ſome views of advantage by appearing a Royaliſt, upon the Reſtoration; therefore, after he has therein repreſented our poet, abruptly hurried from hence by ſudden death, and amazed in Elyſium, to think where he was, and from whence he came? what was become of Stephen's Alley (in King's Street Weſtminſter, where he lived we ſuppoſe) and where the Pope's Head or Mitre ſtood? ſigns, by which he had ſo often found, and loſt his way; 'till at laſt, he met with the ſhade of old Ben. Jonſon, who began to banter him with ——

Cups more than civil of Æmathian wine.

An alluſion to the firſt line of his own Lucan (*y*), and the *Pharſalian* ſign, where the *Commonwealth's Hiſtorian* ſheathed the conquering *Health* in his own *Bowels*. By which time, *May* coming to himſelf, found he was *tranſlated!* but, preſſing among the learned throng, *Ben.* grew angry, ſhook his gray locks at the intruſion (*z*), and with his laurel rod, whipping him over the pate, as Pembroke did with his wand at the maſque; upbraids his mercenary pen, bids him ſeek the company of novice ſtateſmen, and obtrude on them his *Roman* compariſons; talk of liberty, 'till they all grow conſuls over their cups; while he, the *Dictator* of the *Glaſs*, beſtows the title or character of *Cato* upon one, and *Cicero* on another, how ill ſoever the meaſures of *Rome* and *England* agree: that it was not by ignorance, or ſeeming good, but malice, that he was miſguided, becauſe a more deſerving head wore the *Laurel*, therefore he had proſtituted the chaſtity of ſtudy, and apoſtatizing from ingenuous truth and loyalty, turned chronicler to *Spartacus*; but was juſtly taken from hence before he could relate the King's death, though it was a mortification to leave *d'Avenant* his ſurvivor; who laughed to ſee ſuch an emblem of *Roman poverty* in himſelf, and gratitude in the ſtate, for paying his *laſt reckoning* ſo liberally; and, with ſo much publick gravity, after he had drank his laſt, leading him home, if that could be called his home, where *Spenſer* lies and reverend *Chaucer*; for their duſt roſe, and *expelled* him from their ſides, as the eagles feathers ſeparate themſelves in diſdain from thoſe of other birds. So that the ſaid author, in this *Poem upon May's Death*, by declaring that he was not to reſt, or dwell there, plainly diſcovers it to have been written ſince the Reſtoration. For, though after his death he was honoured by the appointment of the Parliament with a ſplendid funeral in Weſtminſter abbey, where he was buried on the weſt ſide of the large ſouth iſle or tranſcept, and had, ſoon after, a large monument of white marble erected in the weſt wall, over his grave, with a Latin inſcription thereon, compoſed by Marchemont Needham; deſcribing him in poetry, to be more than another Lucan, and to have dignified, or added luſtre to his father's title, by being deputed the Parliament's Hiſtorian, and having ſo faithfully vindicated their cauſe, &c. (*aa*): yet ſome years after, both corpſe, monument, epitaph and all, were removed. As for the epitaph, there was, not long after that above, another alſo in Latin, written in anſwer to it, as it is ſaid, by one of the cavalier party, who had been expoſed by our author; from whence, as it is above twenty lines in length, we ſhall only here obſerve, that though May is allowed at the beginning, to have been ſuch a happy tranſlator of Lucan, as if the ſoul of the *Roman Poet* had been tranſlated into the *Engliſh* one, yet it concludes with obſerving, that for his *performance* as an *hiſtorian*, though written in *proſe*, there being the fiction or liberty taken of a *poet* in it, the very marble that covered the reliques of ſo many heroick, learned, and noble perſonages, ſeemed to weep with reſentment, that they ſhould be diſhonoured with ſuch unworthy company: but it was not then to be wondered at, that he ſhould be ſo preferred, by thoſe who had turned ſuch ſacred edifices into ſtables for horſes (*bb*). Soon after the Reſtoration, and before May had reſted unmoleſtedly eleven years in his grave, his body, among others, which had been buried in the abbey during the civil wars, and were now thought to have uſurped the place of more loyal and deſerving perſons, was by order digged up, and buried in a large pit belonging to St Margaret's church adjacent, at the back door of the Prebendaries lodgings, on the 12th of September 1661. His monument at the ſame time being taken down, was thrown aſide, and, in the room of it, was afterwards erected that of Dr Thomas Triplet, *anno* 1670 (*cc*). G

(*y*) Viz. Wars more than civil, on Æmathian plains, &c.

(*z*) This treatment of our author, after death, by B. Jonſon's Ghoſt, is very inconſiſtent with his cordial and reſpectful profeſſions while living, in his Poem to him before his Lucan; where he calls him, his choſen friend, the learned tranſlator of Lucan; and ſubſcribes himſelf, his true friend in judgment and choice.

(*aa*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 415.

(*bb*) See this epitaph at large, in Giles Jacob's Poetical Regiſter, p. 179.

(*cc*) Ath. Oxon. ut ſupra; and Biſhop Kennet's Regiſter and Chronicle, &c. fol. 1728, p. 536.

MAYNE [JASPER,] a witty Divine of conſiderable note, in the XVIIth century, was born at Hatherlagh in Devonſhire, in the year 1604, and being ſent to Weſtminſter ſchool, continued there 'till he was nineteen years of age, without obtaining a King's Scholarſhip; when he met with a patron in Dr Bryan Duppa (*a*), whoſe kindneſs in great meaſure repaired that diſadvantage. By his encouragement, entering himſelf a Servitor in 1623 at Chriſt-church in Oxford, he was afterwards choſen Canoneer Student (*b*) of the college. He proceeded regularly to the academical honours, and commencing Maſter of Arts June 18, 1631 (*c*), took Holy Orders, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the pulpit by that

(*a*) He was bred at the ſame ſchool and college of which he afterwards became Dean. See his article in this Work, Vol. III.

(*b*) That is, a Student appointed by one of the Canons, who are inveſted with ſuch a power by the ſtatutes of the college, not exceeding a certain number.

(*c*) Wood's Faſti, Vol. I. col. 240. He took his Batchelor's degree in Arts Octob. 21, 1628. Ibid. col. 252.

that quaint manner of preaching which was then the vogue [*A*], so that he became vicar of Caſſington near Woodſtock in Oxfordſhire, by the preſentation of his college, to which the ſociety afterwards added alſo the living of Pyrton near Watlington, in the ſame county (*e*). Both theſe preferments lying at a ſmall diſtance from the univerſity (*f*), Mr Mayne ſtill reſided chiefly upon his ſtudentſhip at Chriſt-Church, where he was much admired for his wit and humour. In that view, Lucian among the claſſics was his favourite author [*B*]; part of whoſe dialogues he tranſlated from the Greek into Engliſh, in 1638 (*g*). About the ſame time he wrote a comedy called *The City Match*; which was well received on the ſtage, being firſt acted at Whitehall, and then again at Black-Fryars, and printed at Oxford in 1639 (*h*), fol. In this play our author made his court to the King and Queen, by a ſmart ridicule upon Puritaniſm in general, and the famous William Pryhne in particular [*C*]; who had not long before loſt his ears, and lay then condemned

(*e*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 507. 2d edit. Lond. 1721.

(*f*) About five or ſix miles.

(*g*) To theſe he afterwards added the other dialogues, as they were tranſlated by Francis Hickes. Lond. 1664, fol.

(*h*) It has been lately reprinted in the Collection of Old Plays, Vol. X. 1753.

[*A*] *He diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his quaint manner of preaching.*] The introduction of this vitious taſte in the pulpit oratory, is commonly imputed to Dr Andrews, the celebrated Biſhop of Wincheſter, whoſe high reputation on other accounts, gave a ſanction to it (1). In order to exhibit a compendious view of the various manners of it, in the reigns of King James and King Charles I. and during the uſurpation, a very ingenious imitation thereof was made by Mr Abraham Wright, Fellow of St John's college in Oxford, and afterwards Vicar of Okeham in Rutlandſhire, who in 1657, publiſhed five ſermons in five ſeveral ſtyles or ways of preaching; the firſt in that of Biſhop Andrews, the ſecond in that of Biſhop Hall of Exeter; the third in that of our author Dr Jaſper Mayne, and Mr Thomas Cartwright a brother poet and dramatic writer as well as preacher; the fourth in that of the Preſbyterians; and the fifth in that of the Independents.

(1) Birch's Life of Archbiſhop Tillotſon, p. 21. edit. 1753, 8vo.

[*B*] *Lucian was his favourite author.*] 'Tis certain, in regard to the province of wit, our ſtudent could not have pitched on a more conſummate maſter than this monkey Lucian, who knew how to turn himſelf into any ſhape or character that he pleaſed to aſſume, ſo exactly, as to paſs unqueſtionably for the thing itſelf. Under this artful maſk, the ſport of his inimitable pen, he was not unfrequently taken for a real profeſſor of Chriſtianity. And our author did not think it unbecoming that character, to enforce ſome of it's doctrines by his arguments. We ſhall ſee preſently Mr Mayne engaged in a religious controverſy with Mr Cheynell, about the Predeſtinarian doctrines. The diſpute was carried on by letters; in one of which, his antagoniſt having cenſured him for introducing Lucian into treatiſes upon the ſtupendous myſteries of religion; in anſwer thereto our author firſt obſerves, 'that abſolute reprobation is a piece of Stoiciſm, and never held to be Chriſtian 'till it crept forth into the Church, from the ſame fancy which was the womb wherein the Preſbyterian government was formed;' and then proceeds thus, 'So methinks Lucian, Sir, (how cheaply ſoever you think of him or me, for having cloſed my laſt letter to you with a piece of his Nigrinus) in his confutation of this heatheniſh error, which hath made ſo many hang themſelves, urgeth arguments, which would become one of the fathers of the Church. I know not, continues he, whether you have read his Ζῆνα ἐλεγχόμενον, but if you have, he there tells you, that if there be ſuch a thing as the fatal decree you ſpeak of, firſt that all they who lie under the inflexibility of it, being tied by an unalterable neceſſity to do what they do, can in no reaſon be rewarded if they do well, nor with any juſtice be puniſhed if they do ill. Next, that the ſins which they commit, if they cannot but commit them, are not to be called their ſins, but the ſins of that decree which laid the neceſſity upon them. And therefore, thirdly, that a murderer thus predeſtined, if he ſhould be arraigned, may ſay to any judge thus ſtoically perſuaded: *Why do you accuſe me? pray call my deſtiny to the bar, and do not ſentence me, but my fate to the rack and wheel. I was but an overſwayed inſtrument in this murder, and ſuch an engine to my deſtiny, as my ſword was to me.* Tho' this be ſpoken by a heathen only in diſproof of fate, yet ſince St Chryſoſtom in more than three ſermons had ſaid the ſame thing in diſproof of abſolute reprobation, I hope, Sir, neither Calvin nor Piſcator have ſo miſtaught you to underſtand St Paul, as from any epiſtle of his (2) to conclude peremptorily, that any without their deſert are given up to a reprobate mind, and finally ſtruck and neceſſitated to a remedileſs impenitence (3).'

(2) He alludes to the Epiſtle to the Romans, ch. ix.

(3) A late printed ſermon againſt falſe prophets vindicated. p. 52, & ſeq. edit. 1647, 4to.

[*C*] *He made his court in a ridicule upon Puritaniſm and William Prynne.*] Aurelia, the lady whoſe marriage and intriguing with that view is the ſubject of this comedy, opens the ſecond act in a dialogue with her puritanical maid, Dorcas, which is carried on with a good ſhare of humour, as follows:

SCENE I.

Aurel. Why, we ſhall have you get in time the turn
Up of your eyes, ſpeak in the noſe, draw ſighs
Of an ell long, and rail at diſcipline.
Wou'd I cou'd hear from Baneſwright: e'er I'll be tortured
With your preciſeneſs thus, I'll get dry palms
With ſtarching, and put on my ſmocks myſelf.

Dorcas. Surely you may, and air them too; there have been
Very devout and holy women, that wore no ſhift at all.

Aur. Such ſaints, you mean, as wore
Their congregations, and ſwarm'd with chriſtian vermin.
You'll hold clean linen hereſy.

Dorcas. ——————— Surely yes;
Clean linen in a ſurplice; that and powders,
Do bring dry ſummers, make the ſickneſs rage,
And th' enemy prevail; it was reveal'd
To Mrs Scruple and her huſband, who
Do verily aſcribe the German war,
And the late perſecutions to curling,
Falſe teeth, and oil of talc.

Aur. ——————— Now ſhe is in,
A lecturer will ſooner hold his peace
Than ſhe.

Dor. ——— And ſurely as Mr Scruple ſays,

Aur. That was her ſchoolmaſter; one that cools a feaſt
With his long grace, and ſooner eats a capon
Than bleſſes it.

Dor. ——— And proves it very well,
Out of a book that ſuffered martyrdom,
By fire in Cheapſide (4), ſince amulets and bracelets,
And lovelocks were in uſe, the price of ſprats,
Jeruſalem artichokes, and Holland cheeſe,
Is very much increaſed; ſo that the brethren,
Botchers I mean, and ſuch poor zealous ſaints,
As earn five groats a week under a ſtall,
By ſinging pſalms, and drawing up of holes,
Can't live in their vocation, but are fain
To turn———

Aur. Old breeches.

Dor. Surely teachers and prophets——

(4) Prynne's Hiſtriomaſtix was burnt there before his face as he ſtood in the pillory for publiſhing it. See his article.

SCENE II.

To them Baneſwright (5).

Aur. O! Mr Baneſwright, are you come, my woman
Was in her preaching fit; ſhe only wanted
A table's end.

Baneſw. Why, what's the matter?

(5) He had recommended Dorcas to Aurelia.

demned to perpetual imprisonment in Orgueil castle in the isle of Jersey. This address drew the royal regards upon him, of which he found the good effects, when the court resided at Oxford. In 1642, being one of the Divines appointed to preach before his Majesty and the Parliament (*i*), our author proceeded Bachelor of Divinity on the first of November that year, and was created D. D. June the 7th, 1646 (*k*). The decline of the King's affairs wrought no change in Dr Mayne's loyalty; he persevered in the same zeal as before, against Presbyterian principles, and the Calvinistical theology, and in that spirit, presently after the surrender of Oxford garrison to the Parliament, preached a sermon in the university church on Ezekiel xxii. 28; which being printed at Oxford in 4to under the title of *A Sermon against false Prophets*, was attacked from the same pulpit by Mr Francis Cheynell, the renowned champion of the Presbyterians (*l*), whereupon several letters passed between them, which were published by our author in a piece intituled *A late printed Sermon against false Prophets vindicated by Letter, from the causeless Aspersions of Mr* Francis Cheynell, *by* Jasper Mayne D. D. *the misunderstood Author of it*, 1647 4to. In this controversy the doctor maintained his religious principles with a proper smartness and a becoming decency, against the rude and ill bred virulence of his antagonist [*D*]: and the same year he drew his pen in defence of his political principles. These were such as carried him to an absolute unreserved loyalty to the King [*E*], in whose cause he became

(*i*) Ath. Oxon. ubi supra.

(*k*) Wood's Fasti, Vol. II. col. 22 and 57.

(*l*) See Will. Chillingworth's article.

Aur. ——— Never
Poor lady had so much inbred holiness
About her person; I am never drest
Without a sermon, but am forc'd to prove
The lawfulness of curling-irons, before
She'll crisp me in a morning (6), I must shew
Text for the fashions of my gowns; she'll ask
Where jewels are commanded, or what lady
I'th' primitive times wore ropes of pearl or rubies:
She'll urge Councils call'd in Northamptonshire
For her little ruff, and her whole service
Is a mere confutation of my cloaths.
——————She can't preserve
(The gift for which I took her) but as tho'
She were inspir'd from Ipswich (7), she will make
The acts and monuments in sweetmeats; quinces
Arraigned and burnt at a stake; all my banquets
Are persecutions, and Dioclesian's days
Are brought for entertainment; and we eat martyrs.
Banesw. Madam, she is far gone.
Aur. ——————— Nay, Sir, she is
A puritan at her needle too.
Banesw. ———— Indeed!
Aur. She works religious petticoats; for flowers
She'll make church histories: her needle doth
So sanctifie my cushionets! besides,
My smock sleeves have such holy embroideries,
And are so learned, that I fear in time,
All my apparel will be quoted by
Some pure instructor. Yesterday I went
To see a lady that has a parrot; my woman,
While I was in discourse, converted the fowl,
And now it can speak nought but Knox's works:
So there's a parrot lost.

(6) So far in this and the whole preceding scene is notoriously pointed against Prynne's book, entitled, The Unloveliness of Love Locks; or a summary Discourse, proving the wearing and nourishing of Locks, or Love Locks, to be altogether unseemly and unlawful unto Christians: in which there are likewise some passages out of the Fathers, &c. against face-painting, the wearing of suppostitious, powdered, or extraordinary long, hair, and the womens mannish, unnatural, impudent, unchristian, cutting off the hair. Edit. 1628, 4to.

(7) Prynne's News from Ipswich was published in 1636, for which he lost the remainder of his ears, and was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment in 1637.

At this character of the maid, Baneswright expresses his surprize, owns his mistake, and promises to remove Dorcas to a more suitable service; to which Aurelia signifies her satisfaction in these terms: 'From thy 'zeal, the frantick lady's judgment and *Histriomastix*, 'deliver me.' The play, as has been said above, met with applause, yet as some censure might be passed upon his appearing thus out of character as a Divine, he prefixed a preface, wherein he apologizes for himself, declaring, that it was both wrote and brought upon the stage merely in obedience to command; and that he was so averse from raising fame this way, that at the representation he was one of the severest spectators there, nor ever shewed other signs whereby it might be known to be his, but his liberty to despise it; and that he consented to let it pass the press purely to prevent a pyratical edition, which he understood some were ready to print from an imperfect copy without his knowledge, and he was loth, as he says, to be libelled by his own work.

[*D*] *He maintained his religious principles with temper against his rude opponent.*] Mr Cheynell taking the liberty to reprehend our author, assumes the following magisterial air, 'Sir, *Reprobatio est tremendum mysterium* (8). How dare you jest upon such a subject, at 'the thought of which each Christian trembles?— see 'what it is for a man to come from Ben. Jonson or Lucian, to treat immediately of the high and tremendous mysteries of religion. The Lord God pardon 'this wicked thought of your heart, that you may not 'perish in the *bond of iniquity and gall of bitterness.* 'Be pleased to study the 9th chapter to the Romans '(9).' To this Dr Mayne replies, 'I grant, Sir, that 'reprobation is a mystery to be trembled at; yet, Sir, 'all they who maintaining it to be absolute, do revive the fiction of the three destinies, where one 'holds the distaff on which the thread of every man's 'fate is spun, and do preach a piece of Zeno's philosophy for a piece of St Paul's Epistles, can have no 'reason to accuse me of a jest, because I applied a 'spindle to the distaff on which men's fates are rolled. 'The 9th chapter to the Romans I have long since 'considered, and studied it by the most serene impartial lights, which might uncloud the great mystery to 'me, which lies so obscurely there wrapt up. And to 'deal freely with you, the best commentator I have 'ever met with to lead me through the darkness of it 'is, another place of scripture or two set in presence 'and scale with this, both which joined methought 'made perfectly the cloud, which guided the Jews 'through the wilderness, which was a cloud to the 'Egyptians, but a pillar of fire to the Israelites.' He proceeds accordingly, to interpret what is obscurely delivered in the 9th chapter to the Romans, whence his antagonist inferred, *that few should be saved*; by what the same St Paul declares clearly in his first epistle to Timothy, chap. II. verse 4. that *it is the will of God that all men should be saved:* observing, that he had always held it safer to build his faith upon those clear places of Scripture, which have no veil before their face, than those which are mysterious and lead to a Βάθος, 'over which, says he, I stand amazed, but 'cannot from thence infer.' He then closes the whole in the following modest terms: 'I do further profess to you, that I am not so wedded to this 'or any other speculative opinion, but that if you will 'shew more convincing scripture for the contrary, I 'shall most readily renounce my own thoughts, and 'espouse myself to your's (10).

(8) i. e. Reprobation is a tremendous mystery.

(9) Sermon against false Prophets vindicated, p. 36.

(10) Ibid. p. 53, 54.

[*E*] *His political principles carried him to an unreserved loyalty.*] This piece was published in 4to, under the following title; ΟΧΛΟΜΑΧΙΑ, or, *The People's War examined according to the Principles of Scripture and Reason, in two of the most plausible Pretences of it. In Answer to a Letter sent by a Person of Quality, who desired Satisfaction.* By Jasper Mayne, D. D. *one of the students of Christ-Church, Oxon.* It is dated June 7, 1647. In it he maintains the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance, in the most absolute and unlimited extent; not allowing subjects to to take up arms against their sovereign in defence either of their liberty or religion. Supposing, says he, the

became a confessor by an ejectment from his student's place at Christ-church in 1648, which was followed not long after by a deprivation from both his vicarages. In the midst of these sufferings he still preserved a warm zeal for the old establishment, which he constantly asserted against the Fanatics; and September 11th, 1652, held a publick dispute with a noted anabaptist preacher, in the church of Watlington, on which occasion he preached a sermon on Heb. x. 24, 25. and printed it the same year at London, in 4to, with the title of *A Sermon against Schism, or the Separation of these Times.* The dispute however ended as might easily be foreseen, to no good purpose on the side of our author [*F*], who being now in a manner reduced to his shifts, immediately set about an English translation of Dr Donne's Epigrams, which he published the same year [*G*]. Soon after which

the long Parliament all the while have fought, as was first pretended, for the defence of their assayled liberty, yet fighting against the King, whose subjects they are, it can never before a christian judge make their armies pass for just. But being no way necessitated to make such defence (their liberty having in no one particular been assaulted, which has not been redressed) if St Paul were now on earth again, and were the judge of this controversy between them and their lawful sovereign, I fear he would call their defence by a name, which we in our modern cases of conscience do call rebellion. We have given this reasoning in his own words, that the reader might have a specimen of that particular quaint turn and manner, which distinguished our author from his contemporary writers of the like taste in general. Having thus passed sentence against Liberty, he calls Religion to the bar, and having defined it in the words of Thomas Aquinas, *virtus reddens debitum honorem Deo*; a payment of that honour, love, fear, worship, and obedience, to God, which is his due, as Creator and Providential Governor of all things; he infers that the payment of this tribute is the proper care of the Deity, and the non-performance of it being a crime only against God, the vengeance belongs to him alone. In all cases whatsoever, *Deorum injuriæ Diis curæ*, as Grotius expresses it. And whereas that author, he observes, is of opinion, 'that if there should be found a country of atheists, or of those who deny a Providence, such a notion would be a just cause for a reforming war; not only because they are contumelious and reproachful to God himself, but because, being directly destructive of all religion, they are by necessary consequence destructive to human society too: in short, that if there should be found a nation of such impious persuasions, it would be no injustice in any other people, who are not atheists, by way of punishment to banish them out of the world (11).' On the contrary, our doctor declares, that he is so far from thinking any war made for the propagation of religion, how true soever it be, is warrantable, that 'in this particular, says he, I persuade myself I have some reason to dissent from Grotius, and think it a problem very disputable.' In proceeding, he grants that 'religion (which atheism and the denial of a providence destroy) is one of the firmest bonds of society (12); yet declares he had met with no demonstrative argument to prove the dependence between them so necessary, that the absence of the one must inevitably be the destruction of the other; since it is possible, that a country of atheists may yet have so much morality among them, seconded by laws made by common agreement among themselves, as to be a people to hold the society of citizens among themselves; and as 'tis possible for them without religion, for mere utility and safety's sake, to observe the laws of nations, so far as not to wrong or injure a people different from themselves: so where no civil wrong or injury is offered, where the moral bonds of society and commerce, though not the religious of opinion and worship, are unbroken by them, for the people not injured to make war upon them for a feared imaginary consequence; and because being atheists, it is possible that their example may spread; is an act of hostility, which, continues he, I confess, I am not able to defend.' He goes on to shew, that neither is idolatry a crime of this punishable nature in one people, by another who are not guilty of that crime, since idolaters are not criminal towards others of a more rectified reason; and their idolatry being an error without the light of scripture to rectify it, hardly vincible in themselves, is to be reformed by argument and persuasion, not violence or force; since a war made upon the errors of mens minds, is as unreasonable as a war made upon the freedom of their wills. And for this reason he maintains, that the propagation of Christianity cannot be a just cause of war upon those who refuse to embrace it. In prosecuting which subject he observes, that as there is no command of Christ to compel men to receive the gospel by temporal punishments; so all such endeavours are very unsuitable to his practice, as appears from Luke ix. 5, 54, 55, 56. Agreeable to which practice of Christ, is that canon of the council of Toledo, *Præcipit sancta synodus nemini deinceps ad credendum viri inferre* (13). *It is ordered by this holy synod, that no man be henceforth compelled to believe the gospel.* A canon, which, says he, 'I wish the men of the country had worn in their ensigns, when they made war upon the Indians'

(11) Grot. de Jure Belli & Pacis, lib. 2. cap. 20.

(12) To this purpose he quotes Plutarch, whose words are, συνέκτικον ἁπάσης κοινωνίας καὶ νομοθεσίας ἔρεισμα.

(13) C. de Justitiis, dist. 45. To this he adds these words of Tertullian: *Lex nova non se vindicat ultore gladio.* The new law does not vindicate itself by the sword.

[*F*] *The dispute ended to no good purpose, &c.*] His antagonist was one John Pendarves, a Cornish man by birth, who being bred at Exeter college in Oxford, became a good disputant, took the degree of A. B. in 1641, left the college in July 1642, sided, as my author says, with the rout; and by a voluble tongue, having obtained the way of canting, went up and down (unsent for) preaching in houses, barns, under trees, hedges, &c. At length, after several changes, he setled his mind on anabaptism, and having got a numerous multitude of disciples, made himself head of them, defied all authority, contradicted and opposed all orthodox ministers in their offices, challenged them to prove their calling, and spared not many times to interrupt them in their pulpits, and to urge them to disputes. At length, after several challenges, Dr Mayne of Christ-Church, who had been much troubled with him at Pyrton near Watlington in Oxfordshire, undertook to be his respondent; so that the 11th of Sept. 1652 being appointed for the encounter, in the church at Watlington, were present innumerable people on each side: but Pendarves being backed with a great party of anabaptists, and the scum of the people, who behaved themselves very rudely and insolently, the disputation was so interrupted that it came to nothing; but was afterwards printed by Pendarves and his party unfairly to their own advantage. This Pendarves who was lecturer of Wantage, and pastor to the anabaptists at Abingdon in Berkshire, was of a turbulent disposition, and at length opposed Cromwell in his government: and dying in September 1656, in London, his body was embowelled, wrapt in searcloth, and some weeks after, preparations being made for the funeral, was carried to Abingdon, where, after lying in a kind of state at a grocer's house, four days spent in praying and preaching, not without reflections on the then government by Oliver, and endeavours made to raise mutinies, was interred, with great lamentation of the brethren, in a little garden-ground then lately purchased for a burial place for the anabaptists, in Oxstreet, at the west end of the town. There was such a great party of that faction present at the solemnity, that Oliver being suspicious of some mischief that might arise, sent Major-General John Bridges with eight troops of horse to those parts, who taking up his quarters at Wallingford, many of his men attended in and near Abingdon during the time of this solemnity. The ceremony was no sooner perfected, but tumults were raised by preaching, which we are told would have ended in blows, had not the soldiers stept in, and sent them home (14). Pendarves was the author of several fanatical pieces, as *Arrows against Babylon. Endeavours for Reformation in Saints Apparel. Queries for the People called Quakers. Sighs for Sion*, printed in 1656. Besides several sermons printed in 1657, 4to.

(14) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 204, 205.

[*G*] *An English translation of Dr Donne's Epigrams.*] To these he gave the title of *A Sheaf of Miscellany Epigrams*, from that of the Latin, which was *Fasciculus Poematum & Epigrammatum Miscellaneorum.* His motive for this undertaking, preferable to any other, was

which he had the good fortune to find a friend in the Earl of Devonshire, who took him into his family in the character of chaplain. This situation unavoidably brought him into the acquaintance of another person who had the same patron, and that was the famous Mr Hobbes, but we are told there was never any good agreement between them (m). Be that as it will, 'tis certain the doctor enjoyed a friendly shelter under that nobleman's roof (n), 'till the storm against the royalists broke away at the Restoration, which not only brought him back to his livings, but, as a compensation for his sufferings, he was made Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majesty, promoted to a Canon's stall at Christ-church, and raised to the dignity of Archdeacon of Chichester. Thus replaced to advantage in his favourite seat of the Muses, he preached the customary Latin sermon before the university, on the first day of act term, May 27th, 1662, which was immediately printed (o). He had before been complimented as archdeacon, with the appointment of preacher at the consecration of Dr Herbert Croft Bishop of Hereford (p), who had been a fellow-sufferer in the same cause: and in 1665, he published a poem upon the naval victory of the Duke of York over the Dutch. He continued during the rest of his life happy in the full enjoyment of his promotions, heightened in the view of their being so many marks of the royal favour, and particularly endeared to him, by fixing his residence at Christ-church, in which he greatly delighted while living, and upon his death, which happened December 6, 1672, his corps was interred in the isle joining to the north side of the choir of that church, where a monument was erected with an inscription (q) to his memory, at the charge of Dr Robert South, and Dr John Lamphire, the executors of his last will, wherein he bequeathed five hundred pounds towards the rebuilding of St Paul's Cathedral, and a hundred pounds to each of his vicarages, Pyrton and Cassington; with many other legacies [H], among which the following was not a little remarkable (r). He had a servant who had lived with him a long time, to whom he bequeathed a trunk, and in it somewhat which he said *would make him drink after his death*. The doctor's eyes were no sooner closed, but his servant paid a visit to the trunk, where he found only a simple, solitary red-herring (s). This miserably low and ill timed conundrum, gives us no advantageous idea of the turn of our author's wit and humour; which, though it procured him the character of a facetious and witty companion (t), yet drew on him the reflection of having somewhat of Dean Swift's [I], without any share of his genius and good sense (u). Besides the pieces already mentioned, the doctor published *A Sermon concerning Unity and Agreement*, preached in Carfax church in Oxford, 9 Aug. 1646, on 1 Cor. i. 10. printed in 1646, 4to. This with his *Sermon against Schism* &c. That against *False Prophets*, and it's Vindication, were all commonly bound together, with *The People's War examined*, &c. and sold with this general title, *Certain Sermons and Letters of Defence and Resolution*, &c. London 1653, 4to.

(m) Ath. Oxon. ubi supra.

(n) In 1658 he printed at Oxford a trage-comedy, entitled *The amorous War*, in 4to. but neither this nor his City Match have been ever revived upon the stage. Cibber's Lives of the Poets, Vol. III. under our author's Life.

(o) The title is, Concio ad Acad. Oxon. pro more habita, inchoante Termino 27 Maii, 1662, in Gal. v. 1. Lond. 1662, 4to.

(p) The Bishop was consecrated Feb. 9 preceding. See his article. Our author's sermon was printed at London in 1662, according to the Printer's style. The text was 1 Tim. iv. 14.

(q) The inscription is inserted in Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 282. b. by Mr Wood, who says it was put on a flat marble stone laid over his grave.

(r) Ath. Oxon. ubi supra.

(s) Langbaine's Account of the English Dramatic Poets, p. 338. Oxf. 1691.

(t) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 507.

(u) Cibber, ubi supra.

was apparently the peculiar turn of wit in the original; which, however, lost it's charms for want of a good versification. Mr Pope did the same friendly office for Donne's Satires, and probably upon the same motive.

[H] *Besides many other legacies.*] Mr Wood, whose grudge to Dean Fell prompted him to lay hold of every opportunity to throw dirt upon his memory, concludes our author's article with the following reflection, that he left 'nothing to the place of his education, because 'he (as Dr John Wall had done) had taken some disgust 'taste for affronts received from the dean of his col- 'lege, and certain students encouraged by him, in 'their grinning and sauciness towards him (15).' However that be, it can hardly escape the reader's observation, that the legacy for rebuilding St Paul's Cathedral would have carried a better face, had it been left to the college, a part of which was then rebuilding by the Dean's care, as Mr Wood himself tells us (16): whereas, with regard to St Paul's, it may not perhaps be thought to stand clear of some degree of ostentation, and whatever became of it at last, was probably never applied to that use; since the first stone of the cathedral was laid some months before our author's death (17), and the whole expence of rebuilding it supplied, as is well known, by a duty laid upon coals spent in London or near it. P

(15) Ibid. col. 508.

(16) Ibid. col. 796.

(17) See Sir Christopher Wren's article.

MAYNWARING [ARTHUR], a polite writer in politics and poetry, flourished in the beginning of the XVIIIth century. He was descended of a family, in ancient times one of the most honourable in England, known in the rolls of the Conqueror, by the name of Meinil Warren, which was afterwards corrupted into Maynwaring (a), and settled at Over Peover near Northwich in Cheshire [A]. Whence, in process of time, our author's

(a) Life and Posthumous Works of Arthur Maynwaring, Esq; by J. Oldmixon, p. 2. Lond. 1715, 8vo.

[A] *Descended of an honourable family, settled at Over Peover in Cheshire.*] About the year 1170, one of this family, Ralph Maynwaring, married Amicia, daughter of Hugh Keveliock or Cyveliok, the 5th Earl of Chester, a descendant from Hugh Lupus, son of the Count d'Avranches in Normandy, to whom William the Conqueror made a grant of the whole county of Cheshire (1). During our author's infancy there was a dispute about the legitimacy of this Amicia, occasioned by a piece which came out in 1673, fol. entitled, *Historical Antiquities in two books.* The 1st treating of Great-Britain and Ireland in general; the 2d containing particular remarks of Cheshire, and chiefly of Bucklow Hundred: in which the author, Sir Peter Leycester of Nether Tably in that county, Bart. had represented the just mentioned lady as a bastard, notwithstanding he claimed a descent from her. In answer to this was published, *A Defence of Amicia, daughter of* Hugh Cyveliok *Earl of Chester; wherein is proved that she was not a bastard.* By Sir Thomas Maynwaring of Over Peover, Bart. London, 1673, 8vo. Whereupon Sir Peter replied in *An Answer to Sir Thomas Maynwaring's book*, entituled A Defence of Amicia, &c. London 1673, 8vo. To which Sir Thomas rejoined in a reply to an answer to the defence of Amicia, &c. 1673, 8vo. and Sir Peter having printed *Addenda*, or some things to be added to the former answer to Sir Thomas Maynwaring the same year, Sir Thomas came out with *An Answer to Sir Peter Leycester's Addenda*; London, 1673-4. To which his antagonist published *A Reply to Sir Thomas Maynwaring's Answer to Sir Peter Leycester's Addenda*, Lond. 1674, 8vo. and Sir Thomas Maynwaring's law-cases mistaken, and the antient law misunderstood, and the new misapplied, &c. London, 1674 8vo. There was a merry ballad handed about in manuscript, concerning these petty controversies between the two Baronets; who, however, did not end the matter without a suit

(1) Life of Arthur Maynwaring by Oldmixon, p. 2.

author's branch removed to Ightfield in Shropſhire, where his grandfather Sir Arthur Maynwaring was poſſeſſed of a good eſtate, and was a courtier in the reign of King James I. and a favourite of Prince Henry [*B*]. His eldeſt ſon and heir Charles Maynwaring Eſq; marrying a daughter of Charles Cholmondeley Eſq; of Vale Royal in Cheſhire (*b*), had by her this ſon, the ſubject of the preſent article; who was born at Ightfield, in the year 1668, and received the firſt part of his education at the grammar ſchool in Shrewſbury: whence he was ſent, about the age of ſeventeen, in the beginning of the reign of King James the Second, to Chriſt-church in Oxford, and committed to the care of Mr George Smalridge, afterwards the worthy Biſhop of Briſtol [*C*]. Under a tutor ſo remarkably diſtinguiſhed for polite literature, Mr Maynwaring ſpent ſeveral years to great advantage, and then retiring to his uncle Mr Francis Cholmondeley in Cheſhire, he continued to proſecute his ſtudies with the ſame aſſiduity and ſucceſs, but became confirmed in his prejudices againſt the Revolution, to which his uncle, though a very honeſt gentleman, had refuſed to comply (*c*). With theſe principles our author came to London, where his father then reſided, in Eſſex-ſtreet near the Temple (*d*), and applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the Law: but not being able to view what paſſed ſo diſagreeable to him upon the ſtage of the publick without a paſſionate emotion, he vented his zeal in ſome ſatirical pieces againſt the Revolutioniſts. One of theſe entituled *The King of Hearts*, was wrote with ſuch an excellent ſpirit of poetry, that being publiſhed without his name, it was aſcribed to Mr Dryden, who being charged with it by his bookſeller Jacob Tonſon, ingenuouſly diſclaimed it, and named the true author, whom he called at the ſame time an ingenious young gentleman (*e*). From this time Mr Maynwaring, who was now about the age of twenty two years (*f*), became much taken notice of; and being introduced into the acquaintance of the Duke of Somerſet, and the Earls of Dorſet and Burlington, he began to ſee ſtate affairs in a different light (*g*). The polite and friendly reception he met with from theſe Noblemen, no doubt had a conſiderable ſhare in producing this change. He could not be inſenſible of the honour done therein to his abilities. At the ſame time he muſt needs know the bad ſtate of his father's finances, the recovery of which would be much eaſier and more ſpeedily effected in the political way, than could be expected from the tedious drudgery of the law. Perſons of his ſuperior talents were greatly wanted to ſupport the new eſtabliſhment then in it's infancy: he could not be ignorant of his own worth in that view, and he was not without an honeſt ambition. Prudence, however taught him, not immediately to quit the ſtudy and profeſſion of the law, which, though ſlow, yet, if duly attended, would at length bring a ſure proviſion: and therefore he continued to turn over thoſe books as long as his father lived, but upon his deceaſe, which happened about the year 1694, he took a final leave of the Bar (*h*), and reſolved to puſh his fortune at Court. He was now poſſeſſed of an eſtate of eight hundred pounds *per ann.* which, though deeply loaden with a heavy debt (*i*), yet the revenue was not entirely exhauſted; ſome part of it came into his hands, and his credit was good: ſo that upon the concluſion of the peace of Ryſwick, France becoming acceſſible to the Engliſh, he made the tour of Paris, perhaps with a view of wearing off the ruſt of the law, and to compleat himſelf in polite accompliſhments. The celebrated Boileau held the foremoſt ſeat on the French Parnaſſus at that time; he had been bred originally to the law, as well as our author, whoſe laſt mentioned poems, the effects of his attachment to King James the Second, could not but have reached that court. Theſe were ſufficient recommendations

(*b*) By this match our author became related to the noble families of the Cholmondeleys and the Egertons in that county. Ibid.

(*c*) Ibid. p. 3, 4.

(*d*) Ibid. p. 5 and 8.

(*e*) In another of theſe poems, to a ſevere ſatire againſt the ſame party, he joined a panegyric on King James II.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 14.

(*g*) P. 15.

(*h*) P. 16.

(*i*) Mr Oldmixon ſays, the intereſt money amounted to almoſt as much as the revenue. Ibid.

ſuit at law: in which, at the aſſizes held at Cheſter, in 1675, the right of the matter was adjudged to Sir Thomas Maynwaring (2).

[*B*] *His grandfather was a courtier, &c.*] Arthur Wilſon tells an odd ſtory of this gentleman, that Mrs Turner, the famous inventor of yellow ſtarch, was a miſtreſs of his, and being in the infamous intrigue with the Counteſs of Eſſex, to poiſon Sir Thomas Overbury (3), ſhe made an experiment of the force of Foreman's love powders upon her gallant Sir Arthur, *which wrought ſo violently with him, that through a ſtorm of rain and thunder, he rode fifteen miles one dark night to her houſe, ſcarce knowing where he was, 'till he was there* (4).

[*C*] *Under the care of Mr Smalridge, &c.*] It is a little remarkable, that our author opened the execution of his plan in the Medley (5), with aſperſing this worthy tutor as a Jacobite. He ſeems indeed to be aware of the cenſure that ſuch a piece of ingratitude (to ſay no worſe of it) would naturally bring upon him, and therefore, to conceal the true author, it is introduced in the form of a letter, to the author of the Medley, and begins thus, 'Sir, I have ſeen a paper that was 'lately publiſhed, which is ſigned by *George Smalridge*, 'D. D *and Thomas Croſſe*, called *A Detection of a 'Falſhood endeavoured to be impoſed upon the publick, in 'a paper, intituled, A Teſt offered to the Conſideration 'of the Electors of* Great-Britain. I have alſo ſeen an 'account of the ſame matter printed in the Gazette of 'the 30th of September, and ſigned by Mr *Jodrell*. 'But having been myſelf in the Houſe *, when that 'matter was tranſacted, I beg leave to acquaint you 'with ſome particulars, by which it will plainly ap'pear to you, that the firſt account is equivocating, 'and that the ſecond is imperfect.' The ſubject was the diviſion in the Houſe of Commons upon *three amendments made by the Lords to a Bill* entituled, *An act for enlarging the time for taking the oath of abjuration.* The author of the Teſt having aſſerted, that the Houſe divided againſt the amendments: this was ſhewn in the detection, to be literally falſe, there being no diviſion but only againſt the firſt amendment, which being carried in the affirmative, no further oppoſition was made, as being indeed to no purpoſe. That this was the reaſon cannot be doubted, but yet it was certainly carrying the reflection too far, to maintain, as our author does, that the detection, though a *logical truth*, was however a *moral lie.* In the ſame ſpirit he concludes with a ſtrong intimation, that the whole proceeded from a deſign to ſet aſide the Hanover ſucceſſion and introduce the Pretender; which if not too ſevere a cenſure in general, yet with reſpect to his tutor Dr Smalridge, was no better than a calumny, and a calumny that wears a more odious face in the pupil than can be made to appear tolerable by any ſoftening, on account of party zeal, or his deſign to conceal himſelf. However, we are very far from making this laſt part of his conduct an aggravation of his fault, or applying to him the obſervation, that it is uſual for aſſaſſins to do their buſineſs maſqued.

(2) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 622 and 836, where they are both mentioned on account of being bred at Brazen-noſe college in that univerſity.

(3) See his article.

(4) Wilſon's Life and reign of King James I. p. 57. Lond. 1633, fol.

(5) No. 2. dated Octob. 11, 1710. Mr Oldmixon tells us, that though the ſecond paper is not entirely our author's, yet this letter is his. His Life, p. 167.

* He was Member for Preſton in Lancaſhire. See above in the text.

mendations to the court poet, who, accordingly took particular notice of him, invited him to his country-house, gave him a very handsome entertainment; and turning the discourse upon the subject of the English poetry, expressed great surprize at the account which Mr Maynwaring gave him of it [*D*]. Some time after our author's return home, he was appointed one of the commissioners of the customs. This post, wherein he succeeded Sir Walter Young, was obtained for him by the interest of the Duke of Somerset and Lord Hallifax (*k*), (then Charles Montague Esq;) and he did honour to the recommendation, both by his skill and fidelity in the discharge of the office, for which he had the satisfaction of seeing himself particularly distinguished in some lines, a copy whereof is inserted below [*E*]: and the following account of such a proof of his contempt of corruption, as will for ever do honour to his memory. A person who was folliciting for a tide-waiter's place, was advised by his friends, in order to succeed with more dispatch, to place a handsome sum of money properly; the man knowing Mr Maynwaring was an active leading member in that commission, very unluckily resolved to try the experiment on him, to which purpose, together with a letter intreating his favour, left a purse of fifty guineas for him, and then delivered his petition to the board. Where being read, several of the commissioners were for granting it; but Mr Maynwaring pulling out the letter and the purse, put a negative on the fellow's request, by declaring, that *as long as he could help it, that man should neither have the place he petitioned for, nor any other* (*l*). The same qualities procured his admittance into the famous Kit-Kat Club (*m*), of which he was a principal ornament, by the pleasantry of his wit. But the generosity of Sidney Lord Godolphin, another member of the same society, was most remarkable. That great Statesman being constituted Lord Treasurer in the beginning of Queen Anne's reign, gave the Auditor of the Imprests several thousand pounds to quit that office, in order to bestow it upon our author, who was most agreeably surprized with a present which he knew nothing of, 'till he received the patent from his Lordship's hands (*n*). This post was reckoned worth two thousand pounds a year in a time of business; and Mr Maynwaring gave the best testimony he could do of his gratitude, by an unshaken attachment ever after to his patron, whose interest obtained him a seat in the House of Commons in 1705, for Preston in Lancashire, which borough he represented also in several ensuing Parliaments, 'till the change of the Ministry in 1710, when the Treasurer losing his staff, Mr Maynwaring set up a weekly paper called the *Medley*, in defence of his friends, against the attacks of the *Examiner*. He executed this design with admirable spirit and humour (*o*), treading close upon the heels of his antagonist to his last departing speech, in the beginning of August 1711. He wrote also several other pieces in support of the same cause [*F*], which will remain a lasting honour to it. But in the midst of this hurry of employing his

(*k*) Lives of the English Poets, Vol. II. p. 96. edit. 1724, 8vo.

(*l*) His Life by Oldmixon, p. 19, 20.

(*m*) See an account of this club in the article of Charles Montague Earl of Halifax.

(*n*) His Life, p. 22. The name of the person who quitted was Done.

(*o*) The Examiner himself allowed, that he wrote with a tolerable spirit and in a masterly stile.

[*D*] *Boileau expressed great surprize at Mr Maynwaring's account of the English poetry.*] In this conversation Boileau acknowledged he had heard a great deal of the merit of our tragedies, but had no notion of our performances in the other kinds of poetry, imputing that excellence of ours to our sanguinary temper, as Rapin had done before, calling us Insulaires by way of contempt, a term which Boileau's good breeding, however did not suffer him to use. But notwithstanding Mr Maynwaring's account of our plays and poems, yet three or four years afterwards, he pretended never to have heard of Dryden. And to a friend of Mr Maynwaring's who visited him soon after that great poet's death, said he was wonderfully pleased to see by the publick papers, that the English nation had paid such extraordinary honours to a poet, as burying him at the publick charge, and then asked the gentleman who that poet was, with as much indifference as if he had never heard of Dryden's name; which is very unlikely he should not be as well acquainted with, as the English were with his own, since he was a frequent visitor at Lord Montague's house, when that nobleman was Embassador in France; and besides, was an intimate friend of Monf. de la Fontaine (6), who lived some time in England, and has spoken very honourably of the English genius in his Fables. This is inserted as a remarkable piece of affectation, very unworthy of Boileau, perhaps, considering Mr Oldmixon's temper, it may not be amiss to throw in some grains of allowance for aggravation, and then it may pass for a piece of vanity, that necessary foible in a poet.

(6) Ibid. p. 17, 18.

[*E*] *A copy whereof is inserted below.*] The verses run thus:

From Godolphin that wasp whose talent is notion,
From snarling tool Clarke at the other's devotion;
From republican Ben, the old clergy-teazer,
Whose true Christian-name, you must know's Ebenezer;
From the flattering false Henley, who sneaks to church-party,
And for but half salary vows to be hearty;
From fearful proud Newport, who spits out his curses,
From the bully Culliford and the rogues that he nurses;
From so motly a crew, so imperious a board,
Deliver this labouring country, good Lord!
And thy staff shall like Hercules's club be ador'd.
And that no grain of merit fall by this petition,
Leave Maynwaring only to grace the commission (7).

(7) The Petition of the distressed Merchants to the Lord High-Treasurer, against the Commissioners of the Customs.

[*F*] *He published several other pieces.*] These being mostly printed without his name, we shall give a list of them as follows: I. *Remarks on a late Romance, intituled,* The Memorial of the Church of England, *or the History of the Ten Champions.* II. A Translation of the second Ode of the first book of Horace. III. A Translation of the fifth book of Ovid's Metamorphosis and part of Tully's Offices IV. *A Character of the new Ministers,* 1710. V. *Several Songs, Poems, Prologues, and Epilogues*: as *Ovem Lupo commisisti, A Fable. The Hind and Vine, Cupid's Court, The South-Sea Whim*; and several other poems against the Tory Ministry in 1710. VI. *Two Letters to a Friend in North Britain,* on the publication of Dr Sacheverell's tryal. VII. *The History of Hannibal and Hanno, in the second war between Carthage and Rome; faithfully collected from the best authors.* Hannibal is said to mean the Duke of Marlborough, and Hanno the Lord Treasurer Godolphin; Valerius Flaccus means Count Tallard, and Asdrubal, Dr Robinson Bishop of Bristol. VIII. *The Speech of Alcibiades to the Athenians,* printed in the Whig Examiner, No. 3. IX. *The French King's Promise to the Pretender, &c.* X. *A short Account and Defence of the Barrier-Treaty.* XI. *Remarks upon the present Negotiations of Peace begun between Great Britain and France.* XII. *The Bewdly*

his pen through a warm zeal for his party, his health became greatly impaired. During the course of the Medley, he had been obliged to take in some assistance on that account [G], and his disorder increasing, made it necessary for him to retire to Hampstead, whence he removed to Padington, and at length to St Albans (p), where he wrote the last number dated August 6th, 1711; which he did not survive much above a year, being taken off the stage of life on the 13th of November 1712. His corps was carried from St Albans to Chertsey in Surrey, and interred near the remains of his father and grandfather, in the church of that parish, where the family had formerly possessed a large estate with a handsome seat upon it (q). About eight or nine years before his death, he commenced a love-intrigue with Mrs Oldfield the celebrated actress; and his passion became so strong for her, that it could hardly have been stronger, had it been their first love on each side. It was doubtless owing to his instructions, next to her own excellent talents, that she shined so much upon the stage [H]. His friends of both sexes frequently took him to task for this amour, which was very expensive to him; and this was far from being the only instance of his errors in œconomy. But at last they gave over importuning him to leave her, as they saw she gained more and more upon him, insomuch that he made her sole executrix of his will, wherein he divided his fortune pretty equally between her, a son that he had by her, and his sister (r). He was extremely reflected on for this will, particularly by the Examiner of February 9th, in answer to which, there came out two months after his death a defence of him, and this defence was followed in a few days by another, supposed to be written by the late Lord Orford, then Robert Walpole Esq; in a letter to a friend, drawing a veil over the slips in his conduct, he had many qualities to recommend him. His works set the character of his genius above the reach of the criticism of others, and he was himself allowed universally to be the best critic of the times (s) 'Tis observed particularly (t), that he abhorred cursing and swearing, and those who talked prophanely or irreligiously, or abused the clergy; looking upon such behaviour as a very poor pretence to wit, and never excusing it in himself or others. His son by Mrs Oldfield, was named Arthur after his father; he lived to obtain a captain's commission in the army, and married a lady of considerable fortune, by whom he left a daughter at his death which was much regretted on account of his universal good character.

(p) Life, p. 201.

(q) Ibid. p. 356.

(r) See more of this amour in Mrs Oldfield's article.

(s) See the article of John Hughes in remark [L].

(t) In the preface to his Life.

Bewdly Case. XIII. *The Letter from Doway*, was wrote by him, or at least by some friend directed and assisted by him XIV. He had also a considerable hand in *the Letter to an High Church Man*. XV. He revised and published a treatise called, *Bouchain, being a Dialogue between the Medley and the Examiner, about the Management of the War in* 1711. XVI. *A Letter to the Freeholders*, wrote a little before the election of the new Parliament in 1710. XVII. He had a great hand in the *British Academy*, a pamphlet, wherein he rallies a letter from Dr Swift to the Lord Treasurer Oxford, about altering the English language. XVIII. A manuscript was given him to peruse, containing a diary of the Duke of Marlborough's famous march to Blenheim, written by one of his Grace's chaplains, with great exactness, as to the incidents, but being defective in form, he was desired to alter and improve it. This he found too difficult a task, but was so pleased with the subject, that he resolved to give it entirely a new form, by reducing it into an history. These papers fell into the hands of Sir Richard Steel (8), who dedicated the first volume of the Tatler to him.

[G] *He had been obliged to take in some assistance in the Medley.*] The particulars of this assistance, besides that in the second already mentioned are (9); the epigram in the third; all the fourth; the account of *Faults on both Sides*, written by Clements, Secretary to the Earl of Peterborough; the latter part of the eighth; all except the translation from La Fontaine in the ninth; all except the fable out of Cœlius Rhodiginus, and the remarks on the Elector of Bavaria's intercepted letter, with a reply to the Examiner's insinuation, that the Lord Treasurer Godolphin had been bribed by the Scots in the affair of the act of security and union. What relates to Convocations in the 15th and 16th, was wrote by White Kennet, then Dean, afterwards Bishop of Peterborough; the latter part of the 17th and the whole 18th and 19th, were only corrected by our author (10). Part of the 21st and all the 22d not his, and the 23d, containing the pleasant story of the ball at Wapping, was Sir Richard Steel's, but the comparison between Abel Roper and the Examiner, is Mr Maynwaring's; nothing but what relates to the Marquis of Guiscard, his in the 24th; nor any part of the 26th, 27th, 28th, and 29th; and only what relates to the city's *recovery from the phrenzy she had been in*, and the proper punishment for the incendiary. The letter concerning the year 1688 in the 32d, is his friend Anthony Henley's: in the 39th he wrote only what relates to the vindication of the old ministry and the Duke of Marlborough; he only revised the 41st and 42d. It was now, the season being hot, that he took lodgings first at Hampstead, and then at Padington; nothing but what relates to Grey and Abel's Dublin News is his, in the 44th. About this time the Medley was presented by the grand jury of Oxfordshire, so that the Examiner, by this and other instances, finding his own party absolutely triumphant, and needing no longer any such support, dropt that paper, whereby the plan of the Medley became finished (11), as abovementioned.

[H] *She shined so much upon the stage.*] He wrote several prologues and epilogues for her, and would always hear her speak them in private, before she spoke them in publick; as, particularly, the epilogue to *Perolla and Izadora*, that to the *Wife's Relief, or the Husband's Cure*; and one never spoke on the stage designed for *The Amorous Widow, or the Wanton Wife* (12). P

(8) This list of his writings is taken from various parts of his Life.

(9) In remark [C].

(10) He was then taken very ill about Christmas 1710.

(11) His Life, p. 167 to 202.

(12) Lives of the English Poets, &c. p. 97.

MEAD [Richard], Archiater to King George the Second, and the most eminent Physician of his time, was descended from a considerable family in Buckinghamshire (a), and the son of Mr Matthew Mead, a celebrated Divine among the Nonconformists, and, during Cromwell's usurpation, Minister of Stepney near London; but being ejected by the Bartholomew act in 1662, he removed to a house in the same parish, and having a numerous family and a handsome fortune, he took a private tutor (b) into his house for the education of his children, which were no less than thirteen in number; of whom Richard, the subject of our present article, was the eleventh, being born in the parish of Stepney August 11, 1673 (c). He continued with the rest of the family 'till the discovery of that which goes by the name of the Fanatic plot, when the old gentleman, being accused of

(a) See the inscription on the eldest brother Samuel's monument in the Temple church, and that upon his own in Westminster abbey.

(b) His name was John Nesbitt; he became afterwards minister of one of the principal congregations of the Independents in London. Authentic Memoirs of the Life of R. Mead, M. D. p. 2. Lond. 1755, 8vo.

(c) Ibid. p. 1.

of ſome privity thereto, thought proper, though innocent, conſidering the violence of the times, to conſult his ſafety by flight; and, in 1683, withdrawing into Holland [*A*], placed this ſon (who had already made a good proficiency in the Latin tongue) in a ſchool under the care of an excellent maſter, who was of the ſame principles with himſelf (*d*). Here the youth ſoon became diſtinguiſhed by the vivacity of his parts, his ready talent in making verſes, and an uncommon ſtrength of memory; and having attained a ſufficient ſkill in the Greek and Latin languages, he was ſent to Utrecht in the latter end of the year 1689, to compleat this preparatory part of his education under the illuſtrious Grævius, to whom his eldeſt brother (*e*), who had likewiſe been a pupil of that Profeſſor, recommended him as a modeſt young man, that had already made a progreſs in claſſical learning (*f*). After three years reſidence at Utrecht, determining to make Phyſic his profeſſion, he removed to Leyden, where he attended Herman's botanical courſes [*B*], and the lectures on the theory and practice of medicine by the famous Pitcairne. Our author was highly pleaſed with this maſter, received his inſtructions with implicit deference, and formed his own practice upon the rules and principles imbibed from him [*C*]. He ſpent three years alſo upon this part of his academical ſtudies; and, fond as he was of Pitcairne, probably would have been retained longer by the advantage of the Profeſſor's improving converſation, had not he been drawn away by a ſtronger paſſion. His eldeſt brother having concerted a deſign of viſiting Italy, in company with David Polhill, Eſq; and Dr Thomas Pellet, afterwards Preſident of the College of Phyſicians, invited our ſtudent to make a fourth in that tour (*g*). Such an happy opportunity of crowning his education was not to be neglected; it was, indeed, the ſummit of his wiſhes: he had an exact and refined taſte for every thing that was great and beautiful, and in Italy he met with every thing that could gratify it. At Florence he had the curioſity to enquire for the *Tabula Iſiaca*; but not being able to get any information about it, he deſired leave to ſearch for it in the lumber room over the gallery. There he found this valuable piece of antiquity buried in duſt and rubbiſh, where it had been careleſsly thrown, and during many years given over for loſt (*h*). At Padua he took his degree of Doctor of Philoſophy and Phyſic, Auguſt 16, 1695; and ſpending ſome time afterwards at Naples and Rome, he returned home about Midſummer 1696, when ſettling in the place, and in the very houſe, where he was born, he practiſed his profeſſion for ſome years with a ſucceſs and ſuperiority of ſkill, that eſtabliſhed his reputation, and laid the ground-work of his future greatneſs In July 1699 he married Ruth, daughter of Mr John Marſh, Merchant of London (*i*). In 1702 he publiſhed his *Mechanical Account of Poiſons*. He had begun this treatiſe many years before (*k*), and it was not compleated without a great degree of courage

(*d*) Viz. Mr Tho. Singleton, who had been ſecond Maſter of Eton ſchool, which he was obliged to quit in 1662 on account of his nonconformity. Ibid. p. 4.

(*e*) See more of this brother in the ſequel.

(*f*) The words in the original Latin are, *Juvenis frugi & modeſtus boniſque, literis haud plane ἄμουσος*.

(*g*) Ibid. p. 6.

(*h*) P. 7.

(*i*) P. 48, 49.

(*k*) See the preface, p. ix, x. edit. 1745.

[*A*] *Withdrawing into Holland*] The old gentleman being very zealous in his religious principles, continued (the interval of his abſence in Holland only excepted) to preach in Stepney pariſh to a numerous congregation of Diſſenters 'till the time of his death, which happened October 16, 1699 (1).

(1) Authentic Account of the Life of R. Mead, M. D. p. 2. note a.

[*B*] *He attended Herman's botanical courſes*] The example of a perſon of Dr Mead's eminence is always inſtructive in general, and is particularly encouraging in his caſe, who without the advantage of any extraordinary talents raiſed himſelf to the head of his faculty. But to make this uſeful in it's full extent, it will be neceſſary to take a diſtinct view of every ſingle ſtep that gradually effectuated that ſucceſs The ground work and foundation of all was an exact diligence, nor indeed could it be otherwiſe: this was ſo conſpicuous in him, that his brother, as we have ſeen, recommended him to Grævius for that particular quality (2) The addreſs was admirable, an ardent laborioufneſs being the diſtinguiſhing character of that profeſſor who, on that account, would no doubt be moſt pleaſed with ſomething of the ſame turn in his pupil, and conſequently be more ſtudious in improving him. Accordingly, under this maſter, he imbibed a taſte for ſtrict propriety in the Latin language, which without any peculiar elegance of ſtyle recommended itſelf to the publick, and he made uſe of all the opportunities of ſhewing his abilities this way. It was likewiſe to the inſtructions and influence of Grævius, that he acquired that ardent thirſt for Greek and Roman antiquities, which by good conduct became, in due time, the moſt ſhining part of his character, and engaged all the polite part of the learned world to his intereſt. He carried the ſame vigilant diſpoſition to Leyden; where, in attending Herman's lectures on Botany, he took care to treaſure up every article that was moſt ſtriking, which by a quickſighted œconomy, he afterwards turned to the beſt account poſſible for his reputation. For inſtance, in his *Treatiſe on Poiſons*, the book he ſet out in the world with, having obſerved that poiſons of the ſame kind may differ in their force and degree of action, ſo as to be hurtful in various, and ſeemingly different ways, he infers from thence, that the ſurprizing ſtories related by authors, of the different deaths inflicted by ſerpents of different kinds particularly, are not at all incredible In confirmation of this inference, he proceeds thus: 'I very well remember that the learned 'Paul Herman, many years ago profeſſor of botany in 'the univerſity of Leyden, who had lived a great 'while in India, affirmed, that there were alſo in ſeveral parts of that country, venemous creatures of 'the ſame kind with thoſe deſcribed by the African 'hiſtorians, which killed by very different effects of 'their poiſon; and that upon due inquiry into facts, 'he was convinced that the beautiful deſcriptions in 'Lucan of the various ſpecies of vipers, which Cato 'met with in the hot Lybian deſerts, were not poetical fictions, but actually taken from nature. He had 'in his muſæum preſerved in ſpirit of wine, ſeveral of 'theſe very ſerpents; particularly, the *Aſpis* called '*Nintipolongha Zeylanica*, whoſe bite induced a deadly ſleep; the *Dipſas*, or *Situla Macaſſarica*, which 'killed with an unquenchable thirſt; and the *Hæmorrhous Macaſſaricus*, the poiſon of which was immediately followed by hæmorrhages from all the pores 'of the body (3).'

(2) The word is *frugi*, and ſignifies in this place thrifty in laying out his time.

(3) Introduction to the Treatiſe on Poiſons, p. xlv, xlvi. edit. 1745.

[*C*] *He formed his method of practice upon Pitcairne's principles*] This profeſſor was ſeldom very communicative out of college; however our young ſtudent found the art of recommending himſelf to his good graces and confidence, ſo that he drew from him ſeveral obſervations which he afterwards turned to his own uſe in his writings, but never without acknowledging his kind benefactor. Pitcairne firſt introduced into Britain the method of forming theories upon mechanical and geometrical reaſonings, and a practice ſuitable thereto; and we need not ſay how much Dr Mead ambitioned to tread after him to the utmoſt of his abilities in thoſe ſteps. His works every where ſhew it, and he has made it his buſineſs expreſly to declare and vindicate it in the preface to his two firſt pieces, the ſubjects of which were apparently ſelected with that view, and how popular that method then was, is taken notice of above.

[*D*] *Encouraged*

courage in trying experiments upon thoſe noxious ſubſtances, then the more hazardous, as their properties were leſs known; however, Dr Mead ventured to handle vipers, to provoke them, and make them lay hold with their teeth on hard bodies, and by that means obtained their venom in all it's ſtrength. When he had collected this poiſon, he examined it through a microſcope, and diſcovered in it thoſe hard and cryſtalline points, whence, probably, it derives all it's force. He then conveyed ſome of the venom into the veins of ſeveral living creatures, whoſe death decided the famous controverſy between Redi and Charras, to the advantage of the former (*l*); he alſo mixed ſome of it with human blood, which ſuffered no viſible alteration either in colour or conſiſtence: and encouraged by ſome words of the poet Lucan, and more by the authority of Celſus [*D*], he ventured even to taſte it, in order to eſtabliſh the uſefulneſs of the method of the Pſylli, who were wont to ſuck the wounds made by the bite of ſerpents. At the ſame time he ſhewed no leſs regard for the welfare of ſociety, by ſtifling the diſcoveries which he made of ſeveral chemical productions, which might have tended to the improvement of that art, but to the deſtruction of mankind [*E*]. Theſe eſſays, however juſtly eſteemed by the learned on their firſt appearance, yet did our author ſtill more honour in the edition he publiſhed of them about forty years afterwards [*F*]. Here he hath ſet a noble example to ſcholars, in retracting ſome of his former opinions, in owning himſelf miſtaken concerning ſome facts, and too haſty in ſome of his concluſions. In his younger days he imagined he was able to account mechanically for the effects of ſeveral poiſons, by their mixture with the blood; but when he was improved by age and experience, he became fully convinced, that there was ſomething inexplicable in their operation. Such is the progreſs of ſcience; at every ſtep we aſcend the horizon widens, but grows leſs diſtinct: we begin, by thinking every thing eaſy to be explained; we end, by finding that in reality nothing is ſo. This obſervation was never better illuſtrated, than by the ſyſtem which our

(*l*) Redi maintained, that this venom lay in the liquor of the gums; Charras placed it altogether in the enraged ſpirits of the animal. Account of Poiſons, p. 19, 20, 21. edit. 1745.

[*D*] *Encouraged by Lucan and Celſus.*] Lucan's words are,

Noxia ſerpentum eſt admiſto ſanguine peſtis,
Morſu virus habent, & fatum dente minantur;
Pocula morte carent (4).——

(4) Pharſal. lib. ix. v. 614.

Mixt with the blood the ſerpent's poiſon kills:
The bite conveys it; death lurks in the teeth:
Swallowed it works no harm————

Thus the Poet, who the doctor obſerves, 'introduces 'brave Cato, when marching the remains of Pompey's 'army thro' Africa, very *wiſely* making the remark to 'the ſoldiers almoſt choaked with thirſt, yet afraid to 'drink of a ſpring they came to, becauſe full of ſer'pents.' But the brave Cato's *wiſdom* in this ſpeech, was apparently not enough diſcerned by our doctor to riſk his life upon it, 'till he found it aſcertained by the comment of Celſus, whom he ſtiles the Latin Hippocrates, and who, ſays he, 'has *wiſely* obſerved, that 'theſe people [the Pſylli] had no particular ſkill in 'this management, but boldneſs confirmed by uſe: for 'the poiſon of the ſerpent, as likewiſe ſome hunting 'poiſons, which the Gauls particularly make uſe of, 'are not hurtful in the mouth, but in a wound. There'fore, whoſoever will, after their example, ſuck the 'wound, will be in no danger himſelf, and will ſave 'the life of the wounded perſon. *Neque hercule ſcien'tiam præcipuam habent hi, qui Pſylli nominantur,* '*&c* ‡.' It is alſo upon the ſame authority that the doctor propoſes to revive this method of cure. 'It 'may therefore, continues he, ſeem ſtrange, that upon 'ſo good an authority as that of Celſus (who general'ly gives us the methods of the Greek phyſicians and 'ſurgeons) ſo beneficial and eaſy a practice as this of 'the Pſylli, ſhould not have been perpetuated by 'Phyſicians †.' The author of the memoirs of the doctor's life, ſpeaking of his boldneſs of taſting the poiſon, tells us *, that this high pitch of heroiſm to which he had wrought himſelf, is finely repreſented, by an antique ſtatue in his collection, a print from which is put as a tail-piece at the end of his book. The figure is a child in a bold and graceful attitude, holding out by the neck an enraged ſerpent with this motto, *Labor eſt angues ſuperare* If this be ſo, that the doctor's deſign by that figure was to ſet forth his own heroiſm ‖, we may venture to ſay that ſelf-praiſe was never touched with greater ſkill in the artiſt, whence it furniſhes another egregious proof of the doctor's vigilance in turning all his literary acquiſitions to the beſt account for his reputation

‡ Celſus de Medicis, lib. v. c. 27.

† Account of Poiſons, p. 37, 38, 39. edit. 1745.

* P. 8.

‖ The doctor tells us, that, in taſting the poiſon, he was accompanied by ſome curious friends, who made the experiment together with him. Account of Poiſons, edit. 1745. p. 22.

[*E*] *He ſtifled ſome chemical productions.*] The treatiſe conſiſts of ſix eſſays; in the fourth, ſpeaking of poiſonous minerals he aſſures us, that he had once in his poſſeſſion, given him by an ingenious chemiſt, a clear liquor, which though ponderous, was ſo volatile that it would all fly away in the open air, without being heated; and ſo corroſive, that a glaſs ſtopple of the bottle which contained it, was in a ſhort time ſo eroded, that it could never be taken out. The fume from it was ſo thin, that if a candle was ſet at ſome diſtance from the bottle upon a table, the heat would direct it's courſe that way, ſo that it might be poiſonous to any one that ſat near to the light, and to no body beſides. '*I know*, continues he, *the compoſition* '*of this Stygian ſpirit. But it is better that the world* '*ſhould not be inſtructed in ſuch arts of death.* It is 'ſufficient to our purpoſe to obſerve, that it was ſalts 'combined with metallic bodies (5).'

(5) Mechanical Account of Poiſons, p. 225. edit. 1745.

[*F*] *He publiſhed another edition forty years afterwards.*] In this edition among other things, he took an opportunity of inſerting a remedy for the bite of a mad dog ‖. The method is this: Let the patient be blooded in the arm nine or ten ounces. Take of the herb called in Latin *Lichen cinereus terreſtris*, (in Engliſh, *Aſh coloured ground Liverwort*) cleaned, dried, and powdered, half an ounce; of black pepper powdered, two drachms: mix theſe well together, and divide the powder into four doſes, one of which muſt be taken every morning faſting, for four mornings ſucceſſively, in half a pint of cow's milk warm. After theſe four doſes are taken, the patient muſt go into the cold bath or a cold ſpring or river every morning faſting for a month: he muſt be dipped all over, but not ſtay in with his head above water longer than half a minute, if the water be very cold. After this he muſt go in three times a week for a fortnight longer. This powder was firſt publiſhed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions (6), from Mr Dampier the traveller, in whoſe family it had been kept as a ſecret many years: and in the year 1721, it was, at the doctor's deſire, put into the *Pharmacopœia Londinenſis*, by the name of *Pulvis antilyſſus*; to which he afterwards made this alteration of putting two parts of *Lichen* to one of the pepper inſtead of equal parts, becauſe he thought it too hot: and whereas but two or three doſes were formerly given, he repeated it four days. The alteration here mentioned had been publiſhed by the doctor in 1735; and the remedy called an infallible ſpecific, in a paper intituled *A certain Cure for the Bite of a Mad Dog*. But as it had been treated with ſome diſregard by the famous Boërhaave, our author ſtill perſiſting in his own opinon of it, thought proper to confirm it here, by a further explication of the nature and manner of it's operation, and by adding ſeveral inſtances of the ſucceſs of ſubmerſion in cold water, from Van Helmont to this purpoſe (7).

‖ In the hiſtory of this diſeaſe, no author, perhaps, hath ſo accurately as he, deſcribed the univerſal tenſion and ſenſibility of the membranes, the almoſt general perceptibility of the pain, the uncommon ſtrength of the muſcles, &c.

(6) No. 237.

(7) Mechanical Account of Poiſons p. 164 to 176. edit. 1745.

our doctor attempted to establish in his second work. The influence of the sun and moon upon human bodies, which had been admitted by all antiquity, and established on incontestable phænomena, appeared to him to be deducible from the principles of planetary attraction, then lately discovered by Sir Isaac Newton. This piece came out in 1704, when it was thought a very considerable thing to understand the system of that Philosopher; and they who did so were willing the world should know it. It was the taste and universal fashion of the Physicians at that time to introduce attraction into their art, as the modern ones have adopted electricity for the same purposes [G] Some degree of popular ambition is necessary to procure an extensive practice. Dr Mead was not without a proper mixture of this quality in his temper. He was particularly attentive to it; and, as no Physician in his time pushed it with more skill and address, so none succeeded better, if so well, in it. He now began to find his growing labours rewarded with successive honours. The Analysis which he presented to the Royal Society of Dr Bonomo's discoveries, with relation to the cutaneous worms that generate the itch (m), together with his Account of Poisons, obtained him a place in a body where Sir Isaac Newton presided. Two years after,

(m) It was printed in Phil. Transf. No 283. for the first months in 1703. and in the Abridgment, Vol. VI. p. 197. The original letter of Bonomo was addressed to Redi, and was published in Italian in 1687. Dr Mead met with it in his travels through Italy. Authentic Memoirs, &c. p. 16. note (i).

[G] *The modern ones have adopted electricity, &c.*] It was very unlucky for the doctor, that the geometrical way of handling physical subjects happened to be the vogue at his first setting out in the world, a method which he was not at all qualified to support, much less to make a figure in. His talents lay neither to mathematicks nor mathematical philosophy. Of this he was very sensible, and had also good sense enough to acknowledge it as far as was decent. 'For my part, says he, 'I never expect to acquire reputation by algebraical 'calculation, thoroughly sensible of the mediocrity 'of my genius in that branch of learning (8).' But the resolution was taken, and what was wanting in the direct way, we find supplied by a warm zeal and indirect arguments. To this purpose he declares, 'that 'it was very evident that all other methods of improving medicine had been ineffectual, by the stand it 'was at for above two thousand years (9); and that 'since of late mathematicians had set themselves to 'the study of it, men already began to talk so intelligibly and comprehensibly even about abstruse matters, that it may be hoped in a short time, if those 'who are designed for this profession, are early, while 'their minds and bodies are patient of labour and toil, 'initiated in the knowledge of numbers and geometry, that mathematical learning will be the distinguishing mark of a physician from a quack, and that 'he who wants this necessary qualification, will be as 'ridiculous as one without Greek or Latin (10).' Thus our doctor dealt his blows, intrepid against the foes of mechanical theories and geometrical reasoning in physick, himself entrenched therein, and secure, as he then thought, from all danger of suffering reprisals. The principle of attraction established by Sir Isaac Newton in his *Principia*, was deemed sufficient to solve all the phænomena of poisons upon animal bodies, without the intervention of the nervous fluid. Yet no sooner did Sir Isaac's *Optics* appear, but Dr Mead relinquished his intrenchment, and as he had done before, so now he ran with the same implicit conviction into the new succeeding fashion, in ascribing boldly all the phænomena of poisons, muscular motion, sensation, &c to the action of the nervous fluid; the undoubted existence whereof is asserted, and maintained to be a quantity of that universal, elastic, subtle, and invisible æther, the existence of which had been proposed, as highly probable only, by that Prince of Philosophers. Nay, as if grown wiser by the sense of his former weakness, the doctor grew more confident, and will needs have the θεῖόν τι of Hippocrates to be nothing else but the different constitution of the air, acting upon, and disturbing this invisible spirit (11). The truth is, the doctor lived long enough to see the mathematical way of theorizing in physic begin to grow out of fashion (12), and he was willing to prevent it. But this was not his talent, and no wonder that he failed in it; nay, it is remarkable, that his best pieces are those which stand wholly upon his own long experience and observation, without regard to theory. However, in justice to him, we must not omit one remarkable instance of the use he made of his theory concerning the influence of the sun and moon. A lady of quality of his acquaintance happened to be struck blind with a *gutta serena*, during the great storm which happened on the 27th of November 1703. The doctor accounts for the misfortune upon his principles, by saying, that the moon's action vastly increased by the concurrence of the storm, was capable of obstructing the passage of the animal spirits to the optic nerves in a tender constitution, as effectually as if these nerves had been cut through, and consequently of giving rise to the *gutta serena*, and then proceeds thus, 'Concerning the use of this theory, I can safely say, 'that it has pointed out to me, the true method of 'treating this distemper, which before my time was 'generally esteemed incurable: and as the true knowledge of the causes of diseases is a sure foundation for 'practice, so I have succeeded in a number of trials 'in cases of this kind. Wherefore when the capillary arteries are the seat of the disease (13), the proper medicines are those which most effectually attenuate the viscid humours, and remove the obstruction, 'and such are the chemical preparations of mercury. 'And those to be continued a good while, and frequently, even to raising a salivation, which is to be 'kept up twenty or thirty days (14).' This is really improving his art, nor is it the only instance of his merit in that respect, witness his *pulvis antilyssus* for the bite of a mad dog, and his new method of administring purgatives in the second fever of the confluent small-pox; this was a noble way of rising above the crowd of the Faculty, and the admiration of all others was raised by occasional histories of the most striking physical cases. Thus the rule of mixing the *utile* with the *dulci* was carefully observed. For instance, the case of the lady here recited in the November storm in 1703, is immediately followed by another, which cannot fail of entertaining readers of all sorts. It is an account of the death of Oliver Cromwell, which, as is well known, and he observes, happened during another most violent storm, September 3d, 1658. 'As we 'have no journals of the weather for that year that 'ever came to my knowledge, says the doctor, I can 'say nothing of the preceding state of the air. But this 'is remarkable, that the storm happened near the autumnal equinox, and about the full moon, which concurrence of causes is very well adapted to stir up great 'commotions in the atmosphere. However that be, continues he, it is to be observed, that the distemper of that 'great man was of that kind, which we have shewn to be 'particularly under the moon's influence. For it is upon 'record, that he died of a fever accompanied with grief, 'from the unhappy state of his domestic affairs; and 'it is very certain, that grief disposes the animal spirits to be easily affected by causes of this nature (15).' But the remark which introduced this case is still more illustriously verified by a history in the treatise of poisons, which well deserves repeating. 'Most remarkable and dismal to relate, says our author, was a 'case which happened some years since in Scotland: 'the account of it I had from an ingenious and learned gentleman, very near of kin to the unhappy 'patient. A young man was bit by a mad dog, 'and married the same morning. He spent, as usual, 'that whole day 'till late in the night, in mirth, dancing, and drinking: in the morning he was found in 'bed raving mad; his bride (horrible spectacle!) dead 'by him; her belly torn open with his teeth, and her 'entrails twisted round his bloody hands. The heat 'of the blood and spirits, continues the doctor, from 'excess of exercise and wine, but more perhaps, from 'the transports of passion in the first fury of conjugal 'embraces, had no doubt in this calamity given such 'advantage to the venom, that it's power was raised 'to a greater degree in twenty-four hours, than in 'common accidents it acquires in as many days *.

[H] This

(8) Preface to his Treatise concerning the Influence of the Sun and Moon, &c. p. vii. English edit. 1748.

(9) He enters into the detail of this remark by particular instances in the preface.

(10) Account of Poisons, in the preface, p. xiv. edit. 1745, third edition.

(11) Ibid. p. 300, fourth edition; and Influence of the Sun and Moon, p. 35. edit. 1748.

(12) See the reason in Pitcairne's article.

(13) The other case, which is when it proceeds from a defect in the optic nerves, he thinks hardly curable.

(14) Influence of the Sun and Moon, &c. p. 111, 112, 113.

(15) P. 114, 115.

* Account of Poisons, &c. p. 150, 151. edit. 1745.

after, viz. in 1706, he was chosen one of the Council, into which he was again elected in 1707, where he continued all his Life; and in December 17, 1717, was appointed by Sir Isaac one of the Vice-Presidents. May 5, 1703, he was chosen Physician to St Thomas's Hospital; upon which, Stepney lying at too great a distance, he took a house in Crutched Friars, where he resided seven years, and then, on the expiration of his lease, about the year 1711, he removed to one in Austin Friars, in which he succeded Dr Howe, then deceased. And about the same time he was appointed, by the company of Surgeons, to read the Anatomical Lectures in their hall, which office he discharged for six or seven years with great applause *. In the mean time, he was honoured by the university of Oxford with the degree of Doctor of Physic, by a diploma dated the fourth of December, 1707 (*n*). This honour was probably procured by the recommendation of Dr Radcliffe; 'tis certain that eminent Physician, the most celebrated practitioner of his time, took a particular pleasure in patronizing a young man of Mr Mead's amiable endowments, who, on his part, was not wanting to his old protector. Whatever merit a young Physician may have in his profession, he seldom gets into any vogue, unless his own personal qualifications, and the friendly protection of some eminent brother of the faculty, assist him to force his way through the croud. Dr Mead was happy in both these advantages; his manners were naturally gentle; his heart good; his soul noble, adorned with, and susceptible of, the best impressions. As his reputation was now sufficiently established, he was called in consultation to Queen Anne two days before her death. They who are acquainted with Courts, will easily conceive the situation of Physicians in the antichamber, or near the bed of a dying sovereign: their hands hold the page of fate; from their words advantages are drawn; intrigues are formed; and, by their very looks, men and parties foretel their own rise or fall. The wise, therefore, are the most reserved; for fear of endangering their fortune or their art, they observe the mysterious ambiguity of ancient oracles, and refer the inquisitive croud to nature and to time. This was the conduct of her Majesty's Physicians. Dr Mead, either more clear-sighted, or more bold, no sooner saw the Queen, than he declared she could not hold it out long; but finding it difficult to obtain credit, he added, out of humanity or prudence, that it would be sufficient to send to Hanover an account of the present symptoms, by which the Physicians of that Court would immediately see, that before the account came to them the Queen would be no more (*o*). However, he opened his mind freely to Dr Radcliffe, who made use of that friendship to excuse his own attendance on the royal patient. He then, indeed, himself lay irrecoverably ill, and upon his death, which happened shortly after (*p*). Dr Mead did not slip the opportunity of taking his house. The distance of this new situation in Bloomsbury-square from St Thomas's hospital, induced him to resign his place in it, the profits of which he could now very well forego; he took his leave in form January 5, 1714-15, and received the unanimous thanks of the grand committee for his services, and was presented with a governor's staff (*q*). He had been qualified some years, by his degree already mentioned at Oxford, for a Fellowship in the College of Physicians at London, and was admitted Fellow there April 9, 1716; he executed the office of Censor the same year, as he did also in 1719 and 1724. In the mean time, he was employed in the family of his present Majesty, then Prince of Wales; and, in 1721, his Royal Hignefs ordered the doctor to assist at the inoculation of some condemned criminals, intending afterwards, in case of success, to recommed the practice of it to the people, by the illustrious example of his own royal family. This was one of those lucky occasions, which, 'tis observed, are necessary to the greatest men, in making a first-rate fortune; and our ingenious Physician was too clear-sighted to be wanting to himself in the use of it. Not content with examining attentively all the effects of the Circassian operation upon six of the prisoners, he caused the Chinese method likewise to be tried on the seventh. The success of these experiments is universally known (*r*); and it is a pleasure to see, that the same man, who had so great a hand in introducing inoculation into this kingdom, and who afterwards so frequently assisted at it, should, after thirty years experience, find new arguments (*s*) to confirm him in the high idea he had at first of it's usefulness. He had been applied to before on an affair of still greater consequence. The plague, which in 1719 was so fatal at Marseilles, gave the alarm to all other cities that were exposed to the same infection, and in particular to London, where the dreadful year 1665, which in ten months time swept away an hundred thousand inhabitants, was still fresh in many mens memory. The consternation of the people was increased by their ignorance of the true causes of the evil. Was it to be imputed to the effects of a contagion communicated from abroad? This the greater number of the French Physicians denied [*H*]. We were then, and had been many years, in a state of peace with that nation; and

* In 1758 there was published a piece intitled, Pharmacopœia Meadiana, &c. to which is added an appendix, containing medical lectures on the stone in the bladder, on cancers, on struma and scrophula, and on muscular motion, said to be printed from the originals written with the doctor's own band, &c.

(*n*) Ibid. p. 17.

(*o*) Ibid. p. 21.

(*p*) Dr Radcliffe died on the first of November 1714. See his article.

(*q*) Authentic Memoirs, &c. p. 19.

(*r*) The experiments were tried Aug. 10, 1721, and the two then young Princesses, Amelia and Caroline, were inoculated April 17, 1722, and had the distemper favourably. Salmon's Chronological Historian under the respective years.

(*s*) See his Treatise on the Small-Pox, in the chapter of Inoculation.

[*H*] *This the French physicians denied.*] These physicians had engaged themselves in an hypothesis, that the plague was bred at Marseilles by a long use of bad aliment, and grew so vain of their opinion as not to be moved by the most convincing evidences; insomuch, that Dr Mead in the eight edition of his treatise published in 1722, insisted more at large upon the infection of this disease than before, and even more, as he observes, than he could ever have thought needful at that time, after experience of the distemper for so many ages, had not he been surprized by the late attempts of some physicians in France to prove the contrary, even whilst they had undeniable arguments against them before their eyes; of which he gives instances from the pieces mentioned in the margin (16).

(16) Chiconeau's Reflexions sur la Maladie de Marseille & Aix, p. 38, 39, 40. & Journal des Sçavans, for Feb. 9, 1722.

[*I*] *His*

and the interest of commerce seemed to be on the side of the negative. On the other hand, it would have been still more dangerous to give way to panic fear, and neglect all precaution, on the principle then maintained by some of the English, though of Turkish original, that the plague is a periodical disease, generated in the place where it breaks out, and not to be prevented, allayed, or cured, 'till it has taken it's course. In this extremity, therefore, the Lords of the Regency directed Mr Craggs, then Secretary of State, to apply to Dr Mead, as the man best qualified by his skill in ancient and modern physic, to find out the most effectual methods to prevent, or, in case of necessity, to stop, the plague. After a careful and diligent enquiry, he declared it as his opinion, agreeably, indeed, to his system of poisons and the small-pox, that the plague is a contagious distemper. This opinion was approved; quarantine was accordingly ordered to be performed (*t*): these orders were, however, recalled, not in compliance with the clamours of on opposite faction, or the chicanery of a weak antagonist (*u*), but on the cessation of the plague among our neighbours. Had the disease reached the capital, it is to be presumed, that the doctor's advice, with respect to lazarettoes, lines of circumvallation, and purifications of the air, would have been exactly followed [*I*]; and that he himself, thus honoured with the confidence of the publick, would not have violated the glorious obligation, and, like Sydenham, have fled from danger. How much his scheme was universally approved, is evident from the numerous sale of his short *Discourse concerning Pestilential Contagion, and the Methods to be used to prevent it*, published in 1720, and dedicated to the Secretary of State; of which no less than seven editions were printed in one year. The eighth, which appeared in 1722, was enlarged with many new observations, and a whole chapter on the method of cure (*w*), and was translated into Latin by Mr (since Dr) Ward, Professor of Rhetoric at Gresham-college (*x*). That learned Antiquarian had soon afterwards another opportunity of signalizing his zeal in our author's service. Dr Mead having, in his turn, spoke the Harveyan speech at the College of Physicians on the 18th of October 1723, thought proper to publish it, together with a dissertation concerning some medals, struck at Smyrna in honour of the Faculty, which he had endeavoured to prove was in the highest esteem even in antient Rome (*y*) This assertion being attacked by Dr Conyers Middleton, our author engaged the Gresham Professor to undertake his defence, and the dispute was carried on with warmth on each side for some time. There is reason, however, to believe the doctor would either have qualified or confirmed his thesis, had he been able to finish a Latin work, which was to have been intitled, *Medicina Vetus Collectitia ex auctoribus antiquis non medicis*; for no man was more attentive to the point of fame, nor consulted it better than he did, by appearing with a greatness of mind, that would not suffer him knowingly to persist in his errors [*K*]. This controversy was not ended (*z*), when the doctor was appointed Physician in Ordinary to his present Majesty, on his accession to the throne in 1727: nor was the favour confined to his own person; he had afterwards the pleasure to see his two sons-in-law become his associates in the same station. There always is, there always must be, a lucky train of incidents concurring to the rise of any man, in which sense Fortune has undeniably an hand in his elevation; and so far Dr Mead's elevation must not be denied to be the work of Fortune; but at the same time it is equally undeniable, that his arrival to the top of his profession was the just reward of his merit. He entered into no state parties, nor were his connections in the Faculty formed or governed by any regard to them. Garth and Arbuthnot were both his friends; and,

(*t*) By a proclamation on Feb. 5, 1720. Salmon's Chron. Hist. under that year.

(*u*) Dr Bradley, Professor of Botany at Cambridge, in a piece intitled, The Plague of Marseilles considered. Lond. 1721, 8vo.

(*w*) He published a ninth edition in 1744, with further improvements of some new cases, and animadversions upon them.

(*x*) The first edition had been translated into Latin by Mr Michael Mattaire.

(*y*) The title in Latin is, Oratio Anniversaria Harveiana in Theatro Regii Medicorum Londinensium Collegii habita, ad diem 18 Octob. 1723. Adjecta est Dissertatio de Nummis quibusdam a Smyrnæis in Medicorum Honorem percussis.

(*z*) See more of it in Dr Middleton's article.

[*I*] *His advice, &c. would probably have been followed.*] An act of Parliament passed in 1720, agreeable to the doctor's directions, but there being great divisions at court about this time, a motion was made January 15th, 1721, in the House of Commons, to bring in a bill to repeal so much of the quarentine act of the 7 George, as gives the government power to remove to a ship or pest-house, any person whatsoever infected with the plague, or healthy persons out of an infected family from their habitations; and also so much of the said act as gives power for the drawing of lines round any city, town, or place infected: it was carried in the affirmative 115 to 40, and accordingly, on February 12th ensuing, one act passed to repeal those clauses, and another confining the power of the government to the space of one year (17) In the mean time great clamours were raised against the doctor; whereupon, in the 8th edition of his piece in 1722, having declared that he continued in the same opinion as at first, in relation to the treatment of the disease, proceeds thus: 'But how far in every situation 'of affairs it is expedient to grant the powers requisite 'for putting all of them in practice, it is not my pro'per business as a physician to determine. No doubt, 'continues he, but at all times these powers ought to 'be so limited and restrained, that they may never 'endanger the rights and liberties of a people And it 'may, perhaps, at some times, for reasons with which 'I will not pretend to meddle, be necessary to give 'way to popular prejudices and clamours, and reject 'even the best rules that can be made, more especial'ly when the danger is at a distance. Indeed, as I 'have had no other view than the publick good in this 'my undertaking, and the satisfaction of doing some'what towards the relief of mankind under the great'est of calamities; so I should not without the utmost 'concern see, that any thing of mine give the least 'countenance to cruelty and oppression (18).' By way of confirmation of this method, he added an account of that which was taken by his then present Majesty, when the plague had entered his German dominions in 1712, and 1713: this the doctor received from the King's Minister, and inserted it as being entirely agreeable to his own.

(17) Salmon's Chron. Hist. under the year 1721.

(18) Preface to his Discourse concerning Pestilential Contagion, &c. eighth edition.

[*K*] *He would not knowingly persist in his errors.*] Besides the animadversions of Dr Middleton, another part of our author's attempt was attacked not many years ago. The doctor in his dissertation concerning some medals struck at Smyrna, in honour of the Faculty, had espoused the opinion of Mr Chishull, that a college of Physicians was settled in this city from the most ancient times, and distinguished by the privilege of celebrating annual games in honour of *Æsculapius* and of *Hygea* the goddess of health This is allowed to be a very ingenious conjecture but said to be built upon no sufficient grounds, since these medals may be accounted for with greater probability, by referring them to Homer, whose birth place is thereby determined in favour of Smyrna (19).

(19) Nummorum Antiquorum Scriniis Bodleianis reconditorum Catalogus, &c. p. 145, &c. Oxon. 1750, folio.

[*L*] He

and, though he was himself zealously attached to the government by principle as well as gratitude, yet, as he had lived in the strictest intimacy with Dr Freind, so when that gentleman, on a suspicion of being engaged in what is called Atterbury's plot against the Government, was sent to the Tower, Dr Mead constantly visited him, and was one of those who bailed him at the time of his enlargement [*L*]. Nor was the doctor's generosity restrained only to his physical brethren, he had a greatness of mind which extended itself to all parts of literature in general, and took in the whole compass of the Arts and Sciences. Mr Carte, who on account of the same suspicion with Dr Freind had fled into France, having employed himself there in collecting materials for an English translation of the History of Thuanus, our learned Physician quickly perceived, that this plan might be enlarged. He looked on his country as too disinterested to desire to possess this foreign treasure alone, and was desirous England might do for Thuanus more than France itself, by procuring for all Europe the first complete edition of that immortal history. He therefore satisfied Mr Carte for the pains he had taken, and employed Mr Buckley as an editor equal to such a task; whose three letters, written in English to the doctor, contain many curious particulars concerning the history itself, and the plan of this new edition, to the perfection and beauty of which Dr Mead so liberally contributed (*a a*). These letters, at the doctor's request, were translated into Latin by Mr Professor Ward already mentioned, and prefixed to the front of the work, which was published in 1733 in seven volumes folio. Without the interposition of Dr Mead, there is great reason to fear, that the invention of Mr Sutton, to clear ships, and other close and confined places, from foul and corrupted air by the means of fire, would have shared the same fate with many other useful discoveries, which ignorance, jealousy, and often private interest, have stifled in their birth; but fortunately our illustrious patron of sciences being at first sight convinced of the advantages of this method, and looking on it as the most useful discovery in Mechanics that this or the last age had produced, was determined to allow time and patience for the perfecting a scheme, which he was positive could not but succeed in the end. Accordingly, he engaged the Lords of the Admiralty to order a tryal of the new machine to be made, at which he assisted with them, and several Fellows of the Royal Society, whom he had interested in the same cause; he presented a memorial to that learned body (*b b*), wherein he has clearly demonstrated both it's simplicity and efficacy, and likewise caused a model of it to be made in copper, which he deposited in their Musæum. At last, after a ten years tedious sollicitation, he did obtain of the Lords of the Admiralty an order to Mr Sutton, to provide all the ships of the royal navy with this useful machine; and a draught with a description being published in 1749, the doctor enriched the book with a treatise on the scurvy, in which he drew his materials from the accurate observations on that terrible disease that occur in Lord Anson's Voyage; and founding his directions on them, has given such rules, as may be of use to prevent those fatal accidents that have so often obstructed the success of naval expeditions. Being arrived at the time of life when retirement becomes necessary, he declined the Presidentship of the College of Physicians in London, which was offered him October 1, 1744, but was elected Honorary Member of that at Edinburgh October 6 the following year. The doctor was far from suffering the last stage of life to pass over his head uselessly; he took this occasion to compose new works. His piece upon the small-pox and measles had been many years under his hands, as appears by a letter of Dr Freind, published in 1719 (*c c*); but the treatise itself did not appear 'till 1747. Our learned Physician having employed the leisure hours of this long interval in polishing and perfecting the work, in which the experience he had acquired by a long and successful practice must needs have been of infinite service to him; and accordingly it is much esteemed by the Faculty, for it's simplicity, fidelity, and precision, as an elementary treatise [*M*]. His treatise *De Morbis Biblicis*, or the diseases mentioned

(*a a*) Authentic Memoirs, p. 40, 41.

(*b b*) It is printed in Phil. Transf. No. 462. The method is, to lay a pipe from the hold into the hole that receives the ashes, falling from the fire under the ship's boiler; so that the air will be drawn through that pipe, when the fire-hole and the ash-hole are both closed up with tight thin doors.

(*c c*) In a piece intitled, De Purgantibus in secunda Variolarum Confluentium Febre, &c.

[*L*] *He bailed Dr Freind*.] Dr Freind having employed the leisure which his confinement gave him, in drawing up a treatise on some singular species of the small-pox, and likewise his history of physick from the time of Galen, addressed them both to his generous benefactor. But what contributed most of all to cement the union of these two great men, was a common quarrel that happened some years before. Dr Mead, in the course of his practice, having had frequent opportunities to experience the efficacy of purgatives to prevent, or at least to lessen the secondary fever, which so often proves fatal in the confluent small pox, communicated his discovery to several of his brethren, who had the greatest share of his confidence, and in particular to Radcliffe and Freind; the latter adopted it, and in his commentary on the first and third books of Hippocrates's Epidemics which he published in 1717, he inserted the letter which Mead had written to him seven years before, on that subject. These two gentlemen being now considered as associated in the same cause, a party was immediately formed both against the new practice and the favourers of it; which brought on a controversy, enough of which has been already inserted in these memoires (20).

(20) In Dr Freind's article, Vol. III.

[*M*] *His piece on the small pox is much esteemed*.] He published it in Latin under this title; *De Variolis & morbillis dissertatio*, and annexed to it a translation from the Arabic of Rhases, in order to shew the conformity of the practice of the Arabs, with that which had been so well explained and illustrated by Sydenham, Freind, and Boërhaave. It was the last of these great men, who, at his request, had sent him a copy of the only remaining Arabic manuscript of Rhases's treatise, which is preserved at Leyden. It was translated by three of the greatest masters in that language, Negri, Gagnier, and Hunt. A constant correspondence had long subsisted between Dr Mead and Boërhaave, who had been fellow-students at Leyden. They communicated to each other their observations and projects, and mutually gave and received presents; and, what is never to be found but among truly great men, they were friends though rivals, and never loved each other the less for differing in some particulars. In Mead's Treatise of Poisons, we meet with two cases of the Hydrophobia communicated by Boërhaave (21), and it was on the observations of his friend, that the Professor of Leyden declared in favour of inoculation. At the time that Boërhaave was preparing

(21) P. 182, 183. edit. 1745. N. B. Our author communicated three cases of this distemper to the Royal Society, which are printed in Phil. Transf. No. 323.

tioned in the Bible, was the product of those hours, which, among wise men, constitute the interval between old age and death; the design of it being to reconcile those persons to the Bible, who reject it under colour of it's disagreement with our knowledge of Nature [N]. The doctor's last, and, perhaps, the most useful of all his works, is his *Medical Precepts and Cautions* (*dd*). Herein, with a candour and simplicity so characteristical of a great man, he freely communicates all the discoveries that his long practice and experience had opened to him with regard to different diseases, and their several cures; he concludes with many salutary precepts for preserving the organs of the body and the faculties of the mind perfect and intire to a good old age; and he who at fourscore teaches the art of longævity, gives his lessons with as good a grace, as his scholars may learn them with a great advantage. We see at one view, in this last book, how much the art hath gained by such a length of time, and so succesful a practice. This is a legacy that our author hath bequeathed to his brethren; valuable, not only for the good it may do, but likewise as it shews the excellent mind of the testator. To be able to account in such a manner to posterity for the use of his time; to consecrate the last moments of his life to the advancement of science and the good of mankind: how worthy is that man to have lived who dies thus employed. After the publication of this work, he no longer found himself in a condition to finish any thing; he grew weaker every day, and expired on Saturday morning, the 16th of February, 1754, without any visible signs of pain, after a confinement to his bed from the Monday morning. On the 23d his body was deposited in the Temple church, in the same vault with that of his eldest brother abovementioned [O]. The doctor was twice married; by his first wife, already taken notice of in the course of this memoir, he had eight children; four of whom died in their infancy. And of the rest, the second daughter, now deceased, was married to the late Charles Bertie, of Uffington in Lincolnshire, Esq; the eldest to Dr Edward Wilmott, and the youngest to Dr Frank Nicholls, both Physicians in Ordinary to his Majesty [P]. His only son, Richard Mead, Esq; is married to Anne, daughter of William Gore, Esq; of Tring in Hertfordshire, and resides at Windsor. Soon after his father's decease, he erected a handsome marble monument, with a Latin inscription to his memory, in the north side of the body of Westminster abbey. The mother of these children dying in February 1719, the doctor, on the 14th of August, 1724, married Anne, daughter of Sir Rowland Alston, of Odell in Bedfordshire, Bart. who is still living; but he had no issue by her. During almost half a century he was at the head of his business, which brought him in one year upwards of seven thousand pounds, and between five and six for several years. His generous and benevolent temper was constantly exercised in acts of charity. Clergymen, and, in general, all men of learning, were welcome to his advice, and his doors were

(*dd*) These three last of his works were wrote and published in Latin, and, with his other two pieces already mentioned in that language, were translated into English under the doctor's inspection, by Tho. Stack, M. D. & F. R. S.

paring his edition of Aretæus, he received as a present from his friend, Wigan's splendid edition of that author. Yet the English Physician did not approve of the Leyden Professor's notion of the possibility of curing the small-pox without suppuration, and the latter as little relished what to him appeared the premature use of purgatives in the same distemper. One treated as chimerical the notion of antimony and mercury as specifics against the small-pox: the other looked on the *earthy ash-coloured moss* as too much cried up in the cure of the *hydrophobia* (22). Dr Mead differed likewise in opinion from the famous Astruc, Physician to the French King, concerning the use of mercurial unctions in the venereal disease *; he thought the safest way of raising a salivation, was by internal medicines, and that external applications were attended with much greater inconveniences. He did not however convince the learned Frenchman, who in a subsequent edition of his treatise on that disease, answered the doctor's arguments (23), for whom he retained the highest esteem, and, at the same time, the strongest attachment to his own opinion. We ought not to conclude this remark without taking notice of the picture which Dr Mead has drawn in the preface of this treatise on the small-pox, of his antagonist Dr Woodward, twenty years after his death; so strong was his resentment of the injuries he received in the controversy mentioned in the preceding remark. And perhaps he might be desirous to offer this victim as a debt due from him to the manes of his deceased associate Dr Freind.

(22) Dr Mead probably for this reason, in the last edition of his Poisons, &c. declares, that he had never known this method fail of success, if followed before the hydrophobia begun, though, in the course of 30 years, besides the experience of others, he had used it 1000 times. Account of Poisons, p. 158. edit. 1745.

* Account of Poisons, p. 205 to 208. edit. 1745.

(23) Astruc's Treatise on the Venereal Disease, B. II. ch. xii. p. 232. English edit. 1754, 4to.

[N] *His design was to clear up the difficulties in the account of some distempers mentioned in the Bible.*] Our author pretended that the commentators on the scriptures were not sufficiently skilled in physic, to be able rightly to understand those expressions in the sacred writers, which relate to the œconomy or the disorders of the human body. And some Divines have in their turn retorted the objection upon the Physician, especially in those parts where he pretends to decide upon points about which themselves are not agreed, such as the sickness of Job, the description of old age by the author of Ecclesiastes, and above all, the famous question about the demoniacs in the Gospel; on this last subject the doctor looked upon it as an honour to have adopted the opinion of his relation the famous Joseph Mede †; which was, that these demoniacs were only lunatic and epileptic.

† Accordingly we find this Divine's name sometimes written the same way with our Physician's. See the next article.

[O] *His eldest brother abovementioned.*] We have already seen the first part of this gentleman's life, that he was bred, first with the rest of the family, under a private tutor in his father's house, that he went next to Grævius at Utrecht, and then made the tour of Italy: he was afterwards bred to the Law, entered a student of the Inner-Temple, and being called to the Bar, became very eminent in his profession, and was chosen a Bencher of Lincoln's-Inn some time before his death, which happened March 20th, 1732-3, in the 63d year of his age (24). A handsome monument with and inscription was erected to his memory in the round of the Temple church, by our doctor, to whose son he left an ample fortune ‡.

(24) See the inscription on his monument.

‡ Viz. 30000*l*.

[P] *His two sons-in-law are both Physicians in Ordinary to his Majesty.*] The doctor is no where seen to greater advantage than sitting thus, with a son on each side, in the highest seat of the Faculty. It seems indeed, to be in a great measure, if not chiefly, owing to the influence of his character, and out of respect to him, as well as to their own merit, that this honour was obtained by them. 'Tis certain the doctor took all opportunities of recommending that merit to the world, to which purpose, we find him, in one treatise (25), reciting an extraordinary case of the small pox, which passed under the care of Dr Wilmot, with that Physician's remark upon it: and in another, inserting an anatomical description, together with the draughts of those parts in a viper and a rattle-snake, which are concerned in their poison, communicated by Dr Nicholls, as also a description of their appearances in the animals put to death by swallowing a small quantity of laurel water, in order to ascertain the poisonous quality thereof (26).

(25) Viz. that upon the small-pox and measles.

(26) In his Account of Poisons, appendix to the first and fifth Essays, edit. 1745.

[Q] His

were always open every morning to the most indigent, whom he frequently assisted also with his purse; so that, notwithstanding his great gains, he did not die very rich, being perswaded, that what he got from the publick, could never be bestowed more honourably, than in the advancement of science and the encouragement of the learned. In that design, his large and spacious house in Great Ormond-street was converted into a temple of Nature, and a repository of Time. He built a gallery for his favourite furniture, his pictures and his antiquities. His library, by the catalogue published the year after his death, consisted of 6592 numbers, containing upwards of 10000 volumes; in which he spared no expence for scarce and ancient editions; for copies well chosen and highly preserved; for the richest and most durable bindings; all the ornaments corresponding with the value of the authors, and the exact and refined taste of the owner. His Latin, Greek, and Oriental, manuscripts, made no inconsiderable part of his literary monuments. His collection of antiques, medals, coins, prints, and drawings, were equalled by nothing in the kingdom in the hands of a private man. Several pieces of ancient painting, and, among others, that of the court of Augustus, found at Rome in 1737, had cost him vast sums. And as for his collection of pictures by the greatest masters, they had been chosen with so much judgment, that after his death they were sold for upwards of 3400 pounds, about 6 or 700 pounds more than the money he gave for them [*Q*]. Nor did he make this great collection for his own use alone, but freely opened it to the inspection and use of others. Ingenious men were sure of finding at Dr Mead's the best helps in almost all their undertakings; nothing pleased him more, than to be the owner of any thing that could serve to call every hidden talent into light, to give encouragement to the greatest projects, and to see them executed under his own eyes. Scarce any thing curious has appeared in England since the beginning of this century, but under his patronage. He constantly kept in his pay a great number of scholars and artists of all kinds, who were continually at work for him, or rather for the publick. As he was a judge of whatever is excellent, so he admitted nothing else into his collection; and these he always purchased at their value, that is, at any price. The rest of his character is drawn to advantage by the author of the Authentic Memoirs of his Life, and may be seen below [*R*].

[*Q*] *His pictures sold for more than they cost him.*] His books and antiquities sold also very well ‖. Whence it happened, that notwithstanding the extraordinary port, no ways inferior to that of a nobleman, which he constantly maintained, yet I am informed, that the money raised by his assets, after the discharge of all debts, &c. did not fall much short of 20000 *l.* Of this he bequeathed 500 *l.* to each family of his grandchildren, the issue of his three daughters, and the rest came into the hands of his son, who, besides the fortune left him by his uncle already mentioned, was possessed of an estate of about 800 *l. per ann.* by virtue of the will of Sir Thomas Reeves, late Lord Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas (27). His Lordship's wife was the widow of —— Foote Esq; merchant of London, by whom she had a son, who dying before his mother, bequeathed to her the justmentioned estate, which, she made it her request to Sir Thomas, that he would at his decease dispose of it to Dr Mead, who was a distant relation, had been successful in curing her of a dropsy, and was very much respected both by her and her brother Richard Topham, of Windsor, Esq; to whose will the doctor was made joint-executor with Sir Thomas Reeves, and concurred with him in bestowing on Eton college in 1736, that gentleman's valuable collection of books and drawings (28).

‖ Viz. for upwards of 15000 *l.*

(27) His Lordship died in 1737. Historical Register for that year.

(28) They are placed in that library with a Latin inscription, importing the gift to be made, on condition that all such as are studious in antiquities shall have free access to them.

[*R*] *The rest of his character, &c.*] The writer mentioned in the text proceeds thus: 'The doctor's [Mead's] reputation, not only as a Physician, but as a scholar, was so universally established, that he corresponded with all the principal Literati in Europe. Mr de Boze, whose loss the learned lament no less than the academy to which he did so much honour, kept up the strictest correspondence with the doctor. He frequently received from him some valuable piece for the cabinet of the French King, and never failed of making him a return of the same kind. The scarce, and perhaps the only copy, of Servetus's last book, passed from the shelves of our English worthy to those of his friend abroad, in exchange for a thousand presents he had received from him. A glorious emulation that ennobles human nature, and extinguisheth in great and generous minds, those sparks of envy with which mean and base ones are apt to confound it. The King of Naples sent to request of Dr Mead a complete collection of all his works; and in return, presented him with the two first volumes of Sig. Bajardi, which may be looked on as an introduction to the collection of the Antiquities of Herculaneum; and at the same time, this Prince invited him to his own palace, that he might have an opportunity of shewing him all those valuable monuments of antiquity. His years alone, as he owned to several of his friends, prevented his taking a journey so suited to his taste and inclination. Nothing did more honour to this patron of learning than the free and constant access of men of different qualifications to his table, who were each employed the rest of the day at his peculiar work or study. There no man's talents were misplaced, none was honoured with an undue preference: the Scholar took his place near the Naturalist, and the Mathematician near the Antiquarian or the Painter. Every one found himself surrounded with objects capable of instructing him, or exciting his emulation. Our Mecænas was frequently the only man in company, who was acquainted with all their different languages, and was able to perform the office of an interpreter to them all: he constantly questioned them in a most obliging manner about their different occupations, taking great pleasure in commending their several performances and discoveries, and by this means inspired them all with emulation, and a reciprocal esteem for each other. No foreigner of any learning, taste, or even curiosity, ever came to London without being introduced to Dr Mead; it would have been a shame to return home without having seen him. On these occasions his table was always open, and united the magnificence of Princes with the pleasures of Philosophers. It was principally to him, that the several counties of England and our colonies abroad, applied for the choice of their Physicians: as he never recommended any but such whose capacity he was well assured of, so he never failed to assist them with his advice and information when they had recourse to him in difficult cases, and required nothing of them in return, but an account of their several discoveries and observations, of which they enjoyed the whole honour. The Philosophical Transactions afford us many examples of this kind of correspondence so much to the credit of both parties. The doctor was likewise consulted by foreign Physicians, from Russia, Prussia, Denmark, &c. The good of mankind and the glory of his country, was his favourite, his prevailing principle. It was this that engaged him to persuade Guy the wealthy citizen to lay out out his immense fortune in building a new hospital for the reception and maintenance of the wretched and indigent, who are discharged out of all others as incurable. It is a great pity that the intention of the founder should have been so little complied with; and it was perhaps this consi-

deration

'deration alone, that prevented Dr Mead's accepting 'the Presidentship which was offered him on the death 'of the first President. He was a benefactor to all the 'other hospitals, and was one of the first subscribers 'to the Foundling, that noble institution, that will 'for ever endear the name of Captain Coram to his 'country, and which could never have been attempt'ed without the doctor's assistance. Foreigners may 'perhaps wonder that an hospital so long wanted in 'this city [London] should be yet but new; but they 'will be still more surprized, that a foundation of 'less than twenty years standing *, which owes it's 'being only to the voluntary contributions of private 'persons, should have all the stability of the most an'cient. He was the friend of Pope, of Halley, of 'Newton, and placed their portraits in his house near 'the busts of their great masters the ancient Greeks 'and Romans. He presented to the college of Physi'cians a marble busto of Dr Harvey, done by an ex'cellent hand, from an original picture in his posses'sion (29); to which it is to be wished, that his own 'may hereafter be added by some worthy successor, 'animated by the same spirit, with this inscription, 'which he had chosen for his motto,

'NON SIBI SED TOTI (30).' P

* This was wrote in 1755.

(29) See the Latin inscription upon it, whereby it appears to be given in the year 1730.

(30) Authentic Account, &c. p. 55 to 63.

MEDE [Joseph], one of the most learned English Divines in the last century, was born in October 1586, at Berden in Essex, of a good family [A]. His education in Grammar-learning, was first at Hoddesdon in Hertfordshire, and afterwards at Weathersfield in Essex. Whilst he was at this last school, going to London upon some occasion, he bought Bellarmin's Hebrew Grammar: And, though his master, who had no skill in that language, told him it was not a book fit for him; yet he studied it with so much eagerness, that in a little time he acquired no small skill in the Hebrew language. Encouraged by the pregnancy of his parts, his assiduous industry, and great proficiency in learning, his friends sent him in the year 1602 to Christ's college in Cambridge; where the improvements he made in a short time, by his great application joined to excellent natural parts, became so conspicuous, that they drew upon him the eyes not only of his own college, but of the whole University [B]. By that time he had taken the degree of Master of Arts, which was in 1610, he had made so uncommon a progress through all kinds of Academical studies, that he was looked upon as an accomplished scholar (a) [C]. The first specimen he gave of it, was in a Latin Address [D] to Dr Andrews, then Bishop of Ely, and afterwards of Winchester; which that great Prelate, a consummate judge and patron of learning, so well liked, that he not only stood our author's firm friend upon an occasion that offered soon after; but also desired him for his houshold-chaplain: which office, however, Mr Mede civilly refused, as valuing the liberty of his studies above any hopes of preferment [E], and esteeming that freedom which he enjoyed in his cell (for so he used chearfully to term the college) as the haven of all his wishes (b). Here he was happily fixed, by being chosen Fellow, through the particular interest and application of Bishop Andrews [F], and became an eminent and faithful tutor [G]. Soon after his being

(a) The Life of Joseph Mede, B. D. prefixed to his Works, edit. 1677, fol. p. 1, 2.

(b) Ibid. p. 3.

[A] *Of a good family.*] He was related to the family of Sir John Mede (or Mead) of Lofts hall, in the parish of Wendon-loughts, alias Lofts, in the county of Essex (1).—When he was about ten years old, both he and his father fell sick at the same time of the small-pox: to the father it proved mortal, and to the son very hazardous; however he escaped. His mother married afterwards one Mr Gower, of Nasing in Essex, by whom he was sent to school (2).

[B] *Not only of his own college, but of the whole university.*] These improvements could not but be the more 'observable in him, because he wanted that fe'licity of utterance, which useth to set off slight parts; 'and had so great a *hesitation* in his speech, as render'ed his expression painful to himself, and less pleasing 'to others (3). Which made him decline all publick 'disputations and other exercises, as not to be per'formed by him without great difficulty: his labour 'in them (as he was wont to tell his familiar acquain'tance) being double to that of others, in regard he 'was put to study, not for *matter* only, but for *words*; 'not to express his mind (for they naturally follow a 'good and clear apprehension) but for words that he 'could utter. But in time, and with proper care, 'he attained to so great a mastery over that infirmity, 'that he was able to deliver a whole sermon without 'any considerable hesitation (4).'

[C] *That he was looked upon, as an accomplished scholar.*] For he was an acute Logician, an accurate Philosopher, a skillful Mathematician, an excellent Anatomist, (being usually sent for, when they had any Anatomy in Caius college,) a great Philologer, a master of many Languages, and a good proficient in the studies of History and Chronology. The author of his life adds, that he mentions these things not only to show his indefatigable diligence, but also to declare how great perfections may be attained by an assiduous industry: and withal to manifest the unreasonableness of that complaint, *Ars longa, Vita brevis* (5).

[D] *The first specimen he gave of it, was in a Latin Address, &c.*] The subject of it was, *De sanctitate relativa*, &c. of relative holiness. In his maturer years, he was wont to censure it, as favouring too much of his infancy in Divinity, and first thoughts, and affectation of style; and therefore he never published it. However, it gained the approbation and esteem of the learned Prelate, to whom it was presented (6).

[E] *As valuing the liberty of his studies above any hopes of preferment.*] This very strong inclination to learning he manifested very early. For, when he was a school-boy, his uncle, Mr Richard Mede, a merchant, who had then no children, sent for him, and offered to adopt him for his son, if he would live with him: but he accepted not the offer, shewing betimes, that no worldly allurement was sufficient to entice him from his studies (7).

[F] *Through the particular interest and application of Bishop Andrews.*] The author of the Appendix to Mr Mede's Life informs us (8), That Mr Mede had continued in the University until after he took the degree of Master of Arts, and had already received some strange preteritions at elections, Dr Cary, (afterwards bishop of Exeter,) then head of the college entertaining a very causeless jealousie of him, *that he looked too much towards Geneva*. Within a short time after, the college had private notice of a stranger who had got a *mandamus* for a fellowship, either vacant or like to be so. This news hastened them to a preventing election; and now the master was contented to hear of Mr Mede. He is chosen, but conditionally and provisionally, that if the *mandamus* be not diverted, and shall be over powerfully urged, he must recede. Mr Mede therefore maturely makes his application to Bishop Andrews, by whose assistance he is now confirmed Fellow of that college to which he owed his education, and for which he had so filial a dearness. Out of religious gratitude, he solemnly vowed to lay aside every tenth shilling he should ever receive in the college, and to dedicate it to pious uses.

[G] *And became an eminent and faithful tutor.*] This important charge he managed with great prudence, and equal diligence. After he had by daily lectures well grounded his pupils in humanity, logick, and philosophy, and by frequent conversations understood

(1) See N. Salmon's Hist. of Essex, p. 121.

(2) Life of Mr Mede, as above, p. 1.

(3) R, in particular, was Shibboleth unto him, which he could not easily pronounce. Fuller's Worthies, in Essex, p. 335.

(4) Life, &c. as above, p. 2.

(5) Ibid.

(6) Id. p. 2. See also his Letters, p. 882.

(7) Life, &c. p. 3.

(8) Appendix, p. 36.

being chosen Fellow, he was appointed Reader of the Greek lecture of Sir Walter Mildmay's foundation, and held it the rest of his life: which rendered that tongue, as also several others, very familiar to him. He so entirely devoted himself to the study of all useful knowledge, that he made even the time which he spent in his recreations serviceable to his design For, as he allowed himself little or no exercise but walking, when he and others were walking in the fields or in the college garden, he would take occasion to speak of the beauty, signatures, and useful properties of the plants then in view; he being a curious florist, an accurate botanist, and thoroughly versed in the book of nature (c). The chief delight he took in company, was, to discourse with learned friends: particularly, with Mr William Chappel, afterwards Provost of Trinity college in Dublin, and Bishop of Cork and Ross (d). In his private Studies, he employed himself principally in the most abstruse parts of learning, and such as were most remote from the vulgar track: which qualified him for his subsequent deep and much admired Commentaries on the Revelation of St John [H]. In his younger years, he spent much time and pains in the depths of Astrology; but he soon discovered the vanity and weakness of that fanciful art [I]: and applied himself, with great vigour and success, to the more useful study of History and Antiquities, both sacred and profane [K] At the instance of the Master of his college, he took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity in 1618 (e). But his Modesty and Humility restrained him from taking the degree of Doctor. And, out of the same principle, he refused, in 1627, the Provostship of Trinity-college near Dublin, into which he had been elected, upon the recommendation of Archbishop Usher: as he declined it again, when it was offered him a second time, in 1630 (f) [L] The generous design, of bringing about an universal Pacification among Protestants, did much employ his thoughts, as appears from several letters that passed between him and John Dury and Mr Hartlib, the strenuous promoters of that glorious design (g) [M]. His Charity was diffusive,

(c) Life, &c. p. 4.

(d) See above, the article CHAPPEL [WILLIAM].

(e) Life, &c. p. 5— . and from . University Register.

(f) Life, p. 15. See also his Letters, p 731, 732, 782, 783.

(g) Life, &c. p. 16, 17.

stood what particular studies they might be most profitably employed in, he gave them his advice accordingly: and when they were able to go alone, he chose rather to set every one his daily task, than constantly to confine himself and them to precise hours for lectures. In the evening they all came to his chamber to satisfy him that they had performed the task he set them. The first question which he used then to propound to every one in his order was, *Quid dubitas? What doubts have you met in your studies to-day?* (For he supposed, that *To doubt of nothing*, and *To understand nothing*, were verifiable alike.) Their doubts being proposed, he resolved their questions, and so set them upon clear ground to proceed more distinctly. And then, having by prayer commended them and their studies to God's protection and blessing, he dismissed them to their lodgings (9).

(9) Life, &c. as above, p. 4.

[H] *Commentaries on the Revelation of St John.*] They were published by himself at Cambridge, in 1627, 4to under this title, *Clavis Apocalyptica, ex innatis & insitis Visionum characteribus eruta & demonstrata.* i. e A Key to the Apocalypse, &c. to which he added in 1632, *In Sancti Ioannis Apocalypsin Commentarius, ad amussim Clavis Apocalypticæ.* i. e. A Commentary on the Apocalypse of St John, corresponding exactly to his Key, &c. The Clavis was reprinted afterwards at London; and in English in 1650, 4to. These learned pieces were received with great esteem and approbation, both at home and abroad (10).

(10) See his Life, p. 6, 7. and his Letters, p. 782, &c. 791, 802.

[I] *But he soon discovered the vanity and weakness of that fanciful art.*] The result of all his searches into that curious art, was only this, That the celestial luminaries having an unquestionable influence upon all sublunary bodies, in the like position of the heavens, may reasonably be thought to have a similitude in their operation, and thereby to cause a sympathy in things produced under like constellations, and an antipathy under different But this not extending further than a natural inclination, and being in men alterable by custom, education, and infinite external impediments, he judged it not (without extreme vanity) to be presumed upon as an infallible ground of prediction of future actions; especially in such things wherein men, acting out of choice, run counter, many times, to their natural inclinations. Or, to use his own words, 'That *Δυσφυΐα Ingenii* should beget *Δυσπραξίαν Actionis*, this is from no necessity; because it 'is in man's power and liberty, who is naturally ill-'disposed, yet through the improvements of art, and 'especially by the grace of God, to become good 'or better, as the divine goodness shall minister op-'portunity (11).'

(11) Life, &c. as above, p. 5.

[K] *And applied himself—— to the study of History and Antiquities, both sacred and profane.*] He applied himself particularly to a curious enquiry into those mysterious sciences, which made the ancient Chaldæans, Egyptians, and other nations, so famous; tracing them, as far as he could have any light to guide him, in their oriental schemes and figurative expressions, as likewise in their hieroglyphicks; not forgetting also to enquire into the oneirocriticks of the Ancients. Which he did the rather, because of that affinity which he conceived they might have with the language of the Prophets, to the understanding of whom he shewed a most ardent desire. His humanity studies and mathematical labours were but initial things, which he made subservient to a more perfect knowledge of Divinity. As a compleat Divine must be well acquainted with Histories of all sorts, those especially which concern the Church of God; our author, therefore, made his way by the knowledge of all Histories, general, national, ancient and modern, sacred and secular. He was a curious and laborious searcher of Antiquities relating to Religion, Ethnick, Jewish, Christian, and Mahometan. To which he added other attendants, necessary for the better understanding the more difficult passages of Scripture; namely an accurate knowledge of the Ichnography of the Tabernacle and Temple, the order of the service of God therein, as also of the city of Jerusalem, together with an exact topography of the Holy Land; besides other Jewish Antiquities, Scripture-chronology, and the exact calculation of times, so far especially as served for the solving or clearing of those difficulties and obscure passages that occur in the Historical part of Scripture. His great knowledge in all which branches, is sufficiently plain from his learned writings (12).

(12) Life, &c. p. 6.

[L] *As he declined it again, when it was offered him a second time, in 1630*] The height of his ambition was, only to have had some small donative *sine cure* made additional to his fellowship, or to have been placed in some collegiate church, or rural college: Some such place of quiet retirement from the noise and tumults of the world, with a moderate competency, was the top and utmost of his desires. And, therefore, when a report was spread, that he was made chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury, he thus expressed himself, in a letter to one of his friends, 'That he 'had lived, 'till the best of his time was spent, *in* '*tranquillitate & secessu*; and now that there is but 'a little left, should I (saith he) be so unwise, sup-'pose there were nothing else, as to enter now into a 'tumultuous life, where I should not have time to 'think my own thoughts, and must of necessity dis-'please others or myself? Those who think so, know 'not my disposition in this kind to be as averse, as 'some perhaps would be ambitious (13).'

(13) Life, &c. p. 15.

[M] *The strenuous promoters of that glorious design.*] Mr Mede's sentiments upon that point, were, first, That

diffusive, and large, considering the smallness of his revenues [N]: for he devoted to God and set apart the tenth of his yearly incomes to charitable and pious uses. But his Frugality and Temperance always afforded him plenty (h) [O]. His prudent moderation, either in declaring or defending his private opinions, was very remarkable: as was also his freedom from partiality [P], prejudice and prepossession, pride, passion and self-love, flattery and covetous ambition (i). And he was exemplary for meekness, patience, and every other virtue: equally remote from superstition, and a prophane turn of mind (k). His works, of which a particular account is given below [Q], are a sufficient proof of his great and

(h) Life, p. 23, 24, 25.

(i) Life, &c. p. 17. and General Preface, p. 27.

(k) Life, p. 26, 29.

That all sides should yield, and abate—of their pretensions. 'I am, saith he, so far inclinable to Peace, 'that I can yield to a Christian communion at as great 'a distance of opinions as any Protestant whatsoever. 'For I hold, communion is not to be broken but for '*Fundamentals*: of which kind I take none of the 'differences between the Calvinists and Lutherans to 'be—— Nor do I think this Union, which every 'true Christian ought so much to desire, will ever be 'brought to pass by a full decision of the controversies; 'but only by abating of that vast distance which contention hath made, and approaching the differences 'so near, as either party may be induced to tolerate 'the other, and acknowledge them for brethren and 'members of the same body (14).—— But, Lord! '(saith he elsewhere) is there any hope of a Pacification, whilest each party studies to maintain their advantage against the other entire? A joyner cannot 'set two pieces of timber together without paring 'something from either (15).' And he observes, 'how hard it is for men who have once drawn bloud 'in these controversies, i. e. have publickly engaged 'and declared themselves in them; to listen to any 'overture of peace (16).' Secondly, With regard to Fundamentals, He proposed to 'make two sorts of 'Fundamental articles, *Fundamentals of Salvation*, 'and *Fundamentals of Ecclesiastical Communion*; one 'of such as are *necessarii cognitu & creditu ad salutem* '[necessary to be known and believed in order to salvation] simply and absolutely, and therefore no 'Christian soul that shall be saved uncapable to understand them; another, of such as are *necessarii creditu* '*ad communionem ecclesiasticam* [necessary to be believed for ecclesiastical communion] in regard of the 'predecision of the Church. The first not to be of 'such truths as are merely speculative, and contained 'only in the understanding; but of such only as have 'a necessary influence upon the act and function of 'Christian life.—Such, namely, as without the knowledge and belief whereof we can neither invocate the 'Father aright, nor have that faith and reliance upon 'him and his Son our Mediator Jesus Christ, which 'is requisite to remission of sins and the hope of the 'life to come. How far this *ratio* of a Fundamental 'article will stretch, I know not; but believe it will 'fetch in most of the articles of the Apostles Creed. '——Concerning the *second* sort of Fundamentals, 'viz. necessary *ad communionem ecclesiasticam*; it is 'not fit that the Church should admit any to her communion, which shall professedly deny or refuse their 'assent to such catholick truths as she hath anciently 'declared, by universal authority, for the symbol and 'badge of such as should have communion with her. 'And this sort of Articles without doubt fetches a 'greater compass, and comprehends more than the 'other, as being ordinate and measured by another 'end, to wit, of Discipline; and so contains not only 'such truths, the knowledge whereof and assent 'whereto is necessary unto the being of Christian life, 'but also the well-being thereof; and therefore not 'needful to be understood of every one distinctly and 'explicitely as the former, but implicitely only, and 'as far as they shall be capable or have means to come 'to the knowledge thereof (17).' He adds elsewhere, —'The way to determine *Fundamental* articles must 'be made very short, easie and evident; or it will 'breed as many controversies as are about the points 'themselves in question — It is not fit that a confession 'which concerns all that will be saved to know and remember, should be any long or tedious discourse.— 'The Confession we seek for should be but *Summa credendorum* (18).'

(14) Letters, p. 865, 866.

(15) Letters, p. 864.

(16) Letters, p. 863.

(17) Letters, p. 869.

(18) Letters, p. 871, 872.

[N] *His Charity was diffusive and large, considering the smallness of his revenues.*] For he had only what his place in the college afforded him (19), and yet out of that he spared a tenth part, as is said above. But he had a noble motive for his charity: He considered alms under the notion of a Lord's-rent and tribute of Thanksgiving, which God the Lord of all (whose is the earth and the fulness thereof) justly requires from us, that thereby we may testify our acknowledging of God as our great Landlord, and ourselves his tenants, that hold all we have of him —Therefore he looked upo Alms giving, not as an arbitrary thing, left to mens choice or discretion to be done or omitted; but as a necessary and indispensable duty (20).

(19) Life, &c. p. 24.

(20) Ibid. p. 21

[O] *But his Frugality and Temperance always afforded him plenty.*] As to his Frugality; He carefully avoided the occasions of unnecessary expences; and when he saw others lavishly spending beyond their income, and not wisely proportioning their Expences to their Receipts, he used to say, *They wanted the estimative faculty*. Then with regard to his Temperance; what he ate and drank, was rather to suffice nature, than indulge his appetite; it consisting ordinarily of his College-commons, and the smaller sort of beer.—The observations made by the writer of his life, upon this subject, are well worth our attention. It is, saith he, 'a most approved and experienced truth, That for 'the enabling a man to a free and chearful exercise 'of Christian Charity, it is absolutely necessary that 'he retrench and cut off all needless expences either 'about apparel or diet, building, or sports and recreations, &c. Otherwise frequent or excessive treatments, pride and curiosity about attire and dress, 'will soon make charity bare and cold, and at last 'quite starve it. Where much is laid out upon back 'or belly, there will be but little spared for beneficence.—Where so much is solemnly offered in sacrifice, as especially at great feasts, to that false god, 'the *Belly*, (and the best and fattest is offered up, and 'withall the sweetest, for large drink-offerings to that 'mortal and perishing god;) there will be but little 'reserved for the sacrifices of communicating and doing good, with which the eternal and only true God 'is well pleased (21).'

(21) Life, &c. p. 24, 25.

[P] *As was also his freedom from partiality.*] This is sufficiently evident from his Works; and he declares the same in the strongest words, particularly in the following passages, extracted from his Letters, 'I 'thank God, says he, I never made any thing hither'to the caster of my resolutions but Reason and Evidence, on what side soever the advantage or disadvantage fell (22).'—'If I have hit upon any truth, 'it is wholly to be attributed to my indifferency in 'such searches, to embrace whatsoever I should find, 'without any regard whether it were for the advantage of one side or other, and not to any ability beyond others. Freedom from prejudice, *studium partium*, or desire to find for this side rather than that, '(which I confess I endeavour as much as I can possibly to subdue myself unto) is sufficient with a little 'diligence to discover more than I have yet done (23).' But, as he observes in the same place, '*Mundus amat* '*decipi magis quam doceri*, [the world loves rather to 'be deceived than taught] and will never entertain 'any man well that shall deal ingenuously with them.' Elsewhere, he complains to the same purpose, 'You 'see what an invincible mischief prejudice is, and *studium partium*; it leaves no place for admission of 'truth that brings any disadvantage to the side: 'that's the rule which they examine all by (24).'

(22) P. 818.

(23) P. 831.

(24) P. 883.

[Q] *His Works, &c.*] He published himself, in his life time, as is said above (25), *Clavis Apocalyptica, & Commentationes Apocalypticæ*; together with his "Treatises concerning Churches," and "Of the "name Altar, or Θυσιαστήριον, anciently given to the "Holy Table."—The rest were published after his decease; and, in the best edition of his works put out by Dr J. Worthington in the year 1677, the whole are disposed in the following order, being divided into *Five* books. I. The first book contains fifty three Discourses on several Texts of Scripture; making a course of sermons for the whole year: All which were

(25) Note [H].

and extensive learning. But some of his notions about the Millennium, &c. have been found liable to exception. We shall give below an extract of what he says concerning Dæmoniacks [*R*]. This learned man died October 1, 1638, aged 52; having spent above two thirds of his time in his college. The next day, he was buried in the inner chapel of the college, about the middle of the area on the south side. He gave in his will 100 *l.* to the poor of the town of Cambridge; some legacies to his kindred; and the remainder of his estate, amounting to 300 *l.* to his college (*l*). As to his person: He was of a comely proportion, and a middle stature. His eye was full, quick, and sparkling: his whole countenance sedate and grave; awful, but withal tempered with an inviting sweetness. And his behaviour was friendly and affable, intermixed with becoming chearfulness and inoffensive pleasantry (*m*) [*S*].

(*l*) Life, p. 33, 34.

(*m*) Life, p. 32.

were delivered in publick (either in the College-chapel, or in some great auditory) except the Discourse upon Isaiah ii. 2, 3. which was written by the author for the satisfaction of a friend, that desired his opinion concerning that prophecy. The IId book contains such tracts and discourses on several texts of Scripture, as were of the like argument and design; viz. About churches, and the worship of God therein; Of the Christian Sacrifice, in nine chapters: Of the name of Θυσιαστήριον, abovementioned; and *Concio ad Clerum* Book III. contains his Treatises upon Prophetical Scripture; viz. *Clavis, & Commentationes Apocalypticæ: Opuscula nonnulla ad rem Apocalypticam spectantia.* A Paraphrase and Exposition of the Prophecie of St Peter, Ep. ii. ch. 3 concerning the day of Christ's second coming: The Apostasy of the latter times; or the Gentiles Theology of Dæmons revived in the latter times amongst Christians, in worshipping of Angels, &c. Represented in several discourses upon 1 Tim. iv. 1, 2, &c.—Daniel's Weeks explained, ch. ix. 24, &c. *Regnum Romanum est regnum Quartum Danielis,* c. ii. 40, &c. c. vii. 7, &c. *Revelatio Antichristi, seu de numeris Danielis* 1290. 1335 cap xii. 11, 12. The IVth book contains his Epistles to several learned men; whose Letters are also inserted, otherwise his Answers to them had been less intelligible. The letters in this book are ninety eight in number. The Vth and last book comprehends *Fragmenta Sacra,* or such Miscellanies as could not well come under any of the forementioned general heads; viz. The disposition of the years of Jehoiakim, according to the several events mentioned in Scripture. The mystery of St Paul's conversion, &c. An answer concerning a discourse inferring from the septenary types of the Old Testament, and other arguments, That the world should last seven thousand years. An explication of Ps. xl. 6. compared with Heb x. 5. *D. Hieronymi pronunciata de dogmate Millenariorum. Verba Gaii apud Eusebium Hist. Eccles. l.* 3. *c.* xxii. *De nomine Antichristi apud S. Johannem* 1. *Epist. c.* ii. *v.* 18 *&c. Placita Doctorum Hebræorum de Babylonis seu Romæ excidio.* Observations upon the Apocalypse, &c.—Some of his posthumous pieces had been published before at several times, namely, in 1638, 1641, 1642, and 1652.

[*R*] *We shall give an extract of what he says concerning Dæmoniacks.*] It is in his Treatise, intituled *The Apostasy of the latter Times,* that he speaks of them: And what he saith is reducible to these few heads: 'Dæmons in the Gentiles Theology were *Deastri,* or 'an inferior sort of Deified Powers, as a middle between the sovereign Gods and mortal men.—The 'Sovereign or highest Gods, which amongst them 'were properly called Θεοί, were those whom they 'supposed to be in the heavens, yea in the sun, moon, 'and stars, whence they called them *Dii Superi, Dii cœlestes,* whom they affirmed to have neither beginning nor ending.—Now these Sovereign or Celestial 'Gods they supposed so sublime and pure, as might 'not be prophaned with approach of earthly things, 'or with the care and managing of mortal mens businesses; and therefore they bring in that *middle* sort 'of divine Powers which they call Δαίμονες or 'Δαιμόνια, Dæmons, to be as Mediators and agents 'between the Sovereign Gods and mortal men.—This 'was the œcumenical philosophy of the Apostles 'times, and of the times before them. Thales, Pythagoras, all the Academicks, and Stoicks, and not 'many to be excepted, unless the Epicures, taught 'this Divinity (26).—As to the original of Dæmons, 'They were the Souls of men deified or canonized after death. Baal, or Bel, or Belus, was the first deified King: Hence Dæmons are called in Scripture 'Baalim. The Heathens fancied, that the souls of 'men took degrees after death: 1st They commenced *Heroes,* who were as probationers to a Dæmonship; then, after a time sufficient, Dæmons; and 'after that, if they deserved well, to a more sublime 'degree. This order of Dæmons, or Soul-gods, was 'called by the elder Romans *Penates, Lares,* and '*Manii Dei*; and when once they began to canonize 'their deceased Emperors (which was from the 'time of Augustus,) they called them *Divi.*—But besides these Dæmons, their theologists bring in another kind of Dæmons more high and sublime, which 'had never been the souls of men, nor ever were linkt 'to a mortal body, but were from the beginning, or 'without beginning, always the same. This sort of 'Dæmons doth fitly answer and parallel that sort of 'spiritual powers which we call Angels, as the former 'doth those which with us are called Saints (27).—'The manner and way of worshipping the Dæmons 'and retaining their presence, was by consecrated 'images and pillars. Images were as bodies for Dæmons to animate and dwell in. The Sovereign and 'celestial Gods were worshipped in the sun, moon, 'and stars, where they were supposed to dwell: But 'Images and Columns were for Dæmons. Another 'piece of Dæmon-doctrine, was the worshipping of 'Dæmons in their reliques, shrines, and sepulchres. 'The Gentiles temples were nothing but the sepulchres of dead men (28).'

In another place, he expresses himself in the following words, with respect to the Dæmoniacks mentioned in the Gospels.—'I make no question, saith he, but 'that now and then the same befalls other men, 'whereof I have experience myself, to wit, to marvel 'how these Dæmoniacks should so abound in and 'about that nation, [the Jewish] which was the people of God; (whereas in other nations and their 'writings we hear of no such;) and that too, as it 'should seem, about the time of our Saviour's being 'on earth only, because in the time before we find no 'mention of them in Scripture. The wonder is yet 'the greater, because, it seems, notwithstanding all 'this, by the story of the Gospel, not to have been 'accounted then by the people of the Jews any strange 'or extraordinary thing, but as a matter usual; nor 'besides is taken notice of by any foreign story. To 'meet with all these difficulties, (which I see not 'how otherwise can be easily satisfied) I am persuaded '('till I shall hear better reason to the contrary) that 'these Dæmoniacks were no other than such as we 'call *Mad-men* and *Lunaticks*:—Understand me to 'mean, not of deliration *ex vi morbi* [i. e. not delirious, or phrenitick,] or of simple dotage, but *Melancholici* and *Maniaci,* [Melancholick, and raving 'mad;] whereunto add *morbus Comitialis* or falling 'sickness, and whatsoever is properly called Lunacy. 'Such as these, the Jews and Gentiles believed to be 'troubled and acted with evil spirits (29).'—This passage seems to have given rise to the controversy between Dr A. A. Sykes, and his antagonists on the subject of Dæmoniacks.

[*S*] *Intermixed with becoming chearfulness and inoffensive pleasantry.*] Some of his sayings are recorded by the author of his life, being as follows: That *he who cannot hold his tongue can hold nothing* (30). That *he never found himself prone to change his hearty affections to any one, for mere difference in opinion* (31). *I cannot believe,* said he, *that Truth can be prejudiced by the discovery of Truth; but I fear that the maintenance thereof by fallacy or falsehood may not end with a blessing* (32). Lastly, 'Such fellow-commoners, who 'came to the university only to see it and be seen in it, 'he called the *University-tulips,* that made a gaudy 'shew for a while (33).'

(26) Mede's Works, p. 627, 628.

(27) P. 629, 630, 631.

(28) P. 632, &c.

(29) Works, Book i. Discourse 6. p. 28, 29.

(30) Life, p. 17.

(31) P. 18.

(32) P. 19.

(33) P. 42.

C

MIDDLETON

MIDDLETON [Sir Hugh], a publick-spirited man, and a very great Benefactor to the city of London by bringing the New River thither. He was a native of Denbigh in North Wales, and a Citizen and Goldsmith of London [*A*]. Though that great city was then furnished with water by means of sixteen common Conduits, besides the larger supply it received from the noble river Thames; yet they not being found sufficient, other methods were devised, to bring in fresh supplies. For that purpose, three acts of Parliament were obtained: one in the 10th of Queen Elizabeth, and the two others in the 3d and 4th of King James the First's reign; granting the citizens of London full power to bring a river from any part of Middlesex, and Hertfordshire, to serve the city. But after several attempts, and long and deliberate consideration, the expence being looked upon as infinite, and the danger and difficulty extreme; the project was in a manner laid aside as impracticable. 'Till at length it was undertaken by the brave Hugh Middleton; in consideration of which, the city conferred upon him and his heirs, on the 1st of April 1606, the full right and power of the act of parliament, granted unto them in that behalf. Having therefore taken an exact survey of all springs and Rivers in Middlesex and Hertfordshire, he made choice of two springs; one in the parish of Amwell near Hertford, and the other called Chadwell, in or near the parish of Ware, both about twenty miles distant from London; and, having united their streams, conveyed them to that city, at a very great labour and expence (*a*) The work was begun February 20, 1608, and carried on through various soils [*B*], for a course of sixty miles [*C*], including all the windings. Near Enfield, it is conveyed, for the length of six hundred and sixty feet, between two hills, in an open trough, six feet wide, and two deep, supported by arches, whereof some are above four and twenty feet high: and at Highbury it is conveyed in another trough, 462 feet in length, and in height 17 The Bridges of all sorts, he was forced to erect over it, for convenient and necessary passages, are said to be no less than 800 [*D*]. 600 men were employed about it at once. But, notwithstanding the immense expence [*E*], the spight and derision of the vulgar and envious, the many causeless hinderances and complaints of persons through whose grounds the channel was to be cut, and many other difficulties and discouragements, the design was happily effected, by the brave and indefatigable Undertaker; and the water was brought into the cistern at Islington on Michaelmass-day, 1613 (*b*) [*F*]. Like all other Projectors, Mr Middleton greatly impaired his fortune

(*a*) Stow's Survey of London, with Strype's addit. edit. 1720, Vol I. book i. p. 25, &c. and Edm. Howes's Contin. of Stow's Annales, edit. 1631, p. 1014, &c. and Fuller's Worthies, in Wales, p. 36.

(*b*) Stow and Howes, as above.

[*A*] *And a Citizen and Goldsmith of London.*] He had considerably enriched himself, by a copper, or according to some, a silver mine in Cardiganshire, which he farmed of the Company of Mines Royal, at the rent of four hundred pounds *per annum* (1)

(1) Pettus Fodin. Regal.

[*B*] *And carried on through various soils.*] Some was owze and mud; other extremely hard and rocky, where he was forced to cut his trench thirty feet deep; and in divers low and uncertain grounds he was compelled to add a strength by force of art. He was also obliged to make drains to carry off land-springs; and common sewers, sometimes over, and sometimes under his new river. It crosseth the great road at Ware, Stansted, Broxbourne, Chesthunt, Enfield, Hornsey, Islington, &c. where substantial Bridges were necessary. Yet he conquered all these Difficulties (2)!

(2) See Stowe's Annales, as above, p. 1015, 1016.

[*C*] *For a course of sixty miles*] It was computed to be about that distance, at the time it was made; but, by an exact mensuration of it's present course, taken by Henry Mill, (surveyor to the company) in 1723, it appeared to be only thirty-eight miles, three quarters, and sixteen poles in length; to which it was reduced by the contraction of it's sinuosities, above two miles (3).

(3) Maitland's Hist. of London, edit. 1739, fol. p. 630.

[*D*] *The bridges——he was forced to erect over it ——are said to be no less than* 800] So they might be computed at first, and undoubtedly they were more than at present. For, now, in and over it, there are only two hundred and fifteen bridges, and forty three sluices (4).

(4) Ibid.

[*E*] *But, notwithstanding the immense expence.*] When he had brought the water into the neighbourhood of Enfield, almost his whole fortune was spent. Whereupon he applied to the Lord Mayor and Commonalty of London, to interest themselves in so great and so useful an undertaking. But they refusing, Mr Middleton applied next for assistance to King James the First. His Majesty, willing to encourage and support that great and noble work, did, by Indenture under the great seal, dated 2 May 1612, between him and Mr Middleton, covenant to pay Half the Expence of the whole work, past and to come. In consideration whereof, Mr Middleton, on the 2d of August following, conveyed to King James one Moiety of the whole undertaking. And it appears, that upwards of 6347 pounds were issued out of the Exchequer to Mr Middleton, on the King's account (5) In the Abstract of his Majesties Revenue, printed at the end of *Truth brought to Light*, &c * it is said more particularly, That 'his Majesty's Charge towards the 'bringing of the New River to London from Amwell 'and Chadwell for the new Waterworke, was '7856 *l.*'

(5) Maitland, as above, p. 629.

* Edit. 1651, 4to. p. 15.

[*F*] *And the water was brought into the cistern at Islington on Michaelmass day* 1613.] An account of the great solemnity upon that occasion, was printed in 1613, of which the following is an exact copy.

'The manner of his Lordship's Entertainment † on 'Michaelmas day last, being the day of his Honorable Election, together with the worthy Sir John 'Swinarton, Knight, then Lord Maior, the learned 'and juditious Sir *Henry Montague*, Maister Recorder, and many of the right Worshipfull the Aldermen of the City of London. At that most famous 'and admired Worke of the Running Streame from 'Amwell Head, into the Cesterne neere Islington, 'being the sole Invention, Cost, and Industry of that 'worthy Maister *Hugh Middleton*, of *London* Goldsmith, for the generall good of the *Citty*. By T. M. 'London, 1613. 4to.

† This was Sir Thomas Middleton, brother to Hugh, who was chosen Lord-Mayor on Sept. 29, 1613.

'Perfection (which is the Crowne of all Inuention) 'swelling now high with happy welcomes to all the glad 'well-wishers of her admired Maturity, the Father 'and Maister of this Famous Worke, expressing thereby both his thankefulnesse to Heaven, and his zeale 'to the City of London, in true joy of heart to see 'his Time, Travailes, and Expences, so successiuely 'greeted, thus gives entertainment to that Honorable 'Assembly.

'At their first appearing, the Warlike Musicke of 'Drummes and Trumpets liberally beates the Aire, 'sounds as proper as in Battell, for there is no Labour 'that Man undertakes, but hath a warre within it 'selfe, and Perfection makes the Conquest, and no 'few, or meane On-sets of Malice, Calumnies and 'Slanders hath this Resolved Gentleman borne off, before his labours were invested with Victory, as in 'this following Speech to those Honorable Auditors 'then placed vpon the Mount, is more at large related.'

A Troope of Labourers, to the number of threescore or upwards, all in greene Cappes alike, bearing in their hands the Symboles of their severall implayments in so great a businesse, with Drummes before them, marching twice or thrice about

fortune by this stupendous work; though it cannot be supposed to have been done at his sole expence, but he had very considerable help from King James the First; and to express his due regard for him, his Majesty knighted him, and afterwards created him a Baronet (c). What followed was a more substantial advantage; for the work being brought to so great forwardness, in order to perfect and compleat it: his Majesty, on the 21st of June 1619, granted his letters patent to Mr Hugh Middleton; Sir Henry Montague Knight, Chief-Justice of the King's-bench; Sir Thomas Middleton Knight, Alderman of London, brother, and Ralph Middleton son, of Hugh; five more of the surname of Middleton; and eighteen others; incorporating them by the name of 'The Governors and Company of the New River brought from Chadwell and Amwell to London;' impowering them to chuse a Governor, Deputy-governor, and Treasurer; to grant leases for twenty one years, or three lives, &c (d). At which time it seems to have been divided into thirty six shares. The profit it brought in at first was indeed inconsiderable [G], and the charge very great: but, for many years it hath yielded a large Revenue; and is so valuable, that the shares in it sell for thirty years purchase. It were to be wished, that the ingenious and laborious Inventor had been able to secure a larger portion of it's advantages to his family. Where, and when he dyed, we cannot learn. So bountiful and charitable was he, that he gave a share in his New River water to the Company of Goldsmiths in London, for the benefit of the poor Members of it, a very munificent and generous benefaction (e). This short account was due to the memory of Sir Hugh Middleton; whose name ought to be transmitted with Honour and Gratitude to posterity, as much as those of the builders of the famous Aquæducts at Rome.

(c) See Stow's Survey, as above, and List of Baronets.

(d) Sir H. Chauncy's Hist. and Antiq. of Hertfordshire, p. 4, 5.

(e) Strype's Adit. to Stow's Survey of London, book v. p. 60.

about the Cesterne, orderly present themselues before the Mount; and after their obeysance,

The SPEECH.

Long have wee labour'd, long desir'd and praid
For this great Workes perfection, and by th' Aide
Of Heaven and good Mens wishes, 'tis at length
Happily conquer'd by Cost, Art, and Strength;
And after fiue yeares deere expence in dayes,
Travaile and paines, besides the infinite wayes
Of Malice, Enuy, false suggestions,
Able to daunt the Spirits of mighty ones
In Wealth and Courage, This, *a Worke so rare*,
Onely by one mans Industry, Cost, and Care
Is brough' to blest effect, so much withstood,
His onely Aime, the Citties generall Good.
And where before many vnjust Complaints
Enuiously seated, hath oft caus'd Restraints,
Stoppes and great Crosses to our Maister's Charge,
And the Workes hinderance, Fauour now at large
Spreads itselfe open to him, and commends
To admiration both his Paines and Ends.
(The Kings most Gracious love) Perfection draws
Fauour from Princes, and from all Applause,
Then *Worthy Magistrates*, to whose Content,
Next to the State, all this great Care was bent,
And for the publicke Good (which Grace requires)
Your Loues and Furtherance chiefly he desires
To cherish these proceedings, which may giue
Courage to some that may hereafter liue
To practise deedes of goodnesse, and of Fame,
And chearfully light their Actions by his Name.
Clearke of the worke, reach me the booke to show
How many Arts from such a Labour flow.

These lines following are read in the Clearke's Booke.

First here's the Ouerseer, this try'd Man,
An antient Souldier, and an Artizan;
The Clearke, next him Mathematitian;
The Maister of the Timber-worke takes place
Next after these, the Measurer in like case,
Bricke-layer, and Enginer, and after those
The Borer and the Pavier, then it showes
The Labourers next, Keeper of *Amwell-head*,
The Walkers last, so all their Names are read.
Yet these but parcels of six hundred more,
That at one time have beene employd before,
Yet these in sight, and all the rest will say,
That euery weeke they had their Royall Pay.

The Speech goes on.

Now for the Fruits then, flow forth pretious Spring,
So long and deerely sought for, and now bring
Comfort to all that loue thee, lowdly sing,
And with thy Christall murmurs strucke together,
Bid all thy true Wel-wishers Welcome hither.

At which words the Flood-gate opens, the Streame let into the Cesterne, Drummes and Trumpets giuing it Triumphant welcomes, and for the close of this their honorable entertainment, a peale of Chambers.

[G] *The profit it brought in at first was indeed inconsiderable.*] There was no dividend made among the proprietors 'till the year 1633, when 11 *l.* 19 *s.* 1 *d.* was divided upon each share. The second dividend amounted only to 3 *l.* 4 *s.* 2 *d.* and, instead of a third dividend, a call being expected; King Charles the First, who was in possession of the royal Moiety aforesaid, re-conveyed it again to Sir Hugh, by a deed under the great seal, of the 18th of November 1636; in consideration of Sir Hugh's securing to his Majesty, and his successors, a fee-farm-rent of Five hundred pounds *per ann.* out of the profits of the company, clear of all reprizes. Sir Hugh charged that sum of 500 *l.* upon the holders of the King's shares (6).

(6) Maitland, as above, p. 629.

MIDDLETON [Conyers] was born December 27, 1683, at Richmond in Yorkshire, where his father was Minister. He was possessed of a competent fortune, besides his preferment; and finding his son Conyers answer his expectations at school, he determined to give him the advantage of a liberal education. Upon this plan our author was sent to Trinity-college in Cambridge (*a*), where he was admitted a Pensioner January 19, 1700 *, at the age of seventeen. In the second year from his admission he was chosen Scholar upon the Foundation, and proceeding at the regular time to take his degree of Bachelor of Arts, he entered, not long afterwards, into Deacon's Orders, and first exercised the clerical function at Trumpington, a celebrated village about a mile's distance from Cambridge †. Here he officiated for some time, as curate to one of the Senior Fellows of his college, and was himself elected into a Fellowship in 1706. About this time being much inclined to grow fat, he found some hinderance, from his rising corpulency, in the pursuit of those sports and exercises in which he took great delight, and in which, by a natural agility, he particularly excelled. This obstruction gave him so much uneasiness, that to remove it he changed his diet; but making too free with vinegar, threw himself by degrees into the contrary extreme, which at length brought a disorder upon him, that obliged him to a very abstemious degree of temperance ‖, as will appear in the sequel. In 1707 he commenced Master of Arts, and, two years afterwards, joined with several others of the Fellows of his college, in a petition to Dr John More, then Bishop of Ely, as their Visitor, against the famous Dr Bentley (*b*), their Master. This done, he entirely drew himself out of the reach of that master's iron rod, by entering into a marriage in a few months with Mrs Drake, a widow lady, possessed of an handsome fortune (*c*). However, as this gentlewoman resided in a house of her own at Cambridge, the match did not throw Mr Middleton out of the reach of his friends in the college. On the contrary, he persevered with that resolution that was natural to his temper, and which he was then perswaded the cause both required and deserved, to back the prosecution of their appeal to the Visitor. He had it now in his power to assert that cause with something more than bare impunity, and he was not wanting to add weight to his sentiments, upon Dr Bentley's mal-administration as well as his oppressive government. Hence he soon began to be distinguished by that Governor, as a main support of the complainants in his society against him, and esteemed the most dangerous enemy he had [*A*]. To this cause, as our author assures us, and not without great appearance of truth, it must be imputed, that we find an attempt early made by some of the Master's partizans to blast his reputation [*B*]. The impotence of this attack only served (as is usual in such cases) to make him

(*a*) Advertisement prefixed to Vol. I. of his Works, in four vols, 4to. 1752.

* From the College Register. Dr Bentley was appointed Master of the college the same year. See the article BENTLEY [Richard], Vol. II.

† Communicated by Dr Fr. Dickins, Professor of Civil Law at Cambridge.

‖ Ibid.

(*b*) See the petition in the article BENTLEY [Richard].

(*c*) She was widow of Counsellor Drake of Cambridge, and daughter of Mr Morris of Oak-Morris in Kent. He married her in 1710, being then 27 years of age. Advertisement prefixed to his Works, ubi supra.

[*A*] *Esteemed the most dangerous enemy he had.*] After Dr Bentley had luckily escaped the effects of his prosecution at Ely House, by the death of Bishop More; the complaining Fellows, in 1715, presented a petition to the King (1), praying that a visitor might be assigned, in order to proceed against the Master, which was greatly promoted by Dr Middleton, who applied himself for that purpose, to all the great ones he could any way find access to. His resolution was not to be wrought upon by any means that were in the Master's power, who found some way or other to soften, or even to bring over almost all the rest of his oppugners in the college. To this purpose he made one of the Fellows Senior Dean, after having accused him to the late Bishop More, of a publick and scandalous piece of immorality.—Another he took occasion to convict in a solemn manner, by the testimony of all the college, of being a common swearer and habitual drunkard; and without inflicting any punishment upon him for all this, he made him likewise, for the same end, not long after, senior Dean. In the same manner, he prevailed with the next who bore this office, whose name he had some time before covered upon the buttery books (2), for talking, as his spies informed him, against his arbitrary proceedings. He knew him to be a timorous poor spirited man, of much body, but little soul: and when, by the terror of this unheard-of punishment, he had brought him to an abject compliance to all his scandalous purposes, he then made him Senior Dean: and tho' he knew him much unqualified and incapacitated for it by the statutes, yet he was annualy chosen into this place for four years successively, wherein, says our author, he played the courtier so well, as never once to be seen at morning-prayers during that whole time (3). Mr Miller, Serjeant at Law, and Fellow of the college, had been always, during his residence, a great opposer of the Master's designs, and was the chief manager of the prosecution against him at Ely House in 1714, for the carrying on of which, he was a great deal of money out of pocket, though he had received on that account above an hundred pounds from the college; he was soon afterwards ejected by the Master, or suspended from all the rights and profits of his fellowship, and had many years been labouring above, though to little purpose, to bring their quarrels to a decisive issue. But in the summer of 1718, the Master began to think it convenient to take off this old adversary, and made a proposal to him, that he should have 400 *l.* paid him on pretence of charges at the trial, besides most of the profits of his fellowship from the time of his suspension, if he would quit all his claim and title to it for the future, which the Serjeant consenting to, he undertook to procure him the money from the college.

(1) It is printed in an account of Middleton's Works, Vol. III. p. 326.

(2) This punishment resembles that of being *in misericordia*, the delinquent being starved into a compliance.

(3) The Master himself rarely, if at all, attended this service.

[*B*] *An impotent attempt to blast his reputation served to make him more popular.*] Mr Middleton, with several other members of the university, were assembled on the third of July, 1710, at the Rose-Tavern to meet the honourable Mr Annesley, afterwards Earl of Anglesey, who, at this time, offered himself to that body for their representative in Parliament (4). This company were visited several times, and ordered to separate, without obeying the summons, by Mr. [afterwards Dr] Laughton, the celebrated Tutor of Clare-Hall, who was then Senior Proctor, a friend to Dr Bentley, and engaged with him in a contrary interest to Mr Annesley. The Proctor took minutes, and lodged a complaint for this contempt as he called it, of his office; which, being printed with a design to hurt our author's reputation, in 1719, was turned greatly to his advantage, by the following account of it which he published the same year (5). 'But to examine this account, says he, of the Proctor's, 'a little more particularly. One of the persons, whom 'he found in this company at the Rose, appeared, he 'says, *to have drank to great excess, by the tone and* '*accent of his voice, &c.* This he pretends to have 'observed at his first coming amongst them, when 'yet at their parting about two hours afterwards, 'the whole reckoning amounted only to eighteen 'pence a piece, out of which, besides what was given 'away, some part was reserved and carried off un-'spent.

'*Another*, he tells us, *was sitting indecently, with-*'*out either his gown or cassock on, though he be in* '*Priest's orders:* Would not any man imagine from 'this description of his, that this clergyman had strip-'ped himself to his waistcoat to drink with more ease 'and

(4) He afterwards carried his election against his competitor the great Sir Isaac Newton.

(5) See Remarks on the Case of Dr Bentley farther stated, p. 341, & seq. in the third volume of Dr Middleton's Works, published in 4 vols, 4to. 1752.

him more popular in the university; and he did not neglect to improve the occasion into an acquaintance and friendship with a few of the most eminent there in station and abilities (e) About this time he held a small rectory in the Isle of Ely, which was in the gift of his wife; however, he resigned it in little more than a year, on account of it's unhealthy situation (f). He resided at Cambridge, when his late Majesty King George the First made a visit to the university in October 1717. Mr Middleton did not slip the opportunity of sharing in the King's bounty, though he was not then regularly of a sufficient standing, yet he easily procured himself to be named, among several others, in the royal mandate, for a degree of Doctor in Divinity, and was accordingly created to that degree shortly after by Dr Bentley, the Regius Professor. But an incident in this affair gave birth to a fresh dispute between these two antagonists, which ended first in the suspension, and then in the absolute degradation, of the Professor, by the University (g). This was a compleat victory; and it cannot be denied, that the conqueror indulged his genius in the triumph, fearlesly trampling upon his adversary in three pamphlets which he published (h) on the occasion [C]. It was the first time of his coming into the press, and he was far

(e) Dr Fr. Dickins, Regius Professor of Law; Dr A. Snape, Provost of King's college: and particularly Dr Sherlock, then Master of Katherine hall, the present Bishop of London.

(f) Communicated by himself in conversation. He resigned it to his curate, who is still in possession of it.

(g) See the article BENTLEY [RICHARD], ubi supra.

(h) They are reprinted in the third volume of his Works, published in 4 vols, 4to. 1752.

'and coolness in a warm summer's evening? Yet there 'was nothing more in it than this, that having been 'to take the air on horseback, he came into company 'just as he alighted from his horse, in a riding habit, 'and with boots and spurs on.'

'When the Proctor first drew up this complaint in writing, he found it proper to pass over in silence such of the company, whose names would effectually have demonstrated his rudeness; and in this printed edition of it, the names, for some special reasons, are dwindled only to two, viz. Mr Gooch of Caius college, and Mr Middleton of Trinity-college. One of these is at present Vice-Chancellor of the university, whose character is too well known in the world to want any vindication; who has joined the accomplishments of a gentleman to those of a scholar; who with all the proper gravity and severity of the one, knows how to practise and allow every liberty, which becomes the other; whose magistracy has taught us, what difference there is between discipline and pedantry, reformation and ill manners.'

'*The other*, who from this representation of him might pass probably enough for a haunter of taverns, a lover of wine and debauch, *has always been remarkable and exemplary in the university for the strictest temperance and regularity of life*.'

'These are the *rude* and *disorderly* persons he complains of; these are the *men, whose ill lives*, according to Mr S--kes, *are a reproach to us*.'

'But these Gentlemen, however, are much obliged to him for the opportunity he has given of informing the world, that they had the honour to be found by him at this time in company with the present Earl of Anglesey, who was then the shining ornament of the House of Commons, as he has since been of the House of Lords; a person much more distinguished by his great parts and abilities, than by his high birth and quality, whose friendship and conversation have always been the ambition and delight of the greatest and politest in the kingdom; and whose name and education amongst us will be remembered to all posterity, as the honour and glory of this university *.'

* In his plan for the new library printed in 1723, he takes occasion to introduce, with admirable elegance, the like elogium of this nobleman in Latin. See his Works, Vol. III. p. 486.

'There were besides, in this company, some others of great quality and character; the honourable Mr Windsor, Member of Parliament for the University; Sir J. Cotton, Baronet, Member of Parliament for the Town, with Doctors and Masters of Arts. This was the company (continues our author) when this zealous reformer came bolting into the room, about ten at night, with as much authority and as little ceremony, as if he had surprized a club of Sizers or Freshmen; he *required them to be gone*; declared he would not stir, 'till he had seen them pay their reckoning; brought all his young scholars in upon them, and encouraged the sauciness and rudeness, which some of them offered to the company: such treatment of persons of such distinction had never been before practised or heard of in the university. And it had been strange, if an insult so unusual had not been resented by the company with a just contempt and indignation. It was out of pure opposition to him, that they staid 'till the late hour he mentions of twelve o'clock, and did not break up 'till they had received three visits of the same kind from him'

'They were not, however, provoked to shew any other incivility or disrespect to his person, than that of laughing at him pretty heartily; and though he complains of this as an affront to his office, he must thank himself for it, it was impossible to be helped, it was but the natural and necessary effect of the great pains he took to make himself ridiculous'

'We all remember a *late Professor* (6) in our schools, who when himself made the jest, used to thunder at the scholars for rudely laughing at things so serious.'

(6) Dr James, Master of Queen's college, who was Regius Professor of Divinity immediately before Dr Bentley.

[C] *Fearlesly trampling upon his adversary in three pamphlets*] The two first were occasioned partly by some letters that had been published in the St James's Evening-Post, where the proceedings of the university were censured as violent and illegal; and partly by a petition (7) against them, made by the degraded Master to the King in Council. As to the first, our author observes, that though 'he [Bentley] has magni'ficently said on this occasion, that he has rubbed 'through many a worse difficulty than this; yet he 'now seems caught in a net where his struggling will 'but entangle him the surer. The censure of an uni'versity, like a bearded arrow, sticks fast wherever it 'lights, *hæret lateri lethalis arundo*, it *galls but the 'more effectually for our violence in drawing it*; or, 'to borrow a simile of his own, it is *like Hercules's 'shirt, and will stick to him 'till his funeral*.' As the two parties of Whig and Tory in the State ran very high about this time, and our author and his friend, happened then to be in the Tory interest, his antagonist did not neglect to push the merit of his loyalty as a Whig to the utmost. Mr Middleton rallies this part of his conduct very poignantly. 'In Trinity-'college, says he, when his [Bentley's] tyranny 'had raised a necessary prosecution of him by the 'Fellows: he threw himself upon the Whigs as a 'sufferer in their cause, and persecuted for his attach'ment to *the then present Ministry* (8). While the 'quarrel continued, the Ministry happened to change; 'and the same persons, who had been said in print to 'pursue him for being a Whig, were then cried out 'upon, for their malice to him as a Tory, and he had 'the address or good fortune to screen himself from 'justice by assuming that character. *And his Dedica'tion to the Earl of Oxford is hardly more aukward in 'it's panegyrick upon his patron* (9), than severe in it's 'satire upon the Whigs.

(7) It is printed at the end of the second of these pamphlets in Middleton's Works, p. 319, ubi supra.

(8) See the preface of his printed Letter to the Bishop of Ely.

(9) This alludes to the well known story of Bentley's having first drawn up this dedication of his Horace for Lord Halifax.

'The controversy still out-lived the late Queen; the 'Fellows renewed their petition for a visitation, which 'has lain two years before the Council, but he now 'plays his old game upon them; is just come round to 'where he first set out, and the *present Ministry* is once 'more become the *best* with him. I cannot help, '(continues our author) turning upon him another ap'plication of his own (10), which seems to have been 'suggested to him by his own conduct; his loyalty *is 'a mere* Empusa, *it changes shapes as fast as* Vertum'nus:

(10) Remarks on Freethinking, by Phileleutherus Cantabrigiensis.

'*Quo teneam vultus mutantem Protea nodo?*'

Mr Middleton proceeds to take notice of the Master's defiance of the university, and then concludes in the following manner: 'Even now, says he, when his '[Bentley's] Mastership is precarious and at mercy, he 'threatens, I am told, with expulsion, those Fellows 'of his college, who, according to their privilege, 'their duty, and their conscience, gave their votes 'for his degradation; and when he was asked by a 'friend how he could justify it, *I'll do it*, says he, *and 'let them get it undone if they can*.'

'We

far from losing any reputation by it. On the contrary, by these pieces he laid the first stone of that character, of a sprightly and spirited writer, which he afterwards built up to perfection. The success he had met with in these, encouraged him to venture upon a fourth, wherein, with the like intrepid keenness of stile, he exposed the conduct of his vanquished Hector [*D*] in his own college. His view was, to try if he could not bring such a general odium upon the *late* Dr (for so he was now empowered to call) Bentley, as should make it impolitic for the great ones to skreen him any longer from a visitation; but, in this attempt, the warmth of his zeal transported him beyond the bounds of his knowledge, of which his watchful antagonist taking the advantage, lodged an information against him in the Court of King's-Bench [*E*], and shortly after put out proposals for publishing a new edition of the Greek Testament and Latin version. The work was such, as bespoke

'We may strip him of his *titles*, but we never can, we see, of his *insolence*; he has ceased to be *Doctor*, and may cease to be *Professor*, but he can never cease to be *Bentley*. There he will triumph over the university to the last; all it's learning being unable to polish, it's manners to soften, or it's discipline to tame, the superior obstinacy of his genius.' And lest this should be thought the effect of disappointed malice, our author gives it all it's force in the close: 'I have now, says he, given a full, and I am sure a true, account of this whole proceeding. There is not a single fact affirmed or insinuated in it, which *Mr Bentley* himself does not know to be true, and which, whenever he pleases, I cannot easily prove to be so: *There is something so singularly rude and barbarous in his way of treating all mankind, that whoever has occasion to relate it, will, instead of aggravating, find himself obliged to qualify and soften the harshness of his story, lest it should pass for incredible* (11). But if I am thought too free or severe upon a person so distinguished by his learning and preferments, it must be remembered, that it was he or his apologist, who first began the hostility, by abusing the Vice-Chancellor and University in two printed letters, which are scandalously false and malicious in every article of them: to observe a decency and complaisance towards him who has no notion of it, would be interpreted only as the cowardice or weakness of his adversary. A controversy with him must always be a *fighting without quarter*; for it is but necessary not to give any where you are sure of finding none *.'

(11) Prætermittam minora omnia, quorum simile forsitan alius quoque aliquid aliquando fecerit; nihil dicam nisi singulare; nisi quod si in alium reum diceretur, incredibile videretur. Cic. in Verrem. I.

* Account of the Proceedings against Dr Bentley, in our author's Works, Vol. III. from p. 267 to 295.

[*D*] *His vanquished Hector.*] In the interval, while Dr Bentley was treating the arrest that our author had obtained in the Vice-Chancellor's court with that contempt which in the end brought on his degradation, it happened that the candidates for fellowships in his college were under examination, when in the gaiety of his heart he gave them this theme for their exercise

Τὺς ἄλλυς ἐναρίζ', ἀπὸ δ' Ἕκτορ☉ ἴσχεο χεῖρας
HOM.

It was part of Achilles's advice to Patroclus, *to kill or fall upon the rest as he pleased, but to keep his hands off from Hector.* 'This he designed, says Mr Middleton, 'as a witty insult upon the Vice Chancellor, who 'might indeed controul and humble the rest of the 'university at discretion, but must not pretend to 'meddle with him †; our Hector was above his hand, 'and an over-match for him' But the reader is naturally drawn to throw his eye upon that Achilles, by the superior strength of whose arm this Hector who had *killed* so many of his friends in the college, was at last subdued; and their loss revenged by dragging the character of the fallen hero through three triumphant pamphlets.

† Ibid. p. 276.

Ἀλλ' ὅγ' ἐπεὶ ζεύξειεν ὑφ' ἅρμασιν ὠκέας ἵππυς,
Ἕκτορα δ' ἕλκεσθαι δησάσκετο δίφρυ ὄπισθεν·
Τρὶς δ' ἐρύσας περὶ σῆμα μενοιτιάδαο θανόντ☉.
HOM. Iliad. Ω.

The morning. Soon as it ‖ rose, his furious steeds he join'd,
The chariot flies and Hector trails behind;
And thrice, Petroclus! round thy monument
Was Hector dragg'd———— POPE.

[*E*] *Lodged an information against him in the Court of King's-Bench.*] This pamphlet is intitled, *A true Account of the present State of Trinity College in Cambridge, under the oppressive Government of their Master* Richard Bentley, *late D. D.* There being no name to it, the information in the King's Bench was laid against the author or authors in general; but Dr Middleton, in order to save all needless charges, presently owned himself to be the author, in an advertisement (12), which he published in the news papers. Whatever truth there might be in the several articles of the charge, which is undeniably a very severe one, that he brings against the master, yet he had reason to be apprehensive of the consequences of this prosecution, from some strokes in this pamphlet. Speaking of the Master's state principles, after having exposed his pliable temper, he proceeds thus: 'But how is it possible for a man who wants to be *skreened* and saved from the pursuit of justice, which would ruin him, to be of any principle or party, but that which can give him immediate shelter and protection? he must necessarily throw himself upon *that power*, which alone can secure him. This is no more than what fact and experience will always confirm, as it has remarkably in this very instance; for ever since this prosecution of him began near twelve years ago, his principles have always run the same changes with *court favours*, and never yet out-lasted the ministry they were calculated for.'

(12) It is printed in the article BENTLEY [RICHARD], ubi supra.

'*Every man of honour and integrity, of what denomination soever, cannot but abhor such a shuffling, selfish conduct: every honest Whig must certainly resent the affront done to his party by such scandalous pretenders to it. I know of none who can be friends to him out of principle, but such only as are professed or secret enemies to all virtue and religion.* It must be, without doubt, the utmost pleasure and satisfaction to them, to see him flourish and triumph over his adversaries; to see him abuse so successfully, to their service and interest, the great talents and opportunities that have been afforded him of doing good in the world; they will easily give him leave to write whatever he pleases, if he will but continue to live as he has done: for to see a Clergyman, Archdeacon, and Professor of Divinity, behave himself in the manner he does, is of such service, they know, to the cause of irreligion, as will out-ballance twenty of his pamphlets against the free-thinkers ‡.'

‡ Works, Vol. III. p. 377, 378.

'*How far it may be for the service and credit of the government, to indulge this pleasure to such friends of his as these, I most humbly submit to the consideration of those, who preside over the great affairs of the kingdom, into whose hands, if this account should have the honour to fall, I desire them to remember, that it is not any matter of favour or grace*, but justice only, *we petition for:* that it is not *any new law* (13) *we want to relieve us*, but the benefit and protection of the old ones: that it is not any act of power or authority we desire from them, but the common and natural right of every subject, a hearing and redress of our grievances.'—Our author was soon sensible that he had laid himself open to the lash of the law, and therefore took the first opportunity of making such a submission as he was in hopes would have some effect in softening the rigour of his sentence. This opportunity was soon given him in an answer to his remarks upon Dr Bentley's proposals for publishing a new edition of the Greek Testament. Dr Middleton made a reply to this answer, wherein he declares, that he never had writ any thing that reflected in any manner upon the Government, and then assures his antagonist, that he was provided with such affidavits as would be sufficient, though not 'perhaps, says 'he, *to justify me to the law (which I did not at all 'understand, nor ever designed to offend)*, yet to justify 'me however to the world, from the least suspicion of 'having done him any injury (14).' At the same time his prosecutor was proceeded against in the university (15), in a way similar to that which he had taken in the court above, by Dr Colebatch, who, as our author's coadjutor, had been linked with him in Bentley's prosecution.

(13) The septennial act was passed about two years before under the same Ministry.

(14) See some further Remarks, &c. in Vol. II. p. 359. of his Works, in 4 vols, 4to. 1752.

(15) See the article BENTLEY [RICHARD], ubi supra.

[*F*] *First*

beſpoke the undertaker poſſeſſed of a very uncommon ſtock both of talents and materials. Dr Middleton, ſenſible that this part of his antagoniſt's character was the ſole rock of his ſupport, took pains to ſearch narrowly into the merits of it; and diſcovering it's weakneſs, made that conſpicuouſly glaring even to ſuch a degree, as both ſilenced and ſhamed the daring undertaker out of his project *. Here our author diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a branch of literature, which was little dreamt of by his adverſaries, and which even ſurprized his friends; who, conſidering him now as a ſufferer for aſſerting the privileges, and vindicating the proceedings, of the univerſity, firſt voted the erection of a new office there, that of Principal Librarian, and then conferred it upon him [*F*]. An occaſion for taking this ſtep offered itſelf, upon the prodigious enlargement of the publick library by the addition of Dr More the late Biſhop of Ely's books, which had been purchaſed and preſented by his Majeſty (*i*) ſome time before to the univerſity, and were now lately brought thither. That learned body had likewiſe paſſed a decree at the ſame time for building a new Senate houſe, that, either by rebuilding or altering the old one, a ſuitable place might be provided for the reception of his Majeſty's bounty (*k*). In the purſuit of that deſign, our new Librarian drew up a method of diſpoſing the joint collection of both libraries in the projected edifice. The plan is allowed to be laid out properly, and the whole performance expreſſed in very elegant Latin, which were further proofs, that his late promotion was no more than what was juſtly due to his literary merit. But mindful of the particular cauſe which he knew had chiefly procured him this honour, and which he really had much at heart, he incautiouſly let fall, in the dedication of this piece to his ſteady friend Dr Snape, the Vice-Chancellor, ſome words that were taken notice of and puniſhed by the King's Bench [*G*]. Before this affair was brought to a final iſſue, our author formed a deſign of making the tour of Italy; and, as ſoon as he had got his liberty from that Court, he ſet about making the neceſſary preparations for putting it into execution. In this ſcheme there was no need of a diviner to forewarn him of the oppoſition he was certain to meet with from his inveterate antagoniſt, the Maſter of Trinity; and he was beſides aware, that many of his friends might be ſtartled with the talk of his going to travel abroad, ſo ſoon after they had provided ſuch an honourable ſtation for him to reſide in at home. The truth is the Librarian's place had been eſtabliſhed long enough before there was any neceſſity for it: the foundation of the new Senate-houſe was ſcarcely laid, nor ſo much as the plan ſettled for altering the old one; conſequently, with regard to the duty of his office, the Librarian was entirely at leiſure, from the preſent ſtate of the library (*l*), where the King's books, it was eaſy to ſee, muſt unavoidably remain in the ſame uſeleſs confuſion they then lay, for a much longer time than would be ſpent upon his travels. This, in reality, furniſhed a ſufficient excuſe for his abſence, but it was ſuch an one, as it became himſelf, at leaſt, to be very ſhy of mentioning. However, the ill ſtate of his health ſupplied another, which was both unanſwerable and indiſpenſible. He had now

* See Dr Bentley's article, Vol. II. p. 740.

(*i*) He gave 6000 *l.* for them.

(*k*) Speaking of this library Dr Middleton ſays, Alias ubique omnes (quarum ſcilicet indices impreſſos viderim) tum librorum numero, tum præſtantia delectuque facile ſuperat. Bibliothec. Ordinand. Method. p. 482. Vol. III. of his Works, ubi ſup.

(*l*) He ſays himſelf, ex præſenti bibliothecæ publicæ ſtatu otii mihi aliquid temporiſque dari videbam. Ibid.

[*F*] *Firſt voted the erection of a new office—and then conferred it upon him.*] He introduces his plan for diſpoſing the books in the library in the following words: Poſtquam Senatui Academico novum Protobibliothecarii munus eodem decreto inſtituere ſimul & ad me deferre viſum eſt, ne collati temere beneficii infamiam graviſſimo ordini inurerem, ſtatui illico omni ſtudio, opera, viribuſque meis eniti, ut tam honorifico vitæ meæ ſtudiorumque teſtimonio aliquatenus reſponderem, & tanto hoc tamque inſperato prorſus honore memet haud indignum præſtarem; utque omnibus præterea oſtenderem, munus ipſum *non mei ſolius, ſed Bibliothecæ omnino cauſa, non (quod ſuſurrari audiebam) pro gratiâ, qua in Academia florui, ſed pro rei ipſius neceſſitate eſſe conſtitutum.* Here he owns it was whiſpered then by his enemies, that the Librarian's place had been erected purely for his ſake: and afterward, when all theſe conteſts were forgotten, and his reputation was perfectly eſtabliſhed, he does not ſpare to atteſt the truth of what thoſe enemies had before given out. The paſſage I mean, is in his oration on his entrance into Dr Woodward's lecture, of which he was likewiſe Proto-Profeſſor; the words are at the cloſe of the ſpeech, and run thus: Me vero quod attinet Academici, ipſe nonnullis fortunæ procellis jactatus, in hoc Academiæ otio, tanquam in portu, tutum ſemper atque honeſtum ſimul perfugium inveni: Vos enim *cum certorum hominum invidia indigne olim vexarer, novum in hoc Academia Protobibliothecarii munus eodem decreto inſtituiſtis, et ad me detuliſtis* *.

* Oratio de novo Phyſiologiæ explicandæ munera, &c. p. 399. Vol. I. of his Works, ubi ſup.

[*G*] *Some words that were taken notice of and puniſhed by the King's-Bench.*] Our author was already in this court as is above mentioned, for libelling the Maſter of Trinity. This was no more than a common cauſe not diſputed to be within the ordinary juriſdiction of that court. Dr Middleton did not tax the legality of the proceſs, but reproached his antagoniſt with the unſcholarlike meanneſs of his conduct, in taking advantage of the Law. However, as it was natural for the Judges on this occaſion to look, in their private capacity, into the other pieces by the ſame hand, it was eaſily obſerved that the author did not ſtand very well affected to it's prerogative 'If, ſays he, the power of our 'courts, which we are ſo much envied for, were to be 'taken from us, or made only leſs abſolute by the al'lowance of an appeal to a ſuperior juriſdiction, our 'univerſity might bid adieu to it's peace and it's diſ'cipline: the very nature and deſign of our inſtitution 'made it neceſſary to every private founder of a col'lege, ſtrictly to prohibit all appeals from the authori'ty of the ſociety (16)' This might well be thought going too great a length, and muſt unavoidably render him ſuſpected at leaſt, by theſe magiſtrates: but the ſuſpicion was unanſwerably confirmed by the words in this dedication to Dr Snape, the Vice-Chancellor. Alii interea Doctores creandi jus nobis licet integrum permittant; de doctoratu tamen dejicere, de ſenatu noſtro diſturbare, ſuo niſi arbitratu & conſenſu haud patiuntur: rerumque adeo Academicarum cognitionem & judicium ad *forum externum & prorſus alienum* avocant: Quorum conatus ni repellere tandem ac propulſare valuerimus, lethale quoddam vulnus huic noſtræ Academiæ infligatur neceſſe eſt (17). The words *forum externum & prorſus alienum* were laid hold of by the Court, who found in them an expreſs, though not indeed an explicit, denial of their juriſdiction. Lord Chief Juſtice Prat preſided there at this time, who laid out the crime in the blackeſt colours. Our author was then in court, and being apprehenſive of the conſequences, he waited upon the Earl of —— (to whom he was well known) and acquainting him with what he had heard, begged his Lordſhip's patronage. My Lord bid him be eaſy, and promiſed to take care of him. When the matter came next day before the court, our delinquent had the pleaſure of hearing the heinouſneſs of his offence moderated, and himſelf diſmiſſed with a very eaſy fine.

(16) Account of the Proceedings againſt Dr Bentley, Vol. III. p. 313. ibid.

(17) Ibid. p. 478. the offenſive words are left out in this edition.

 [*H*] By

now a good while felt the bad effects of that juvenile temerity which has been already taken notice of; he was actually grown extremely thin, and seemed to be in a dangerous marasmus from a continual spitting. In order, therefore, at once to satisfy the most scrupulous of his friends, and silence the most clamorous among his foes, he laid his case before Dr Mead, who fully gave his opinion in writing, that it was necessary for his health that he should remove into a warmer climate. By this means, though not without a good deal of difficulty, he obtained a special grace for the purpose [*H*], and shortly after set out upon his much desired journey in company with Lord Coleraine (*m*). They went together to Paris, where his Lordship, who was known to most of the literati abroad, introduced his fellow-traveller to the celebrated Mr Montfaucon. Not many days after they parted from Paris, his Lordship stepping aside to see some curiosities that lay at a good distance from the direct road to Rome, left our author to pursue his own rout, which was to take the shortest way to that city *. He arrived there early in the year 1724, and passed about twelve months in it entirely to his satisfaction. On his first coming he met with an accident, which made him resolve to support his residence here in such a degree of dignity, as should be some credit to his station at Cambridge [*I*]. This, joined to his great fondness for antique curiosities, tempted him to trespass a little upon his fortune; but that damage was much more than compensated, by the prodigious improvement that he made in his travels. He returned through Paris in the latter part of the year 1725, and arrived at Cambridge before Christmas. He was scarce well fixed in his study here, when Dr Mead's Harveyan speech fell under his observation and censure. The subject of his animadversions was nothing more than some points of pure literature, and he was careful to declare the integrity of his motive to the undertaking; yet that eminent Physician, knowing what had passed between them just before our author's departure for Italy, could not be perswaded that his speech, in itself absolutely harmless and inoffensive, would have been thus culled out, as a meer block, for the animadverter to shew his scholarship upon [*K*], had there not been the farther pleasure of a private gratification in it. Wherefore, easily excusing himself, on account of his great business, from engaging in a controversy, he employed an advocate (*n*) to defend his reputation, and expose the malice of the attack, which was executed in very rude language. Our author, who had been trained up in this kind of exercise, repaid his adversary's feeble rhetoric with equal acrimony of stile; but the superior genteel spirit and elegant diction with which it was pointed, effectually convinced the by-standers, that this select champion was no match for him; for which reason,

(*m*) A nobleman of considerable learning, especially in Antiquities, and, in 1738, was one of the four Vice-Presidents of the Society of Antiquaries in London.

* He had begun to find his Lordship's company attended with some other inconveniencies, and was well pleased with this occasion of separating. He expresses the longing desire he had above all things to see Rome, in the preface to his *Germana-Antiquitatis monumenta, &c.* Cum valetudinis causa cœlum mutare decrevissem, tum ad Italiam illico iter tendere, ac Romæ urbium amœnissimæ otiari mihi ante omnia placuit.

(*n*) Mr Ward, Professor of Rhetoric at Gresham college. Hunc potissimum hominem *Cl. Meado* ad hoc *respondendi munus* delectum, librumque ipsum *ejusdem cura & sumptibus* in lucem emissum, amicisque *suis manu propria inscriptum, & dono a Meadio ipso missum* intellexissem. Dissertat. de Medicor. conditur Servili Defensio, p. 211. Vol. IV. of Middleton's Works, in 4 vols, 4to.

[*H*] *By this means, though not without a good deal of difficulty, he obtained a special grace for the purpose.*] It was not only the high character that Dr Mead deservedly bore in his profession, he had here another kind of merit which helped to procure him this patient. He was well known to be a fast friend and patron and great admirer of Dr Bentley, whose humour it was now necessary to consult. In this view Dr Middleton took an opportunity, when his law-suit called him to town, of waiting upon that eminent Physician, who observed his case to be a catarrh, upon a relaxation of the salival glands, and agreed that a warmer climate would be of service to him. This was enough to satisfy his friends: but when he began to think of drawing up his *grace* for leave of absence from the Body, it was observed that it would be proper for him to have the opinion in writing; otherwise, his powerful antagonist might probably find a way to defeat it. Dr Mead being applied to in a proper manner by a young Physician of good reputation (18), made no difficulty to comply with an ordinary rule of practice, in setting his hand to an opinion he had given before. No sooner did the news of this paper reach Dr Bentley's ears, but he immediately let his friend know what a disagreeable thing he had unexpectedly done to him. To this Dr Mead returned an answer, wherein he excused himself in such terms, as the Librarian thought he had just reason to resent, and it was not long before there was matter enough given him to feast his resentment upon, as the reader will find in the text.

(18) Dr Jonathan Gouldsmyth.

[*I*] *On his first coming he met with an accident, &c.*] He made use of this character to get himself introduced to his Brother-Librarian at the *Vatican*, who received him with great politeness; but upon his mentioning Cambridge, said he did not know before, that there was any University in England of that name, and at the same time took notice, that he was no stranger to that of Oxford, for which he expressed a great esteem. This touched the honour of our new Librarian, who took some pains to convince his brother not only of the real existence, but of the real dignity of his university of Cambridge. At last, the Keeper of the Vatican acknowledged, that, upon recollection, he did indeed remember to have heard of a celebrated school in England of that name, which was a kind of nursery where youth were educated and prepared for their admission at Oxford: and Dr Middleton left him at present, in that sentiment. But this unexpected indignity to his post put him up on his mettle, and he agreed to give 400 *l. per ann.* for a *hôtel* with all accommodations fit for the reception of those of the first rank in Rome *.

* Accordingly we find he conversed familiarly with such persons. See his Works, Vol. I. p. 257.

[*K*] *Culled out as a mere block for the animadverter to shew his scholarship upon.*] The following specimen of the taste and turn of this attack will be thought, we hope, a sufficient justification for the seeming harshness of our expression. 'Meadius autem, ne si nihil omnino de ignobili medicorum veterum statu fateretur, obstinatum nimis & pervicacem sese ostenderet; concedere tandem aliquid videtur, sed tanta verborum obscuritate involutum & quasi vi extortum, ut sensum inde vix ullum quidem nedum clarum & distinctum elicere facile valeamus: ejusque ideo verba integra huc apposui, ut solertior aliquis ea mihi expedienda suscipiat.

Nihil igitur servile, inquit ille, *aut tenue artem nostram adhuc dedecorat, sed ut plane & sine fuco totam rem dicam, simul cum ingenuis multis & doctis viris, non pauci scientiæ & fortunæ bonis inferiores, illis temporibus Romam veniebant; qui etsi non medicamentis sed manu curarent medici tamen appellebantur Hi in divitum & magnatum clientelam se conferebant, et servi agebant, donec civitatem consequerentur, inde liberti nomen alicujus familiæ Romanæ sibi adsciscere solebant: neque raro, si ingenium studio literarum excoluissent, morbis etiam internis medebantur, & in medicorum clinicorum censum veniebant. Tali conditione fuit Antonius Musa, &c.*

Hæc ille; sed ut mihi quidem videtur cum verbis tum sententiis sibi ipsi plane repugnans: ut enim alia omittam; ego sane haud intelligo, quemadmodum ii, qui e Græcia *sponte* quidem venissent, atque in Divitum clientelam sese contulissent, *servos* deinde *Romæ agere*, iidemque *magnatum clientes* & *servi* simul esse possent? Hujusmodi autem omnia (sive errata, seu minus tantum accurata vocemus) & longe quidem majora tali certe viro facile sunt ignoscenda: cui tantis rebus occupato otium ad hujusmodi nugas exquirendas nullo modo suppetit; cujusque assiduis occupationibus quantum unquam moræ interponatur, tantum sane de publicis commodis detrahitur (19).'

(19) De medicorum apud veteres Romanos degentium conditione dissertatio, p. 201, 272, in his Works, Vol. IV. ubi supra.

[*L*] *Was*

reason, when a second piece appeared from the same hand, and notoriously woven with the same course thread as the first, Dr Middleton took the advice of his friends, not to support the reputation of the Professor by opposing him. *However, some years after these antagonists were both reconciled to him, and lived even in a good degree of friendship with him* [*L*]. *For some years after his return from Rome, the doctor held a literary correspondence with his acquaintance there* (*o*). *He made use of that opportunity of getting some particulars cleared up, where he found the notes he had taken in his travels* either deficient or confused. To this cause chiefly it was owing, that he deferred publishing that account of the Gentilism of the Popish religion, which he gives in his letter from Rome, 'till the year 1729. But he had no sooner dispatched this work, than he entered into another; where, in condemning Dr Waterland's method of defending the Christian cause, he first disclosed his opinion concerning the divine original of the Scriptures, which was, that the several writers of the Gospel were not only (for the most part at least) unassisted by any divine inspiration in penning their histories, but have actually related several false facts in those books [*M*]. This being thought a very dangerous assertion by the generality of the Clergy, drew upon him the odium of a great part of that body, with some of whom he continued in a state of warfare during the rest of his life; which proved an effectual bar to his promotion in the Church. However, this did not hinder others from discerning and encouraging his uncontested merit as a polite scholar. Soon after his arrival from Italy, he had fallen into the acquaintance of Dr Woodward, Professor of Physick at Gresham, who had then formed the design of founding his new Physiological professorship at Cambridge. Our author was not wanting to encourage so advantageous and honourable a benefaction to the university; and, in the several interviews which he had with the benefactor, as well as his executors, was very serviceable in settling the plan of that donation (*p*). It was with the greatest justice, therefore, that the trustees of it appointed him the first Professor in December 1731. Nor did the Latin speech (*q*), spoken by him on this occasion, fall short of giving that credit to their nomination which was expected from it. He held this office, and faithfully discharged the duties of it (*r*), 'till 1734, when he resigned upon the marriage of his second wife (*s*). About this time he was introduced to Lord Harvey, who shortly after engaged him to write the History of Cicero's Life. This was a favourite task, he undertook it with singular delight, and spent six years in working up the character of his darling old Roman to that perfection, which alone in this subject he could be content with. As it is the largest, so it is generally reputed the best, of his performances. He printed it by subscription, and the uncommonly great number of subscribers (*t*) shew how high his reputation then stood in the

(o) Particularly with Fontanini, an Italian Archbishop. See our author's Works, Vol. I. p. 257.

(*p*) The Professor's salary is 100*l.* per ann. besides 10*l.* per annum for making experiments and observations, and keeping correspondence.

(*q*) It is printed in the first vol. of his Works, at the end, ubi supra.

(*r*) These were, to read four lectures yearly upon the founder's Essay towards the Natura History of the Earth, his Defence of it, his Discourse of Vegetation, and his State of Physic, and to shew his cabinet of fossils three days in each week gratis.

(*s*) She was Mary, daughter of the Rev. Mr Conyers Place of Dorchester in Yorkshire.

(*t*) There were upwards of 3000.

[*L*] *Was reconciled and lived even in a good degree of friendship with him.*] In the whole course of this controversy he had always expressed a proper regard for Dr Mead's real merit; and many years after, viz. in 1745, when he printed his book of the Greek and Egyptian antiquities, he concludes the introduction to the account of an antique painting in his own collection, with the following elogium of that eminent Physician, and no less eminent Collector of Antiquities. *Meadius noster, artis medicæ decus qui vitæ revera nobilis, vel principibus in republica viris, exemplum præbet, pro eo, quo omnibus fere præstat artium veterum amore, alias postea quasdam imagines & splendidiores, opinor, Roma quoque deportandas curavit* †. We likewise find him shewing his respect to Dr Ward, by subscribing for a copy of his Lives of the Gresham Professors, in 1740, in large paper.

† Germana quædam antiquitatis eruditæ monumenta, &c. p. 2. Middleton's Works, Vol. IV.

[*M*] *His opinion that the writers of the Gospel were not only, for the most part at least, unassisted by any divine inspiration, but have actually related several false facts*] 'Tis true all that he asserts here is, that *the scriptures are not of absolute and universal inspiration* (20). But in another piece printed since his death, he first asserts several falsehoods in these writings, and then maintains it to be utterly incredible, that persons inspired and specially commissioned by God to propagate a particular doctrine, and supplied consequently with proofs the most authentic and demonstrative of truth, could on any account be reduced to make use of trifling or equivocal arguments; much less of such as are *false and groundless*. Yet, says he, if this should in any manner be thought probable, in an occasional conference or debate with private persons [the Jews] who had been trained and accustomed to that sort of reasoning, it is surely inconsistent with any notion of inspiration to publish such arguments in writing to all the world, and to all posterity, as the standing and perpetual proofs of the Christian doctrine, which they knew in reality to be no proofs at all, except to a few particular Jews at those very times; and which, instead of doing service to religion, could serve only for matter of doubt and cavil to all succeeding ages. Again, if we should ask, continues he, how it appears, that the Apostles were actually inspired in their interpretation of these prophecies? it will be answered, I suppose, because they wrought miracles: and so far indeed I agree, that in the act of working miracles, they were certainly inspired with an extraordinary power; but when that act was over, and the special purpose of those miracles served, it is reasonable to believe from the evidence of those facts, which I have elsewhere set forth, that they returned to the condition of mortal men.—Again, the hypothesis of their [the Gospels] inspiration was piously invented to reflect the greater lustre upon them, where there was not the least want of it, since nothing more is required to establish their authority, than to know, as we do in this case, that the compilers of them were perfectly informed of all the important facts, which they had undertaken to relate, and zealous to publish them for the common good: while many little omissions and inaccuracies, which are observable in their several narratives, clearly shew, that they could not be guided by a divine and infallible spirit. In another place he confirms his argument against a perpetual inspiration, by a way of reasoning which infers no inspiration at all, viz. that the Evangelists never lay any claim to it; nay, so far are they from pretending to any such privilege, that they in effect disclaim it; placing their whole credit on a foundation merely human and common to all other writers, on their knowledge of the truth of what they deliver, and on their fidelity in delivering it to the best of their knowledge; in which respect he expresly ranks them with Herodotus and Thucydides. This assertion he further confirms by the accounts which the Ancients give of these four several authors, which is utterly inconsistent, he says, with the notion of their being divinely inspired (21). Hence it is evident, that when he declares his belief that *the Scriptures in general are divinely inspired* (22), these words, when applied to the Evangelists, must be understood by him, (to use a phrase of his own) in a *very moderate and qualified sense*.

(20) Some Remarks on a Reply to the Defence of a Letter to Dr Waterland, p. 295. Vol. II. ibid.

(21) Some Reflections upon the Variations found in the four Evangelists, p. 68, 69, 56, 52, 53. Vol. II. ibid.

(22) Some Remarks, &c. p. 288. ibid.

[*N*] *Defended*

the learned world. While he was employed upon this work, he had, it seems, a sudden call to London, to look after the Mastership of the Charter-house, having been mentioned for it, as he says himself, without his application, by Sir Robert [Walpole] and some other great ones; but on his arrival in town he presently perceived, that the Duke of Newcastle had been beforehand with them, in securing it for Mr Mann, an old friend and companion of Lord Godolphin. ' So that I returned, says he, as I have been forced to ' do before, with a few good words from those, who can as easily give good things (v).' However, he sensibly felt the fruits of their friendliness to his Cicero, which enabled him to purchase a small estate at Hildersham, where he had the much loved pleasure of gratifying his own taste and temper, by improving a rude farm into a neat and genteel villa. It lay about six miles, a commodious distance, from his house at Cambridge, and he passed the summer season chiefly at it during the rest of his life. Cicero's History had scarcely seen the light, when his character, as represented therein was impeached (w), in that most interesting article of his conduct, which enabled Octavius to compleat the destruction of the Roman liberty. It was not long before our author undertook his patriot's defence; wherein he vindicated the old Roman from the suspicion of inconsistency, by such a kind of presumption in his favour, as, 'tis observed on another occasion, he did not think the Evangelical writers had a just claim to [*N*]. However, he gave in this work such a specimen of a translation of some contested epistles between Brutus and Cicero, as made it much to be wished he had gone through the whole collection of the uncontested epistles

(v) See Letter the fourth to Mr Warburton, in the 2d volume of his Works, p. 472. ubi supra.

(w) By Mr Tunstall, Fellow of St John's college in Cambridge.

[*N*] *Defended Cicero by an argument which he did not think the evangelical writers had a just claim to.*] The argument for Cicero is in note (3), to the 15th epistle in this collection, being that of Brutus to Atticus; where Brutus particularly complains of Cicero's conduct in respect to Octavius: wherein, amongst other things, he charges Cicero with carrying his indulgence of Octavius so far, as not, says he, to abstain from opprobrious language, and such as reflects doubly upon himself, since he has taken away the life of more than one, and must first confess himself to be an assassin, before he can reproach Casca with what he objects to him; and treat Casca as Bestia once treated him. In the note Dr Middleton observes, that ' this refers to ' some words which had passed between Cicero and ' Casca, one of the conspirators who gave the first blow ' to Cæsar, yet was Tribune of the people at this very ' time, by virtue of Cæsar's nomination. The passage seems to imply, that Cicero had reproached him ' for killing Cæsar, and called him an assassin; but that ' is incredible, since Cicero, on all occasions, as well ' in publick speeches as private letters, never failed to ' extol that act as the most glorious that was ever executed; and with regard to this very Casca, had refused to enter into any measures with Octavius, but ' upon the express condition, that he would be a ' friend to the conspirators, and as a proof of it, would ' suffer Casca, in consequence of Cæsar's nomination, ' to enter into quiet possession of the tribunate [Ep. ad ' Att. 16. 13.]. Brutus therefore, who was now in ' Macedonia, had either been mis-informed, or was ' charging Cicero with some consequential meaning of ' his words, which was never intended by him. He ' had been admonishing Casca possibly, to carry himself with more moderation towards Octavius, lest by ' advantage of his present power, he might take occasion to treat him as an assassin, and put the laws in ' execution against him, as he did quickly after against ' all the conspirators; for such an admonition would ' have been sufficient, with one of Brutus's fierce spirit, to make him consider it, as a direct condemnation of Casca's act [See Life of Cicero Vol. 2. p. ' 487. notes]. But if we reflect upon the miserable ' waste that has been made in these letters, of which, ' there are but twenty-three now left out of eight original books; and that there are three books likewise to ' Octavius, three more to Pansa, and three to Hirtius, ' [vid. fragm. Ciceron. apud Andr. Patric.] all relating to the same times, and all now destroyed; it ' cannot be thought strange, that some few facts should ' be touched in these fragments, which cannot readily ' be accounted for; when we have lost all the helps, ' that were the most likely to explain them, and ' which in all probability, had actually explained ' them (23).'

In this remark our Annotator allows, the words of Brutus in their plain and obvious sense imply, that Cicero had reproached Casca with having killed Cæsar; but because such an action would be inconsistent with the rest of Cicero's conduct, he thinks that ground enough to carry the words from their primary sense, by a conjecture wherein he indulged a liberty of inventing an imaginary circumstance, because the fact might possibly admit it. But if that be not allowed, he thinks it reasonable to suppose, without any authority from history, that Brutus has here omitted mentioning some circumstance in the fact, which would have cleared Cicero from this aspersion *. Now let us see how he reasons in a like case with respect to the Gospel Historians. It will be proper to give it in his own words, because the different gaiety of the colouring shews the different temper of the painter in drawing the two different subjects. ' The story, says he, ' of the two thieves, who were crucified together with ' Jesus, is related also in the several Gospels, with a ' very remarkable difference. Matthew and Mark tell ' us only in short, that, *both the thieves*, as they were ' hanging with him on the cross, *insulted and reviled* ' Jesus: whereas Luke more particularly declares, ' that it was but one of them who reviled him, while ' the other acted a contrary part, and having rebuked ' his fellow-sufferer for his insolence, said unto Jesus, ' Lord, remember me when thou comest into thy ' kingdom (24).

' The critics again, continues he, both ancient and ' modern, take great pains to elude the charge of a ' contradiction, but none have been so hardy, as ' Cardinal Hugo, who, as he is cited by Erasmus, ' treats this passage in Matthew, as little better than *a ' lie; or such an account as one would expect from a ' man in his cups* (25). St Chrysostom and Jerom, and ' all the Ancients, allow a seeming contradiction in ' the words, but attempt to clear the Evangelists of it, ' by supposing that both the thieves blasphemed Jesus ' at first, 'till one of them convinced by the prodigies, ' which then happened, of the sun darkened, and the ' earth trembling, quickly changed his note, and from ' a sudden conversion and repentance, implored his ' mercy; which solution, though embraced by many of the Moderns (26), is justly rejected by ' others, as a groundless and fictitious (27) comment. ' For what contradiction, how gross soever, might not ' easily be solved and eluded, if such a method of interpreting were allowed, which without any authority from history, indulged a liberty of inventing and ' supplying every imaginable circumstance which the ' fact could possibly admit (28).'

The application is easy, and the reason obvious, how it comes to pass, that Cicero's express approbation on other occasions of Casca's action in killing Cæsar, makes it reasonable to supply, from Brutus's fierceness, without any authority from history, such an imaginary circumstance as is allowed to contradict the primary and plain sense of his words on this occasion, notwithstanding the known timorousness and vanity of Cicero's composition; and yet the confessed integrity of St Matthew in all cases, is not sufficient to support the supposition of a circumstance in this, the thief's conversion, which the case itself, by the miracles that happened naturally offers; because there is no direct authority for it from history.

[O] *With*

(23) *Epistles of Cicero to Brutus, &c. Vol. IV. p. 383. ibid.*

* Our author's partiality to Cicero is notorious, insomuch, that Mr Melmouth stiles him that orator's learned and able panegyrist, and excuses him on account of Cicero's great deservings from all men of letters. Translation of Cicero's Familiar Epistles, Vol. II. B. vii. No. 17.

(24) Matth. xxvii. 44. Mark xv. 32. Luke xxiii. 39.

(25) Hoc inquit videtur falsum— ac mox, hoc, inquit, dicitur, ut putes dictum inter pocula. Erasm. in Matt. xxvii. 44.

(26) Non quod discrepent Evangelia, sed quod primum uterque blasphemaverit, dehinc sole fugiente, terra commota—unus crediderit in Iesum, & priorem negationem sequenti confessione emendaverit. Hier. Comm. in Matt. it. Chrys. Homil. in Paral. Tom. III. p. 30. edit. Bened. it Theophyl. in Matth. xxvii. it. Zeger. in Matth. ibid. & Hammond. ibid.

(27) Hæc congessi, nequis cum antiquis aliquot ad eam interpretationem confugiat, quæ parum probabiliter statuit, Latronem qui in Christo credidit, subito a conviitiis ad eam pietatem conversum: quo commento sublato, &c. Grot. in Matt. xxvii. 44.

(28) Reflections on the Variations found in the four Evangelists, Vol. II. p. 37. in Middleton's Works, ubi sup.

epistles of that renowned orator. But he was now determined to close his studies in profane literature. In this design he began to put together, and prepare for the press, such of his papers as related to any subject he had a mind to compleat in that way. These he published in two pieces. The first contained the figures of those antique rarities he had purchased at Rome, with a proper dissertation to each of them [*O*]. In the second he threw into a continual discourse, the substance of several letters he had wrote to Lord Hervey, twelve years before, upon the constitution of the Roman Senate; wherein he has undoubtedly given a more satisfactory answer to his Lordship's question about the manner of c[illegible]ring Senators, which he asserts always to have been in the power of the people, than had been given to Lord Stanhope by Mr Vertot, who supposes it was solely in the hands of the Senators. In 1745, at the request of the Earl of Radnor, he undertook the care of his nephew, and was preceptor to that young gentleman 'till he died, to the great loss of that noble family. As soon as the doctor had satisfied all the demands of his friends with regard to classical subjects, he immediately printed his Introduction to the Free Inquiry into the Miracles of the Primitive Church; which treatise itself was likewise, as he tells us, then ready for the press. The whole was a continuation of his former plan, to expose Dr Waterland's manner of defending Christianity, which he observed still to prevail, notwithstanding his first endeavours to bring that author into contempt, whose cause was particularly espoused against our author by the then Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Potter *. About this time he went to Bristol wells, where he fell into company with a gentlewoman, whose good sense and genteel temper engaged him to make her the partner of his bed and fortune. She was the relict of a Bristol Merchant, Mr Wilkins (*x*), after whose death Mrs Trenchard had given her an invitation to her house, where the match was concluded on †. The last piece which the doctor published was, An Examination of the present Bishop of London, Dr Sherlock's, Discourses on the Use and Intent of Prophecy in the several Ages of the World. But here, though it was the same scheme of Christianity which he had before defended against Dr Waterland, that pushed him into this contest with the Bishop, yet his particular situation in the engagement was now very different [*P*]. Dr Sherlock had been an old friend [*Q*] and intimate acquaintance, his abilities eminently

* See Dr Middleton's Letters, x and xii. at the end of the second volume of his Works, ubi sup.

(*x*) Her maiden name was Anne Powell she was daughter of John Powell, Esq; of Boughroya in the county of Radnor in South-Wales.

† This gentlewoman was widow of —— Trenchard, Esq; the celebrated author of the Argument against Standing Armies, and other political pieces; the house stands within a few miles of Bristol Wells.

[*O*] *With a proper dissertation to each of them.*] In the xith Section of his dissertation upon Tab. xix he observes, that the word *Quincunx* does not signify a real single piece of money, but a fictitious one; in forming which, an ounce is either supposed to be taken away from the semissis, or else added to the triens: nor does our author think the word *Quincunx* ought to be taken in any other sense in the following passage in Horace.

Romani pueri longis rationibus assem
Discunt in partes centum diducere. Dicat
Filius Albini, si de quincunce remota est
Uncia, quid superet? poteras dixisse triens, Eu!
Rem poteris servare tuam redit uncia, quid fit?
Semis———(29)

(29) De Arte Poetica, 325.

But though we should allow there was no such piece of money as the *Quincunx*, yet Horace here evidently puts the case of a boy learning arithmetick, whence it seems most natural to suppose the question given in writing. The semissis then, according to the Roman way, is expressed thus, VI. whence, if the unit or uncia be moved back, which is the original sense of the word *removeo*, the expression will be IV or triens, and restoring the unit to it's place, there appears VI or semissis (30).

(30) This piece of criticism was communicated by John King, formerly Fellow of King's college in Cambridge.

[*P*] *But his particular situation in it was very different.*] He was admitted in the university the same year with Dr Waterland, and the quickness of his apprehension, as well as the sociable turn of his temper, being the counterpart of Dr Waterland's plodding diligence, which seemed to be a reproach to him, he naturally conceived first a dislike to the severity of his diligence, and then a disdain and contempt of that student's capacity, which he retained ever after: and was not only never sparing to declare it as long as his antagonist lived, but even followed him to his grave, over which he could not refrain from strewing some choice flowers. 'The Church, says he, to Mr Warburton, has received a great loss by the death of Dr W———d; I cannot say an irreparable one, whilst C——n lives: to whom he has left some unfinished papers on infant-communion, and wisely ordered all the rest to be burnt: he has bequeathed likewise to the college, such of his printed books, as they find scribbled by his own hand; for such, I hear, is his own description of them. By the silence of the publick papers upon the fall of so eminent a luminary, we are to expect, I imagine, in a proper time, some laboured panegyrick from a masterly hand.—*But as to Waterland, whenever they think fit to oblige the publick with his life, they will not forget one story, I hope, which is truly worthy of him, and shews the real spirit of the man, and which I can venture to tell you on good authority. In his last journey from Cambridge to London, being attended by Dr P——e and C——n the surgeon; he lodged the second night at Hodsden, where being observed to have been costive on the road, he was advised to have a clyster, to which he consented. The Apothecary was presently sent for, to whom Dr P——e gave his orders below stairs, while Dr W———d continued above; upon which the Apothecary could not forbear expressing his great sense of the honour which he received, in being called to the assistance of so celebrated a person, whose writings he was well acquainted with; the company signified some surprize, that a country Apothecary should be so learned; but he assured them that he was no stranger to the merit and character of the doctor, but had lately read his ingenious book with much pleasure,* The Divine Legation of Moses. *Dr P——e and a Fellow of Magdalen college there present, took pains to convince the Apothecary of his mistake, while C—n ran up stairs with an account of his blunder to W—d, who provoked by it into a violent passion, called the poor fellow a puppy and a blockhead, who must needs be ignorant in his profession, and unfit to administer any thing to him, and might possibly poison his bowels; and notwithstanding Dr P——e's endeavours to moderate his displeasure, by representing the expediency of the operation, and the man's capacity to perform it, he would hear nothing in his favour, but ordered him to be discharged, and postponed the benefit of his clyster, 'till he reached his next stage.*' With such wretched passions, says Dr Middleton, and prejudices, did this poor man march to his grave; which might deserve to be laughed at, rather than lamented, if we did not see what pernicious influence they have in the Church, to defame and depress men of sense and virtue, who have had the courage to *despise* them (31).

(31) Letter X. p. 484, 485. in Vol. II. of his Works, ubi sup.

[*Q*] *Dr Sherlock had been his old friend.*] He has discovered the very unsuitable state of his mind in which this piece was wrote, in no one instance more than in his conduct to his old friend, upon some conversation that had passed formerly in confidence between them. 'In conversing formerly, says he, on this subject [Moses's account of the fall of Man], 'with

eminently distinguished, and his book an illustrious proof and credit to his abilities; no wonder, then, if our author did not appear in this trial so much to his advantage as formerly [*R*]. This piece came out in January 1749-50, and, in a few months, his constitution began to break very remarkably, by a slow hectic fever and a disorder in his liver; and his legs swelling shortly after, visibly indicated his approaching end, which he himself was very sensible of. In these circumstances he went to London, where his friend and Physician Dr Heberden had been settled a few years before. He had long experienced at Cambridge the success of that gentleman's skill, in which he had the greatest confidence (*y*); he staid several days with the doctor at his own house, to see if there was any hopes of relief from physic; but finding his case desperate, he retired to his villa at Hildersham, where, not long after, he died on the 28th of July 1750, in the 67th year of his age, and was interred in his own parish of St Michael in Cambridge. In 1751, there was published a Vindication of his Free Inquiry, which he persevered in writing 'till within a few days of his death, but left it unfinished. Several other posthumous pieces were collected and printed the following year, together with all his works, except the History of Cicero's Life, in four volumes, 4to. Dying without issue *, he left his widow possessed of his estate, which was really not inconsiderable, notwithstanding a disadvantageous rumour that was spread about of it presently after his death; for which there was no other ground, but that the doctor happened to die before he had put an end to a dispute he had with his Builder, on account of some small alterations he made in the first plan of his house at Hildersham, after the work was entered upon. *As to his person, he was of a proper* middle stature, and a thin habit; his eye very lively, but small; he was a little outmouthed; of a manly complexion; and, to use the Painters phrase, there was a very expressive motion in every feature, though his whole deportment was composed to gravity. The early contests which he entered into in his college, being carried on with superior power, craftily employed on Dr Bentley's side, and attended with a very unsteady conduct in his own party, gave him an habitual watchfulness ever after over his nearest friends. He had pride enough to make himself tolerably easy under the disappointments which his religious principles threw in the way of his ambition, and spleen enough to preserve his stability in those principles. The character he formed for himself as the most eligible was, to make the scholar agreeable by polishing him with the gentleman, and to give weight to the man of sense by uniting him to the man of virtue; in the cause whereof, though the pious, humble, and orthodox Christian was far from being neglected, yet he was by no means principally in his view [*S*]. In the latter end of his life, Sir John Frederick presented

(*y*) In a letter to one of his friends he expresses himself thus, in respect to this gentleman. By Dr Heberden's removal to London from us, I have received a great and particular loss, which I Shall ever feel. Vol. II. p. 495. of his Works, ubi supra.

* His second wife had brought him a child, which died in it's infancy.

'with a certain great prelate, he said that *he looked upon the literal and the allegorical interpretation of the account of the Fall, to be of equal force and merit with respect to their use, or application to Christianity.*—I understood him then to mean, what I still take to be the sole meaning of his words, which carries any sense in it: that though the simpler sort of Christians generally interpret this story in it's gross and literal sense, while the more knowing and liberal look upon it as a fable or allegory; yet both of them acknowledge the same end in it, draw the same doctrine from it, and consider that doctrine whether delivered allegorically or historically, as the foundation of their common religion.'

'*If I should name this prelate, his Lordship, I am sure, would own his authority to be justly great with all men, and greater still with himself, than with any.* Yet when he comes to handle the same story, neither the letter nor the allegory can satisfy him. This reflection needs no comment, it carries it's condemnation written upon it's forehead.'

[*R*] *Did not appear so much to his advantage as formerly.*] He expressly declares that he came to his Lordship's discourses, possessed with personal prejudices against him. 'I entered, says he, and found 'this capital work of his Lordship to be just such as I 'expected, exhibiting a species of reasoning peculiar 'to himself, very subtle and refined, yet never con'vincing, and proper rather to perplex, than to illu'strate the notion of prophecy, and to amuse, rather 'than instruct, an inquisitive reader. I found much 'art and pains employed to dress up an imaginary 'scheme, of which I had not discovered the least trace 'in any of the four Gospels.' After this introduction, he falls upon some words in a preface, which, though dropt by his Lordship after the third edition of his book, yet this he asserts, was the only edition he had then seen, which if allowed to be true, because possible, plainly betrays such a want of patience and common prudence, in not making an ordinary enquiry into it, as is too evidently the effect of passion and anger. But he goes still farther, and assures us, in a note (32), that he had since learnt that there were two later editions in which the preface is omitted. Now though such a discovery would have determined a man of sense and a gentleman, to have suppressed any examination of the preface that he had made before that discovery; yet our author in his present circumstances so far forgets himself, as to make this a handle for guessing out several aspersions, which being confessedly grounded upon mere conjecture only, he would, in a better disposition, no doubt have seen, must naturally defeat his attempt to lessen his Lordship's established reputation by this work, which was the thing, as he expresly suggests, that gave him the highest offence, and even put him past his patience. The note referred to, is too long to be inserted here, but we shall transcribe one passage from it, since he therein discovers a kind of weakness, which never, as I remember, had escaped his caution before. 'His Lordship, says he, had some 'motive undeniably, for taking a step so unusual, so 'the reader will naturally be guessing, what it might 'probably be, and many will be apt to think that the 'passage which I have cited, carried in it so direct a 'condemnation of that use of single and separate pro'phecies which was made by the Evangelists, that it 'was omitted for that very reason, as tending to raise 'scruples in people's minds, to the disadvantage of his 'Lordship's scheme.' Thus the Bishop is supposed to withdraw this preface, from a sense of the force of our author's argument in his pamphlets against Dr Waterland, to shew the use which was made of independent prophecies by the Evangelists. A degree of vanity which is not to be met with any where else, as I remember, in his writings. Several other marks besides those we have taken notice of, appear in this pamphlet, of such a degree of inattention or imprudence, as shew, we presume, some decay in the natural vigour of his mind, and the breaking of his constitution presently after will, 'tis conceived, be thought, by some, a further evidence of the probability of the insinuations in the text.

[*S*] *The pious, humble, and orthodox Christian, was by no means principally in his view*] In his 7th letter to Mr Warburton, he has these words (33): 'I can 'easily imagine that you have suffered in the opinion 'of that person (34), and many others of the same 'stamp for your charitable opinion of me.' And afterwards he concludes thus: 'No, my friend, as long as 'you

(32) Viz. note (*a*), at the bottom of p. 137, & seq. in his Works, Vol. III.

(33) Dated Sept. 4, 1739. His Works, ubi sup. Vol. II. p. 482.

(34) Dr Potter, then Archbishop of Canterbury.

presented him to a small living in Surrey (z), which he held 'till his death, as he did likewise the post of Principal Librarian to the university; being succeeded in that office by Dr Paris, Master of Sidney-Sussex-college. The doctor, a little before his death, had formed a design of composing an exact History of his Works, with the Occasions and Circumstances of them; but this he did not live to execute (aa). There were also found among his papers some materials for a Life of Demosthenes, correspondent to that of Cicero.

(z) With about 50 l. per annum. An Attempt towards an Eulogium of Conyers Middleton, &c. p. 14. edit. 1750, 4to.

(aa) See the advertisement prefixed to his Works, Vol. I. ubi supra.

'you can love a man, because he is amiable, and 'think him honest, who is not perhaps *orthodox*, or a 'lover of truth, who hates a pious fraud and sanctified 'lye, you may enjoy the comfort of a good conscience 'and good company, but must not expect, after a life 'of *virtue* and study, to slumber in the stalls, and re-'fresh your old age in the sun-shine of the Church.' This is far from being the only passage in the doctor's works, where the word virtue is affectedly made use of to express his religion (35); but as we see it here in a private letter to a friend, where, if at all, we may expect to find his real sentiments undisguised, it is selected from the rest as the surest proof of this part of his character in the text. He knew very well that his brethren of the clergy in general pronounced him a Deist. This he constantly treated with contempt as a calumny, and the pure effect of sheer malice. 'Tis certain in his writings he more than once declares himself a believer; yet to speak impartially, in pursuance to the plan of these memoirs, it cannot be denied that he gave too much reason to suspect that the extent of his faith was confined within narrow limits. Indeed he seems to ambition a creed of his own compiling.

The want and destitution of the least air of piety or humility in his writings, is indeed the greatest defect in them, which is rendered too conspicuous, by confronting any of his disputations with Archbishop Tillotson's answer to Mr Serjeant's Sure Footing: where untainted piety, adorned with unaffected sprightliness, takes sure hold of the heart and affections, while the strictest reasoning convinces the understanding; and the whole gains still more upon us, when, upon a second reading, the noble spirit comes to be discerned, whereby all shew of learning is kept as much as possible out of sight; of which Dr Middleton is never sparing to make a decent parade. Whence we are apt to think, that however fair the pretences are which he makes of intending nothing more than a laudable and liberal philosophical disputation, solely for the sake of searching out truth, yet this view was strongly tainted with the scholastic vain-glory of carrying victory and triumph over his antagonist. P

(35) Exactly in the language of the Characteristics; the noble author whereof, also in a letter to a friend, thanks God that he had faith enough to believe himself a good Christian without episcopal confirmation. Letters from the late Earl of Shaftesbure to Robert Molesworth, Esq; afterwards Lord Viscount Molesworth, p. 126. edit. 1750, 8vo.

MILDMAY [Sir WALTER], Chancellor and Under-Treasurer of the Exchequer, and Founder of Emmanuel-college, in Cambridge, in the XVIth century. He was the fourth son of Thomas Mildmay of Chelmsford, Esq; [A] by Agnes his wife, daughter of . . . . Read (a). He had his Academical education in Christ's-college in Cambridge, to which he afterwards became a benefactor, and where he made a great proficiency in learning (b). In the reign of King Henry the Eighth, he was Surveyor of the Court of Augmentation [B]; and February 22, 1546-7, two days after the coronation of King Edward the Sixth, was made one of the Knights of the Carpet. He was afterwards in commission with the Earl of Warwick and Sir William Herbert, to hear and determine all accounts and reckonings of the King's mints within the realm (c). In the 7th of King Edward the Sixth, 1552, he served as Burgess in parliament for the town of Maldon in Essex (d): and, the year after, was in commission to survey and peruse the state of all the King's courts erected or kept for the custody of the King's lands, and for the answering or payment of any manner of rents and revenues, &c. He was also Warden of the Mint, and acted in several commissions in that reign for the disposition of divers lands, and the management of the King's revenues (e). When bloody Queen Mary came to the throne, he concealed his affection to the Protestant religion, and was very little concerned in affairs in that reign (f); though he was a burgess in her first Parliament for the city of Peterborough (g), and one of the Knights for the county of Northampton, in 1557, the 4th of Philip and Mary (h). Upon Queen Elizabeth's accession, he was again employed in state-affairs, and in the first year of her reign, 28 March 1559, was commissioned with Robert Lord Dudley Master of the horse, and others, to treat and compound with all such persons as held 40 l. a year in lands, and refused to take the order of knighthood (i). And also to examine the accounts of the farmers of the royal revenues (k). He was one of the Knights of the shire for the county of Northampton, in the several Parliaments called by Queen Elizabeth 'till the time of his death (l): and in the 9th year of her reign, 1566, on the death of Sir Richard Sackville, he succeeded him as Chancellor and Under-Treasurer of the Exchequer; having the character of a man of integrity and

(a) MS. Pedigree of the Mildmay Family, by N. Jekyll, Esq;

(b) Fuller's Worthies, in Essex, p. 335.

(c) Ar. Collins's Peerage, edit. 1735, Vol. II. Part ii. p. 770.

(d) Br. Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria, edit. 1750, p. 19. He makes him dye then, by mistake.

(e) Collins, as above, p. 770.

(f) Idem, p. 771.

(g) Willis, as above, p. 28.

(h) Idem, p. 57.

(i) Collins, as above, p. 771.

(k) Strype's Annals, Vol. I. edit. 1725, p. 13.

(l) Willis, as above, p. 65, 74, 83, 93, 103, 112, 122.

[A] *He was the fourth son of Thomas Mildmay Esq;*.] N. Jekyll Esq; calls him the *fourth* son; but Mr Fuller styles him the *fifth* son (1), and Ar. Collins, the *second* son (2) This family was originally of Lancashire, as Mr Arthur Collins shews. They made no considerable figure, at least in the County of Essex, until *Thomas* (the father of Sir *Walter*) being one of the Commissioners for taking the surrender of the Monasteries, and Auditor of the Court of Augmentation, took an opportunity to augment *greatly* his fortune and estates: as appears by the Inquisitions *post mortem*. From him sprung eight very eminent families in the county of Essex; namely, Mildmay of *Moulsham-hall* in Chelmsford; Mildmay of *Barnes* in *Springfield*; Mildmay of *Marks* near Romford; Mildmay of *Graces* in *Little Badow*; Mildmay of *Pontlands* in *Great Badow*; Mildmay of *Danbury*; Mildmay of *Terling*; and Mildmay of *Wanstead*. Which were possessed of estates to the amount of *Seven thousand four hundred pounds* a year, in the reign of King James the First (3). Now, there remains only the family of Moulsham, viz. William Mildmay, Esq; ——————— and the family of Marks. ———Branches of the same family, were the Mildmays of *Apethorp*, in Northamptonshire; of *Cretingham* in Suffolk; and of *Pishiobury* in *Sabridgeworth*, Hertfordshire (4).

[B] *Court of Augmentation.*] This court was erected by statute 27 Henry VIIIth, for determining suits and controversies relating to Monasteries and Abbey-lands; that the King might be justly dealt with, touching the profits of such religious Houses, as were given to him by Act of Parliament. It took its name from the great *Augmentation* that was made to the Revenues of the Crown, by the suppression of the Religious Houses.

(1) History of Cambridge, p. 146.

(2) Peerage, as above.

(3) From MSS.

(4) From N. Jekyll's MSS.

and of great discretion (*m*). Though put in that great and profitable place, he appears, not to have made himself a slave to the Court [*C*]; but to have paid a due regard to the liberties of the subject. And to express a suitable Gratitude for the riches bestowed upon him by Providence, he dedicated part of them to the uses of Religion and Learning, by founding a College in Cambridge, in 1584, which he named Emmanuel-college [*D*]. But to return to some publick affairs wherein he was concerned in the mean time: In 1582, he was employed in a Treaty with the Queen of Scots; being then a chief privy counsellor (*n*). Likewise, he was commissioned, with the Lord Treasurer Burghley, to examine the Lord Vaux, and Sir Thomas Tresham, guilty of treasonable practices (*o*). After having enjoyed three and twenty years his profitable place in the Exchequer, he departed this life May 31, 1589, and was buried in the chancel of the church of Great St Bartholomew's, near West-Smithfield, London (*p*)[*E*]. By his wife, Mary, sister of Sir Francis Walsingham, he left two sons and three daughters [*F*]. This character, is given of him; That he was a person of remarkable piety and singular prudence, who discharged all the duties of a good man and a good citizen (*q*): that he was a right godly Gentleman, though some of his back-friends suggested to the Queen, that he was a better patriot than subject, and that he was over-popular in Parliaments, insomuch, that his life did set under a cloud of the Royal displeasure. Yet was not the Cloud so great, but that the beams of his Innocence, meeting those of the Queen's Candor, had easily dispelled it, had he survived longer, as appeared by the great grief the Queen professed for the loss of so grave a Counsellor (*r*). His opinion concerning the keeping of the Queen of Scots (October 26, 1569) at Windsor-Castle, is printed in Burnet's History of the Reformation (*s*).

(*m*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. ad ann. 1566.

(*n*) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 78.

(*o*) Ibid. p. 125.

(*p*) Collins, as above, p. 771, 772.

(*q*) Camdeni Annal. Eliz. ad ann. 1589.

(*r*) Fuller's Worthies in Essex, p. 336.

(*s*) History of the Reformation. Collect. of Records, Part II. book iii. p. 369.

[*C*] *He appears not to have made himself a slave to the Court.*] Mr Fuller gives us the following instance of his honest disinterested spirit. 'Being imployed, by 'vertue of his place, to advance the Queen's *Treasure*, 'he did it industriously, faithfully, and conscionably, 'without wronging the subject; being very tender of 'their priviledges, insomuch, that he once complain-'ed in Parliament, That *many Subsidies were granted, 'and no Grievances redressed:* Which words being re-'presented with disadvantage to the Queen, made her 'to disaffect him, setting in a Court-cloud, but in the 'Sun-shine of his Country and a clear Conscience (5).'

(5) History of Cambridge, p. 146.

[*D*] *By founding a college in Cambridge, in 1584, which he named Emmanuel-college.*] He founded it upon the remains of a late suppressed Convent of Dominicans, Black, or Preaching Friers, in the street from them called Preachers-street: which convent had been erected in the year 1280, by the Lady Alice, Countess of Oxford, daughter and sole heir of Gilbert Lord Samford, hereditary Lord Chamberlain to the Queens of England, and wife of Robert Vere, the fifth Earl of Oxford (6). Sir Walter Mildmay having purchased the site of it of one Sherwood, placed therein a Master, three Fellows, and four scholars. But by the subsequent benefactions of Henry Earl of Huntingdon, Sir Francis Hastings his brother, Sir Robert Jermyn, Sir Francis Walsingham, Sir Wolstan Dixey, and the Lady Mary Dixey, Dr Alexander Nowel, Sir Henry Mildmay of Graces, and others; the number of it's members is augmented to fourteen Fellows, fifty Scholars, &c. Fuller tells us (7), that the founder 'com-'ing to Court after he had founded his college, the 'Queen told him, Sir Walter, I hear you have erec-'ted a *Puritan Foundation.* No, Madam, saith he, 'far be it from me to countenance any thing contrary 'to your established laws; but I have set an *Acorn*, 'which when it becomes an *Oak*, God alone knows 'what will be the fruit thereof.'

(6) R. Parker's View of Cambridge, edit. 1721, p. 155. and Fuller's Hist. of Cambridge, p. 146.

(7) History of Cambridge, p. 147.

[*E*] *And was buried in the chancel of the church of Great St Bartholomew's*] Where a handsome monument is erected to him, with this epitaph:

Mors nobis lucrum.

Hic jacet Gualterus Mildmay, miles, &
Maria uxor ejus. Ipse obiit ultimo
die Maii 1589. Ipsa die Martii
1576. Reliquerunt duos filios & tres
filias. Fundavit Collegium Emanu-
elis Cantabrigiæ. Moritur Cancella
rius & Sub-thesaurarius Scacarii &
Regiæ Majestati a consiliis.

i. e. Death is to us a gain. Here lyeth Sir Walter Mildmay Knt. and Mary his wife. He dyed the last day of May 1589. She the 16th day of March 1576. They left two sons and three daughters. He founded Emmanuel college in Cambridge: and dyed Chancellor and Under-Treasurer of the Exchequer, and Privy-Counsellor to the Queen.

[*F*] *He left two sons and three daughters.*] The two sons were *Antony*, and *Humphrey*. The eldest of whom enjoyed his father's seat at Apethorp, with the estate in Northamptonshire: He left only one daughter named Mary, which was married to Francis Fane Earl of Westmoreland, and carried a great estate into that family. Humphrey, the other son, was seated at Danbury in Essex; and had among other children, Antony, carver; and Sir Henry, master of the jewel-office, to King Charles the First.——Sir Walter's three Daughters were, *Winifred*, married to William Fitz-Williams of Gains-park in Essex; *Martha*, to Sir William Brouncker; and *Christian*, first to Charles Barrett of Aveley in Essex, and afterwards to Sir John Leveson of Kent, Knt. (8). C

(8) Jekyll's Pedigrees, MS.

MILL [JOHN] [*A*], the learned Editor of the most beautiful Greek Edition of the New Testament; was the son of Thomas Mill, of Banton, or Bampton, near the town of Shapp in Westmoreland. He was born at Shapp (*a*), about the year 1645 (*b*): and admitted, in 1661, into Queen's-college in Oxford (*c*); where having taken the degree Bachelor of Arts May 3, 1666, and that of Master, November 9, 1669 (*d*), he was elected Fellow of that College; and became an eminent tutor. Afterwards, entering into holy orders, he was admired as a florid and eloquent preacher: however, he never published but one Sermon [*B*]. In 1676, his countryman and fellow-collegian Dr Thomas Lamplugh

(*a*) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 977.

(*b*) See his age below.

(*c*) Wood, ibid.

(*d*) Idem, Fasti, Vol. II. col. 164, 175.

[*A*] *Mill.*] Otherwise Miln (1). His name is frequently and ignorantly, written Mills

(1) Wood, as above.

[*B*] *However, he never published but one sermon.*] It was preached '*on the Feast of the Annunciation of the blessed Virgin Mary, at St Martin's in the Fields, Westminster;*' on Luke i. 28. and published at London in 1676, 4to. He therein makes the following judicious observations (2). 'If the worship of the 'blessed Virgin had been a thing in practice from the 'beginning, can it with any colour of reason be 'imagined,

(2) P. 24, 25.

(e) Wood Ath. as above.

(f) Idem, Fasti, col. 214, 218.

(g) Idem, Ath. as above.

(h) Millii Prolegomena, p. 158, 164.

(i) Wood, Fasti, col. 218. as above. Vide etiam Millii Prolegomena p. 153, 167, 168. Labore fere continuo, & plane incredibili. Prolegom. p. 167.

Lamplugh being made Bishop of Exeter, he appointed him one of his Chaplains, and gave him a Prebend in the church of Exeter. In August 1681, he was presented by his college to the Rectory of Blechingdon in Oxfordshire (e). He had taken the degree of Bachelor of Divinity July 8, 1680; and, on the 8th of December 1681, he took the degree of Doctor in Divinity (f). About which time he became Chaplain in ordinary to King Charles the Second (g). A few years before, he had begun his fine edition of the New Testament [C], through the advice and encouragement of the excellent Dr Fell, Bishop of Oxford: and about fifteen sheets were already worked off in the printing-house under the Theatre, at his Lordship's charge (h). But, after the Bishop's death, his executors not being willing to carry on the work, Dr Mill refunded the prime costs, and took the impression upon himself; in which he wholly employed the last thirty years of his life, with the utmost industry and care (i). On the 5th of May 1685, he was elected and admitted Principal of St Edmund's-hall in Oxford (k); which was a very acceptable preferment, as it fixed him in that noble seat of learning, and enabled him to continue his great undertaking to the utmost advantage. Dr John Sharp Archbishop of York, obtained also for him, from Queen Anne, a Prebend of Canterbury, into which he was installed August 14, 1704 (l). His edition of the New Testament was published in 1707. But he did not live to reap the profit or the honour of it: for he was snatched away by an apoplectic fit, June 23, 1707, (a fortnight after the publication) in the 63d year of his age (m); and was buried in the chancel of Blechingdon church [D]. He was a man of great

(k) Wood Ath. as above.

(l) J. Le Neve Fasti, edit. 1716, p. 15. Vide Millii Prolegomena, p. 168.

(m) Annual List of the deaths of eminent persons, at the end of Boyer's History of Queen Anne, p. 43.

'imagined, that our Saviour and his Apostles would 'have been silent in so considerable a part of Religion? 'The truth is, it is so far from Apostolic or Primitive, 'that neither the Scriptures, nor the Christian writers 'for the first three hundred years, give any countenance at all to this sort of devotion. To be plain, 'this superstitious practice began about the middle of 'the fourth century; and Epiphanius, who lived 'about that time, particularly calls it (as he might 'have done a great many more) the *Heresy of women* '(3). There were in his days certain devout women 'of Arabia, who, as an instance of their worship of 'the blessed Virgin, offered up to this *Queen of Heaven* (as they thought her) certain cakes called Collyrides, whence they had the name of Collyridian heretics. The good father hearing of this preposterous 'devotion of theirs, inveighs, with all possible vehemency against that superstitious practice, accounting 'it damnable and diabolical, and the persons devoted 'to it no better than those that *attend to seducing spirits* '*and doctrines of dæmons* *. And then he states the 'worship due to the Virgin Mary thus: *Mary*, says 'he, *was a Virgin, it is true; nay more*, τετιμημένη, *a very honourable Virgin*; ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰς προσκύνησιν ἡμῖν δοθεῖσα, *but she is not proposed to us as* '*an object of Religious Worship*. Καὶ εἰ καλλίστη ἡ 'Μαρία, καὶ ἁγία, καὶ τετιμημένη, ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰς τὸ 'προσκυνεῖσθαι, says the same father, *Though Mary be* '*a most excellent, holy, and venerable woman, yet she* '*is by no means capable of a religious adoration*. And 'again, Ἡ Μαρία ἐν τιμῇ, ὁ Κύριος προσκυνείσθω, '*Let the Virgin be reverenced, but God only worshipped*. So zealous was Epiphanius in the matter of the 'Virgin's invocation, a piece of superstition before 'his time not known in the world.'—He further observes (4), that 'the several periods of the rise and 'growth of this superstitious folly and will-worship, as 'to all the parts of it, are too notorious to allow it the 'least pretensions to antiquity. The Council of Ephesus, towards the beginning of the fourth century, 'gave her indeed the style of Θεοτόκος, or *Mother* '*of God*, in opposition to the Nestorian heresy. And 'I know very well that in the ages immediately succeeding, they fell to making lofty and unreasonably 'high harangues in her commendation. But it was 'about *a thousand years* after Christ, before any daily 'office was instituted to her. And a long time after 'that was it, ere the doctrine of her immaculate conception appeared in the world. The Canons of Lyons are the first men upon record, who inserted that 'doctrine into their ecclesiastical offices, and are upon 'that account sharply reprehended by St Bernard. 'About three hundred years ago Duns Scotus a school-doctor, revived the opinion, and proposed it as a 'thing merely probable. In favour of it Pope Sixtus the 'fourth afterwards published a bull, which was finally 'approved and ratified by the Council of Trent.—The 'Romanists style her in their missals and offices, *The* '*Queen of Heaven, The Empress of the World, The* '*ladder of Paradise, The gate of Salvation, The mediatrix between God and man, The Saviour, by whom* '*God hath sent redemption unto his people, A Goddess,*

(3) Epiphan. contra hæref. l. 3. hær. 79.

* 1 Tim. iv. 1.

(4) P. 26, 27.

'*The omnipotent Lady, &c.*——And Cardinal Bonaventure, who compiled the *Lady's Psalter*, as 'they call it, has taken the liberty very fairly to 'burlesque the Psalms of David, and roundly to 'apply and direct to the holy Virgin all those noble 'hymns and most pious ejaculations and prayers, which 'the royal Psalmist presented to almighty God.'

[C] *A few years before he had begun his fine edition of the New Testament.*] This edition is founded upon, and an improvement of, two former valuable editions; namely, the most sumptuous and elegant *folio* one of *Robert Stephens*, in 1550, which had in the inner margin the collations of sixteen Manuscripts: and the neat and accurate edition of *Bishop Fell* at Oxford, in 1675, 8vo. To the former, therefore, our author added the various readings of sixteen other Manuscripts out of the English Polyglot Bible. Then he collated himself all the valuable Manuscripts in England; and procured collations of the most esteemed ones, at Rome, Paris, Vienna, and other places: likewise of the ancient Translations of the New Testament, especially the Italic one. The work is disposed in the following convenient order. At the top of each page is the sacred Text, in a large and most beautiful character: Next are placed the parallel places of Scripture, intermixed with *scholia*, or short explanatory notes, taken from the fathers and other ancientest Christian writers. And at the bottom of each page are the various Readings, in two columns; with the learned Doctor's judgment upon most of them, and Notes, nay sometimes long and very curious dissertations. To the whole are prefixed learned *Prolegomena*, containing 168 folio pages, close printed; and divided into these three parts. 1. Of the books of the New Testament, and of the settling of the sacred Canon. 2. Of the condition and state of the Text of the New Testament, through all the ages of the Church; with an account of the ancient Commentators upon it, Translations, and most considerable Editions. 3. Concerning this Edition in particular.——This Testament was reprinted by L. Kuster (5), who revised Dr Mill's collection, disposed it in better order, and augmented it with the collation of twelve new Manuscripts. It was also reprinted at Leipsic in 1723.

(5) Roterod. 1710, fol.

[D] *And was buried in the chancel of Blechingdon church.*] Where a monument is erected to his memory, with this inscription.

M. S.
IOANNIS MILLII S. T. P.
Collegii Reginæ pridem Socii,
* Istius Ecclesiæ Rectoris,
Ædibus Edmundinis Præfecti,
Prebendarii Exon.
Canonici Cantuarensis †
QUI
in CODICEM N. FOEDERIS
Scripsit Prolegomena
Marmore perenniora
Ob. Junii XXIII. CIƆIƆCCVII.

* So it is on the monument, instead of *istius*.

† Instead of *Cantuariensis*.

[E] *Particularly*

(n) Boyer, ibid.

great learning, and particularly well verſed in the oriental languages (*n*). But he needs no other character or encomium, than the bare mention of his fine and valuable edition of the New Teſtament, ſo often mentioned: though ſome have thought fit to cenſure it, particularly the late Dr Whitby [*E*].

[*E*] *Particularly the late Dr Whitby.*] That otherwiſe learned and judicious writer, cauſeleſly alarmed at the ſight of the great heap of various Readings publiſhed by Dr Mill, and imagining that they would invalidate the Authority of the New Teſtament; he therefore publiſhed, *Examen variantium Lectionum Johannis Millii, S. T. P.* &c. i. e. 'An Examination 'of Dr John Mill's various Readings on the New 'Teſtament. In which it is ſhewn, I. That the foun'dations of theſe various Readings are altogether un'certain, and unfit to ſubvert the preſent Reading of 'the Text. II. That thoſe various Readings, which 'are of any moment, and alter the ſenſe of the Text, 'are very few; and that in all theſe caſes the reading 'of the Text may be defended. III. That the vari'ous Readings of leſſer moment, which are conſidered 'at large, are ſuch, that we very ſeldom have reaſon 'to depart from the commonly received Readings. 'IV. That Dr Mill, in collecting theſe various read'ings, hath often acted diſingenuouſly; that he 'abounds in falſe citations, and frequently contradicts 'himſelf.' Lond. 1710. fol. pages 100. Added afterwards, by way of Appendix, to his Paraphraſe and Commentary on the New Teſtament.——In the preface to this work, Dr Whitby gives his reaſons why he undertook this Examination of Dr Mill's various Readings; which is to this effect. Whereas it is the firm belief of the Church of England, and all the other Reformed Churches, that the Scriptures contain a perfect and ſufficiently plain rule both of faith and practice, Dr Mill greatly prejudices this rule, partly by multiplying various Readings, without any neceſſity, or upon no juſt grounds, in oppoſition to almoſt all the ancient copies, verſions, Fathers, and commentators, in favour of one *Vulgar*, *Coptic*, or *Æthiopic* verſion; and partly by acknowledging that the Scriptures have been corrupted, and in many places interpolated from the earlieſt ages of the Church, and even from the times of the Apoſtles themſelves.——Then Dr Whitby expreſſes his ſorrow, at finding ſo many things in Dr Mill's *Prolegomena*, which either plainly weaken our *Rule of Faith*, or give others too ſpecious a handle of queſtioning it's ſoundneſs, or at leaſt ſeem to give ſome appearance of ſtrength to the objections of the Romaniſts and others, againſt this Rule. To that purpoſe, he obſerves, that ſuch a vaſt Heap of various Readings, will keep a great many in ſuſpence, and will give them occaſion to ſuſpect, that there is little Certainty to be expected in that book, every verſe, nay every ſentence, of which admits of a various reading. Morinus argued ſuch a depravation of the Greek text, as in ſome meaſure weakens it's authority, from Robert Stephens's collection of various readings. And if ſo, how much more will the Romaniſts triumph over the ſame text, when they ſee thoſe various Readings multiplied by Dr Mill, into four times the number produced by Stephens, and at laſt conſiderably enlarged by a copious appendix. Moreover, Dr Mill's confident aſſertion, That ſeveral corruptions and interpolations have crept into the holy Scriptures, even from the infancy of the Church, and almoſt in the Apoſtolical age, are a great hurt to the Proteſtant cauſe. Dr Mill, after a great deal of ſtudy and pains, profeſſes to have found out *two thouſand* places, in which the copies handed down to us by the Church, have been liable to corruptions, a great many of which have been added to the original text, even in the infancy of the Church; nay, he adds, that ſome ignorant reader or other has, with his commentaries and interpolations, above a thouſand times corrupted the original text; and that, which was at firſt only a marginal note, hath very often crept into the text, and infected all copies ſucceſſively. If this was ſo, Dr Whitby aſks, could this in any meaſure be done, without the greateſt negligence of the Governors of the Church? Or could theſe imaginary *Scholia* creep into all the Copies diſperſed far and wide throughout the whole Chriſtian world, and tranſlated into different languages, without a confederacy of the whole body of Chriſtians in this matter. For ſince theſe ſacred books were read every where, and, either the originals themſelves, or copies faithfully taken from them, were in the hands of all the faithful, and preſerved in the archives of the firſt Churches; theſe things could no otherwiſe poſſibly be effected, but by the mutual confederacy of the parties concerned.

To come now to the *Examination* itſelf: That work is divided by Dr Whitby into three books. In the firſt chapter of the firſt book, he endeavours to ſhew, That it cannot fairly be collected from the writings of the Fathers, or their citations from the Scriptures, that they read otherwiſe than we do now in the preſent text. This he proves by the following arguments: Becauſe the Fathers often alledged texts of Scripture, not as they were expreſly contained in the New Teſtament itſelf, but as they occurred to their own memories: Becauſe they often give us only the ſenſe and ſubſtance of paſſages, without any regard to the words themſelves: Becauſe they often add ſeveral things to the text itſelf: Becauſe they often omit ſeveral words, and ſometimes whole periods: Becauſe the ſame Fathers, who ſometimes cite paſſages different from the vulgar text, at other times cite the ſame paſſages agreeing with it: Becauſe they often heap together in their quotations ſeveral remote ſections of Scripture, which occur in that ſenſe in different places, but are no where expreſly to be met with. In the 2d Chapter of the firſt book, Dr Whitby endeavours to ſhew, that a various Reading cannot be fairly collected from the Vulgar Latin, or from the Latin verſion of a Greek Father, or from a paſſage cited by the Latin Fathers: Becauſe whatever the original text be in itſelf, 'tis the cuſtom of interpreters to accommodate the words, which they make uſe of, to the vulgar verſion: Becauſe the Latin Fathers were very indifferent judges of theſe matters, being but poor critics in Greek. This Dr Mill himſelf owns of them, as Dr Whitby ſhews in ſeveral particulars, &c.——At the end there is an appendix, in which Dr Whitby gives an account of ſeveral of Dr Mill's ſelf-contradictions; a ſpecimen of the Latin Verſion as it was before it received St Jerom's emendations, from the ſpurious readings, defects, and redundancies in the commentaries of Hilary the Deacon, upon St Paul's Epiſtles; and a collection of the paſſages of Scripture, whoſe various readings Dr Whitby conteſts in this Examination.

Ant. Collins made the moſt of this (6); and having obſerved firſt, that 'Dr Mills (as he calls him,) has 'publiſhed a Book containing all the various Readings 'of the New Teſtament he has been able to meet 'with; which amount, according to a late author (7), 'to above *Thirty thouſand*:' he then cites part of the preface to Dr Whitby's Examination, in order to ſhew how 'the *Text of Scripture* is affected by this work of Dr Mills,' that is, as he would have it inferred, how it is rendered thereby *doubtful* and *precarious*. But Mr Whiſton, in his Reflections on that Pamphlet (8), rightly anſwers, that 'thoſe various Readings are ſo far 'from hurting the Text, or weakening it's Authority 'in general, that they give mighty light to it; ſhew 'how it has been in conſtant uſe and reputation; are 'a grand hedge and ſecurity about it; ſhew us ſome'times the original writing of the Apoſtles in indiſpu'table points; and are undeniable atteſtations to the 'main current and coherence of our common copies, 'it being evident, that out of thoſe thirty thouſand 'there are ſcarce fifty, that do conſiderably alter the 'ſenſe of the places, and of them ſcarce ten that do ſo 'in any points of great difficulty and importance. So 'that, to ſpeak my mind plainly, whenever I find ſuch 'a noiſe made in this caſe, I ſhrewdly ſuſpect either 'groſs ignorance as to thoſe various Readings them'ſelves, and the proper nature and uſe of them, or 'great paſſion, prejudice, and want of judgment; and 'on the contrary cannot but wiſh, that the various 'Readings of the Hebrew copies of the Old Teſtament 'had been preſerved as well as thoſe of the New; be'ing very ſecure, that thence great light would often 'have ariſen to many texts, which no Commentator 'can now unfold to us upon any certain foundation.'

But the beſt Anſwer to A. Collins's cavils upon this ſubject, was given by the famous Dr Richard Bentley (9); an extract of which will be very proper here.— 'I am forc'd (ſays the Doctor,) to confeſs with grief, 'That

(6) Ant. Collins, in his Diſcourſe of Freethinking, p. 88.

(7) Præfat. ad Nov. Teſt. edit. Wetſtenii.

(8) P. 37, 38.

(9) Remarks upon a Diſcourſe of Free-Thinking, by Phileleutherus Lipſienſis, 6th edit. Cambr. 1725, Part i. p. 63, &c.

'That several well meaning Priests, of greater zeal than knowledge, have often by their own false alarms and panic both frighted others of their own side, and given advantage to their enemies. What an uproar once was there, as if all were ruined and undone, when Capellus wrote one book against the Antiquity of the Hebrew Points, and another for Various Lections in the Hebrew Text itself? And yet time and experience has cured them of those imaginary fears.—The case is and will be the same with the learned Dr *Mill*.—For what is it that *Whitbyus* so inveighs and exclaims at? The Doctor's labours, says he, make the whole Text precarious; and expose both the Reformation to the Papists, and Religion itself to the Atheists. God forbid! we'll still hope better things. For surely those *Various Readings* existed before in several exemplars; Dr Mill did not make and coin them, he only exhibited them to our view. If Religion therefore was true before, though such Various Readings were in being: it will be as true, and consequently as safe, still, though every body sees them. Depend on't; no truth, no matter of fact fairly laid open, can ever subvert true Religion. The 30000 various lections are allow'd then and confess'd: and if more copies yet are collated the sum will still mount higher. And what's the inference from this? why, Gregory here quoted (10), infers, *That no profane Author whatever has suffer'd so much by the hand of Time, as the New Testament has done*. Now if this should be found utterly false; and if the Scriptural Text has no more Variations, than what must necessarily have happen'd from *the nature of things*, and what are common and in equal proportion in all Classics whatever; I hope this panic will be remov'd, and the Text be thought as firm as before. If there had been but One manuscript of the Greek Testament, at the restoration of learning about two centuries ago, then we had had no *Various Readings* at all. And would the Text be in a better condition then, than now we have 30000? So far from that, that in the best single copy extant, we should have had hundreds of faults, and some omissions irreparable. Besides, that the suspicions of fraud and foul play would have been increas'd immensly. It is good therefore, you'll allow, to have more anchors than one; and another manuscript to join with the first would give more Authority, as well as Security. Now chuse that second where you will, there shall be a thousand variations from the first; and yet half or more of the faults still remain in them both. A third therefore, and so a fourth, and still on, are desireable; that by a joint and mutual help, all the faults may be mended; some copy preserving the true reading in one place, and some in another. And yet the more copies you call to assistance, the more do the Various Readings multiply upon you: every copy having it's peculiar slips, though in a principal passage or two it do singular service. And this is fact, not only in the New Testament, but in all antient books whatever. 'Tis a good Providence and a great blessing, That so many Manuscripts of the New Testament are still amongst us; some procur'd from Egypt, others from Asia, others found in the Western Churches. For the very distance of places, as well as numbers of the Books, demonstrate, that there could be no collusion, no altering nor interpolating one copy from another, nor all by any of them. In profane Authors, whereof one Manuscript only had the good luck to be preserv'd, as Velleius Paterculus among the Latins, and Hesychius among the Greeks; the Faults of the Scribes are found so numerous, and the Defects beyond all redress, that notwithstanding the pains of the learnedest and acutest Critics for two whole centuries, those books are still, and are like to continue, a mere heap of errors. On the contrary, where the copies of any author are numerous, though the Various Readings always increase in proportion; there the Text by an accurate collation of them made by skilful and judicious hands, is ever the more correct, and comes nearer to the true words of the author.——Terence is now in one of the best conditions of any of the classic writers; the oldest and best copy of him is now in the Vatican Library, which comes nearest to the Poet's own hand; but even That has hundreds of errors most of which may be mended out of other exemplars, that are otherwise more recent and of inferior value. I myself have collated several; and do affirm, that I have seen twenty thousand Various Lections in that little Author; not near so big as the whole New Testament: and am morally sure, that if Half the number of Manuscripts were collated for Terence with that niceness and minuteness which has been used in twice as many for the New Testament, the number of the Variations would amount to above fifty thousand. In the Manuscripts of the New Testament the Variations have been noted with a religious, not to say superstitious, exactness. Every difference in spelling, in the smallest particle or article of speech, in the very order or collocation of words without real change, has been studiously registred. Nor has the Text only been ransack'd, but all the antient versions, the Latin Vulgate, Italick, Syriac, Æthiopic, Arabic, Coptic, Armenian, Gothic, and Saxon; nor these only, but all the dispers'd citations of the Greek and Latin Fathers in a course of 500 years. What wonder then, if with all this scrupulous search in every hole and corner, the Varieties rise to thirty thousand? when in all antient Books of the same bulk, whereof the Manuscripts are numerous, the Variations are as many or more; and yet no *Versions* to swell the reckoning. The editors of profane Authors do not use to trouble their Readers with an useless list of every small slip committed by a lazy or ignorant Scribe.—Hence the reader not vers'd in antient Manuscripts, is deceiv'd into an opinion, that there were no more Variations in the copies, than what the Editor has communicated. Whereas, if the like scrupulousness was observ'd in registring the smallest changes in profane Authors, as is allow'd, nay requir'd in sacred; the now formidable number of thirty thousand would appear a very trifle. 'Tis manifest, that books in verse are not near so obnoxious to Variations, as prose: the transcriber, if he is not wholly ignorant and stupid, being guided by the measures; and hindered from such alterations, as do not fall in with the laws of numbers. And yet even in Poets, the Variations are so very many, as can hardly be conceiv'd without use and experience.'— For this he instances, in the edition of Tibullus, by Broukhuise, and in that of Plautus by Pareus; where the Various Lections are as many as the lines: And in Manilius collated by himself, where the Variations are twice as many as all the lines of the Book.—'So that (continues he) if I may advise you; when you hear more of this scarecrow of thirty thousand, be neither astonish'd at the Sum, nor in any pain for the Text. 'Tis plain to me, that your learned *Whitbyus*, - - - - under his deep concern for the *Text*, did not reflect at all what that word really means. The present Text was first settled almost two hundred years ago out of several Manuscripts, by *Robert Stephens* a printer and bookseller at Paris: whose beautiful and (generally speaking) accurate Edition, has been ever since counted the standard, and follow'd by all the rest. Now this specific Text in *Dr Whitby's* notion seems to be taken for the sacred Original in every word and syllable: and if the conceit is but spread and propagated, within a few years that Printer's infallibility will be as zealously maintain'd as an Evangelist's or Apostle's. Dr Mill, were he alive, would confess, That this *Text* fix'd by a Printer is sometimes by the Various Readings rendered *uncertain*, nay is prov'd certainly wrong. But then he would subjoin, That the real Text of the Sacred Writers does not now (since the Originals have been so long lost) ly in any single Manuscript or Edition; but is dispers'd in them all. 'Tis competently exact indeed even in the worst Manuscripts now extant; nor is One Article of Faith or Moral Precept either perverted or lost in them; chuse as awkwardly as you can, chuse the worst by design, out of the whole lump of Readings. But the lesser matters of diction, and among several synonymous Expressions, the Very words of the writer must be found out by the same Industry and Sagacity that is used in the other books; must not be risk'd upon the credit of any particular Manuscript or Edition, but be sought, acknowledg'd, and challeng'd, wherever they are met with.' C

(10) Pref. to Posthumous Works.

MILTON [John], usually stiled the English Poet, was descended of a father of both his names, who being disinherited while he was young for embracing the Protestant religion (a), quitted his parents and the family-seat at Milton in Oxfordshire (b), and applying himself to the business of a Scrivener in London, married a gentlewoman of a good family (c), and settled in a house which he purchased in Breadstreet (d). In this house our author, his eldest son (e), was born, December 9, 1608 (f). He was trained up with great care in virtue and piety from his infancy by his parents, who had a private tutor (g) at home to instruct him in the first rudiments of learning; but was put afterwards to St Paul's school, under the care of Mr Alexander Gill (h). Here he applied with so much industry to his book (i), that he hurt his constitution (k), which was none of the strongest; but he made an extraordinary progress, and gave some early specimens of an admirable genius for poetry (l). At the age of seventeen (m), he was admitted Sizar of Christ's college in Cambridge, under the tuition of Mr William Chappel (n). He neglected no part of academical learning (o); but his chief study and delight lay in exercising and improving his poetical talents [A]. In 1628 he proceeded Bachelor of Arts, having performed his exercise for it with great applause. It was his father's intention to breed him to the Church, nor had our author himself any other thoughts for some time; but when riper years brought him to consult his own judgment, he dropped that design against the advice of his friends [B]; and growing daily more enamoured with his darling Muse, the more intimately he grew into her acquaintance, he resolved to pursue that course of study to which the bent of his nature so strongly drew him, and dedicated his future life and labours entirely to the service of poesy [C]. In 1632 he took the degree

(a) The grandfather was a zealous Papist, and Under-Ranger of the forest of Shotover near Oxford. Wood's Fasti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 262.

(b) They had been long seated there, one of the family having all his estate, except what he had by his wife, sequestered in the contests between the houses of York and Lancaster. Life of Milton, edit. 1694, p. 4. by Philips.

(c) Philips says she was descended of the Castons, a Welsh family. According to Wood she was descended of the Bradshaw's in Lancashire. And Peck observes, that her arms were those of the Haughtons of Haughton-tower in that county. Memoirs of Milton, p. 1. edit. 1740, 4to.

(d) He put up for his sign a spread eagle blazoned, argent, with two heads guled, leg'd and beak'd sable, which were the arms our author used to seal his letters with. Id. ibid.

(e) He had another son and two daughters, who will be mentioned in the sequel.

(f) Wood, ubi supra, confirmed in Birch's Life of Milton, p. 111, edit. 1753, 4to. (g) His name was T. Young, an affectionate correspondence was carried on between them for several years. Milton's fourth Elegy among his Latin poems. (h) That is, the father. See Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 12. Our author afterwards corresponded, as appears by his Familiar Letters with the son, who was esteemed the best Latin poet in his time. (i) He had other masters to teach him Philosophy. Defensio Secund. p. 283, edit. 1753, 4to. (k) He scarce ever went to bed before midnight, and this, added to his frequent head aches, was the first ruin of his eyes, which were naturally weak. Ibid. (l) See his paraphrase on p. 114 and 136. in his Poems on several Occasions. (m) Viz. Feb. 12, 1624. From the college register. (n) An excellent tutor. See Lightfoot's article, note (a). (o) Defensio secunda, p. 383. and his Prolusiones shew how much he excelled in academical exercises.

[A] *His chief study and delight lay in improving his poetical talents.*] His juvenile poems might pass for a sufficient proof of this assertion (1), but it gives a further satisfaction as well as pleasure, to see him expressly declaring it. Thus: 'I had my time, says he, 'as others have, who have good learning bestowed up- 'on them, to be sent to those places, where the opi- 'nion was it might be soonest attained, and as the 'manner is, was not unstudied in those authors which 'are most commended: whereof, some were grave 'orators and historians, whose matter methought I 'loved indeed; but as my age then was, I understood 'them. Others, were the smooth elegiac Poets; 'whereof the schools are not scarce, whom, both 'for the pleasing sound of their numerous writ- 'ings, which, *in imitation I found most easy, and most* '*agreeable to nature's part in me* (2); and for their 'matter, which what it is there be few who know not? 'I was so allured to read, that no recreation came to 'me better welcomed (3).'

[B] *He dropt that design.*] 'By the intentions of my 'parents and friends, says he, I was destined of a child, 'and in mine own resolutions, 'till coming to some 'maturity of years—I thought it better to prefer a 'blameless silence, before the sacred office of speak- 'ing (4)'

[C] *To the service of poesy.*] In answer to one of his friends who had importuned him to take Orders, he wrote as follows:

'Sir,

'Besides that, in sundry other respects, I must acknow- 'ledge me to profit by you whenever we meet; you 'are often to me, and were yesterday especially, as 'good a watchman to admonish, that the hours of the 'night pass on, (for so I call my life, as yet obscure 'and unserviceable to mankind) and that the day with 'me is at hand, wherein Christ commands all to la- 'bour, while there is light. Which, because I am 'persuaded you do to no other purpose, than out of a 'true desire, that God should be honoured in every one, 'I therefore think myself bound, though unaskt, to 'give you account, as oft as occasion is, of this my 'tardy moving, according to the precept of my con- 'science, which I firmly trust is not without God. 'Yet now I will not streine for any set apologie, but 'only refere myself to what my mind shall have at 'any tyme, to declare her self at her best ease. But 'if you thinke, as you said, that too much love of 'learning is in fault, and that I have given up myself 'to dreame away my years in the arms of a studious re- 'tirement, like Endymion with the moone, as the 'tale of Latmus goes; yet consider, that if it were no 'more than the meer love of learning, whether it 'proceed from a principle bad, good, or naturall, it 'could not have held out thus long, against so strong 'opposition on the other side, of every kind. For, 'if it be bad, why should not all the fond hopes, that 'forward youth and vanitie are fledged with, together 'with gaine, pride and ambition, call me forward 'more powerfully, than a poor regardlesse and unpro- 'fitable sin of curiosity should be able to with-hold me, 'whereby a man cuts himselfe off from all action, and 'becomes the most helplesse, pusillanimous, and un- 'weaponed creature in the world, the most unfit and 'unable to do that, which all mortals most aspire to, 'either to be usefull to his friends, or to offend his 'enemies. Or, if it be to be thought an naturall 'pronenesse, there is against that a much more po- 'tent inclination inbred, which about this time of a 'man's life sollicits most, the desire of house and family 'of his owne, to which nothing is esteemed more help- 'ful, than the early entering into credible employment, 'and nothing more hindering then this affected solitari- 'nesse, and tho' this were enough, yet there is to this 'another act, if not of pure, yet of refined nature, no 'lesse availeable to dissuade prolonged obscurity, 'a desire of honour, and repute, and immortal fame, 'seated in the breast of every true scholar, which all 'make haste to, by the readiest ways of publishing and 'divulging conceiv'd merits, as well those that shall, 'as those that never shall obtain it. Nature would pre- 'sently work the more prevalent way, if there were no- 'thing but this inferiour bent to restraine her Lastly, 'the love of learning, as it is the pursuit of something 'good, it would sooner follow the more excellent and 'supreme good known and presented, and so be quick- 'ly exempted from the emptie and fantastic chase of 'shadows and notions, to the solid good flowing from 'due and tymely obedience to that command in the 'Gospel, sett out by the terrible seasing of him, that 'hid the talent. It is more probable therefore that, 'not the endlesse delight of speculation, but this very 'consideration of that great commandment, does not 'presse forward as soon as many doe to undergoe, but 'keeps off with a sacred reverence and religious advise- 'ment how best to undergoe; not taking thought 'of being late, so it give advantage to be more fit; for 'those that were latest lost nothing, when the maister 'of the vineyard came to give each one his hire. 'And here I am come to a streame-head, copious 'enough to disburthen itself like Nilus at seven mouths 'into

(1) Morhoff in his Polyhist. declares of them, that they shew Milton to be a man in his childhood, and are vastly superior to the ordinary capacity of that age.

(2) To the same tune sings our modern bard, 'I lisp'd in num- 'bers, and the 'numbers came.' Pope.

(3) Apology for Smectymnus, p. 117. Vol. I. of his prose works, edit. 1753.

(4) Reason of Church Government, b. ii. at the end of the introduction.

degree of Master of Arts (p), and having now spent as much time in the university as became a person who determined not to engage in any of the three professions [D], he left the college, greatly regretted by his acquaintance [E], but highly displeased with the usual method of training up youth there for the study of Divinity [F]; and, being much out of humour with the publick administration in general of ecclesiastical affairs, he grew dissatisfied with the established form of Church government [G], and disliked the whole plan of education practised in the university [H]. Thus fixed in the choice of his course of

(p) *Cum laude*, as he tells us himself in Defens. secund. ubi supra.

'into an ocean. But then I should also run into a reciprocall contradiction of ebbing and flowing at once, 'and do that which I excuse myself for not doing, 'preach and not preach. Yet that you may see that 'I am something suspicious of myselfe, and do take 'notice of a certain belatednesse in me, I am the bolder to send you some of my nightward thoughts, some 'while since, because they come in not altogether unfitly, made up in a Petrarchian stanza, which I told 'you of.

'How soon hath time the suttle theefe of youth,
'Stolne on his wing my three and twentieth yeare!
'My hasting days fly on with full careere,
'But my late spring no bud or blossom sheweth.
'Perhaps my semblance might deceive the truth,
'That I to manhood am arriv'd so neare,
'And inward ripeness doth much lesse appear,
'That some more tymely happie spirit indu'th:
'Yet be it less or more, or soon or slow,
'It shall be still in strictest measure even
'To that same lot, however mean or high,
'Towards which tyme leads me, and the will of
'Heaven:
'All is, if I have grace to use it so,
'As ever in my great task-maister's eye.

'By this I believe you may well repent of having made 'mention at all of this matter; for if I have not all 'this while won you to this, I have certainly wearied 'you of it. This therefore alone may be a sufficient reason for me to keep me as I am, least having thus tired 'you singly, I should deal worse with a whole congregation, and spoyle all the patience of a parish; for 'I myself do not only see my own tediousnesse, but 'now grow offended with it, that has hindered me 'thus long, from coming to the last and best period of 'my letter, and that which must now chiefly work my 'pardon, that I am your true and unfained friend (5).'

(5) Birch's Life of Milton, p. iii, iv.

[D] *Not to engage in any of the three professions*] This humour being at length indulged by his father, he very appositely returned his thanks for that favour, in an elegant copy of Latin verses; wherein, having, with admirable address insinuated that his father's taste and temper agreed with his own so far, that he was not directed in the choice of that profession he had designed him for by any lucrative views, he proceeds to sing the praises of poetry; to which, as his own choice, he endeavours to reconcile his father by some arguments *ad hominem*; as for instance, his great fondness and skill in musick the sister art to poetry; and then concludes by presaging, after the example of Horace, that he should in time be placed above the reach of malice and envy (6).

(6) See verses inscribed *ad Patrem*, in his Poems on Several Occasions.

[E] *Regretted by his acquaintance.*] Notwithstanding the disgust which, under the guidance of his republican spirit, he took up against the universities, and their manner of educating youth; yet he found it necessary to urge his own education there, in order to clear himself of the charge of having passed his youth in licentiousness and debauchery. In a treatise already quoted, he thanks his antagonist for this slander, since it gave him an apt occasion to acknowledge publickly, with all grateful mind, that more than ordinary favour and respect which he found above any of his equals, at the hands of those courteous and learned men, the Fellows of that college wherein he spent some years: 'who, at my parting, continues he, after I had taken two degrees, as the manner is, signified many ways, how much better it would content them that I would stay, as by many letters full of kindness and loving respect, both before that time and long after I was assured of their singular good affection towards me. Which being likewise propense to all such as were for their studious and civil life worthy of esteem, I could not wrong their judgments and upright intentions, so much as to think I had that regard for them for other cause, than that I might be still encouraged to proceed in the honest and laudable courses, of which they apprehended I had given good proof And to those ingenuous and friendly men who were ever the countenancers of virtuous and hopeful wits, I wish the best and happiest things, that friends in absence wish one to another (7).'

(7) Apology for Smectymnus, p. 115.

[F] *Displeased with the method of breeding youth to Divinity.*] He took an early dislike to this method of breeding, or rather course of life, by those that were bred to this profession. We find him soon after the taking of his first degree, giving it as a proof of the ill state of learning there at that time, that those who were designed for the profession of Divinity were destitute of all knowledge both of Philology and Philosophy; so that the monkish ignorance of the former age, would probably once more possess the clergy (8). In the same spirit he censures the liberty indulged to young students to act plays, as tending to corrupt their morals; here are his words: 'What difficulty, says he, was it for me to know the loose discourse, dress, and gestures of the play-houses? when in the colleges so many of the young Divines, and those in the next aptitude to Divinity, have been so often upon the stage, writhing and unboning their clergy-limbs to all the antic and dishonest gestures of trinculoes, buffoons, and bawds; prostituting the shame of that ministry, which either they had, or were well nigh having, to the eyes of courtiers and court-ladies, with their grooms and madamoiselles. There while they acted and overacted, among other young scholars I was a spectator; they thought themselves gallant men, and I thought them fools; they made sport, and I laughed; they mispronounced, and I misliked; and to make up the atticism, they were out, and I hissed (9).' We leave it to the reader to judge whether his fondness for poetry, which made him resolve not to take orders as his father desired, might not have some share in begetting these hard reflections.

(8) Letter to Alexander Gill the younger, dated Cambridge July 2, 1628. Milton's Prose Works by Birch, Vol. II. p. 567. edit. 1753, 4to.

(9) Apology for Smectymnus, p. 116.

[G] *He grew out of humour with Church government.*] In one of his tracts he tells us, that by the intentions of his parents and friends, he was destined of a child and his own resolutions, to the service of the Church; 'till coming to some maturity of years, and perceiving what tyranny had invaded it, that he who would take orders must subscribe slave, and take an oath withall, which unless he took with a conscience that could retch, he must strait perjure or split his faith; 'I thought it better, says he, to prefer a blameless silence before the office of speaking bought and begun with servitude and forswearing (10).'

(10) Introduction to Reason of Church Government, book ii.

[H] *Disliking the whole plan of university education.*] He tells us himself, that in the time of her better health and his own younger judgment he never greatly admired the university (11). Accordingly, he freely expresses his mind, in some verses to his friend Diodati (12).

(11) Apology for Smectymnus, p. 115.

Jam nec arundiferum mihi cura revisere Camum,
Nec dudum vetiti me Laris angit amor.

(12) That is his first elegy.

However, that author must be stark blind with malice, that from this elegy could infer his expulsion from the university (13): for 'tis evident he had not absolutely quitted it when he wrote those verses, but, on the contrary, was resolved to return.

(13) Regii Sanguinis Clamor, cap. i. p. 9. Hagæ, 1652, 4to.

Stat quoque Juncosas Cami remeare paludes,
Atque iterum raucæ murmur adire scholæ.

He owns indeed he was so much delighted with the pleasures he found in London, as to feel no regret for his banishment, as he calls it, from Cambridge.

of life, as well as in his political principles, he returned to his father, who having acquired a competency of fortune, with which he was satisfied, had quitted his business, and settled at Horton near Colnbrooke in Buckinghamshire (q). His parents received him with unabated affection, notwithstanding their views had been thwarted, by his resolution not to take Holy Orders. The pleasure they indulged him in this retirement, he employed in enriching his mind with the choicest stores of the Grecian and Roman learning, drawn from the best authors in each language (r); constantly keeping his eye upon poetry, where his heart lay, for the sake and service of which chiefly it was that these treasures were collected. And the poems, intituled *Comus*, *l'Allegro*, *Il Penseroso*, and *Lycidas*, all wrote at this time, were such as alone, had he never performed any thing else, would have transmitted his fame to the latest posterity [*I*]. Nor was he unconscious of his own merit, the sense whereof inspired him with a modest confidence, that he should one day acquire an immortality of that kind by his works [*K*]. However, he was not so wrapped up in these sublime thoughts and studies, though pursued with an ardor suitable to the uncommon vigour of his mind, as not to make frequent excursions to London, as often as business, improvement in other studies (s), or friends, invited him thither. Neither did so much excellence pass without the notice of his neighbours in the country; in the company of some of these, the most distinguished either by birth and fortune, or parts and

(q) Philips, p. 7.

(r) Defens. secund. & Epist. Famil. 7. to Diodati, dated September 23, 1737; where he says he had read the whole Greek history, that of Italy under the Lombards, as also the Franks and Germans down to Rodolphus, who first granted the Germans their liberty.

(s) *These were chiefly Mathematicks and Musick*; his business was to buy such books as he wanted. Defens. secund. ubi supra.

Si sit hoc exilium patrios adiisse penates,
Et vacuum curis otia grata sequi.
Non ego vel profugi nomen sortemve recuso,
Lætus et exilii conditione fruor.

Perhaps this exile was the consequence of some private challenge. He tells us himself he understood the use of a sword, and knew how to resent an affront from men of the most athletic constitution (14). 'Tis certain debauchery was not the cause (15). The niceness of his nature, joined to a decent pride and self-esteem, kept him above those low descents of mind beneath which he must plunge himself, who can yield to unlawful and saleable prostitutions. 'Tis true he here shews himself very susceptible of the tender passion, and for that reason was resolved to run away from the temptations he met with in London.

Ast ego dum pueri sinit indulgentia cæci,
Mœnia quam subito linquere fausta paro;
Et vitare procul malefidæ infamia Circes
Atria, divini Molyos usus ope.

However, this early dislike to the university grew up afterwards to a perfect aversion, and put him upon framing devices to draw the education of youth from those fountains. This seems to have been the motive of his undertaking the business of a school-master. Besides the plan of his academy, which 'comprehends the instruction of youth in all arts and exercises, both civil and military (16),' he proposes elsewhere, 'to apply the profits of the lands forfeited by the act for superstititious uses, to the founding such academies all over the land, where languages and arts may be taught both together; so that the youth may be at once brought up to a competency of learning and an honest trade, by which means such of them as had the gift of the spirit, being enabled to support themselves (without tythes) by the latter, might by the help of the former, become worthy preachers of the Gospel (17).'

[*I*] *Would have transmitted his fame to the latest posterity.*] The mask of Comus was wrote in 1634. The original manuscript is in the library of Trinity-college Cambridge, the variations of which, from the printed copy, may be seen in our author's life, by Dr Birch (18). It was first printed at the end of Mr R—'s poems, at Oxford, and afterwards separately, at London, 1637, 4to: under the following title. *A Mask presented at Ludlow Castle* 1634, *on Michaelmasse night, before the Right Honorable John Earl of Bridgwater, Viscount Brackley, Lord President of Wales, and one of his Majestie's most honorable Privy-Council.* And the dedication by Mr H. Lawes, who set the music, shews that Milton wrote it at the sollicitation of the Bridgwater family; accordingly, the close of this edition informs us, that the principal persons who performed in it, were John, Lord Brackley; Mr Thomas Egerton, and the Lady Alice Egerton. Entertainments of this kind being dropt not many years after, this beautiful piece became only a closet repast, and so continued the high delight and admiration of all readers of taste for a hundred years, 'till 1738; when it was adapted to the stage by Mr Dalton, since Dr of Divinity, and Prebendary of Worcester, by dividing it into scenes and acts, with proper additions and alterations, and was exhibited at Drury-Lane on the 4th of March that year, where it was received for many nights with an applause, that did no less honour to the publick taste, than to the name of Milton, and has been among the chief supports of the stage ever since.

Mr Edward King, whose death is lamented in the Lycidas, was Fellow of Christ's-college in Cambridge, and was drowned August 10th, 1637, aged 25 years; in his passage from Chester for Ireland, where his father was Secretary to King Charles the First. The original manuscript of this piece, and a transcript of the variations from the printed copy, are also to be met with in the same places with those of *Comus*.

[*K*] *He should one day acquire immortality.*] About the time of writing his Lycidas, we find two letters of his to his friend Diodati, in the former of which, dated September 2d, 1737; he acknowledges himself to be slow in his epistolary correspondence from his natural disposition, by which, when he once engaged in any study, he was urged on to prosecute it with his full vigour and application, and could scarce bear the least interruption in it's pursuit. In the next dated the 23d of the same month, he declares himself a zealous follower of moral beauty and virtue, with a thorough contempt for the opinions of the mere vulgar, and with a just consciousness of his own powers, and a præ-sentiment of the important rank, which the cultivation of them would one day advance him to in his own age, and all future ones, intimating the object of his thoughts was no less than that of immortality. But we find him afterwards, declaring his presages of this kind in the fullest terms; after a short preface to deprecate envy for venturing to divulge unusual things of himself, he proceeds thus: 'I must say, therefore, that after I had for my first years been exercised to the tongues, and some sciences as my age would suffer, by sundry masters and teachers both at home and at the schools, it was found, that whether ought was imposed upon me by them that had the overlooking, or betaken to of my own choice, in English or other tongue, prosing or versing, but chiefly this latter, the stile, by certain vital signs it had, was likelyto live. But much latelier, in the private academies of Italy, whither I was favoured to resort, perceiving that some trifles which I had in memory, composed at under twenty or thereabout, (for the manner is, that every one must give some proof of his wit and reading there,) met with acceptance above what is looked for; and other things which I had shifted in scarcity of books and conveniences, to patch up among them, were received with written encomiums, (which the Italian is not forward to bestow on men of this side the Alps); I begun thus far to assent both to them and diverse of my friends here at home, and not less to an inward prompting, which now grew daily upon me, that by labour and intent study, (which I take to be my portion in this life) joined with a strong propensity of nature, I might perhaps leave something so written to after-times, as they should not willingly let it die. (19).'

[*L*] He

(14) Defensio secunda, p. 374. ubi supra.

(15) See remark [*E*].

(16) In his Treatise of Education.

(17) In his discourse concerning the likeliest means to remove hirelings out of the Church, p. 629. in Vol. I. of his Prose Works, by Birch.

(18) From p. viii. to xviii.

(19) Reason of Church Government, p. 62. ubi supra.

and learning, he sometimes gave way to a relaxation [*L*]. After five years spent in making these prodigious improvements at home, his mother dying (*t*), he obtained leave of his father to travel abroad. This was a gratification he had long wished for; and, having procured some recommendations, as well as proper advice for his conduct, from his neighbour Sir Henry Wotton, then Provost of Eton-college [*M*], he set out in the spring of the year 1638 for France (*u*), and passing a few days at Paris, where he had the pleasure of being introduced to the celebrated Hugo Grotius [*N*], he took the direct road to Nice, where embarking for Genoa, he passed from thence, through Leghorn and Pisa, to Florence. In that city, which he had long wished to see, he spent two months greatly to his satisfaction, and distinguishing himself in some private academies held there for the improvement of literature [*O*], he was received with unusual kindness and esteem by several persons of the first rank for quality as well as learning. From Florence he passed through Sienna to Rome, where he likewise staid about two months, and was honoured with the acquaintance of several learned men [*P*]. His next remove was to Naples, whence his design was to pass into Sicily and Greece; but hearing of the commotions then beginning to stir in England, his literary curiosity gave way to his religious zeal, which, not suffering him to observe Sir Henry Wotton's advice, had already brought him into great danger at Rome, and cut him short of several intended kindnesses at Naples [*Q*]. No wonder, then, that he could not endure the thought of being absent from home, at this critical juncture, so long, as the compleat execution of the plan which he had at first laid for his travels required. Thus heated he returned to Rome, with a resolution openly to defend his sentiments in religion, against the repeated advice of his friends, who gave him a caution, that the Jesuits were forming designs against him on that account. However, after a stay within the verge of the Vatican for two months, he returned safe to Florence, where, being affectionately welcomed by his friends with a joy equal to the occasion, he continued with them as long as before, only making in the time a short excursion to Lucca [*R*]. Then crossing the Apennine, he passed by the way of Bologna and Ferrara

(*t*) He speaks very respectfully of her, and particularly extols her charitable disposition. Ibid. and Philips, p. 6.

(*u*) Birch's Life of Milton, p. xix.

[*L*] *He sometimes gave way to a relaxation.*] Among these friends was the family of the Duchess Dowager of Derby, at Harefield; by some of whom was acted his *Arcades*, which was probably written before the *Comus* and might give occasion to his writing that admirable piece.

[*M*] *Advice from Sir Henry Wotton.*] Milton having applied for that purpose to this friend, who had been several years ambassador at Venice, received a letter from him dated at Eton-college, April 18th, 1638: wherein, after the highest compliments paid to his excellent parts, and particularly to the mask of Comus, and some directions for this rout in his travels to Italy, he concludes with the following advice for his safety there. 'At Sienna I was tabled in the house of 'one Alberto Scipioni, an old Roman courtier in dan'gerous times, having been steward to the Duca di 'Pagliano, who with all his family were strangled, 'save this only man, that escaped by foresight of the 'tempest. With him I had often much chat of those 'affairs, into which he took pleasure to look back 'from his native harbour; and at my departure to'wards Rome, which had been the center of his ex'perience, I had won confidence enough to beg his 'advice, how I might carry myself securely there, 'without offence of others, or of mine own consci'ence. *Signior Arrigo meo*, says he, *I pensieri stretti*, '*et il viso sciolto*. That is, your thoughts close, and 'your countenance loose, will go safely over the whole 'world. Of which Delphian oracle (for so I have 'found it) your judgment doth need no commentary: 'and therefore, Sir, I will commit you with it to the 'best of all securities, God's dear love, remaining your 'friend as much at command as any of longer 'date.

'H. Wotton (20).'

(20) Reliquiæ Wottonianæ.

[*N*] *He was introduced to Hugo Grotius.*] Milton particularly desired this favour of Lord Scudamore then ambassador there from England. The reputation of Grotius in the learned world, was ground enough to excite a curiosity of seeing him. But our author had probably a particular motive for it relating to himself. Grotius, among other Latin poems, had wrote a tragedy upon the plan of Adam's fall (21); a subject which Milton had thought upon with the same design. The manuscript in Trinity-college library already mentioned, contains a great variety of subjects for tragedies; one of which is intituled *Adam in Banishment* (22).

(21) It was printed in 1601, with the title of *Adamus Exul.*

(22) Birch's Life of Milton, p. xlviii.

[*O*] *Distinguished himself at Florence.*] He calls the verses he produced there trifles, as has been already observed (23); but tells us however, they were rewarded with singular encomiums. He received also others from Rome, one of which written by Salvaggi, was this distich.

(23) In remark [*M*].

Græcia Mæonidem, jactet sibi Roma Maronem:
Anglia Miltonum jactat utrique parem.

Of which, Mr Dryden's celebrated epigram of six lines constantly prefixed to Paradise Lost, are little more than a translation.

Three poets in three distant ages born,
Greece, Italy, and England did adorn:
The first in majesty of thought surpass'd,
The next in gracefulness, in both the last.
The force of nature could no farther go,
To make a third, she join'd the former two.

[*P*] *Acquainted with several learned men at Rome.*] Particularly Lucas Holstenius, keeper of the Vatican library, who shewed him all the Greek authors, whether published or otherwise, which had passed through his correction, and introduced him to Cardinal Barberini, who at an entertainment of musick performed at his own expence, waited for him at the door, and brought him into the assembly. To thank Holstenius for these favours, Milton wrote the ninth of his Familiar Letters.

[*Q*] *Cut him short of intended kindnesses at Naples.*] The famous Giovanni Baptista Manso, to whom he was recommended by a hermit that had travelled with him from Rome, having received him with great respect, and waited upon him several times at his own lodgings, told him at his departure, that he would gladly have done him more good offices, if he had been more reserved in matters of religion; and dismissed him with the following distich alluding to that indiscretion, and Pope Gregory's remark upon the beauty of the English youths.

Ut mens, forma, decor, facies, mos, si pietas sic,
Non Anglus, verum hercle angelus ipse fores.

[*R*] *Making a short excursion to Lucca.*] His desire to visit this part of Italy was doubtless the more ardent, on account of his dear friend and school-fellow Charles Diodati, who was descended of a father originally of this country. He had probably heard by this time of that gentleman's death; he tells us himself, that he received the news while he was abroad, and it seems to have

rara to Venice, where he shipped off the books he had collected in his travels through Italy; and staying only one month, he went through Verona, Milan, and along the Alps, down Leman lake to Geneva (w). After some time spent in this city, he returned the same way that he came through France, and arrived in England about the time of the King's second expedition against the Scots (x). His father having left Horton, resided at this time with his younger son at Reading [S] in Berkshire. Our author, therefore, took lodgings for the present in St Bride's church-yard, Fleetstreet; and, observing the publick affairs just in such a train as he wished for [T], but the times not yet ripe enough for attacking the episcopal order, he determined to prosecute the course of his private studies, which he had not yet compleated to his mind [U]; and the rather, as this gave him leisure

(w) Ibid. p. xxi. Here he contracted a friendship with Giovanni, Diodati, and Frederic Spanheim.

(x) In which his forces under Lord Conway were defeated by General Lesley, August 29, 1639. Milton's Defensio secunda, p. 85, 86, 87.

have happened soon after his departure from England, as may be conjectured from some lines in the eclogue which he composed to the memory of his friend after his return. Diodati studied Physick, and was an excellent scholar. Mr Toland tells us (24), that he had in his possession two Greek letters of his to Milton, written with great elegance.

(24) Life of Milton, p. 1.

[S] *His younger son*.] His name was Christopher: he was bred at the same school with our author, and afterwards went to study the Law in the Inner Temple, where he lived to be an ancient bencher. When the civil wars broke out, he adhered to the royal cause, and becoming obnoxious to the Parliament by acting to the utmost of his power against them at Reading, after the taking of the town, he quitted his house, where his father lived with him, and retired under the cover of the King's arms. At the conclusion of the war, his brother having accommodated matters for him by his interest in the Parliament party, he returned to his study and profession, following chamber-practice every term. In the latter part of his life, he was possessed of a small employment at Ipswich in Suffolk; In which town and neighbourhood, he resided, 'till King James the Second came to the crown, when, being recommended to his Majesty by some persons of rank for his integrity and ability in the law, he was made one of the Barons of the Exchequer, and knighted, having received the coif at a call of Serjeants the same day. Soon after he was sworn one of the Judges of the Common-Pleas. But he resigned this post in a short time, on account of his age and ill health, and retired to a studious and devout life in the country, being, says Mr Philips (25), of a modest quiet temper, preferring justice and virtue before all worldly pleasure and grandeur. Notwithstanding which, Mr Toland (26) would have it believed that he was one of those Judges made by King James, whose abilities and skill in the Law Bishop Burnet tells us, was owing to their never having had any business to call them off theis studies, and their integrity, to not having been practised in the fingering of fees. However, Mr Toland does not deny that Sir Christopher withdrew before any of his master's ill designs were openly entered on. Two of Sir Christopher's daughters, Mary and Catherine, lived unmarried at Highgate, and were both dead in 1749: one of them died at their cousin Mr Foster's house at Holloway. In 1750, there was a Mrs Milton, granddaughter of Sir Christopher, and daughter of his son Thomas already mentioned, living in Grosvenor-Steet †.

(25) Life of Milton, p. 7.

(26) In his Life of Milton, p. 6.

† Newton, p. 311.

[T] *The publick affairs in such a train as he wished*.] Mr Fenton declares (27) his surprize, that one of so daring a spirit as Milton certainly was, did not fly to the camp at this time. Milton himself was so sensible that his conduct was liable to be misconstrued, that he has thought proper to make an apology, wherein he declares, that it proceeded not for want of resolution in him to undergo the toils, and face the dangers which attended that choice, but from a consciousness of being able to do the cause better service with his pen. Besides, his ambition prompted him to engage in such a way, as the sense of his education added to the natural vigour of his mind, filled him with the hopes of excelling, rather than in the army, where not the want of spirit, or of a just esteem for military glory, but the weakness of his constitution, gave him no room to think he could ever be able to make any distinguished figure (28).

(27) In his Account of Milton.

(28) Defensio secunda, towards the beginning.

[U] *He had not yet compleated his studies to his mind*.] We have already seen (29), that the first presages of procuring immortality by some grand work, had possessed him the year before he went abroad. These hopes, by feeding, were much heightened presently after his return home. Even while he was still in Italy, he began to look out for a subject, and had some thoughts of chusing King Arthur for his Heroe, as appears from some lines in his eclogue intituled *Mansus* *. He continued in the same resolution after his arrival in England, as is evident from some lines in his eclogue upon the death of *Diodati*. In the mean time, the hopes of making himself immortal being now fed by his Cisalpine as well as his Italian friends, began to grow into a chearful confidence, as has been already observed (30). This was the pleasing view, when he soared into the highest region of his fancy, with his garland and singing robes about him. And he had now proceeded one step further, which was a resolution to execute his work, whatever it should be, in his native language; and had thought likewise upon several subjects but without pitching upon any, or determining the species of his intended poem. However, he 'proposed something in general, of highest hope and hardest attempting. But whether that epic form whereof the two poems of Homer, and those other two of Virgil and Tasso are a diffuse, and the book of Job a brief model; or whether the rules of Aristotle herein are strictly to be kept, or nature to be followed, which in them that know art and use judgment, is no transgression, but an enriching of art. And lastly what King or Knight before the Conquest might be chosen; in whom to lay the pattern of a Christian Heroe: if to the instinct of nature and emboldening of art aught may be trusted, and that there be nothing adverse in our climate, or the fate of this age, it haply would be no rashness from an equal diligence and inclination with Tasso, to present the like offer in our ancient stories, as he did for the Prince of Italy; or whether those dramatic constitutions wherein Sophocles and Euripides reign should be his choice, as more doctrinal and examplary to a nation. The Scripture also, continues he, affords a divine pastoral drama in the Song of Solomon, consisting of two persons and a double chorus, as Origen rightly judges. And the Apocalypse of St John is the majestic image of a high and stately tragedy, shutting up and intermingling her solemn scenes with a sevenfold chorus of hallelujas and harping symphonies. Or, as he goes on, if occasion shall lead to those magnific odes and hymns, wherein Pindarus and Callimachus are in most things worthy, or to some others in their frame judicious, in their matter most-an end faulty. But those frequent songs throughout the law and prophets beyond all these, not in their divine argument alone, but in the very critical art of composition may be easily made appear over all the kinds of lyric poesy, to be incomparable (31).' We have given this citation to shew that those sketches of poems contained in his manuscript in Trinity-college library (32), were drawn not long after Milton's return from Italy; as appears especially, when we read what he says of the accomplishment of this intention; that none hath by more studious ways endeavoured it. That in 1641, he had proceeded something further in the execution, seems not an improbable conjecture, as well from an expression already quoted, as from the following. "Neither do I think it shame to covenant with any knowing reader, that for some few years yet I may go on trust with him toward the payment of what I am now indebted, as being a work not to be raised from the heat of youth or the vapours of wine; like that which flows at waste from the pen of some vulgar amourist, or the trencher-fury of a riming parasite, nor to be obtained by the invocation of Dame Memory and her siren daughters; but by *devout prayer to that eternal spirit, who can enrich with all utterance and knowledge, and sends out his seraphim with the hallowed fire of his altar to touch and purify the lips of whom he pleases*. Here are almost

(29) In remark [K].

* Mr Fenton observes, that Arthur met with a different fate, viz. by being made the choice of Sir Richard Blackmore for the subject of his heroic poem.

(30) Defensio secunda.

(31) Reason of Church Government, &c. p. 63. ubi supra.

(32) See a transcript of them in Birch's Life of Milton, p. xlviii. to lv.

leisure to discharge to greater advantage a private trust that had been committed to him. This was the care of his nephew John Philips, who having an elder brother, Edward, the uncle undertook the care of both his nephews [*W*]; and, being sollicited by several friends, whom he did not know how to refuse the same favour for their children, it was not long before he took a handsome garden house in Aldersgate-street fit for the purpose (*y*). Here he formed the plan of his academical institution [*X*], setting an example of hard study and spare diet to those under him. But neither the diligence he practised in attending his academy, nor the ardent desire he had of finishing the circle of his own studies, could hinder him from taking up his pen against the Bishops [*Y*] in 1641; which year he published four very warm pieces in defence of the Presbyterian party, and a fifth in the year following (*z*). In 1643 he entered into a marriage with Mary, daughter of Richard Powell, Esq; of Foresthill in Oxfordshire (*aa*), a gentleman of good estate and reputation in that county, but a firm Royalist; and his daughter had not cohabited with her husband much more than a month, when, under a pretence of visiting her friends, she deserted him. Incensed at this usage, he resolved never to receive her again, and wrote several treatises in defence of that resolution [*Z*]; he even proceeded to make his addresses to

(*y*) Philips's Life of Milton, p. 20. His friend Alexander Gill being drove out of St Paul's school, set up a private one in the same street at this time. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 22.

(*z*) These were entitled, Of Reformation in England, Of Prelatical Episcopacy, The Reason of Church-Government, Animadversions upon the Remonstrants Defence, &c. and An Apology for Smectymnus.

(*aa*) Philips, p. 18.

almost the very words of the invocation to *Paradise Lost* (33).

(33) Reason of Church Government, p. 64.

[*W*] *He took care of both his nephews.*] They were sons of his only sister Anne; she had a considerable fortune given her by her father in marriage with Mr Everard Philips of Shrewsbury, who coming up to London young, was entered into the Crown Office in Chancery, and at length became Secretary in that office under Mr Bembo. By him she had these two sons, besides other children who died in their infancy. She married for her second husband, Mr Thomas Agar, who upon the death of his intimate friend Mr Philips, succeeded him in his place which he held for many years, and left to Mr Thomas Milton son to Sir Christopher. He had by Mr Philips's widow two daughters, Mary, who died very young, and Anne who was living in the year 1694 (34).

(34) Philips, p. 6.

[*X*] *Plan of his academical institution.*] Milton's method of teaching being designed to subvert the university education, was totally the reverse of that commonly practised in schools. He did not teach the Greek and Latin by reading the elegiac, lyric, and epic poets; these languages were to be learnt by reading Plutarch, Quintilian, Cebes, and other books upon education, and then proceed to such authors as treated of natural philosophy, geography, and astronomy, &c. thence to go on to poetry and oratory. Upon this plan, the authors scarce ever heard of in common schools, were read over in his academy, from the age of ten to fifteen. For instance, of the Latins, the four writers *de re rustica*, i. e. of agriculture, Cato, Varro, Columella, and Palladius; Cornelius Celsus the Physician, a great part of Pliny's Natural History, Vitruvius's Architecture, Frontinus's Stratagems, and the philosophical poets, Lucretius and Manilius. Of the Greek writers, Hesiod, Aratus's Phænomena, Dyonisius *de situ orbis*, Oppian, Quintus Calaber, Apollonius Rhodius; Plutarch's Placita Philosophorum & ϖερὶ ϖαιδῶν ἀγωγίας, Geminus's Astronomy, Xenophon's Institution of Cyrus, and Ἀνάβασις, Ælian's Tactics, and Polyænus's Stratagems. However, Mr Philips observes (36), that by this way of teaching he reaped this advantage to himself, that he thereby enlarged in some measure his own knowledge, which might possibly have conduced to the preserving his sight, if he had not been perpetually engaged in reading and writing. The Sunday's work for his pupils was, for the most part, to read a chapter in the Greek Testament, and hear his exposition of it; after which, the next work was to write, while he dictated, some part of a System of Divinity which he had compiled from Amesius, Wollebius, and such like writers. Yet we are assured he had his relaxations sometimes, at least, once in three weeks or a month; when he would drop into the society of some young sparks of his acquaintance, the chief whereof were two gentlemen of Gray's-Inn, the beaux of those days. Sometimes in an evening he diverted himself in visiting Lady Margaret Legh, daughter of the Earl of Marlborough (37), Lord High Treasurer of England, and President of the Council to King James the First. This lady, a woman of admirable sense and wit, much esteemed our author (38), as did also her husband Captain Hobson.

(35) He proposes his scheme as absolute, from Lilly, as he expresses it, to the commencing Master of Arts. Treatise of Education, &c. p. 344. in his prose Works, by Birch, Vol. I.

(36) Life of Milton, p. 16, 17.

(37) This Earl was a notorious atheist, like Rochester, and, like him too, became a true penitent before his death.

(38) What regard Milton had for her, appears from a sonnet directed to her, extant among his Occasional Poems, sonnet x. p. 55. edit. 1673.

[*Y*] *Treatises against the Bishops.*] It is a remark of Joseph Scaliger, *est ars quædam maledicendi.* Milton had many years travelled with this burden of wrath against the prelates: hitherto he well saw, though with sorrow, the sword of this spirit was not borne in vain. But as soon as the danger of speaking was blown away by the fury of the people, now it was, that the word became in his heart as a burning fire shut up in his bones: He was weary with forbearing, and would not stay. 'Tis true he bemoans his lot which was appointed to him, because he knew more than other men. God, by his secretary, conscience, enjoined it, and it were sad for him, if he should draw back. God commanded him, and 'when God commands, says he, to take the trumpet, and blow a dolorous and jarring blast, it is not in man's will what he shall say, or what he shall conceal (39).' No wonder that all his private studies were consumed in so devouring a fire. All his ambitious views of immortality in these, gave way to the indispensible work of extirpating prelacy first, and then monarchy: whence it came to pass that Paradise Lost saw not the light 'till after the Restoration.

(39) Reason of Church Government, B. ii. in the introduction.

[*Z*] *Treatises in defence of that resolution.*] There is not perhaps a more remarkable instance how submissive a slave reason becomes sometimes to passion, than Milton has given in these books, *of the doctrine and discipline of divorce:* he undertakes to prove it warranted from Scripture to divorce a wife for no other reason, but only not liking her temper, *cum qua libere philosophandi potestas non esset* (40). He had struck up the match in great haste. It was about Whitsontide or a little after, that he took a journey into the country, no body about him certainly knowing the reason, or that it was any more than a journey of recreation. After a month's stay from home, he returns a married man, bringing the bride and some few of her nearest relations along with him. As soon as the feasting, which held for some days, was over, the relations returned to Forest Hill, leaving their sister behind, but probably not much to her satisfaction, as appeared by the sequel. For by that time she had for a month or thereabout led a philosophical life, after having been used at home to a great house and much company and jovialty, her friends, probably incited by her own desire, made earnest suit by letter to have her company the remaining part of the summer; which was granted, on condition of her return at the time appointed; Michaelmas, or thereabout. That time expiring without any account of her, Milton sent for her by letter. This and several others being unanswered, he dispatched a messenger with a letter to fetch her home. But that was treated with some kind of contempt. This so incensed him, that thinking it dishonourable ever to receive her again, he set himself to find out arguments to support that resolution (41). Mr Fenton well observes, that Justice Powell's principles were so very opposite to those of his son-in-law, that the marriage is more to be wondered at than the separation (42); and Milton several years after defends the principles laid down in his books of divorce, as containing a necessary doctrine for those times, particularly, when the husband and wife were often bitter enemies to each other, the man living at home with his children, while the woman, the mother of the family, took up her residence in the enemy's camp, threatning death and destruction to her consort. *Eo præsertim tempore cum vir sæpe & conjux hostes inter se acerrimi, hic domi cum liberis, illa in castris hostium mater-familias versaretur, viro cædem atque perniciem minitans*

(40) Defensio secunda, p. 385.

(41) Philips, p. 20.

(42) Fenton's Account of Milton, ubi supra.

(*bb*) She was daughter of one Dr Davies, but averse to this motion. Ibid. p. 25.

(*cc*) It is addressed to Mr Samuel Hartlib, a great promoter of such designs. See Sir William Petty's article.

(*dd*) The songs were set to musick by the famous Henry Laws, Gentleman of the King's chapel, and one of his Majesty's Private Musick.

to a young lady of great wit and beauty, with a design to marry her (*bb*): but this proceeding (which was intended to cut off all thoughts of a restoration) proved to be the very occasion of effecting it. In the mean time, he did not suffer this incident to affect his care and assiduity in the academy, and in 1644, at the request of a friend, he wrote a small tract upon the subject *of Education* (*cc*); and the usual restraint upon the liberty of the press being continued by an ordinance of Parliament passed this year, he likewise wrote boldly in defence of that liberty against the ordinance [*AA*]. His father being come to live with him upon the surrendry of Reading to the Earl of Essex's forces in April 1643, and his academy increasing, he hired a larger house in Barbican; but before his removal thither, visiting a relation in the neighbourhood, he was surprized with the entrance of his wife, who submitting herself, implored his pardon and reconciliation on her knees. So affecting a scene, being further impressed by the suitable intercessions of friends on both sides then present, proved irresistible; he took her again to his bosom, and received her as soon as he was settled, and every thing made ready for it, at his new house in Barbican, about July 1645 [*BB*], the same year in which he published his juvenile poems both English and Latin (*dd*). Not long before the new-modelling of the Army this year, it was thought he had a prospect of being appointed Agitant-General; but his late writings having rendered him obnoxious to the Presbyterian faction, all his hopes were blasted by that change [*CC*]. Upon the death of his father [*DD*], his wife's friends, who, from the time of his re-union with her, notwithstanding the provocation she had given him, had been freely entertained under his roof, took their leave of him [*EE*]; and, in the spring of the

(43) Defensio secunda, where last cited.

(44) Anne Pierepoint, eldest daughter to the Marquis of Dorchester. Wood's Fasti, Vol. I. col. 264.

(45) Id. ibid.

(46) Life of Milton, p. 23.

(47) Life of Milton by Birch, p. xxx.

minitans (43). It appeared however, that he had examined the subject thoroughly, upon which account he was consulted after the Restoration by an eminent peer in a very considerable post, while a bill was depending in 1668 in the House of Lords; where it afterwards passed for a divorce of John Lord Ross (afterwards Earl of Rutland) from his Lady (44). The assembly of Divines sitting at Westminster, when his first book was published, caused him to be summoned for it before the House of Lords, but that House, whether approving the doctrine, or not favouring the accusers, did soon dismiss him (45). From this time Milton opposed that sect as warmly as he did the cavaliers.

[*AA*] *Wrote in defence of the liberty of the press.*] This piece is intituled Areopagitica, *or a speech for the liberty of unlicensed printing to the Parliament of England.* It was reprinted in 1738, 8vo with a preface by another hand; wherein the author declares it to be the best defence that had ever then appeared, of this fundamental article. However, it had no effect upon the Parliament, which at that time, were mostly Presbyterians; who, as Mr Toland observes (46), were then as tenacious of continuing the restraints on others, as they had been loud in their complaints of those which were imposed upon themselves. This practice of licensing continued 'till 1649; when one Gilbert Mabbot, who held the office, was discharged of the employment at his own request, back'd with four reasons: 1. Because his authority had been affronted, by printing several books without his licence. 2. Because, in the ends of it's first institution it was illegal, being designed to stop the press against Popery, Episcopacy, and Tyranny. 3. Because it is a monopoly. 4. Because he thought it lawful to print any book without licensing, if the author subscribed his true name, so as to be answerable for the contents if punishable by the law. A Committee of the Council of State being satisfied with these and other reasons, report it to the Council, and the Council to the House; who thereupon ordered the discharge May 22d, that year (47). Soon after, our author was appointed Latin Secretary to the Council of State.

[*BB*] *His wife returned about July*, 1645.] We have the following particulars of this affair from Mr Philips, who tells us, that there dwelt in the lane of St Martin's le Grand, which was hard by, a relation of our author's, one Blackborough, whom it was known he often visited; and upon this occasion the visits were more narrowly observed, and possibly there might be a combination between both parties, the friends on both sides consenting to the same action. One time above the rest, making his usual visit, the wife was ready in another room, and on a sudden he was surprized with a sight of one whom he had thought never to have seen more, making submission, and begging pardon on her knees before him. He might probably at first make some shew of aversion and rejection; but partly his own generous nature, more inclinable to a reconciliation than to perseverance in anger and revenge, and partly the strong intercession of friends on both sides, soon brought him to an act of oblivion, and a firm league of peace for the future. And it was at length concluded that she should remain in St Clement's Church-yard, at the house of one Widow Webber, whose second daughter had been married to the other brother [Sir Christopher] many years before (48). The following transaction unavoidably brings to one's mind a passage in Paradise Lost (49), wherein, as Mr Fenton observes, Milton no doubt had his eye upon this interview. In describing Adam's reconciliation to Eve after her fall, he has these lines.

(48) Philips, p. 25, 26.

(49) Life of Milton, p. 3. edit. 1727, 8vo.

——————— Soon his heart relented
Towards her his life so late, and sole delight,
Now at his feet submissive in distress (50).

(50) B. x. 909.

The first fruits of her return to her husband was a daughter, born July 29, 1646 within a year; though, whether by bad constitution, or want of care, she grew more and more decrepit (51).

(51) Philips, p. 27.

[*CC*] *His hopes were blasted by that change.*] His post was to be in Sir William Waller's army. This is only a strong conjecture of Mr Philips, who builds also another upon it, that if it had taken place, his uncle would probably have put his academical institution into practice. Be that as it will, so much however is certain, that in this plan he had a particular eye to the army, and has allotted a particular time every day to those exercises; in which his design was highly commendable.

[*DD*] *Upon the death of his father.*] Mr Wood tells us (52), that he died about the year 1647, and that his son buried him in the chancel of St Giles's church Cripple-gate. Several good qualities in him are recorded more than once by his son (53). We have already mentioned his skill in musick, and Mr Philips assures us (54), that he had so good a taste, and made so considerable a progress in it, as to compose, 'tis said, an *In Nomine* of forty parts, for which he was rewarded with a gold medal and chain, by a Polish Prince, to whom he presented it. However, continues this author, so much is certain, that there are several songs of his composition after the way of those times, three or four of which are still to be seen in old Wilby's set of airs, besides some compositions of his in Ravenscroft's Psalms, whereby he gained the reputation of a considerable master in this science. The same relish to musick descended to his son, who, as has been observed, turned a handsome compliment to this accomplishment of his father, into a plea for his own choice of poetry, the sister-art.

(52) Fasti, Vol. I. col. 266.

(53) See his Defensio secunda, and the Reasons of Church Government, ubi supra.

(54) Life of Milton, p. 4, 5.

[*EE*] *His wife's relations took their leave.*] Mr Fenton says (55) they did not leave him, 'till Mr Powell's affairs were first accommodated by Milton's interest in the victorious faction. This circumstance, so much to Milton's honour, is not taken notice of by Mr Philips: yet it seems to be a consequence of Milton's receiving them into his house at the taking of Oxford, when Mr Powell's estate was no doubt seized by that faction,

(55) In his Life of Milton, p. 4.

the year 1647, he removed to a smaller house in High-Holborne, which opened backwards into Lincoln's-Inn-fields, where he kept close to his studies, pleased to observe the publick affairs daily tending to the great end of his wishes (*ee*), 'till it was compleated in the destruction of kingly government by the death of the King. But after this blow was struck, the numbers and noise raised by the Presbyterians against it, concurring with the natural fondness of the people for ancient usages, making him apprehensive of a miscarriage in the design of settling a Commonwealth, he appeared again publickly in defence of that action as the work of the Lord, in a piece intituled, *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates: Proving that it is lawful, and hath been held so through all ages, for any who have the power, to call to account a Tyrant or wicked King, and, after due conviction, to depose and put him to death, if the ordinary Magistrate have neglected or denied to do it, &c.* and the Scotch Presbyterians settled at Belfast in Ireland revolting soon after from the Parliament, and joining the Marquis of Ormond, he set his pen to work to prevent the dangers, threatning the new establishment by these proceedings (*ff*). This piece was no sooner dispatched, than he entered upon his History of England, a work which was planned likewise in the same republican spirit, being undertaken, as he declares himself, with a view of preserving the country from submitting to monarchical government in any future time, from the example of the past (*gg*). But, before he had made any great progress in the execution of his plan, the Commonwealth being formed, and the Council of State erected, he was pitched upon for their Latin Secretary; and the famous Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ coming out about the same time, our author, by the commands of his masters, wrote and published his *Iconoclastes* the same year. It was also by the same orders, backed afterwards with the reward of 1000 pounds (*hh*), that he published, in 1651, his celebrated piece, intitled, *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio, contra Claudii Salmasii Defensionem Regiam.* A Defence of the People of England, in answer to Salmasius's Defence of the King (*ii*). This performance spread his fame over all Europe (*kk*); but the victory was obtained at the expence of his eye-sight (*ll*). Notwithstanding which, he did not desist pursuing the advantage, 'till he had compleated the triumph over his antagonist in two subsequent pieces on the same subject [*FF*]. In the interim, he had removed from High-Holborne nearer the

(*ee*) Done by men, says he, who were endued with fortitude and courage to fear nothing, but the curse written against those that do the work of the Lord negligently. Tenure of Kings, &c. p. 1.

(*ff*) The piece is intituled, Observations on the Articles of Peace between James Earl of Ormond, for King Charles the First and the Irish Papists and Rebels, &c. and Animadversions on the Scotch Presbytery at Belfast, dated Feb. 15, 1648.

(*gg*) The four first books were finished at this time, and the two following added afterwards. The whole is inserted in Kennet's History of England, Vol. I.

(*hh*) Milton, in his Defensio Secunda, says, he undertook it without any view of a reward; and Toland tells us, the money was given him afterwards. Toland's Life of Milton, p. 32.

(*ii*) An English translation, by Mr Washington of the Temple, was printed in 1692, 8vo.

(*kk*) He was visited on the occasion, or invited by all the Embassadors at London, and highly complimented by letters from the most ingenious persons in Germany and France. Defensio second. p. 129, 130. edit. 1654.

(*ll*) See remark [*II*].

faction, against which Mr Philips supposes he had been very active (56).

(56) P. 24.

[*FF*] *He triumphed in two subsequent pieces.*] In the first of these intituled *Defensio secunda*, &c. As Milton's spirit always carried him above doing his work by halves, so, towards the conclusion of this piece, he breaks out into the most fulsome eulogies upon the army and it's leaders, as Fleetwood, Lambert, Desborough, Whalley, and Overton; as also, of his masters, Whitlock, Pickering, Strickland, Sidenham, Bradshaw, and, above all, of Cromwell, who had been installed Protector not many months before, to whom he sent a present of his book immediately after the publication in May 1654: for which purpose he made use of his friend Andrew Marvell, as appears by that gentleman's answer, which we shall insert here, as a supplement to his article which was wrote before this letter appeared in print.

'Honoured Sir,

'I did not satisfy myself in the account I gave you of presenting your book to my Lord, altho' it seemed to me, that I wrote to you all, which the messenger's speedy return the same night from Eton would permit me. And I perceive, that by reason of that haste, I did not give you satisfaction neither, concerning the delivery of your letter at the same time. Be pleased therefore to pardon me, and know that I tendered them both together. But my Lord read not the letter, while I was with him; which I attributed to our dispatch, and some other business tending thereto, which I therefore wished ill to, so far as it hindered an affair much better, and of greater importance, I mean that of reading your letter. And to tell you truly, mine own imagination, I thought that he would not open it, while I was there, because he might suspect, that I delivering it just upon my departure, might have brought in it some second proposition, like to that which you have before made to him by your letter to my advantage. However, I assure myself, that he has since read it, and you, that he did then witness all respect to your person, and as much satisfaction concerning your work as could be expected from so cursory a review, and so sudden an account as he could then have of it from me. Mr Oxenbridge *, at his return from London, will, I know, give you thanks for his book, as I do with all acknowledgment and humility, for that you have sent me. I shall now study it even to the getting it by heart, esteeming it according to my poor judgment, (which yet I wish it were as right in all things else) as the most compendious scale, for so much, to the height of the Roman eloquence. When I consider how equally it turns and rises with so many figures, it seems to me a Trajan's column, in whose winding ascent we see embossed the several monuments of your learned victories; and Salmasius and Morus make up as great a triumph as that of Decebalus, whom too, for ought I know, you shall have forced as Trajan the other, to make themselves away out of a just desperation.

* Fellow of Eton college. Mr Marvell lived in his house as tutor to Mr Dutton. See his article.

'I have an affectionate curiosity to know what becomes of Colonel Overton's business †, and am exceeding glad to think that Mr Skinner is got near you; the happiness which I at the same time congratulate to him, and envy, there being none, who does, if I may so say, more jealously honour you, than,

'Honoured Sir,

Eton, June 2. 1654. 'Your most affectionate humble servant,

'Andrew Marvell.

† This Colonel, who was Governor of Hull where Mr Marvell was born, had been sent for from thence by the Protector, and kept in London on pretence of business, but the Colonel knew not what. Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. II. p. 414.

'For my most honoured friend John Milton Esq; Secretary for the foreign affairs, at his house in Petty-France Westminster.'

We see Morus (57) mentioned as the author of the piece intituled *Regii sanguinis clamor adversus parricidas Anglicanos*, against which Milton wrote this *Defensio secunda*, who also treats Morus as the author, but he was only the publisher; the book being actually wrote by Peter du Moulin the younger, afterwards Prebendary of Canterbury, who tells us, that Morus being uneasy at the severe attack upon his charcter by Milton, began to grow cool in the royal cause, and in his answer appealed to two gentlemen of great credit with the Parliament party who knew the re[illegible] of the *Regii sanguinis clamor*. This exposed du Moulin to great danger, being then in England. But he informs us, that Milton being unwilling to own himself guilty of a mistake, persisted in his accusation; so that the Parliament party let the true author escape with impunity, lest they should publickly contradict the patron of their cause (58).

(57) He was the son of a Scotsman, who was Principal of the Protestant College at Castres in France.

(58) Du Moulin's Latin Poems, Cambridge, 1670, 8vo.

[*GG*] *He*

the feat of his publick employ, to an apartment prepared for him in Scotland Yard [*GG*]; whence he foon removed again to a garden houfe in Petty France Weftminfter, opening into St James's Park. This was in 1652, and the fame year he buried his wife, who died of a confumption not long after the delivery of her fourth child [*HH*]; and, about the fame time, his eye-fight became totally extinct by a gutta ferena, which had been growing upon him many years [*II*]. When Cromwell fet afide the Council of State, and took the fupreme power into his own hands in 1653, the change affected not Milton [*KK*], who continued in his office of Secretary to the Protector, whom, as well as his fon, he ferved with the fame zeal and fidelity as he had done his firft mafters. In the mean time, he employed his leifure hours in profecuting his private ftudies [*LL*], wherein he was fo far from being difcouraged by the lofs of his fight, that he even conceived hopes this misfortune would add new vigour to his genius, and refolved to follow the example of Telephus King of the Myfians, who readily confented to be healed by the weapon [his ftudies] from which he received his wound (*mm*). Thus animated, he married a fecond wife about the year 1650 (*nn*). After the depofition of Richard, being ftill continued in his Secretary's poft, upon

(*mm*) See Letter the 21ft of his Familiar Epiftles to Emeric Bigot, dated March 24, 1656.

(*nn*) Viz. Katharine, daughter to Captain Woodcock of Hackney. She died within a year in child-bed, and was in about a month followed by her child, which was a girl. Philips, p. 33 and 41.

[*GG*] *He removed to Scotland-Yard.*] While his apartment there was getting ready, he took lodgings at one Thomfon's, next door to the Bull head Tavern Charing-Crofs, opening into the Spring-garden (59). And while he was there, the following piece was written and publifhed: *Johannis Philippi Angli Refponfio ad apologiam anonymi cujufdam Tenebrionis pro rege & populo Anglicano infantiffimum.* By this title Milton had a mind to give the honour to his nephew and ward, who might indeed prepare the firft draught, but that was fo carefully examined and amended by Milton as to pafs for his own.

[*HH*] *His wife died foon after the delivery of her fourth child*] The births of all her children were regiftred by Milton in a family bible, as follows: Anne my daughter was born July 29th, about half an hour after fix in the morning, 1646. Mary my daughter was born on Wednefday, October 25th, on the faft day in the morning about fix of the clock, 1648. My fon John was born on Saturday, March 16th, about half an hour paft nine at night, 1650 My daughter Deborah was born the 2d of May, being Sunday, fomewhat before three of the clock in the morning, 1652 (60).

[*II*] *He entirely loft his eye-fight.*] By reafon of his continual ftudies, and the head-ach, to which he was fubject from his youth, and his perpetual tampering with phyfick, his eyes had been decaying for feveral years, and the fight of one entirely loft for a long time (61). He tells us himfelf, that when he was enjoined by publick authority to write his Defence of the people of England againft Salmafius, he was in an ill ftate of health, and the fight of one eye was almoft loft already, the Phyficians declaring that he would lofe the other, if he fhould attempt that work (62). In a letter of his to Leonard Philaras, Envoy from the Duke of Parma to the King of France, dated at Weftminfter September 28th, 1654: he gives a particular account of the manner in which he loft his fight, as follows. 'Since you advifed me not to fling away all hopes of recovering my fight, for that you had a friend at Paris, Thevenot the Phyfician, particularly famous for the eyes, whom you offer to confult in my behalf, if you receive from me an account, by which he may judge of the fymptoms and caufe of my difeafe; I will do what you advife me to, that I may not feem to refufe any affiftance, that is offered, perhaps from God. I think 'tis about ten years, more or lefs, fince I began to perceive that my eye fight grew weak and dim, and at the fame time my fpleen and bowels to be troubled with flatus; and in the morning, when I began to read, according to my cuftom, my eyes grew painful immediately, and to refufe reading, but was refrefhed after a moderate exercife of the body. A certain iris began to furround the light of the candle, if I looked at it; foon after which, on the left part of the left eye (for that was fome years fooner clouded) a mift arofe, which hid every thing on that fide; and looking forward, if I fhut my right eye, objects appeared fmaller. My other eye alfo, for thefe laft three years, failing by degrees, fome months before all fight was abolifh'd, things which I looked upon feemed to fwim to the right and left. Certain inveterate vapours feem to poffefs my forehead and temples, which after meat efpecially, quite to evening, generally urge and deprefs my eyes with a fleepy heavinefs. Nor would I omit, that whilft there was as yet fome remainder of fight, I no fooner lay down on my bed, and turned on my fide, but a copious light dazzled out of my fhut eyes; and as my fight diminifhed, every day colours gradually more obfcure flafhed out with vehemence; but now that the lucid is in a manner wholly extinct, a direct blacknefs, or elfe fpotted, and as it were woven with afh colour, is ufed to pour itfelf in Neverthelefs the conftant and fettled darknefs that is before me, as well by night as by day, feems nearer the whitifh than the blackifh, and the eye rolling itfelf a little, feems to admit, I know not what, fmallnefs of light, as thro' a chink (63).' Milton bore this affliction with a moft exemplary fortitude, both as a Philofopher and a Chriftian, as appears by all his writing afterwards, though he bewailed his cafe pathetically in his Paradife Loft.

[*KK*] *The change affected not Milton.*] This part of our author's conduct is perhaps the leaft defenfible of any. Hitherto he had acted a confiftent part, at leaft, in fteadily oppofing monarchy, but now he not only fubmitted, but was active in fupporting a tyrant. For fuch 'tis univerfally agreed the Protector foon grew to be; complimenting him with the moft fulfome flattery, abjectly crouching to wear the yoke of flavery, and even licking the hand that put it on. Here his much boafted refolution not to do a mean thing failed him; mean time he acted this part with fuch an ill grace, that his Lord and Mafter faw the fpirit though chained, yet growling, and therefore employed him, but did not truft him, as is evident from Marvell's letter in particular, and in general, from hence, that neither in the vaft collection of Thurloe's papers, nor any where elfe, is there the leaft appearance of it. Herein his coadjutor John Lilburne, was more fteady, and acted in this refpect a more confiftent part. This difference in their conduct plainly was owing to the different compofition of the two men: Lilburne had a natural hardinefs of mind that rendered him infenfible to danger. Milton's mind was caft in a delicate and tender mould; whence, though he felt the yoke, yet he only fretted inwardly, but durft not fpeak. Befides his chief ambition was gratified, and he was happy in feeling that he had rendered his fame immortal by his defence of that tyranny.

[*LL*] *He employed his leifure hours in his private ftudies.*] After the publication of his *Defenfio pro fe* in 1655, the filence of his antagonift giving him leifure, he employed it upon his Hiftory of Britain, to which he added two more books. Part of his time was likewife beftowed on his *Thefaurus linguæ Latinæ* upon the plan of R. Stephens. A work which he had began long before, in making collections from his own reading, and which he ftill went on with at times, even very near to his dying day. After his death the papers were fo difcompofed and deficient, that they could not be made fit for the prefs (64). But they gave birth to the Cambridge Dictionary publifhed in 1693, 4to: the editors of which obferve, that they made three large folio volumes, containing a collection out of all the beft and pureft Roman authors. But above all, Mr Philips affures us, that his uncle had now pitched upon his grand defign in Paradife Loft, and begun to work upon it (65). In 1658, he publifhed Sir Walter Raleigh's *Cabinet Council*, &c from a manufcript in his own poffeffion, written by Sir Walter (66).

[*MM*] He

(59) Philips, p. 33.

(60) Birch, p. lxxv.

(61) Philips, p. 33.

(62) Defenfio fecunda, p. 47. ubi fupra.

(63) Life of Milton, p. 76, 77, 78.

(64) Philips, p. 34.

(65) Id. ibid.

(66) Advertifement prefixed to it.

upon the return of the Long-Parliament [*MM*], while they were suffered to sit, he appeared again in print, pleading for a further reformation of the laws relating to religion [*NN*]. And, in the anarchy that ensued in 1659, he drew up several methods for re-establishing the Commonwealth, exerting all his faculties to prevent the King's restoration [*OO*], 'till the visibly near approach of that event made him think proper to consult his safety, by withdrawing to a friend's house in Bartholomew-Close (*oo*). By this means, though his *Iconoclastes*, and his *Defence of the People of England*, &c. were both burnt by the hangman, yet our author escaped the particular prosecution at first intended against him [*PP*]; and a just esteem for his admirable parts and learning having procured him many friends among those who detested his principles (*pp*), he was included in the general amnesty [*QQ*]. As soon as this storm was quite blown over, he quitted his concealment, and took a house in Holborne near Red-Lyon-fields, but soon removed near Aldersgate-street to Jewin-street; and having employed his friend Dr Paget to chuse him a third consort

(*oo*) Philips, p. 37.

(*pp*) Besides these, we are assured that Andrew Marvell, then Member for Hull, acted vigorously in his behalf, and made a considerable party for him in the House of Commons. Id. ibid.

[*MM*] *He was continued Latin Secretary to the Long Parliament.*] His letters wrote in the execution of this office, are a most illustrious proof of his absolute mastery of that language. They are composed upon the most difficult subjects, and are preserved as the best models to his successors in that post. To these are generally added the Protector's Manifesto, containing the reasons inducing him to make war with Spain in 1655, as being the undoubted production of Milton's pen, and some have not without probability given him the honour of the Latin verses (sometimes ascribed to his friend Andrew Marvell) and sent with his picture as a present to Christina Queen of Sweden.

[*NN*] *He appeared again in print, &c.*] The Protector had more than once punished people for their religious opinions: this had satisfied Milton's conscience, and kept him discreetly silent. But now that the Long Parliament was restored, he took up his pen again in the cause which was then under the consideration of that Council. To them, being still Secretary for foreign affairs, he addresses this piece, under the title of *A Treatise of the Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Cases*, &c. with high compliments of their integrity, not without glancing upon the mis-rule of the late government. Accordingly we find that this piece restored him to the good opinion of some of his republican friends, who, by his conduct during the Protectorship, had questioned his attachment to their principles. Dr Birch has given us a copy of some extracts from a letter of one Mr Wall of Causham, dated May 6th 1659, who after returning thanks to Milton for his letters, adds, 'I confess I have (even in my privacy in the country) oft had thoughts of you, and that with much respect, for your friendship to truth in your early years and in bad times. But I was uncertain whether your relation to the court, (tho' I think a Commonwealth was more friendly to you than a Court) had not clouded your former light: but your last book resolved that doubt. You complain of the non-proficiency of the nation and it's retrograde motion of late in liberty and spiritual truths. It is much to be bewailed, but still let us pity human frailty. When those who made deep protestations of their zeal for our liberty both spiritual and civil, and made the fairest offers to be assertors thereof, and whom we thereupon trusted, when those being instated in power, shall betray the good thing committed to them, and lead us back to Egypt, and by that force which we gave them to win us liberty, hold us fast in chains; what can poor people do! you know who they were that watched our Saviour's sepulchre to keep him from rising.' Mr Wall then urges him to proceed to that other subject which he had promised, that hire greatly impedes truth and liberty (67), and which Milton soon after executed in his *Considerations on the likeliest Means to remove Hirelings out of the Church.*

(67) Birch's Life of Milton, p. xlii, xliii.

[*OO*] *To prevent the King's restoration.*] The dissolution of the Long Parliament by the Army in October 1659, put our author into unimaginable confusion. He immediately saw the King returned, and himself and all his towering hopes ruined. It was now not a time to make complaints of this step of the Army; he pumped his invention for a present remedy to save all from the threatening ruin, and proposed a model, which, though not the best, yet such as might serve the present necessity, *in a letter to a friend concerning the ruptures in the Commonwealth*; which was followed by another piece, *Of the present means and brief delineation of a true Commonwealth to be put in practice, and without delay.* About this time Mr Oldenburg, afterwards Secretary to the Royal Society, urged him to write the history of the present commotions, to which our author replied, in a letter dated December 20, in such terms as expressed his sentiments of the Army's proceeding (68). In February this year, upon a prospect of the King's return, he published his *Easy way to establish a free Commonwealth*, &c. This was soon after attacked in a burlesque pamphlet, intituled, *The Censure of the Rota upon Mr Milton's Club*, intituled, *The ready and easy Way*, &c. London, printed by Paul Giddy, Printer to the Rota, at the sign of the Wind-Mill in Turn-again-Lane, 1660. This came out in March (69), and upon the publication of a sermon intituled, *The Fear of God and the King*, preached by Matthew Griffith, D. D. at Mercer's Chapel on the 25th of that month, Milton immediately published *Brief Notes* upon it, which were remarked upon by Roger L'Estrange, in a piece intituled *No blind Guides*, printed in his apology at London, 1660, 4to.

(68) Familiar Epistles, No. 29. edit. 1753.

(69) In May there appeared a more serious answer, intituled, The Dignity of Kingship asserted, in answer to Mr Milton's *ready and easy way*, &c. dedicated and presented to his most excellent Majesty Charles II. of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, true hereditary King.

[*PP*] *He escaped prosecution.*] June 16, 1660, the House of Commons resolved, that the King be moved to call in Milton's two books mentioned above, in order to be burnt; and that the Attorney-General do proceed against him, and Godwin, by indictment or otherwise. June 27th an order of Council reciting that vote of the 16th, and that the persons were not to be found, directs a proclamation for calling in Milton's two books, and a proclamation was issued accordingly, and another to the same purpose, August 13th; on the 27th of that Month, the books were burnt by the hangman, and on the 29th passed the act of oblivion, without excepting Milton, who then thought he had no reason to abscond any longer. But the Attorney-General not being discharged of the order to prosecute, had him taken up, and he was put into the custody of the Serjeant at Arms, as appears from the following minutes in their books Saturday December 15th, 1660: 'Ordered that Mr Milton, now in custody of the Serjeant at Arms attending this house, be forthwith released paying his fees.' And another dated Monday December 17th: 'A complaint made that the Serjeant at Arms had demanded excessive fees for the imprisonment of Mr Milton. Ordered, that it be referred to the Committee for privileges to examine this business, and to call Mr Milton and the Serjeant before them, and to determine what is fit to be given the Serjeant for his fees in this case (70).'

(70) Richardson's Life of Milton, p. 86, & seq.

[*QQ*] *He was included in the general amnesty.*] Mr Richardson tells us, that his friends on this occasion were Secretary Morris and Sir Thomas Clarges, who managed matters artfully in his favour. But his Majesty's goodness therein was so extraordinary and unexpected, that a particular cause has been sought for it, and at last we are told, that Mr Richardson the Painter was told by Mr Pope the poet, who had it from Betterton the player, who was brought upon the stage by Sir William d'Avenant, that this last gentleman had obtained Milton's pardon, in return for the same favour to himself, procured by Milton's interest in 1650, when the former was under condemnation (71). Milton himself intimates, that his pardon was not obtained without difficulty, in a letter to Mr Heimbach, Counsellor to the Elector of Brandenburg; who ha[illegible]de him a handsome compliment on account of his writings, received an answer containing the following expression: *Earum (sc. prolium metaphorice pro librorum) una* (72) *non ita belle charitatem hospitii mihi reddidit, quam enim politicam tu vocas ego pietatem in patriam dictam abs te mallem, ea me, pulchro nomine delinitum, prope, ut ita dicam, expatriavit* (73).

(71) Ibid.

(72) Viz. his Defensio pro Populo Anglicano.

(73) Fam. Epist. No. 31.

[*RR*] *His*

(qq) Id. p. 38 and 41.

consort (*qq*), on his recommendation he married Elizabeth, daughter of Mr Minshull a Cheshire gentleman [*R R*], related to the doctor, and not long after removed to a house in the Artillery-walk leading to Bunhill-fields [*S S*]. Though Milton's circumstances were much reduced, by some very considerable losses at the Restoration [*T T*], yet his principles not suffering him to engage in any publick employ at Court [*U U*], he sat down to his studies.* [*W W*], and applied himself diligently to finish his grand poem. In 1665, he retired with his family from the plague, to a small house, which had been hired for him at St Giles's Chalfont in Buckinghamshire. Before he left the country he compleated his *Paradise Lost*; and having, from a hint given him in a visit there by a friend, begun his *Paradise Regained* [*X X*], that poem was finished not long after his return to London, which he did as soon as the sickness was over in 1666 (*r r*). The first of these was published in 1667, and the other in 1670 [*Y Y*]. He had published his History of Britain

* The first fruit of these was his *Accedence commenced Grammar*, published in 1661, 8vo. which is an instance of one of the greatest geniuses that ever lived, stooping to one of the lowest subjects, out of a zeal for right education, which he shewed throughout his life.

(rr) His house in Bread-street, which was all then remaining of his paternal estate, and which we are told foreigners used to visit out of pure devotion, was burnt in the fire of London this year. Wood's Fasti, Vol. I. col. 266.

[*R R*] *His third wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Mr Minshull a Cheshire gentleman.*] He had no issue by this wife, who survived him, and after his death retired to her friends in Cheshire. There the writer of this life saw her at Namptwich, where she lived about the year 1724. She seemed to have no notion of her husband's great fame, and said he left no great matter at his death. She was much respected by Mr Minshull, an eminent Counsellor about this time.

[*S S*] *A house in the Artillery-walk, &c.*] Mr Philips observes (74), that this was his last stage in this world, but it was of many years continuance, more perhaps, than he had had in any other place. Here we are told, that he used to sit in a grey coarse cloth coat at the door in warm summer weather, to enjoy the fresh air, and so, as well as in his own room, received the visits of people of distinguished parts, as well as quality. The same writer tells us, he had an original picture of Milton given him by Dr Wright an ancient Clergy-man in Dorsetshire, who told him, that Milton lived in a small house, but one room, as he thought, on a floor; where he found him up one pair of stairs, in a chamber hung with rusty green, sitting in an elbow-chair; black cloaths, and neat enough, pale, but not cadaverous; his hands and fingers gouty, and with chalk-stones: and that among other discourse he expressed himself to this purpose, that was he free from the pain this gave him, his blindness would be tolerable (75).

(74) Life of Milton, p. 38.

(75) Richardson, p. 4.

[*T T*] *Considerable losses at the Restoration.*] He had saved out of his Secretary's salary 2000 *l.* which being lodged in the excise, and that bank failing at the Restoration, he lost (76). He was possessed also of an estate of 60 *l.* a year, in Westminster which was resumed at this time by the right owners, the Dean and Chapter of Westminster-Abbey. Mr Philips also tells us, that he lost a considerable sum of money by a bad security which failed (77). It is reported too, that he had lent most part of his personal estate upon the publick faith, which, when he somewhat earnestly and warmly pressed to have restored, observing how all in offices had not only feathered their own nests, but had enriched many of their relations and creatures, before the publick debts were discharged, after a long and chargeable attendance, met with very sharp rebukes: upon which, at last, despairing of any success in this affair, he was forced to return from them poor and friendless, having spent all his money, and wearied all his friends (78). This story is thought to receive additional credit from that passage in the unlicensed pages of his British History, where he observes how all in offices had enriched themselves and their creatures upon the breach of the publick faith (79). If this be granted, we have here another reason for his great joy at the termination of the protectorial power, which gave him no relief in this complaint.

(76) Wood's Fasti, Vol. I. col. 266.

(77) It was put out by a Money-Scrivener. Ward's Account from Mrs Foster, in Birch, p. 77.

(78) Toland's Life of Milton, p. 431.

(79) See Hist. of Britain, B. iii. in the beginning, edit. 1753.

[*U U*] *Resolving not to engage in any publick employ.*] Concerning this matter we have the following story from Mr Richardson, upon the authority of Henry Bendish, Esq; a descendent by his mother's side from the Protector Oliver Cromwell; that their family and Milton's were in great intimacy, both before and after his death; that Mr Bendish had heard the widow or daughter of Milton, or both, say, that soon after the Restoration the King offered to employ this pardoned man as Latin Secretary, the post in which he served Cromwell with so much integrity and ability: Milton withstood the offer; his wife pressed his compliance. *Thou art in the right, says he, you, as other women, would ride in your coach; for me, my aim is to live and die an honest man* (80).

(80) Richardson, p. 100.

[*W W*] *He sat down to his studies.*] In this pursuit he had a person to read to him, who was usually the son of some gentleman of his acquaintance, and undertook that office in the view of his own improvement by Milton's conversation and instructions. Mr Thomas Ellwood, afterwards one of the most eminent writers among the Quakers, and who gives us this account, attended him for these purposes, being recommended to him by Dr Paget, and went every day in the afternoon, except Sunday, and read to him such books in the Latin tongue, as Milton thought proper, who taught him the foreign pronunciation of that language, and explained to him all the difficult passages that occurred in his reading (81).

(81) Hist. of the Life of Tho. Ellwood, p. 154. edit. 1714, 8vo.

[*X X*] *Begun his Paradise Regained, from a hint given him by a friend in the country.*] This friend was Mr Ellwood, who visiting him there, had Paradise Lost then finished put into his hands by Milton to read over, and give him his judgment, which, upon returning it, he modestly and freely told him; and after some further discourse about it, says Mr Ellwood, I pleasantly said to him: Thou hast said much of Paradise Lost, but what hast thou to say of Paradise Found. He made me no answer, but sat some time in a muse, then broke off that discourse, and fell upon another subject. When Mr Ellwood afterwards waited upon him in London, Milton shewed him his Paradise Regained, and in a pleasant tone said to him. This is owing to you; for you put it into my head by the question you put to me at Chalfont, which, before, I had not thought of (82).

(82) Life of Tho. Ellwood, p. 246, 247.

[*Y Y*] *The first was published in* 1667, *and the other in* 1670.] That Paradise Lost was published in 1667, is evident from Milton's contract for the copy with his bookseller Mr Simonds, which bears date April 27th that year; and the contract also shews, that he sold the copy for no more than five pounds down, and five pounds more after the sale of 1300 of the first impression, and five pounds after so many were sold of the second impression, the number of each impression not to exceed 1500 (83). Milton did not live to enjoy the benefit of the second impression, which was published in 1674. In this edition, the poem which at first contained only ten was divided into twelve books. The third edition was published in 1678, and it appears that Milton had left his remaining right in the copy to his widow, who agreed with Simonds to accept of eight pounds in full of all demands. The receipt for the money is dated December 21, 1680. A little before this, Simonds had consented to assign the whole right of copy to Brabazon Aylmer, bookseller, for 25 *l.* and this Aylmer afterwards sold one half to Jacob Tonson (84) August 17, 1683, and the other half, with a considerable advance in the price, March 24th, 1690; there having been a pompous edition in 1688, published by subscription; wherein appear the names of Dorset, Waller, Dryden, Aldrich, Atterbury, and all the men of distinguished talents in polite literature at that time. It has gone through numberless editions since, particularly one in 1727, 8vo, with an account of Milton's life, by Mr Elijah Fenton. Another in 1749, by Dr Thomas Newton, D. D. with notes of various authors, as Hume, Addison, Bentley, Pearce, Richardson, father and son, Warburton, Jortin, Upton, Heylin, and Thyer. It was translated into blank verse in low Dutch, and printed in 1728; into French prose, in 1729; into Italian verse by Rolli in 1736*; into Latin, together with *Paradise Regained*, and *Samson Agonistes*, by Mr Hog a Scotchman, in 1690: by Dr Trapp, in 1741; and his first six books in 1750, and the rest in 1753, by Dobson †. This being reputed the best, Mr Dobson received a thousand pounds which had been proposed for this undertaking in 1735, by Mr Benson auditor of the imprest. As

(83) This original contract is in the hands of Mr Tonson.

(84) And, except one fourth, his family have enjoyed the right of it ever since.

* One into Greek verse was begun by Mr Dawes, A. M. and Fellow of Emmanuel college Cambridge in 1716. Paradisi Amissi—liber primus Græca versione donatus, with a specimen.

† Fellow of New-college in Oxford.

Britain the preceding year, and in 1672 came out his *Artis Logicæ plenior Institutio*. Upon the indulgence granted to the Dissenters the following year, he published a *Defence of Universal Toleration for Sectaries of all Denominations except Papists* [Z Z]. The same year he likewise printed a new edition of his *Poems on Several Occasions, with additions*, which was followed the next year by his *Epistolarum Familiarium, Lib. I. & Prolusiones quædam Oratoriæ in Collegio Christi habitæ*. The same year there likewise appeared in publick, translated by him from the Dutch, *A Declaration of the Poles, concerning the Election of their King John III*. This year too, 1674, he paid the last debt to nature at his house in Bunhill-fields, in the beginning of November (*ss*), and was interred on the 12th of that month (*tt*) near his father, in the chancel of the church of St Giles's Cripplegate, attended by a great number of his friends. But no monument being found there [*AAA*], a decent one was erected to his memory in 1737, in Westminster-abbey, by William Benson, one of the Auditors of the Imprest (*uu*). Though his death was occasioned by the gout, yet was it so easy, that the persons attending in the room did not perceive the time of his expiring (*ww*). He left the following pieces in manuscript, *The Brief History of Muscovy, and of their less known countries, lying eastward of Russia as far as Cathay*, printed at London, 1682, 8vo. and an *Idea Theologia*, as 'tis said, in the hands of Cyriac Skinner of Mark-lane. We are told also, that he had prepared for the press an answer to some little scribbling quack in London, who had written a scurrilous libel against him; but either by the disswasion of friends, as thinking him not worth notice, or for what other cause, is not known, this answer was never published (*xx*). As to his person, in his youth he was remarkably handsome, on which account, while at Cambridge, he was called the Lady of Christ's-college (*yy*). The colour of his hair was a light brown; the symmetry of his features exact, enlivened with an agreeable air, and a beautiful mixture of fair and ruddy, which gave occasion to the compliment paid him by John Baptista Manso before related (*zz*). He tells us himself he was blue-eyed (*aaa*); but Mr Wood says (*bbb*), his eyes were none of the quickest. His stature, as we find it measured by himself, did not exceed the middle size (*ccc*). He was neither too lean nor too corpulent; his limbs well proportioned, nervous, and active; but his constitution was tender, and his health infirm. In his diet abstemious; not delicate in the choice of his dishes (*ddd*); and

(*ss*) Id. ibid.

(*tt*) This shews Mr Smith to be mistaken, in placing his death on the 15th. See Peck's Desiderata Curiosa, Vol. II. B. xiv. p. 48. Lond. 1736, fol.

(*uu*) It stands in that part of the abbey which is generally called Poets Corner.

(*ww*) Wood, where last cited.

(*xx*) Id. ibid.

(*yy*) He takes notice of this in his Academical Prolusions. A quibusdam audivi nuper Domina. Prolusiones Academicæ, p. 132. edit. 1674.

(*zz*) In remark [Q].

(*aaa*) In his Defensio secunda, p. 378. edit. 1753.

(*bbb*) Ubi supra.

(*ccc*) Defensio secunda, p. 41. edit. 1654.

(*ddd*) His granddaughter Mrs Foster told Dr Newton, that Milton was very temperate in eating and drinking, but he always chose to have of the best. Newton's Life of Milton, p. lxviii. 2d edit. 1750. 8vo.

As Paradise Regained was a work of much less time, so notwithstanding some pains taken lately to raise it's reputation, yet the general opinion, comparing it with Paradise Lost, is still that which was established by Mr Fenton in those pathetic words: Oh! what a falling off was there! Samson Agonistes was published with this last poem: Mr Warburton censures this piece as having a certain gloominess not seen in Paradise Lost (85); and Mr Mason observes, that Milton being angry at the reception of that poem, resolved in the plan of this to shew his resentment, by not complying with the bad taste of the times; but that this drove him into the contrary extreme. 'The contempt, says that author, 'in which perhaps with justice he held the age he lived in, prevented him from condescending either to 'amuse or instruct it: he had before given to his unworthy countrymen the noblest poem that genius, conducted by ancient art, could produce; and he had seen 'them receive it with disregard, if not with dislike. 'Conscious therefore of his own dignity and of their 'demerit, he looked to posterity only for his reward *, 'and to posterity only directed his future labours. 'Hence it was, perhaps, that he formed the Samson 'Agonistes upon a model more simple and more severe, 'than even Athens herself would have demanded, and 'took Æschylus for his master, rather than Sophocles 'or Euripides; intending by this conduct to set as 'great a distance as possible between himself and his 'contemporary writers, and to make his works, as himself said, much different from what amongst them 'passed for the best. The success of the poem was 'accordingly what one would have expected; the age 'it appeared in treated it with total neglect, neither 'hath that posterity to which he appealed, and which 'has done justice to most of his other writings, as yet 'given to this excellent piece it's full measure of popular and universal fame; perhaps in your closet, and 'that of a few more, who can admire genuine nature 'and ancient simplicity, the Agonistes may hold a 'distinguished rank: yet surely we cannot say in 'Hamlet's phrase, that it pleases the multitude, it is '*caveare* to the generality (86).'

[*ZZ*] *A defence of universal toleration.*] In this piece Milton lumps Lutherans, Calvinists, Anabaptists, Arminians, Arians, and Socinians, all into one mass, as having an equal right to a toleration, because, as he here maintains, they are not heretics. 'The Arian 'and Socinian, says he, are charged to dispute against 'the Trinity; they affirm to believe the Father, Son, 'and Holy Gost, according to Scripture and the Apostolic creed; as for terms of Trinity, Tri-unity, Coessentiality, Tri-personality, and the like, they reject them, as scholastic notions, not to be found in 'scripture, which by a general Protestant maxim, is 'plain and perspicuous abundantly to explain it's own 'meaning in the properest words, belonging to so high 'a matter, and so necessary to be known; a mystery 'indeed in their sophistic subtleties, but in scripture a 'plain doctrine. Their other opinions are of less moment; they dispute the satisfaction of Christ, or rather the word satisfaction as not scriptural: but they 'acknowledge him both God, and their Saviour (87).' This passage shews, that Milton in this point had changed his opinion; for in his younger days he was orthodox, as it is called, with respect to the Arians, as appears from several passages in his book *Of Reformation in England*, where having observed, that 'though 'every true Christian will be a martyr when he is 'called to it, it does not presently follow, that every 'one suffering for religion is so without exception.— 'Witness the Arians and Pelagians, which were slain 'by the heathen for Christ's sake, yet we take both 'these for no true friends of Christ (88).' 'Tis observable, that our author also changed his sentiments more than once, with regard to the several sects of religion. For in his early years he was a favourer of the Puritans: in his middle age he was best pleased with the Independents and Anabaptists, as allowing more liberty than others, and coming nearest in his opinion to the primitive practice; but in the latter part of his life he was not a profest member of any particular sect among Christians; he frequented none of their assemblies, nor made use of any of their peculiar rites in his family (89).

[*AAA*] *But no monument being found there.*] Mr Fenton tells us, that he had desired a friend of his to enquire at that church about it, and the sexton shewed a small monument, which he said was supposed to be Milton's, but the inscription had never been legible since he was employed in that office, which he had possessed above forty years. This surely could never have happened, says Mr Fenton, in so short a space of time, unless the epitaph had been industriously erased, and that supposition carries with it so much inhumanity, that I think we ought to believe it was not erected to his memory (90).'

(85) In some remarks communicated to Dr Birch, and printed in Milton's Life, p. lxix.

* See his ode to Mr Rouse, Keeper of the Bodleian Library, among his Latin poems.

(86) Letters prefixed to Mason's Elfrida, Lett. 2.

(87) True Religion, Heresy, Toleration, p. 139, 140. Prose Works, Vol. II. edit. 1753.

(88) Of Reformation, p. 4. Vol. I. ibid.

(89) Toland's Life of Milton, p. 46.

(90) In his Life of Milton, ubi supra.

[*BBB*] *His*

and ſtrong liquors of all kinds were his averſion. Being ſadly convinced how much his health had ſuffered by night ſtudies in his younger years, he uſed to go early, ſeldom later than nine, to reſt, and roſe commonly in the ſummer at four, and in the winter at five, in the morning. But when he was not diſpoſed to riſe at his uſual hours, he had always one to read to him by his bed-ſide (*eee*). At his firſt riſing, he had uſually a chapter read to him out of the Hebrew Bible, and he commonly ſtudied all the morning 'till twelve; then he uſed ſome exerciſe for an hour, afterwards dined, and after dinner played on the organ, and either ſung himſelf or made his wife ſing, who he ſaid had a good voice but no ears; and then he went up to ſtudy again 'till ſix, when his friends came to viſit him, and ſat with him 'till eight. Then he went down to ſupper, which was uſually olives, or ſome light thing; and after ſupper he ſmoaked his pipe, drank a glaſs of water, and went to bed (*fff*). When his blindneſs reſtrained him from other exerciſes, he had a machine to ſwing in to preſerve his health. His deportment was erect, open, and affable, and his converſation eaſy, chearful, and inſtructive. His genius [*B B B*] and reading are ſeen in his works. His favourite author was Homer, whom he could almoſt repeat, and had been adviſed to tranſlate into Engliſh; but that he thought beneath his talent (*hhh*). Hitherto he is admirably excellent, and in many reſpects without an equal; an honour to his country, and even to human nature. But we muſt not ſuffer ourſelves to be dazzled by theſe brilliances, ſo as not to ſee and acknowledge his failings; we may wiſh there had been no ſuch to lament, but they are too notorious to deny or diſguiſe: and when we find his principles guilded with the ſpecious name of the love of abſolute liberty, and diſlike of the trappings and expence of Kingly Majeſty (*iii*), it only ſerves to bring to our minds his contemporary John Lilburne and his rabble, who were ever ſwelling their throats with the ſame cry. But to leave this irkſome (though to an hiſtorian indiſpenſible) taſk, of uttering diſagreeable truths, we ſhall be inclined to forgive this, for the ſake of the other, part of his moral and religious character; for it is agreed on all ſides, that he was a zealous follower of moral beauty and virtue, with a thorough contempt for the opinion of the meer vulgar. The great view of his private ſtudies was to be able to promote the practice of this by ſome grand performance. He ever expreſſed the profoundeſt reverence for the Deity, as well in deeds as in words; and would ſay to his friends, that the divine properties of goodneſs, juſtice, and mercy, were the adequate rules of human actions, nor leſs the object of imitation for private advantage, than of admiration or reſpect for their own excellence and perfection (*kkk*). Though the eſtate left him by his father was but ſmall, yet his frugality made it ſerve both himſelf and his family. Towards the latter end of his life he ſold the greater part of his library, becauſe the heirs he left could not make a right uſe of it, and he thought he could diſpoſe of it more to their advantage than they would be able to do themſelves. He died worth 1500 pounds in money, beſides his houſehold goods. His three wives were all maidens when he married them (*lll*), but he had no children except by the firſt. His three daughters ſurvived him, and the two youngeſt uſed to read to him (*mmm*) [*CCC*]; they read to

(*eee*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*fff*) Newton, where juſt cited.

(*hhh*) In his poſtſcript to the judgment of Martin Bucer he intimates, that he was born to be a ſpeaker of what God made his own, and not a tranſlator.

(*iii*) Newton, p. lxxii.

(*kkk*) Toland, p. 46.

(*lll*) In his Apology for Smectymnus, written before he was married, he declares, that he thought with them, who, with prudence and elegance of ſpirit, would chuſe a virgin of mean fortune happily bred before the wealthieſt widow.

(*mmm*) The eldeſt was excuſed on account of her weak conſtitution and difficulty of ſpeech; ſhe married a maſter Builder, and died in childbed of her firſt child, which died with her. Philips, p. 41.

[*B B B*] *His genius.*] The leaſt circumſtance becomes intereſting when related to ſuch a genius as Milton's. Hence we find it firſt obſerved, that there is more than one paſſage in his juvenile poems which gives reaſon to believe his poetical vein flowed fulleſt and eaſieſt in the ſpring: and hence it is too, that Mr Philips relates what he ſays he was told by himſelf, that his vein never happily flowed but from the autumnal equinox to the vernal. Laſtly, hence it comes to paſs, that this ſeeming contrariety hath raiſed much matter for ſpeculation, and many words have been ſpent upon it, as may be ſeen in the authors cited on the margin (91). In the mean time Mr Fenton's remark is, perhaps, the only one well worth preſerving. 'That the inequalities found in his works ſhew him ſometimes to have been no more than one of the people (92).'

[*CCC*] *Uſed to read to him.*] The ſecond daughter lived ſingle, and the third, Deborah, was married to Mr Abraham Clarke a weaver in Spitalfields, and died Auguſt 24th, 1727, in the 76th year of her age. A little before her death ſhe informed Dr Ward, Profeſſor of Rhetoric at Greſham-college, that Iſaiah, Homer, and Ovid's Metamorphoſes, were books which they were often called to read to their father; and at the doctor's deſire ſhe repeated a conſiderable number of verſes from the beginnning of both theſe poets with great readineſs. He knew her by the likeneſs ſhe bore to her father's picture, and telling her ſo, ſhe informed him that Mr Addiſon told her the ſame thing: for he hearing ſhe was alive ſent for her, and deſired her to bring ſome papers of her father's as a proof of her being his daughter. But ſhe was no ſooner introduced to him than he ſaid, 'Madam, you need no other voucher, your face is a ſufficient teſtimonial whoſe daughter you are.' He made her a handſome preſent of a purſe of guineas, with a promiſe of procuring her an annual proviſion for her life, but he dying ſoon after, ſhe loſt the benefit of his generous deſign. She appeared to be a woman of a good ſenſe, and a genteel behaviour, and to bear the inconveniencies of a low fortune with decency and prudence. She had ſeveral children, and her youngeſt daughter Elizabeth, wife to Mr Thomas Foſter, was viſited in 1738 by Dr Ward at her houſe in Pelham-ſtreet Spital-fields, where ſhe kept a chandler's ſhop, but removed firſt to Lower Holloway between Highgate and London, and from thence to Cock-Lane, not far from Shoreditch. She gave Dr Ward the following particulars which ſhe had often heard from her mother Mrs Clarke: 'who meeting with very ill treatment from Milton's wife, left her father, and went to live with a lady whom ſhe called Merian. This lady going over to Ireland, and reſolving to take Milton's daughter with her, if he would give his conſent, wrote a letter to him of her deſign, and aſſured him, that as chance had thrown his daughter under her care, ſhe would treat her no otherwiſe than as his daughter, and her own companion. She lived with that lady 'till her marriage, and came over again to England during the troubles in Ireland under King James the Second.' Mrs Foſter ſaid there were three pictures of her grandfather, the firſt painted while he was a ſchool-boy, then in the poſſeſſion of Charles Stanhope, Eſq; the ſecond, when he was about 25 or 26 years of age, and the third when he was pretty well advanced in years. That the late Queen Caroline, conſort to his preſent Majeſty King George the Second, ſent Mrs Clarke 50 *l.* and that ſhe received other preſents of money from ſeveral gentlemen. The maſk of Comus was acted at Drury-Lane April 5th, 1750, for Mrs Foſter's benefit; with a prologue by Mr Samuel Johnſon, which brought her near one hundred and thirty pounds (93).

(91) Toland, p. 40. Richardſon, p. 113. Birch, p. 56. Newton, p. 70.

(92) In his Life of Milton.

(93) Birch's Life of Milton, p. lxxvi, lxxvii.

[*A*] *Family*

to him in eight languages, which by practice they could do with readineſs and accuracy, though they underſtood nothing but Engliſh (*nnn*). At laſt, upon their expreſſing ſome uneaſineſs at this employment, they were ſent to learn ſome ingenious art, as embroidery and the like (*ooo*). P

(*nnn*) Their father uſed often to ſay in their hearing, that one tongue was enough for a woman. Philips, p. 42.

(*ooo*) Id. ibid.

MOLESWORTH [ROBERT], Viſcount Moleſworth of Swordes in Ireland, an eminent Stateſman and polite writer, was deſcended of a Saxon family, anciently ſeated in the counties of Northampton and Bedford in England [*A*]. But our author's father, Robert Moleſworth, who, throughout the civil wars, had ſerved under his eldeſt brother in the ſtation of a Captain, after the kingdom of Ireland was delivered up by the Marquis of Ormond to the Parliament of England (*a*), became an adventurer for carrying on the war, in order to reduce it to their obedience, by making three ſeveral ſubſcriptions, two of 600 pounds each, and one of 300 pounds; for which he had allotted 2500 acres of land, Iriſh meaſure, in the baronies of Moghergallin and Lune in the county of Meath. He afterwards became a very eminent Merchant of Dublin, and in high confidence with the Government then preſiding in Ireland. Making his Will on the 15th of Auguſt 1656, he deviſed all his lands in the baronies of Screene and Lune in the county of Meath to his loving wife (*b*) Judith, and the heirs of their bodies, remainder to her and her heirs for ever; and (except a few legacies) the reſt of his eſtate, real and perſonal, to his loving father and mother-in-law, whom he appointed executors; out of which they were to give the child or children which his wife then went withal, or ſhould thereafter have by him, ſuch portion as they ſhould think fit, and have the tutelage, guardianſhip, education, and diſpoſal, of it or them, as if their own. He died September 3d that year, and was buried the 9th in St Audoen's church at Dublin, leaving his wife big with his only child, the ſubject of the preſent article, who raiſed himſelf and family to the honours they now enjoy, and was born in December after his father's death at Dublin, and bred at the college there. He engaged early in a marriage with Letitia, third daughter of Richard Coloony, ſiſter to Richard Earl of Bellamont, who brought him a daughter, Margaret, baptized February 9, 1677 (*c*). When the Prince of Orange entered England in 1688, Mr Moleſworth diſtinguiſhed himſelf by an early and zealous appearance in defence of the religion and liberty of his country; which rendered him ſo obnoxious to the party of King James the Second, that he was attainted, and his eſtate ſequeſtred, by that King's Parliament, May 7, 1689. But when King William was ſettled on the throne, he called this ſufferer, for whom he had a particular eſteem, into his Privy-Conncil (*d*), and, in 1692, ſent him Envoy Extraordinary to the court of Denmark, where he reſided in that honourable ſtation above three years *; 'till ſome particulars in his conduct gave ſo much offence to his Daniſh Majeſty, that he was forbid the Court [*B*]: upon which, pretending buſineſs to Flanders, he

(*a*) *Domo Saxonica ortus.* Preamble to his patent, 16 July, 1716, in Lodge's Peerage of Ireland, Vol. III. p. 203. note (*a*).

(*b*) She was elder daughter and coheir (that ſurvived of 21 children) to John Byſſe, Eſq; deſcended from the ancient family of Byſſe in the county of Somerſet. Mr Moleſworth married her Octob. 10, 1654. After his death ſhe remarried with Sir William Titchburne, Knt. and was mother of Henry Lord Ferrard. Ibid. p. 207, 208.

(*c*) Ibid. p. 211.

(*d*) Ibid. p. 209.

* See Remark [*B*]

[*A*] *Family anciently ſeated in the counties of Northampton and Bedford*] The firſt of the family mentioned in hiſtory, was Sir Walter de Moldeſworth or Moleſworth (1); who attended King Edward the Firſt in his expedition to the Holy Land againſt the Infidels, (to which his coat of armour alludes) and the 26th of that reign, was conſtituted Sheriff of the counties of Bedford and Bucks for the ſpace of ten years (an office in thoſe early times of great truſt and authority). In 1306, when the King, on a grand Whitſontide feſtival, to adorn his court with greater ſplendor, and augment the glory of his intended expedition into Scotland, knighted Edward Earl of Carnaervon, his eldeſt ſon; the young Prince, immediately after the ceremony at the altar in Weſtminſter-Abbey, conferred the ſame honour on near three hundred gentlemen, the ſons of Earls, Barons, and Knights, of which number was Sir Walter de Moleſworth; and that Prince ſucceeding to the throne 7 July 1307, directed a charter of ſummons to Sir Walter and his Lady to attend at his coronation (2); appointing him that year, with Gilbert de Holme, Sheriff of the aforeſaid counties, and in 1317, ſole Sheriff of the ſame.—He was returned Knight for the county of Bedford to the firſt Parliament of that King, which met at Weſtminſter the 5th of his reign, and (as was then the cuſtom) both he and Gerard de Braybroke his colleague, had writs of their expences iſſued for their attendance and ſervice; three years after, he repreſented that county again, but not long ſurviving, was ſucceeded by his ſon Hugh, who, the ſame year, with Henry de Tilly, was Knight for the county of Huntingdon, in the Parliament held at York, having the like writ for defraying his expences. To him ſucceeded his ſon and heir Sir Walter de Moleſworth, whoſe ſon Richard is mentioned in the pipe rolls of Northamptonſhire, 13 Edward III. (1339), in relation to a fine of 20 *l.* for a pardon to him and others at the King's ſuit, for an infringement of the peace belonging to the royal cognizance, on the death of John de Sutton Lungeville. He married Eleanor, daughter and heir to Sir Thomas Mortimer of the city of London (a deſcendant of the noble houſe of Mortimer) and by her was anceſtor to Sir Roger Moleſworth of the county of Huntingdon, Knight; whoſe Son John of the ſame county became alſo ſeated at Helpeſton in Northamptonſhire, ſerved the office of Eſcheator for the county of Rutland, and died 14 May 1542, leaving John his heir, then twenty ſix years of age, who married Margaret, daughter and heir to William Weſtcot of Hanſacre in Staffordſhire, Eſq; and had by her five ſons, the eldeſt of whom Anthony (3), was anceſtor to the Viſcount Moleſworth.—By his marriage with Cicely, daughter and heir to Thomas Hurland of Fotheringay in the county of Northampton, he became poſſeſſed of that inheritance; but being a man of great generoſity and hoſpitality, and profuſely entertaining Queen Elizabeth at that his ſeat, ſeveral days, at different times he ſo far involved himſelf in debt, that (to ſhew he was as juſt as he was generous) he ſold the beſt part of his eſtate, and diſpoſed of Helpeſton to an anceſtor of Earl Fitz-William. He left two ſons, William, and Nathaniel, who accompanied Sir Walter Raleigh in his voyage to Guinea, and after his return, periſhed by ſhipwreck in his paſſage to Ireland; William the elder took ſhare with the Duke of Bucks in his unfortunate expedition to the iſle of Rhee, in aid of the Rochellers, and by his ſon-in-law, Gervas Holles, (a worthy and authentic Antiquary ‡) is ſtiled *Protribunus Militum ſub regimine Peregrini Bertie Militis*; Lieutenant-Colonel in Colonel Peregrine Bertie's regiment. He married Mary, daughter to Sir Francis Palmes of Aſhwell in the county of Rutland, and left iſſue a daughter, married to the ſaid Gervas Holles, Eſq; and three ſons, the youngeſt of whom, Robert, was father to Viſcount Moleſworth, the ſubject of this article (4).

[*B*] *He was forbid the Court.*] We have an account of this particular with the reaſons of it from Dr King, who obſerving our author's *Account*, &c. to be printed without

(1) His contemporary John de Moleſworth, in 12 Edw. I. was preſented to the Rectory of North-Luffenham in Rutlandſhire, by Edmond Earl of Cornwall, ſon to Richard Plantagenet, King of the Romans, youngeſt ſon to King John. Lodge's Peerage of Ireland, Vol. III. p. 202.

(2) See the charter, which bears date 8 February, 1307. Ibid. p. 203.

(3) His fourth ſon was anceſtor to Sir Hender Moleſworth of Spring-gardens, who was bred a Merchant; and ſettling in Jamaica, ſucceeded Chriſtopher Duke of Albemarle in that government in 1689, and was created by King William a Baronet 19 July that year; and from him deſcended the Moleſworths of Pencarrow in Cornwall. Ibid. p. 204, 205.

‡ See the article Holles John firſt E. of Clare.

(4) Ibid.

he retired thither without any audience of leave, and from thence returned home, and immediately drew up an account of that country, representing the government thereof to be arbitrary and tyrannical [*C*]. This piece was greatly resented by Prince George of Denmark, consort to the Princess (afterwards Queen) Anne; and Mr Scheel, the Danish Envoy, first presented a memorial to King William, complaining of it, and then furnished materials for an answer, which was executed by Dr William King (*e*) [*D*]. Our author, however, met with his admirers; the *Account* was well received by the public, and translated into several languages. The spirit of it was particularly approved by the Earl of Shaftesbury, the celebrated author of the *Characteristics*; who from thence conceived a great esteem of him, and soon after entered into a close friendship with him [*E*]. He

(*e*) See his article, remark [*F*].

without his name to it, took occasion thence to address his animadversions upon it to our author himself, in a preface; where, among other ironical reasons given why he could not be the author of it, he has the following: "I shall not trouble you much longer, only tell you that a principal reason why we should not take this book to be your's, is, a remark which may be found in authors that treat concerning ambassadors, viz. *That he ought to be no detractor, or speaker ill of any King or State, but more especially of him or them with whom he remains.* The reasons are plain, because detractions are beneath the honour of the Prince whose character he sustains; and then such actions would make Ambassadors from such a Prince be treated for the future rather as spies and enemies, than as men whose persons are to be held sacred. We are of opinion that nothing could make you swerve from this rule, and that no provocation could force you to it. However, there are two things that happened in Denmark, which to another man might give some small occasion, and are as follow: It seems an Envoy there, who had been above three years in the Danish Court, where at first he was very welcome, became at last to be very disagreeable, by boldly pretending to some privileges that by the custom of the country are denied to every body. There is throughout all Sealand a double road, one is common to all people, the other, called the King's road, is reserved to his Majesty of Denmark and his attendants; this is shut up with several gates, and has great ditches on both sides of it. The Envoy travelling one day to *Helsingor*, was resolved to pass this way in his chariot, and accordingly did so, after he had broke down the gates; which action, as it would have been a great misdemeanour in any Dane, so it was resented by the Court, as a rudeness in a foreigner.—At another time this same Envoy went to the isle of Amack near Copenhagen, where abundance of hares are kept for the King of Denmark's game, and that with so much care, that any man is severely punishable, who presumes to kill one of them, unless in the King's company. However, this gentleman was resolved to have a *course*; but in his way thither was accosted by one of the King's huntsmen, who desired him to send his dogs back, otherwise he was in duty obliged to shoot them. Instead of any reply to this, one of the Envoy's footmen cut the keeper over the head with his sword. The man, all bloody as he was, went presently to Count Reventlaw, great Master of the Game, and made his complaint to him. These actions being represented to the King, his Majesty was extremly offended at them, and shewed it by the cold reception the Envoy afterwards met with at Court, who was likewise given to understand, that he was not very welcome there. Upon this, pretending business into Flanders, he retired thither without any audience of leave; and from thence (as related in the text) went home, where his master would have had him return, and perform that ceremony; but he rather chose to lose the presents given upon those occasions, than visit a Court again that had been so justly offended with him, and yet pretended to be angry, because he had not the usual present for Envoys, which his own rudeness and absence deprived him of (5)."

(5) King's Animadversions on the pretended Account of Denmark, in the preface.

[*C*] *Represented the government of Denmark to be tyrannical.*] In the *conclusion*, having observed that it is a general mistake among us, that the Popish religion is the only one of all the Christian sects, proper to introduce and establish slavery; he maintains, that in Denmark, through the entire and sole dependance of the clergy upon the Prince; through their principles and doctrine, which are those of unlimited obedience; and through the authority they have with the common people, &c. slavery seems to be more absolutely established than it is in France; as in effect it is more practised. Of this he gives several instances, and in proceeding even goes so far, as to assert that in some particulars the Danish government is more rigorous than that of the Turks: Nor was there any hopes, in his opinion, of a change, since the ancient love of liberty seemed to be quite extinct among them. "The newness of the alteration of the government seems, continues he, to have little or no influence at present upon the people, the King having taken such care, by reducing ancient and rich families to a low estate, by raising new ones, by making all the people poor in spirit as well as purse, that thirty two years has had an effect conducing to his purpose as much as three hundred could have done. Insomuch, that, I verily believe, the Danes do now love servitude. Thirdly, the unity of religion, and the opinions, together with the authority of the priests, seems to have cut away the root of sedition from whence alterations might proceed. Fourthly, a standing army composed, for the most part, of foreigners, who have no value for the natives, nor any concern for their welfare. The Court seems to have had this in it's eye, when it raised and maintained such an army, but in process of time the army is become the people; that is to say, the only thing worth the King's care and affection, and the people nothing, so that no designs tending to a revolution are to be feared from them.

[*D*] *Executed by Dr King.*] The doctor intimates, that our author's temper was so soured by the indignity mentioned in remark [*B*], as to make him bespatter the whole country; to conceal several things that would have been for the credit of that nation; to set truth in such a light as to appear quite different from itself; and to advance a great many particulars in which he may be plainy contradicted (6). And indeed it was no difficult task to point out a great many mistakes in the *Account*, especially by the assistance of such informers as his antagonist was favoured with. And these misrepresentations alone were, by some persons, thought enough to discredit the book and the author of it, who confidently assures his readers, that *he had taken care to be informed of every thing upon the place, with the greatest exactness possible, and had related them fairly and impartially*, so as to save the curious the labour and expence of that voyage (7). But there is one circumstance remarked by the doctor, which very particularly confronts this pretence of a fair and exact account. Among other articles relating to the civil government of Denmark, he has inserted an ordonnance in French, settling the rank and precedency of all great officers and other persons which was published in 1680 (8). 'It is true, says Dr King, 'his account is to represent Denmark, as it stood in '1692*. However, it is strange, that so *curious and exact* a man should have no correspondence there 'from ninety two 'till ninety four, when his book was 'published, for then he might have known, that by a 'new ordonnance dated February 1693, this old 'ordonnance is altered in abundance of particulars, so 'that he has nine whole pages of his book, that by 'his negligence are entirely good for nothing (9).'

(6) Ibid. at the conclusion.

(7) In the preface, towards the end, fol. penult.

(8) Account, &c. p. 180 to 189.

* Those are the words of the title-page.

(9) Animadversions, p. 159.

[*E*] *His account of Denmark brought him into the esteem and friendship of the Earl of Shaftesbury.*] Our author's view in writing the account is clearly intimated in the preface, where he expresly gives us his political as well as his religious creed: the articles of which taught him to condemn and censure very severely the clergy in general, for defending the Revolution, upon other principles than those of resistance and the original contract, which he maintains, is the true and natural basis of the constitution: and that all other foundations are false, nonsensical, and rotten; derogatory to the then present government †, and absolutely destructive to the legal liberties of the English nation, and as the preservation of these depends so much upon the right education of youth in the universities, he urges in

† As King William had no pretence to an hereditary right, the courtiers of fortune in his reign knew it was their business to represent that right as intirely abolished, and swallowed up by the Parliamentary right.

He served his country in the House of Commons in both kingdoms, being chosen for the borough of Swordes in Ireland, and for those of St Michael, Bodmyn, and East-Retford (*f*), in England, his conduct in the Senate being always firm and steady to the principles which he embraced. He was a member of the Privy-Council to Queen Anne 'till the latter end of her reign, when, party running high, he was removed from the Board in January 1713, upon a complaint against him from the Lower House of Convocation, presented December 2d by the Prolocutor to the House of Peers, charging him with speaking these words, in the hearing of a great many persons, *They that have turned the world upside down, are come hither also*; and for affronting the Clergy in Convocation, when they presented their address in favour of Lord Chancellor Phipps (*g*). But as he constantly asserted and strenuously maintained the house of Hanover's right of succession to the Throne, King George the First, on the forming of his Privy-Council in Ireland, made him a member thereof October 9, 1714, and the next month a Commissioner of Trade and Plantations. His Majesty also advanced him to the Peerage of Ireland, by privy-seal, dated at St James's the 21st of June, and by patent 16 July 1716, by the titles of Baron of Philipstown, and Viscount Molesworth of Swordes in that kingdom, with the creation-fee of twenty marcs; and, the first of July 1719, he took his seat in the House of Peers there (*h*). His Lordship was Fellow of the Royal Society, and continued to serve his country with indefatigable industry and uncorrupted integrity 'till the two last years of his life; when, perceiving himself worn out with constant application to publick affairs, he passed the remainder of his days in a learned retirement 'till his death, which happened May 22, 1725, in the 69th year of his age, at his seat at Breckdenstown in the county of Dublin *, six miles from the city, and his corpse was interred at Swordes (*i*). By his Will, dated April 30, 1725, he devised 50 pounds towards building a church at Philipstown (*k*). Besides his History of Denmark, he wrote an address to the House of Commons for the encouragement of Agriculture; and translated *Franco Gallia*, a Latin treatise, written by the civilian Hottoman, giving an account of the free state of France, and other parts of Europe, before the encroachments made on their liberties. He is likewise reputed the author of several pieces, written with great force of reason and masculine eloquence, in defence of liberty, the constitution of his country, and the common right of mankind; and certain it is, that few men of his fortune and quality were more learned, or more highly esteemed by men of learning, as is evident from the writings, not only of the Earl of Shaftesbury already mentioned, but from those of Mr Locke, Mr Molyneux [*F*], and others †. His Lordship had by his wife seven sons, John, Richard, William, Edward, Walter, Coote, and Bysse; and four daughters, Margaret, Mary [*G*], Charlotta-

(*f*) See Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria.

(*g*) Lodge's Peerage, p. 209. ubi supra.

(*h*) Id. ibid.

* His Lordship had a seat also in England at Edlington near Tickhill in Yorkshire. Letters from the E. of Sh. to Mr Molesworth. p. 68.

(*i*) Ibid.

(*k*) P. 210.

† Particularly Mr Toland. See his article.

in the strongest terms the absolute necessity of purging and reforming those by a royal visitation †; so that the youth may not be trained up there, as he says, they were in the slavish principles of passive obedience and *jus divinum*, but may be instituted after the manner of the Greeks and Romans, who in their academies recommended the duty to their country, the preservation of the laws and publick liberty, subservient to which they preached up moral virtues, such as fortitude, temperance, justice, a contempt of death, &c. sometimes making use of *pious cheats*, as Elysian-Fields, and an assurance of future happiness, if they died in the cause of their country, and even deceived their hearers into greatness. This insinuation, that Christianity is nothing more than a pious cheat, and an useful state-engine, together with his pressing morality as the one thing necessary, without once mentioning the Christian Religion, could not but be very agreeable to the author of the Characteristics. In reality, it made a remarkably strong impression upon him, as we find him many years afterwards declaring, in a letter to our author, in these terms: 'You have long had my 'heart, even before I knew you personally. For 'the holy and truly pious man, who revealed the 'greatest of mysteries; he who with a truly generous 'love to mankind and his country, pointed out the 'state of Denmark to other states, and prophesy'd of 'the things highliest important to the growing age: 'he, I say, had already gained me as his sworn friend, 'before he was so kind as to make friendship reciprocal by his acquaintance and expressed esteem. So 'that you may believe it no extraordinary transition 'in me, from making you in truth my oracle in publick affairs, to make you a thorough confident in my 'private (10).' This private affair was a treaty of marriage with a relation of our author's, which appears by this and several other letters to have been proposed and negotiated by him in 1708; and tho' the design miscarried, and the Earl engaged with another lady, Mrs Ewer, the following year, yet the whole tenor of the letters testify the most intimate friendship between them.

† K. William had such a design, but was perswaded from it. See Dr Humphry Prideaux's article.

(10) Letters from the Right Honourable Earl of Shaftesbury to Robert Molesworth, Esq; afterwards the Lord Viscount of that name, &c. edit. 1750, 8vo. p. 99. Lett. viii. dated Jan. 12, 1708-9.

[*F*] *He was highly esteemed by Mr Locke and Mr Molyneux.*] In the printed correspondence between these two learned gentlemen, there is a letter from the latter to the former, wherein he expresses his esteem for our author in these terms: 'I am here [at Dub'lin] very happy in the friendship of an honourable 'person, Mr Molesworth, who is an hearty admirer 'and acquaintance of your's. We never meet but we 'remember you; he sometimes comes into my house, 'and tells me, 'tis not to pay a visit to me, but to pay 'his devotion to your image that is in my dining-room.' In answer to which, Mr Locke expresses the due sense he had of this esteem in the following words: 'I 'must beg you to return my acknowledgments to Mr 'Molesworth, in the civilest language you can find, 'for the great compliment you sent me from him. I 'have been not a little troubled, that I could not meet 'with the opportunities I sought, to improve the ad'vantage I proposed to myself in an acquaintance with 'so ingenious and extraordinary a man as he is (11).'

[*G*] *His daughter Mary.*] This lady was married to George Monck of Stephen's-Green in Dublin, Esq; and died in 1715, leaving a collection of poems which her father published, and dedicated to Queen Caroline (consort to his present Majesty King George II.) when Princess of Wales, and we are told by a good judge, that the surliest criticks must allow them to be well done (12). They consist of eclogues, the Masque of the Virtues against Love, from Guarini; some translations from the French and Italians, familiar epistles, odes, and madrigals. Mr Jacob tells us, they shew the spirit and numbers of poetry, a delicacy of turn, and a justness of thought and expression. In the dedication, dated March 26, 1716, her father speaks of them and the author as follows: "Most of them are the product of the leisure hours of a young gentlewoman, lately deceased, who in a remote country retirement, without omitting the daily care due to a large family, not only perfectly acquired the several languages here made use of *, but the good morals and principles contained in those books, so as to put them in practice as well during her life and languishing sickness, as at the hour of her

(11) Familiar Letters between Mr Locke and several of his friends, p. 260.

(12) Harris's Continuation of Sir James Ware's Writers of Ireland.

* She understood Latin, French, Italian, and Spanish.

(l) Ibid. p. 210, 211, 212.

Charlotta-Aurelia, and Letitia (l). His eldest son John, the second Viscount Molesworth, was baptized December 4, 1679; and being endowed with great natural parts, which were improved by a liberal education, he was appointed a Commissioner of the Stamp-Office in May 1710, and the same month sent Envoy-Extraordinary to the Duke of Tuscany. On the 18th of December 1715, he succeeded his father as one of the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, being then his Majesty's Plenipotentiary to the King of Sardinia, to whom, in June 1720, he was sent Envoy-Extraordinary; he was also his Majesty's Minister at Florence, Venice, and Switzerland, which he held 'till his father's death called him to Ireland, where he arrived from his embassy at Turin July 8, 1725, and took his seat in the House of Peers Sept. 7th following; but dying without male issue in London February 17 that year, the honours and estate devolved on his next brother (m),

(m) Ibid.

Richard, the third and present [1754] Viscount Molesworth, who being designed by his father for the Law, was sent to finish his studies at the Temple; but his genius leading him to a more active life, he disposed of his books, and attended by a faithful servant went into Flanders, presented himself to his father's intimate friend George Earl of Orkney, and served as a volunteer in the army, 'till that nobleman gave him a pair of colours. His merit during the course of the war raised him to the post of Captain of Horse, and Aid de Camp to the Duke of Marlborough; in which station he distinguished himself in a particular manner at the battle of Ramillies, when, at the manifest hazard of his own life, he certainly (under God) preserved that of the General [H]. He continued to

her death. In short, she died not only like a Christian, but a Roman lady *, and so became at once the object of the grief and comfort of her relations. As much as I am obliged to be sparing in commending what belongs to me, I cannot forbear thinking some of these circumstances uncommon enough to be taken notice of. I loved her more because she deserved it, than because she was mine. And I cannot do greater honour to her memory, than by consecrating her labours, or rather diversions, to your Royal Highness, as we found most of them in her escritoire after her death, written with her own hand; little expecting, and as little desiring the publick should have any opportunity either of applauding or condemning them." She died at Bath, and on her death-bed wrote some verses to her husband, then in London, which are transcribed by Mr Cibber †, as breathing a true sense of tenderness.

† Lives of the Poets, Vol. III. p. 207.

[H] *He preserved the Duke of Marlborough's life*] This signal transaction having been suppressed, or very obscurely related by others *, Mr Lodge obtained a real and genuine account of it from an uncontested authority, as follows: 'As for the particular account you 'so earnestly desired of me, I here send it you word 'for word, as related to me by Lord Molesworth him'self; having carefully taken it down from a conver'sation that lately passed between us.

* Viz. Broderic's History of this War; Life of the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene; and Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough.

'He introduced his story by observing that this re'markable fact (however evident in all it's circum'stances) was very industriously hushed up in the army; 'which he said was the easier done, because himself 'was quite silent upon it.

'He then proceeded to a short description of one 'particular circumstance of the field of battle, as ne'cessary to my understanding the following relation, 'and informed me, that from the river Mehaigne, '(which covered the right flank of the French army, 'and the left of ours) to the village of Ramillies, 'which was about the center of the two lines, the 'ground was firm, plain, and open, in short, fit for 'cavalry to act upon: that from Ramillies to the ene'my's left and our right, the ground, on the contrary, 'was low, marshy, and cut through by many ditches 'and streams, not easily passable by either army in the 'face of the other. That the enemy (who had long 'been acquainted with this ground, and well saw the 'advantage to be made of it's situation) had extremely 'strengthened their right wing of horse, not only with 'numbers, but with their choicest troops; with which 'having attacked our cavalry of the left, whom they 'greatly outnumbered, they soon obliged them to give 'ground in great confusion, their line following in 'great order. He said, that the Duke of Marlbo'rough perceiving this, and apprehending the conse'quence of the disorder, if not timely remedied, com'manded some battalions of foot to advance, and pro'perly post themselves for stopping the enemy; dis'patched an Aid de Camp to our right wing for a con'siderable reinforcement of English and other cavalry, 'to be sent from thence to the left; and in the mean 'time seeing it necessary to keep the enemy at bay; 'after he had with great trouble and fatigue rallied 'the disordered squadrons, he put himself at the head 'of them, and led them to the enemy; and here it 'was, that our advanced squadrons being repulsed and 'in great confusion, some of the run-aways quite 'blinded by their fear, rode against the Duke, who 'was leading up other squadrons to sustain them, jost'led him off his horse, and rode over him; at which 'time, the remaining body of horse likewise fled, and 'left the Duke lying on the field, with none near him 'but Captain Molesworth, then one of his Aid de 'Camps; who perceiving not only the enemy's line 'to advance upon him, but besides, a small body 'that had detached itself from the line as for a pursuit, 'saw the Duke must inevitably fall into their hands, 'unless he could find the means of getting him off, in 'which not a moment was to be lost. The Duke's 'horse, when he was thrust off him, had ran away 'beyond the line, nothing therefore, remained for 'Captain Molesworth to do, but the mounting him 'if possible on his; which he at last effected, but with 'difficulty; for when the Duke was rode over, some 'horse had trod on his stomach, so that he lay on the 'ground almost senseless, and could very little help 'himself.

'The Captain, however, got his Grace in the sad'dle, put the rein in his hand, and turning his horse's 'head to our line, entreated his Grace to push him 'that way with his utmost speed, as he accordingly 'did; but had not cleared the ground above three mi'nutes, before the abovementioned detachment came at 'full speed over the spot, so eager in pursuit of the Duke '(whom they had certainly singled out) that the Cap'tain then had the good fortune to escape their notice.

'By this time the Duke had got within some of our 'battallions of foot, and the pursuers pressing pretty 'close upon the most advanced among them, which 'was the regiment of Albemarle Swiss, that regiment 'gave them their platoons very handsomely, and soon 'sent them back the same way, somewhat faster than 'they had come on; however, they now thought fit 'to pay the captain a little more respect, than they 'had done before, and honoured him as they went by, 'with a few strokes of their broad swords; but so 'luckily, that he came off with only carrying their 'black marks about his shoulders for some time af'ter.

'The regiment of Albemarle, he said, continued 'firing to the front, as long as they thought they 'might do any damage to the enemy, of whom they 'dropt a good number to the right and left of him; 'but upon the first suspension of fire and smoke, he 'made them all the signals he could of his being a 'friend, and then went into that battallion, where he 'was received with great friendship, and some surprize, 'by Colonel Constant, who said he equally rejoiced 'and wondered at his escape, and that he doubted not 'but that he should soon see him at the head of a regi'ment.

'He

to ſerve his country during the whole war in Flanders, wherein he expoſed himſelf to the greateſt dangers, and was blown up by the ſpringing of a mine. In 1715 he was an officer of Dragoons under General Carpenter, againſt the rebels at the battle of Preſton in Lancaſhire, where he behaved with great bravery, and was wounded. After which he was advanced gradually, through ſeveral military employments, to the diſtinguiſhed rank of Lieutenant-General, and Commander in Chief of his Majeſty's Forces in Ireland, to which he was conſtituted in September 1751. He was alſo Fellow of the Royal Society, a Truſtee for the Barracks, and a Governor of the Royal Hoſpital near Kilmainham in 1754 (*n*).

(*n*) Ibid. p. 212, 213, 214, 215.

' He then told him that the Duke had got between ' the lines, and was gone towards the centre, to which, ' while he was making his way as well as he could, ' on foot, he by chance met with a foreign ſoldier ' holding the Duke's horſe by the bridle, who upon ' his claiming the horſe, and giving him a pataroon, ' immediately reſigned him, and then the Captain moun- ' ting that horſe purſued his way in queſt of his Grace.

' He found him upon a riſing ground fronting the ' village of Ramillies, with a number of general officers ' and others about him, to whom he was diſtributing ' his orders, and when he ſaw the Captain, he ſaid he ' hoped he was not hurt.

' The Captain ſoon after obſerving that his horſe ' (which the Duke ſtill mounted) was a little unquiet, ' ſhewed him his own, and ſaid, that might probably ' prove leſs troubleſome to him; upon which his ' Grace ſhifting back to his own horſe, and Colonel ' Bringfield (his firſt Eſcuyer) holding the ſtirrup, the ' enemy, juſt at that time, diſcharged a battery from ' the village of Ramillies, which came among the ' groupe of us, and one of the balls, after grazing, roſe ' under the horſe's belly, and took Mr Bringfield in ' the head (13).' P

(13) Lodge's Peerage, p. 213, 214, 215.

MOLYNEUX [William] was born April 17, 1656, near Ormond-Gate in the city of Dublin, where his father, a gentleman of a good family and genteel fortune, reſided (*a*); who, obſerving this his eldeſt ſon to be of a very tender conſtitution, educated him under a private tutor in his own houſe (*b*), 'till he was near fifteen years of age, when he was put under the care of Dr William Paliſer (*c*), then Fellow of Trinity-college in that city, where he was admitted April 10, 1671. In this univerſity he became preſently diſtinguiſhed, as well by the probity of his manners as by the ſtrength of his parts; and having made a remarkable progreſs in academical learning, and particularly in the New Philoſophy (*d*), as it was then called, he proceeded at the regular time to his degree of Bachelor of Arts. After four years ſpent in this univerſity he left it; and, in order to compleat his education in the genteeleſt manner, was ſent to London, and admitted into the Middle Temple (*e*) June 3, 1675. Here it was not deſigned that he ſhould make the Law his profeſſion; for which reaſon he applied himſelf only to the hiſtorical part of that ſtudy, in which he made a conſiderable progreſs (*f*). He ſtaid at the Temple three years; but the bent of his genius, as well as inclination, lying ſtrongly to Philoſophy and Mathematicks, he ſpent the greateſt part of his time in theſe enquiries, which, from the extrordinary advances newly made therein by the Royal Society, were then chiefly in vogue. Thus accompliſhed, he returned to Ireland in June 1678, and ſhortly after was married to Lucy, daughter of Sir Will. Domvile, the King's Attorney-General (*g*). Being maſter of an eaſy fortune, he continued to indulge himſelf in proſecuting ſuch branches of Natural and Experimental Philoſophy, as were moſt agreeable to his fancy; wherein Aſtronomy had the greateſt ſhare, and the conſtruction of the teleſcope engaged his particular attention, being much aſſiſted in theſe ſtudies by Mr Flamſtead (*h*) [*A*]. As he was upon all occaſions very zealous in advancing the reputation and intereſt of his native country, he formed a deſign, in imitation of that which he ſo much admired at London, of erecting a Philoſophical Society at Dublin (*i*); and, by the countenance and encouragement of the famous Sir William Petty [*B*], who accepted the office of Preſident, they began

(*a*) See remark [*A*].

(*b*) See our author's Letters to Mr John Locke, paſſim.

(*c*) Afterwards Archbiſhop of Caſhell.

(*d*) Upon the plan of Lord Bacon, proſecuted by the Royal Society in England.

(*e*) He brought his teſtimonial with him, the form of which may be ſeen in the article TOLAND[John.]

(*f*) 'Tis ſaid the collections he made of this kind were far from being contemptible.

(*g*) See our author's Caſe of Ireland, &c. p. 30, 31. edit. Lond. 1720. 8vo.

(*h*) See our author's Dioptrics, paſſim.

(*i*) There is an account of it in Phil. Tranſ. No. 168. p. 849.

[*A*] *He was aſſiſted by Mr Flamſtead.*] He began to make aſtronomical obſervations in 1681, but finding the inſtrument he made uſe of not ſo good as he wiſhed, he applied to Mr Flamſtead to procure one for him at London, and communicated to him ſome obſervations he had made of a lunar eclipſe which happened not long before. The royal aſtronomer very willingly undertook the buſineſs, and ſent him a teleſcope, of which he had been at the pains to try the glaſſes himſelf; together with a method for diſcovering the errors of an inſtrument. In return to this kindneſs, Mr Molyneux wrote him a letter, dated September 17, 1681; acknowledging the favour in the politeſt addreſs, ' I hope, ſays he, their [the glaſſes] goodneſs ' will encourage me to uſe them to ſome purpoſe, eſpe- ' cially, now that I have the help and advice of one of ' the moſt celebrated aſtronomers of Europe. And ' herein, continues he, worthy Sir, I cannot but ad- ' mire your generous mind, that condeſcends to look ' upon, and favour a young beginner in that noble ' ſtudy, and that too, when there appeared no perfor- ' mance on his ſide, that could deſerve ſo great an ho- ' nour. For as to thoſe obſervations of the laſt lunar ' eclipſe, truly they are the firſt I ever made of that ' kind.' In proceeding, he excuſes ſome errors therein, that had been noted by Mr Flamſtead, and deſires his further information of the beſt way for finding a meridian line. He concludes with an account of ſeveral experiments he had lately made in the art of gunnery; upon which, in return to Flamſtead's remark of his errors in the eclipſe, he takes notice of a miſtake made by that Aſtronomer, in a table of horizontal ranges, wherein a mounture of 42 degrees was put for the utmoſt random, which he conceived to be demonſtrably 45 degrees (1).

[*B*] *Encouraged by Sir William Petty their firſt Preſident.*] Though he had the conduct of it from the beginning, yet he was not regularly elected Preſident 'till All-Saints day, November 1ſt, the following year, their anniverſary day of election (2), and upon the 3d, he communicated the following directions for their more regular proceeding. 1. That they chiefly apply themſelves to the making of experiments, and prefer the ſame to the beſt diſcourſes, letters and books, they can make or read, even concerning experiments. 2. That they do not contemn and neglect common trivial and cheap experiments and obſervations; not contenting themſelves without ſuch as may ſurprize and aſtoniſh the

(1) No. 1. in a ſeries of letters from our author to Mr Flamſtead, printed in 1738, folio.

(2) Birch's Hiſtory of the Royal Society, Vol. IV. p. 341

began a weekly meeting about Michaelmas 1683, when our author was appointed their first Secretary [*C*]; which gave him an opportunity of setting his eminent abilities in the fullest light, before most of the greatest personages in that country (*k*); and, upon their President's resigning his place of Surveyor-General there, the Secretary was taken no[illegible] by the Duke of Ormond, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and, by his Grace's influ[illegible]e procured himself to be made joint patentee with Mr (afterwards Sir) William Robin[illegible] in the post of Surveyor-General of his Majesty's Buildings and Works, and Chief-Engineer in that kingdom [*D*]. February 10, 1683-4, he read a discourse to the Dublin Society

(*k*) In January 1684, the Society consisted of 33 members, among whom were Mr St George Ashe, Narcissus Marsh, Bishop of Fernes; Robert Huntingdon, D. D John Maden, M. D. Will. Lord Viscount Montjoy, Sir Robert Redding, Bart. Geo. Tollet Prof. Math. Sir Cyrill Wych, Knt. Charles Willughby, M. D. John Worth, D. D. Dean of St Patrick's, besides the President, Secretary, and Will. Playdell, Esq; Treasurer.

the vulgar. 3. That they provide themselves with rules of number, weight, and measure, not only how to measure the *plus* and *minus* of the qualities and schemes of matter, but to provide themselves with scales and tables, whereby to measure and compute such qualities and schemes in their exact proportions. 4. That they divide and analyse complicate matters into their integral parts, and compute the proportions which one part bears to another. 5. That they be ready with instruments and other apparatus, to make such observations as do rarely offer themselves, and do depend upon taking opportunities. 6. That they provide themselves with correspondents in several places, to make such observations, as do depend upon the comparison of many experiments, and not upon single and solitary remarks. 7. That they be ready to entertain strangers and persons of quality, with great and surprizing experiments of wonder and ostentation. 8. That they carefully compute their ability to defray the charge of ordinary experiments, forty times *per annum*, out of their weekly contributions, and to procure the assistance of benefactors for what shall be extraordinary, and not pester the society with useless or troublesome members for the lucre of their pecuniary contributions. 9. That whoever makes experiments at the publick charge, do first ask leave for the same. 10. That the Secretary do neither write nor receive any letters on the publick account of the Society, but what he communicateth to the Society. 11. That persons (tho' not of the Society) may be assisted by the Society to make experiments at their charge, upon leave granted. 12. That in want of experiments, there shall be a review and rehearsal of experiments formerly made. 13. That the President at the present meeting, shall order what experiments shall be tried at the following meeting, that accordingly a fit apparatus may be made for it (3).

(3) This was communicated to the Royal Society at London by Mr Molyneux, in a letter dated at Dublin Decemb. 27, 1684. Ibid. p. 353.

The same month he also offered a *Suppellex Philosophica*, containing fory-five articles, as follows: 1. Scales and steelyards to weigh in the air and water. 2. Scales to shew the weight without *prosthaphæresis*. 3. Instruments whereby to measure the superficies of irregular bodies. 4. Instruments to measure irregular magnitudes. 5. To measure the fineness of gold and silver. 6. To measure the loading and unloading of a ship. 7. To measure the goodness of telescopes and microscopes. 8. To measure the heat, moisture, and weight of the air. 9. To measure sun-shine and rain, and the force of wind. 10. To measure the strength of saline liquors. 11. To measure the strength of brandy and other liquors often distilled. 12. A parallelogram. 13. An artificial eye. 14. A monochord and pipe. 15. A water level. 16. A mariner's compass, a variation and dipping needle. 17. Mr Flamstead's quadrant. 18. A clock. 19. A spherical magnet, and other magnets with dust of the same. 20. An exhausting engine. 21. An Æolipyle. 22. A digester. 23. A limbec. 24. A randon bow. 25. A gunpowder measure. 26. a condensing pipe or wind-gun. 27. A speaking trumpet. 28. An acoustic tube. 29 Lamps. 30. A measure of refraction. 31. A wind-watch. 32. Telescopes 33. Microscopes. 34. Burning-glasses. 35. Prisms. 36 A stone-cutter's wheel and quadrants. 37. A turner's lathe for compounded figures. 38. A wind-furnace, bellows, and blast pipe. 39. A skrew-press. 40. A touch stone. 41. A water-trough with pullies and plummets. 42. A pair of globes. 43. A fixed globe 44 A burning metal. 45. A looking-glass (4) —On the 24th of the same month, he brought in a paper of sixty-three miscellaneous experiments, to be prosecuted by the Society, which was printed at Dublin soon after.

(4) This was communicated to the Dublin Society Decemb 1, 1684, and the manuscript of it is in the Letter-book of the Royal Society, B. x. p. 38, and 138.

[*C*] *Mr Molyneux was their first Secretary*] The minutes of this society being communicated from time to time to the Royal Society at London, it appears from thence, that after some previous meetings for the better regulation, settlement, and method of future transactions, Mr Molyneux opened the next meeting, October 15th, 1683, with his discourse *de apparente magnitudine solis humilis & sublimis* (5) To this discourse he afterwards made some improvement, and having compleated his design, he acquainted the Royal Society with his desire to submit it to their censure, in a letter, dated February 3d, 1686 (6); which, being accepted, he sent it to Mr Halley (7). their assistant Secretary, who inserted it in their Transactions, No. 186. This phænomenon had long foiled the best philosophical wits in every country, and Mr Halley eager to procure the honour of a satisfactory solution thereof to his own, proposed it to Dr Wallis (8). But his answer, as well as our author's account *, being attended with some insuperable difficulties, it was many years afterwards attempted with something better success, by Dr Smith †, and Dr Desaguliers (9). At another meeting in February the same year, 1683, our author sent to the Oxford Society some of the Lough-Neagh stone, which was originally Holly (10). And March 10th, he read before the Dublin Society an account of the petrifying quality of that lough; which being registred, and ordered to be transmitted to the Oxford Society, was communicated thence to the Royal Society, and printed in the Philosophical Transactions No. 158. He afterwards sent to that Society a retractation of a mistake in that account, which was printed in the Philosophical Transactions No 166: and November 24th, 1686, he read to the Dublin Society a paper of queries relating to this petrifying quality, which, being delivered to one Mr Smith, about to take a journey thither, that gentleman brought a satisfactory answer to them, and both being communicated to the Royal Society by our author, July 20th, 1685 (11), were printed in the Philosophical Transactions, No. 174, for August. May 26th, 1684, he shewed to the Dublin Society the circulation of the blood, in a dissected Water-Newt, or *Salamandra Aquatica*; which being registred, he sent an extract thereof to the Royal Society, October 27th, 1685, claiming his right to this discovery, which was acknowledged by them, against the pretensions of Dr Garden (12). May 11th, 1685, he presented the Dublin Society with the description of an hygroscope lately invented by him, which, by a piece of whip cord and a weight, with an index, shews the least alteration or variety in the moisture of the air. This having been sent April 17th, to Oxford, and thence to London, May 13th, was printed in the Philosophical Transactions No. 172, for June, 1685. This society continued to meet 'till 1688, when the confusion of the times dispersed them, as it did also the Royal Society; but these resumed their meetings after the Revolution, which the Dublin Society never did.

(5) Birch's Hist. of the R S. Vol. IV. p. 247.

(6) Ibid. p. 525, 526.

(7) Series of Letters, ubi supra, No. x.

(8) See Wallis's Algebra.

* His design was not so much to give a satisfactory solution, as to shew the unsatisfactoriness of other solutions.

† In his Optics, art. 164—169. and 302.

(9) In Phil. Trans.

(10) Birch, p. 255, 256.

(11) Ibid. p. 423.

(12) Ibid. p. 304, 448. October 9th the same year, he sent the R. S. a description of the Connaught worm, said to be the only poisonous animal which is bred in Ireland; but he concluded it to be nothing else than a caterpillar, very like a silk-worm. This was printed in Phil. Trans. No. 168. He observed afterwards, that it was the elephant caterpillar of Goedartius, No. 125. An extract of this last letter was inserted in Phil. Trans. No. 167.

[*D*] *He was appointed Surveyor-General of his Majesty's works in Ireland*] This is collected from two passages in the series of letters already cited. The first is in a letter dated at Dublin, December 16th, 1684, where he writes thus:

'I have all this while deferred my answer to your's of Oct. 4th, partly because I have been hindered by some affairs, wherein, by the favour of our chief Governour here, I have been lately engaged; and partly, because I expected that the last lunar eclipse might have afforded something acceptable to you, but now both are over, the first much to my satisfaction.' —And what this affair was, we learn from a subsequent letter, dated Dublin, March 24th, 1687 (13); where he says, 'Mr Robinson my Joint-Patentee in the office of Surveyor-General of the King's works and fortifications, is lately gone to London, and I am obliged to do the duty of the place. I hear he is now in the messenger's

(13) Series of Letters, &c. No. 3. As to the eclipse of the moon here mentioned, the sky was so thick, that no observation could be made. Birch, Vol. IV. p. 375.

Society upon telescopic sights, as adapted to astrononomical and other instruments, wherein he shewed their convenience and manner of performance from the principles of Dioptrics, and also demonstrated their exactness; being chiefly induced thereto, because Mr Hooke, in his Animadversions on Hevelius's Ouranography, had omitted the chief objection Hevelius makes against these kinds of sights, wherein he imagines, that the line of collimation therein is no longer than between the eye and cross-hairs; whereas 'tis plain, that it is as long as between the object-glass and cross-hairs (*l*) [*E*]. December 9, 1684, he communicated to the Royal Society an account of the failure of Sir William Petty's new ship with a double bottom [*F*]. May 11, 1685, our Secretary intending for

(*l*) Birch's History of the Royal Society, Vol. IV. p. 272.

Series of Letters, No. x.

' messenger's hands about this employment, but this ' will not at all affect me (14).'

[*E*] *As long as between the object-glass and cross-hairs.*] An account of the dispute between Hevelius and Hooke, has been already given in it's proper place (15), wherein the extraordinary heat of the antagonists is observed. Mr Molyneux was much displeased with that unphilosophical distemper, and laboured to moderate the affair. To this end, he wrote a letter to the Royal Society, in 1685 *; containing his observations upon Mr Hevelius's *Annus Climactericus*, that if it be true what has been asserted, not only by some celebrated astronomers, but chiefly by Mr Hooke in his Animadversions, &c. the endeavours of Hevelius will be frustrated, and his vast charges to no more purpose than Tycho's, and all his splendid apparatus but mere lumber; for upon this question as to plain sights, the astronomical labours of his whole life depend. But surely this was an event highly deplorable, not only to the party himself immediately concerned, but the whole *respublica literaria*. He likewise takes notice of the slightness and smallness of what Mr Hooke had published, which was only a pamphlet, wherein it was asserted, that notwithstanding all this apparatus, &c. yet surely for want of telescopic sights, and some new kind of invented divisions on Mr Hevelius's instruments, Mr Hooke went so far as to doubt, whether his observations could be true, and always the same to two or three minutes. That the whole import of it besides this, was nothing but the description of an instrument, which he never heard was put in practice. He further objects to Mr Hooke, that though Mr Hevelius had earnestly requested from him, or any one else, that had telescopic instruments, to send him some distances of fixed stars observed by them, yet he could never be so happy as to obtain any from Mr Hooke, though afterwards he did from some others. Mr Hooke wrote a respectful answer to this letter, whereupon, our author, sensible of his hastiness, in calling the Animadversions a pamphlet, took occasion to apologize for it, in a letter to Dr Halley, dated at Dublin, April 8th, 1686; wherein, having highly commended Mr Hooke's contrivance for the baroscope as well as his level, he proceeds thus: ' And, whereas I understand ' that a chance word, in an idle scribble of mine, was ' something displeasing to that ingenious and learned ' gentleman; I desire he may be informed, that I designed no manner of slight by the word Pamphlet, ' but stiled his book so, merely as I thought it a name ' equally given to small stitched volumes. As to the ' controversy, continues he, with Monf. Hevelius, ' about telescopic sights, I can say no more than what ' I have formerly writ: only I will add two things; ' first, that I humbly conceive Mr Hevelius did not, ' nor does yet, rightly apprehend the manner of those ' sights in his performance; this I presume to collect ' from those words in his *Machina Cœlestis*, part. prim. ' p. 296;' he then cites the words, and shews the error expressed in the same words, as he had before done at the Dublin Society; concluding, that Mr Hooke ' had sufficiently convinced him of his error in rejecting ' them, by explaining to him the manner of performance, and nothing more. The other thing, proceeds he, I have to add, is this, that I esteem it most ' disingenuously done of Hevelius, in relating the trials between you and him, to call your instrument ' every where, a sextant (16): I acknowledge, had I ' known this before I wrote my letter to Mr Aston ' (17), I should hardly have put pen to paper. And I ' have lately been desired by the Society at Oxford, to ' translate that letter into Latin for Monf. Hevelius's ' reading. I was obedient to their demand, but I ' have added a postscript to it, wherein I do not well ' approve of his calling a quadrant of less than two feet ' radius, a sextant; and speaking of it as of a large ' and considerable instrument (18).' However, after Monf. Hevelius's death, he gives this character of him (19). ' I must confess ingenuously, that this renowned astronomer, by his extraordinary diligence, great ' care, and perpetual, long continued practice, but ' chiefly, by his peculiar sharpness of sight, arrived ' at a great exactness of observation by plain sights, as ' I find, by comparing his with the observations made ' by the most curious astronomers of that age; Flamstead, Halley, Cassini, &c. with telescopic sights; ' yet these we are to attribute more to the peculiar ' acuteness of his eyes, than to the exactness of plain ' sights, for to me it seems manifest, from what Mr ' Hooke lays down in his Animadversions, that the ' naked eye cannot ordinarily perceive an angle less ' than one minute. But then he blames this last mentioned author for his conduct in this controversy, as ' follows: The want of telescopic sights, says he, is ' what Mr Hooke chiefly insists upon as defective in ' Monf. Hevelius's cœlestial apparatus, but yet in his ' whole book of Animadversions he takes no notice of ' the objections against these: and I am persuaded that ' the candour of that noble astronomer was so great ' (whose memory must now be sacred) that upon the ' removal of these difficulties he would have given up ' the cause, and therefore the best way of reconciling ' him to them, would have been truly to have laid ' down the dioptrical reasons of their performance ' and exactness, upon a right understanding whereof, ' all the objections would be answered, and would entirely vanish. This had been the right method of ' proceeding amongst candid philosophers; whilst vilifying his instruments, and slighting his performances ' with them, as no better than those in the age before ' him *, did but exasperate the noble old man, and ' made him adhere more obstinately to his former practice.'

[*F*] *An account of the failure of Sir William Petty's new ship.*] The letter was directed to Mr Aston, then Secretary of the Royal Society, and begins thus: ' I ' promised to give you an account of the performance ' of Sir William Petty's ship, and I am glad of an opportunity of writing to you, and serving you in any ' thing; but I am heartily sorry at the occasion that ' at present offers itself, and would therefore willingly ' be silent. But it is a matter so publick, and of too ' universal concern to be concealed, and withal, was ' so probably and fairly offered, that human frailty ' need not be ashamed of miscarrying therein. Sir ' William Petty's ship was tried this day sevennight, in ' our harbour, between Ring's End and the Bar; but ' she performed so abominably, as if built on purpose ' to disappoint, in the highest degree, every particular ' that was expected from her: she had spread but a ' third of the sail she was to carry, the wind did but ' just fill her sails, and yet she stooped so, that she was ' in danger of being over-set every moment; a blast ' from a smith's bellows superadded, had overturned ' her: she was proposed not to want an ounce of ballast †, and yet she had in her ten ton of paving stones, ' and all would not do. The seamen swear they would ' not venture over the Bar with her for a thousand ' pounds a piece: even right before the wind, she does ' nothing; so that the whole design is blown up. ' What measures Sir William will take to redeem his ' credit, I know not, but I am sure a greater trouble ' could hardly have fallen upon him (20).' The greatest expectations had been raised of this machine. Our author, in making the promise, April 22d, 1684, here mentioned, of sending this account, observes, that ' Sir William, ever since he last came into Ireland, had been much incumbent on that matter, and brought it (for as much may be judged by models, of which he has a vast and various apparatus) to a very great perfection; his vessels are not so much double bottomed as

(14) ...

(15) In the article of R. Hooke, remark [*L*]. See also Dr Halley's article, remark [*K*].

* It was read before them December 9th that year. Birch, p. 450.

(16) Viz. in his Annus Climactericus, published in 1685, fol.

(17) This gentleman was S. R. S. when that letter was wrote.

(18) Birch's Hist. of the R. S. Vol. IV. p. 476, 477.

(19) In his Dioptrics, chap. v.

* Viz. Those of Tycho Brahe.

† She was launched on Michaelmas-day 1684, when she drew 50 inches afore and 40 abaft, and bore her mast without any ballast. Birch, p. 341.

(20) Ibid. p. 352. Sir William sent an account of it to the R. S. for which see his article.

for England, resigned his post, and was succeeded by Mr George St Ashe (m), Fellow of Trinity-college in Dublin, and Professor of Mathematicks there [G]; and Dec. 9th following, they were proposed together as candidates to be elected into the Royal Society; and notice being ordered to be sent to them of their actual election on March 24th that year (n), the same was executed by Mr Halley, in a letter dated the 27th of that month [H]. Mr Molyneux

(m) Ibid. p. 410.

(n) Ibid. p. 468.

as his former, for as you see them sunk in the water, you would not know them, but by their lowness and breadth behind, from a common-built; for he now calls them sluice-bottomed, for their keel is inverted, and a large sluice or *crena* runs along their back. Amongst other models, he has one representing the common built Fubbs yacht (which we hear is the best sailer in England) and he has another likewise, which he calls the Sluice-Fubbs, in bulk, weight, &c. agreeing with the common-built, and different only in his additional sluice. Between these two he makes comparison in many particulars, as burden, draught of water, ballast, swift sailing, &c. in all which the sluice bottom has wonderfully the advantage. In fine, hereby he is encouraged to assert, that he will be bound to make a passage-boat between this and Chester, of about eighty or an hundred tons, that shall be, as it were, a stage-boat, and shall be as constant in her going out, and returning upon her set days, let whatever weather happen; as the stage coaches between London and any other country town. There was a motion between some persons of quality and figure in this place (amongst which I had the honour to be one) to join purses for the building of a vessel of that burden, merely to try the experiment; but, upon second thoughts, it was reputed more adviseable to begin with a barge of the same bulk and burden with a barge that belongs to our Custom-house: for if our sluice-barge do out-sail considerably the other (which is now building and much expected from her) the advantage of Sir William Petty's contrivance will be so manifest, that it will suddenly be put in practice in a greater model. In order to the accomplishing of this, there is a company of us to meet to-morrow at Sir William's, and to agree about the matter; the success whereof you shall certainly know (21).'

(21) Ibid. p. 293

[G] *Mr St George St Ashe was chosen Secretary.*] This gentleman came over to England, in order to travel abroad the following year, when our author gave him a letter of recommendation to Mr Flamstead, dated Dublin May 11th, 1686; which begins thus:

'My honoured friend,

'He that does me the favour to deliver this into 'your hands, needs no further recommendations to you, 'than merely to let you know his name, Mr St George 'Ashe, Fellow of our college here, and therein Pro'fessor of Mathematicks; a diligent promoter of ma'thematical and philosophical learning, and a deep 'proficient in both. These, together with his innate 'candour, modesty, and good nature, will render his ac'quaintance and conversation very acceptable to you, 'and will deserve from you all those civilities which 'you naturally pay to all strangers that visit you. He 'does not yet know but he may design to visit Paris, 'and I hope you will then oblige him with a letter to 'Monsieur Cassini, that thereby he may receive those 'civilities from that worthy person, of which I myself 'have been partaker formerly, on your account. 'This Mr Ashe is the gentleman that has promoted the 'business in the college of Dublin, to purchase some 'astronomical instruments, and to endeavour some'thing in that way.—You would therefore pleasure 'him very much by letting him see your way and man'ner of observation (22).'

(22) Series of Letters, &c. No. v.

[H] *Mr Molyneux had notice of his election into the Royal Society in a letter from Mr Halley.*] Mr Halley having been chosen Assistant-Secretary a little before, in opposition to Dr (afterwards Sir Hans) Sloane, took this opportunity of acquainting our author with the manner of it, as follows:

'On St Andrew's day last, being our anniversary day 'of election, Mr Pepys was continued President, Mr 'Aston Secretary, and Dr Tancred Robinson chosen 'in the room of Mr Musgrave. Every body seemed 'satisfied, and no discontent appeared any where; 'when on a sudden, Mr Aston, willing, as I suppose, 'to gain better terms of reward from the Society than 'formerly, on December 9th, in council, declared, 'that he would not serve them as Secretary, and there'fore desired them to provide some other to supply 'that office, and that after such a passionate manner, 'that I fear he has lost several of his friends by it. 'The council resolved not to be so served for the fu'ture, and thought it expedient to have only honorary 'Secretaries, and a clerk or amanuensis, upon whom 'the burden of the business should lie, and to give 'him a fixed salary, so as to make it worth his while; 'and he to be accountable to the Secretaries for the 'performance of his office. According to which reso'lutions, Sir John Hoskyns, and Dr Gale, were cho'sen Secretaries; and on July 27th last, they chose 'me for their Under-Officer, with a promise of a sa'lary of fifty pounds *per annum*, at least.' He then proposes a correspondence between them, and concludes (23). In answer to this Mr Molyneux wrote a letter to Mr Halley, dated at Dublin, April 8th, 1686; as follows:

(23) Supplement to Letter-book of the R. S. vol. 4. p. 330.

'Sir,

'I do with much willingness and joy accept of your 'correspondence; I must acknowledge it had been 'my part to have prevented you in this particular, and 'to have made the request to you; but I had heard of 'the late disturbances in the Royal Society, and was 'unwilling to trouble you 'till matters were settled. 'But now I must needs express my satisfaction in the 'accommodation of affairs, and that the Society has 'taken the course they are in.—And now, Sir, I must 'congratulate you, upon your self being settled in the 'place you have; I know no man more fit than your'self: but then, as a friend, you must give me leave 'to advise you to diligence; for truly I think you 'have a considerable duty to discharge. I thank you 'for the account you give me of the affairs of the So'ciety; I had it before, but it was from a person con'cerned, whom I always thought to blame in this par'ticular, for I found thereby there was a party arising 'in the Society, that were for rejecting all kinds of 'useful knowledge, except ranking and filing of shells, 'insects, fishes, and birds &c. under their several spe'cies and classes; and this they termed *Natural Hi'story*, and *investigating Nature*, never attending to 'the uses and properties of these things for the advan'tage of mankind, and reckoning Chemistry, Astro'nomy, Mathematicks, and Mechanicks, as rubs in 'their course after Nature. This indeed seemed to 'me something strange; and I must confess I could 'not but laugh at it. I return my humble thanks to 'the Royal Society for the honour of admitting me in'to their company. Pray, Sir, let me know my debt 'to the Treasurer, and I shall take care to see it time'ly discharged' In proceeding, he thanks Mr Halley for his philosophical communications, and in return, sends him an account of the only remarkable particular lately communicated to the Dublin Society, several of whose meetings he observes, had been employed by a young mathematical female in that place, bred up by one Mr Tollet, a teacher of Mathematicks there (24). 'The child, says he, is not yet eleven, and yet she 'hath given us sufficient proofs, in Arithmetick, the 'most abstruse parts of Algebra, Geometry, Trigono'metry, plain and spherical, the doctrine of the 'Globes, Chronology, and on the violin plays any 'thing almost at sight: yet she seems to have no more 'natural inclination or delight in these things than or'dinarily amongst children (25).'—The three subsequent paragraphs have been already mentioned *; after which he acquaints Mr Halley, that he had by that post sent to his brother [Mr Thomas Molyneux] a paper that relates to a problem in hydrostatics, why heavy bodies dissolved in a menstruum specifically lighter than themselves, swim therein (26); concerning which his brother had proposed his thoughts in the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, but, continues he, I take the liberty of differing from him in some things. He concludes with a request, that Mr Halley would oblige him with the demonstration of a rule of his in gunnery, for shooting on ascents and descents with the mortar-piece ‖; and mentioning Blondel's *Art de jetter les Bombs*

(24) He was then Treasurer of the Dublin Society, and, as our author says, an excellent Mathematician. Birch, p. 411.

(25) Mr Ashe, in a letter to the R. S. dated March 13, 1685-6, relates, that she had been examined before the Dublin Society with severity enough, in Arithmetick, Algebra, Geometry, Trigonometry, Astronomy, Chronology speculative, Musick, and Mechanicks; in all which she answered with great readiness and judgment. Birch, p. 46.

* In rem. [F].

(26) This paper was printed in Phil. Trans. No. 181. for May 1686.

‖ The rule and construction had been sent to Mr Tollet, and by him communicated to the Dublin Society July 6, 1685, but without a demonstration. Birch, p. 431.

Mr Molyneux had returned home ſome months before from his tour abroad, where he had paſſed this ſummer to improve himſelf in the art of engineering; for which purpoſe he had procured an appointment from the Iriſh Government to view the moſt conſiderable fortreſſes in Flanders. Accordingly he travelled through that country, Holland, and ſome part of Germany and France; and carrying with him letters of recommendation from Mr Flamſtead to Mr Caſſini (o), he was introduced to him, and others the moſt eminent Aſtronomers in the ſeveral places through which he paſſed, whereof he made afterwards a conſiderable advantage [I]. In this tour he was accompanied by the Lord Viſcount Mountjoy, who was a member of the Dublin Society, and afterwards ſucceeded Sir William Petty in the preſidentſhip (p). Not long after his return, he ſent a letter to the Royal Society, dated at Dublin October 27, 1685, containing ſome objections to Dr Garden's account of the trade winds, which was printed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions (q). The following year, Mr Halley having applied to him for an account of the tides upon the coaſt of Ireland (r), he ſent, September 21, an account of the tides at Dublin; wherein it was remarkable, that the high water upon the quarter moon falls out later by half an hour, in reſpect of the moon's ſouthing, than in the new and full; whereas at London, the quarter moons make high water above an hour and a quarter ſooner than the new and full; this was alſo printed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions (s). At the ſame time he ſent a paper, giving the reaſon why, in a teleſcope, two or three glaſſes invert objects, and that four erect them again; which was likewiſe publiſhed in their Tranſactions (t). Soon after this came out his *Sciothericum Teleſcopicum*, or a new contrivance of adapting a Teleſcope to an Horizontal Dial, for obſerving the moment of time by day or night, 4to. The book being printed at Dublin (u), our author ſent a copy of it to his brother, Mr Thomas Molyneux, at London, who preſented it to the Royal Society November 4th (w); and an account thereof, by Mr Cluverus, was printed in their Tranſactions (x) [K], together with ſome obſervations of a ſolar eclipſe; as was alſo his

(o) See remark [G].

(p) He was admitted December 15, 1684-5. Ibid. p. 374.

(q) No. 177. p. 1236.

(r) See our author's letter in anſwer to it, dated Dublin July 20, 1686. Letter-book of the Royal Society, Vol. X. p. 223.

(s) No. 184. for October 1686.

(t) No. 183. This problem had been propoſed in the Journal des Sçavans and alſo in the Bibliotheque Univerſelle & Hiſtorique.

(u) Another edition was publiſhed at London in 1700, 4to.

(w) Birch's Hiſtory of the Royal Society, p. 504.

(x) No. 184.

Bombs, there is nothing in it more than what was before in Galileo, except this buſineſs of ſhooting on aſcents and deſcents. After he had propoſed the problem to Meſſieurs De l'Academie Royale des Sciences, Monſ. Buot, Reaumeur, De la Hire, and Caſſini, employed their thoughts about it, ' but I can aſſure you, ſays ' he, upon rigid examination, there is not one of their ' rules holds true in all caſes (27).' With regard to Mr Halley's election as Aſſiſtant-Secretary, the particulars of it are; That the members preſent were 38, of which, upon balloting, Dr (after, Sir Hans) Sloane, had ten voices, Dr Papin [who invented the digeſter] eight, Mr Saliſbury four, and Mr Halley fixteen But the majority of the members preſent being neceſſary to an election, the ballot was repeated, and then Dr Sloane had nine voices, Dr Papin ſix, and Mr Halley twenty-three. Mr Halley being thus choſen, was ſworn before the Council (28). However, the quarrel did not end ſo. Before his election the Council had agreed upon twelve qualifications neceſſary for the Clerk, of which the fifth was, *That he ſhould be a ſingle man, without children*. It ſeems this defect was inſiſted on, as voiding his election; for we find the Council at a meeting June 16th, 1686, declaring their ſatisfaction in the Society's choice of Mr Halley, notwithſtanding his want of the fifth qualification concluded on by the Council of Jan. 27th laſt paſt, which at the time of his election, the Society was pleaſed to diſpenſe with (29). Notwithſtanding this, he was ſo far from being able to obtain any enlargement of his ſalary, by way of gratuity or otherwiſe (as was intimated at his election), that even the payment of the fifty pounds met with oppoſition: for a Committee of the Council being appointed Jan. 5th, 1686-7, to inſpect the books of the Society, to ſee if he had performed his duty, in relation to the entries to be made by him, according to an order of Council of Jan. 27th, 1685-6 (30), we find, at another meeting of the Council June 15th, 1687, the queſtion being put, concerning Mr Halley's ſalary, the gratuity above fifty pounds a year to him, was remitted to the farther conſideration of the Council; and in the mean time, it was determined by ballot, that the Treaſurer ſhould pay him fifty pounds for the laſt year's ſalary (31).

[*I*] *Introduced to the Aſtronomers of thoſe countries.*] We have the following proofs of this in his Dioptrics; in one place of which treatiſe (32), having obſerved that Borelli had given the world (33) a hint of his ſecret manner of grinding great glaſſes with ſpheres, but had not yet obliged it with a diſcovery; he thinks it the more extraordinary, becauſe ' he is a perſon, ſays he, of the greateſt candour and freedom, and the moſt communicative, as I am obliged to expreſs with much gratitude, for his civilities ſhewed me in Paris, in

VOL. V. No. 261.

(27) Ibid. p. 475 to 479.

(28) Ibid. p. 454.

(29) Ibid. p. 489. Mr Halley had then been married ſome years. See his article.

(30) Ibid. p. 516.

(31) Ibid. p. 542.

(32) Part II. chap. iv. of Mechanics, p. 215.

(33) In Journal des Sçavans, July 6, 1676.

1685; at which time he gave me an object glaſs, formed, by this way, for a teleſcope twenty-four feet long.' In his method for trying the goodneſs of an object-glaſs; ' This, ſays he (34), Caſſini ſhewed me, when I viſited him at the Obſervatory in Paris in 1685, who tried all his glaſſes by the large title page of a book (in which there were letters printed of different ſizes) fixed inverted into the jaumbe of a ſteeple window, more than a fourth of a mile diſtance from the Obſervatory.' He alſo ſhewed him two very pretty contrivances for managing great glaſſes, which, becauſe not publick, Mr Molyneux deſcribes by his memory. In another place, ſpeaking of Huygens's tract intituled, *Aſtroſcopia compendiaria* deſigned only for deſcribing his way of managing great glaſſes with very little trouble, and ſhort tubes; ' This I am ſure, ſays Mr Molyneux, is no barren ſpeculation of the ingenious author, but ſucceſsfully practiſed by him, as I can gratefully teſtify, having had the honour of ſeeing the whole contrivance by the excellent author himſelf, in his garden at the Hague, in 1685. At which time I had the honour alſo of ſeeing his planetary clock or moving ephemeris (35).' The treatiſe here mentioned was not rightly underſtood by our author before, as appears by the following extract of a letter from him to Mr Flamſtead, dated Auguſt 7th, 1684, where he writes thus: ' The ' book of Mr Huygens I formerly mentioned to you, ' is called *Aſtroſcopia Compendaria tubi optici molimine* ' *liberata*. It is only a contrivance for managing ' great glaſſes, without the trouble of a tube If the ' book be come to your ſight, be pleaſed to favour me ' with your opinion of the practicableneſs of the me- ' thod he propoſes. I have the book, and to me it ' ſeems miſtruſtful without ſome improvement (36).'

[*K*] *Sciothericum Teleſcopium.*] The whole title runs thus: *Sciothericum Teleſcopicum, or a new Contrivance of adapting a Teleſcope to an horizontal Dial for obſerving the Moment of Time by Day or Night, uſeful in all Aſtronomical Obſervations, and for regulating and adjuſting curious Pendulum Watches and other Time-Keepers, with proper Tables requiſite thereto.* It is dedicated to Henry Earl of Clarendon, Lord Lieutenant General, and General Governor of Ireland, as the firſt fruits of the Dublin Society, after his Lordſhip's arrival to that government. 'Tis certain he was not a little fond of this invention *; and as ſoon as he had got one of the inſtruments made at London, it was by his order put into the hands of his friend Mr Flamſtead, to whom he had recommended it's uſe, in taking horary diſtances of ſtars from the meridian, and though that Aſtronomer by trial upon two very diſtant ſtars, found it not to anſwer, our author attributing the fault, not to the contrivance, but to the inaccuracy of the workmanſhip, preſſes to have this friend's opinion

(34) Dioptrics, p. 223.

(35) Ibid. p. 224.

(36) Series of Letters, No. 2.

* In his Dioptrics, ſpeaking of teleſcopic inventions, he ſays, ' among others, ' I will preſume ' to mention my ' own teleſcopic ' dial, publiſhed ' in 1686, ' which without ' vanity I may ' ſay has not ' diſpleaſed at ' home, and has ' been well re- ' ceived abroad.' Dioptrica Nova, p. 246. edit. 1692.

(y) No. 185.

his observations of a lunar eclipse in the subsequent paper (y). Upon the coming out of Sir Isaac Newton's *Principia* the following year, 1687, our author was struck with the same astonishment as the rest of the world in general, but declared also that he was not qualified to examine the particulars [L]. In 1689, among great numbers of other Protestants, he withdrew from the disturbances in Ireland occasioned by the Popish administration *, and after a short stay in London, fixed himself with his family at Chester (z). Being thus deprived of the use of his astronomical instruments, he employed his leisure in putting together the materials, which he had some time before prepared for his *Dioptrics* †, in which he was much assisted by Mr Flamstead [M]; and in August 1690 he went to London to put it to the press (aa), where the care of revising the sheets was undertaken by

* By Lord Tyrconnel.

(z) Series of Letters, No. xiv.

† Ibid. No. xix.

(aa) Familiar Letters between Mr Locke and his friends, p. 5. and the preface, dedication, and advertisement, prefixed, are dated April 17th that year.

nion of the theory, in such terms as plainly shew nothing would satisfy but a confirmation of his own (37). Accordingly, in the book itself, in order to evince the preference of it to all others, he gives an account of these which he reduces to four. 1. By dials. 2 By taking the sun's altitude by day, and that of the fixt stars by night. 3. By observing the altitude and azimuth of the sun. 4. By the transits of the sun or stars cross the meridian, or the coming of some of the nearer polar stars in the same vertical with the pole star. Of these, the first serve only by day; the two next, tho' not inconvenient, are yet troublesome, the instruments being large, require great charge and long practice to manage them dextrously, besides the trouble of calculating the most difficult of oblique spherical triangles (38). The fourth, he allows indeed to be plain, simple, and easy; but observes, that both ways serve rather to rectify watches and other time-keepers, than to shew the time themselves, through the whole course of an observation, as in an eclipse of the sun, or when a spot either immerges or emerges. When at that instant there is not, and perhaps will not be for many months after, a star in the meridian, or under the polar star, to tell me the moment of that time. But what I propose does as constantly (and not by fits) shew and tell the time, if duly managed, as the hand of a well going pendulum watch indicates the hour.—However, it must be confessed, that our author's instrument never came into general use, and Dr Smith having described some other instruments ‡ for the purpose, concludes in these terms: "These are the best sort of instruments, and the best methods I know of, for determining time; however, those that are desirous of knowing a greater variety of them, and of fuller instructions in relation to them, may receive satisfaction, by consulting Mr William Molyneux's little book upon his telescopic dial (39)."

(37) Series of Letters, &c. No. iv. dated Dublin Feb. 20, 1685-6.

(38) Viz. That where three sides are given, to find an angle, and this in the day-time; for in the night, 20 or 30 of these must be made in one night.

‡ Viz. one of Mr Cotes, and another of Lord Islay, now Duke of Argyle.

(39) Smith's Optics. B. III. ch. vi. in fine, p. 331. edit. 1738, 4to.

[L] *He could not read Sir Isaac Newton's Principia.*] Mr Halley, his constant correspondent, had sent him the several parts of this inestimable treasure as they came from the press, before the whole was finished, assuring him that he looked upon it as the utmost effort of human genius; but though this raised his curiosity, yet upon dipping into it he found it would take up too much time to peruse it thoroughly (40). Some time after it was published, Mr Flamstead desiring his opinion of it, he sent the following answer in a letter, dated at Dublin, May 19th, 1688. 'The last I had 'from you was of December 19th, 1687: therein you 'desire to know our thoughts in this place, of Mr 'Newton's book; and to this I answer, that I have 'not yet had time to settle to it seriously, for I find I 'must rub up all the little notion I have of conics, and 'the doctrine of ratio, which are half slipt out of my 'head, before I venture upon it; and I question, after all, whether I shall be able to master it: for I 'perceive it is a piece that requires great application, 'or else it is invincible. Neither do I know any mathematic head in this place, that has thoroughly considered the whole, unless it be the honourable Mr 'Roberts, the Earl of Radnor's younger son, who is 'at present in this town. He tells me he has run 'through Mr Newton's book, and finds it really admirable. One observation in the book (though not 'first started there) is truly to be wondered at, and 'that is, the sesquialtera ratio between the periods and 'distances of the planets, and that not only among the 'primary erratics, but even among the lesser sets of 'dancers.—'Tis in my opinion a most amazing thought 'to consider, how universally this great law runs thro' 'the whole frame of nature, and agrees to bodies at 'such vast distances, and that seem to have no tie or 'respect to each other. 'Tis to me beyond exception 'the strongest argument that can be drawn from the 'frame of this universe, for the proof of a God, to see 'one law so fixed and inviolable amongst those vast 'and distant *chori*, who certainly could not therefore 'be put into this posture and motion by chance, but 'by an omnipotent intelligent being (41).'

(40) Series of Letters, No. xii.

(41) Ibid. No. xiv.

[M] *He was assisted by Mr Flamstead.*] Our author seems to have made this subject the chief part of his philosophical studies, from the first entrance therein, as in some measure may be collected from a letter to Mr Flamstead in 1681 (42). In another letter to the same person, dated December 16th, 1684, he writes thus: "The chief matter of your last was about the magnifying of telescopes, wherein I was most heartily glad, that I find we agree in the demonstration. About a twelve month ago, I wrote a sheet or two of paper concerning this matter, wherein, by proper schemes and calculations, I demonstrated the matter exactly, according to the purport of your opinion (43)." Again, in a letter dated November 13th, 1686, we find him proposing to the same friend a difficulty, with regard to such microscopes as have one object-glass, and one eye-glass; in which, the distance between the object and object glass is very precise and determined, otherwise all appears in confusion, and yet the distance between the eye-glass and object-glass is very uncertain and undetermined; so that an inch, or two, or three, alters the appearance but little, of which he could not conceive the reason.—'You are in the right, says he, in proceeding, when you say Honoratus Faber talks non'sense in his fifth and sixth paragraph, p. 141. He 'does so most certainly, but this is not the only place 'of a hundred, where he does so most egregiously; 'and indeed I know no optic writer, that coming to 'the combination of glasses in a tube, does not err 'most enormously. They deal pretty well with the 'affections of single glasses, but when they put them 'together, they make sad work on't; and I could 'never receive any satisfaction in that particular, 'till 'I was put into the road by my good friend Mr Flam'stead, but now I think I have the whole theory of 'the usual telescopes clear enough. Indeed, Sir, I am 'much obliged to you for your ready communications 'of your dioptric problems; and I do assure you, what'ever you communicate to me, is as safe as in your 'own breast; and I would not for the world publish 'any thing of another's to anticipate his fame or credit 'therein. This is a baseness, I hope, too mean for 'me: and in confidence of this protestation made to 'you, I shall earnestly beg of you to proceed in your 'communications to me, for thereby you do wonder'fully oblige and pleasure me, and you in some mea'sure secure your labours from being lost (44).' And in reality, that was the consequence. As soon as the Dioptrics was finished, he acquainted this friend with it, in a letter dated at Chester, May 7th, 1690, in these terms. 'Whenever the troublesome thoughts of the 'miseries of my country would permit me (which in'deed was but seldom) I have diverted my mind by 'the consideration of Dioptrics, and have put the last 'hand to an idle work which I now design for the 'press. But before I can do this, I must remember 'that some years ago, you communicated to me the 'method for calculating a ray's progress, and one or 'two dioptrical problems. These I make use of in 'this work, but with ample acknowledgments to my 'worthy friend, and I desire your leave to publish 'them. As to the problems which properly are your 'own (for the calculation of a ray's progress is Mr Gas'coigne's) I have, together with your solution of them '(which I expresly declare so to be) inserted another 'method of my own for solving them, which you will 'find when you see the work. In several parts of this 'work,

(42) See remark [A].

(43) Series of Letters, No. iii.

(44) Ibid. No. vii.

by Mr Halley, who, at our author's request, gave leave for printing in the appendix his celebrated theorem for finding the foci of optic-glasses (*bb*). Accordingly the book came out in 1692 in 4to. under the title of *Dioptrica Nova: A Treatise of Dioptrics, in two parts; wherein the various effects and appearances of spherical glasses, both convex and concave, single and combined, in telescopes and microscopes, together with their usefulness in many concerns of human life, are explained* [*N*]. In this piece he gives the honour of the first invention of spectacles and microscopes to Friar Roger Bacon of Oxford, as Mr Wood (*cc*) and Dr Plott (*dd*) had done before him; and this opinion generally prevailed among the English 'till of late, that the Friar's claim hath been disputed by another learned optical writer [*O*]. The dedication of the Dioptrics being addressed to the Royal Society, he takes

(*bb*) This was the first appearance of that excellent theorem in publick. See Dr Halley's article.

(*cc*) In Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. i. p. 136.

(*dd*) Natural History of Oxfordshire, cap. ix. sect. 2, 3, &c. and sect. 39, 40, 41. See Roger Bacon's article in this work, Vol. I. p. 352. rem. [*M*].

' work, I have occasion to mention my esteemed friend, ' which I always do with that honour and respect as is ' ever due from his

' Most affectionate humble servant,

William Molyneux (45).'

(45) Ibid. No. xix.

Mr Flamstead having given his consent to this request, our author returned an answer of thanks for that favour, May 17th (46). The book was put to the press soon after, and when it came out, these assistances appeared particularly in prop. 16 17, and 18; and the trigonometrical calculations to coroll. 1. of prop. 26. The Royal Astronomer's favours are every where acknowledged, and having mentioned his tables to the Satellites of Jupiter in the Philosophical Transactions, he adds, ' But the curiosities which this excellent Astro-' nomer has, yet unpublished, in that useful part of ' Astronomy, viz. the parallaxes, are very great and ' ingenious, which I hope in time he will impart to ' the world, as with much freedom and generosity he ' now communicates them to his private friends, in ' the number of which, I am very proud to reckon my-' self (47).'

(46) Ibid. No. xx.

(47) Dioptrics, p. 271. See more of this affair about the parallax in Dr Wallis's article.

[*N*] *Dioptrica Nova, &c.*] He gives it this title, because it is almost wholly new, very little being borrowed from others, but what is requisite to shew the methods of others in demonstrating their propositions, and to comprehend their conclusions and series of the propositions of their books. Besides, as he observes, it was the first that appeared in English upon this subject. The reader must not expect any of the more curious speculations therein, that being foreign to his design. But several of the most generally useful propositions for practice are demonstrated in a clear and easy manner, for which reason, it was for many years much used by the artificers; and the second part is very entertaining, especially in the history which he gives of the several optical instruments, and the discoveries made by them, which has been since carried on by Dr Robert Smith, the present Master of Trinity-college in Cambridge (48).

(48) In his Compleat System of Opticks, B. IV. edit. 1738, 4to.

[*O*] *The Friar's claim to the invention of spectacles controverted.*] In regard to spectacles, the proof brought by our author for this opinion, is a chapter upon reflections on Bacon's piece, intituled *Opus Majus* in English, thus: ' If the letters of a book, or any mi-' nute objects, be viewed through a lesser segment of a ' sphere of glass or crystal, whose plain base is laid ' upon them, they will appear far better and larger. ' Because, by the fifth canon, about a spherical medi-' um, whose convexity is towards the eye, and the ob-' ject is placed below it, and between the convexity ' and it's centre, all things concur to magnify it. ' For the angle under which it is seen is greater, and ' it's image is also greater, and nearer to the eye than ' the object itself, because the object is between ' the center and the eye. And therefore, this instru-' ment is useful to old men, and to those that have ' weak eyes. For they may see the smallest letters ' sufficiently magnified *. But if the medium be the ' larger segment of a sphere, or but half of one, then ' by the sixth canon the apparent visual angle will be ' greater than the true, and the image also greater ' than the object, because the centre of the sphere is ' between the eye and the object. And therefore this ' instrument is not so powerful in magnifying as the les-' ser segment of a sphere. Also, instruments made of ' crystal bodies with plain surfaces, by the first and se-' cond canons about spherical surfaces, will perform ' the same thing: but the lesser of two segments of a ' sphere, magnifies more manifestly than any of them ' all, by reason of the concurrence of all the three ' causes, as I find before (49).' Now, says Dr Smith, to find an author speaking of a small segment of a sphere of glass, of it's magnifying the letters of a book, of it's being a proper instrument for helping decayed sight, and to say he was not possessed either of the theory or the use of spectacles, may appear to be a paradox, but I hope to satisfy my reader is not a mistake. First then, our author plainly proposed to lay the flat base of his segment upon the letters: for the word *suppositi* [by which he expresses it] must have been a contraction in his writing of the word *superpositi*, or rather *superimpositi*, as appears by the sequel, and by the canon he quotes; besides, he says not a word of holding the segment at a distance from the letters, nor could he indeed, because he has not treated of a double refraction at both it's surfaces, without which he could conclude nothing at all about it's effects, when raised from the book; for he argues from nothing but theory throughout the whole chapter In the next place, I observe, that he is quite mistaken in asserting twice together, that the lesser segment of a sphere magnifies the letters more than the larger. The contrary to which is true, as I shall prove presently. But it is no wonder that he concludes wrong from a wrong principle, namely, that the letters appear less in a greater segment than in the smaller, because their image is beyond them in the greater segment, and before them in the lesser. The only just consequence that can be drawn from these different distances of the image, is, that to an old man's eye the letters will appear distincter, by rays diverging somewhat less from the remoter image, and more confused by rays diverging somewhat more from the nearer, than if he viewed them with his naked eye. The effect of the lesser segment is therefore contrary to the design of spectacles, which is not to magnify the letters, but to make them appear distinct, by causing the rays to fall upon the eye less diverging, or parallel, or even somewhat converging, according to the different age or constitution of the eye, and therefore it cannot be performed but by a very nice and determinate degree of convexity. Hence it is plain, that our author tried no experiments with a greater and a lesser segment, to compare their effects together. For then he must have found out his mistake, and must rather have preferred the larger segment for magnifying more, which is all he contends for. However, let us suppose him to have followed his own doctrine, and to have tried a lesser segment only; it could not be a thin segment of a large sphere like one of spectacle-glasses. For this could not sensibly magnify the letters underneath it, as he says it did. The most convex spectacles now made, when laid upon a book, have not this effect, because they are too thin. It follows then, if he tried any segment at all, that it must have been a segment of a small sphere, sufficiently thick to magnify the letters underneath it; and therefore it must have been thicker than our deepest spectacles for the oldest mens eyes; and consequently, when applied to their eyes, it must have made the letters appear confused, by too great a quantity of the refractions. And this confusion our author could not correct by theory and reason, because he knew not the cause of it, and it is plain he made not many experiments. The discovery of this cause, together with the manner of vision by pictures upon the retina, was first made by Kepler above 300 years after our author's time, and also after spectacles were in common use. It was impossible then for any man before Kelper, even to explain the effect of spectacles, that is, how they correct the confusion in the picture upon the retina, and much more to invent them by theory and reason; and of consequence they must have been the result of some lucky accidents among a multitude of trials and attempts, begun perhaps upon this hint of our author's, which

* See so much of the original Latin in this Work, Vol. I. p. 352. b. where the reader is desired, instead of *aere longe melius, videbis literas & apparebant, ei*, to read *aëre, longe melius videbit literas, & apparebunt ei*; and for *parvam possunt videre insufficienti*, read *parvam possunt videre in sufficienti*.

(49) Bacon's Opus Majus, p. 352. edit. 1733.

takes notice, among other improvements in Philosophy made by building it upon experience, of the advances that had been made lately in Logic, by the incomparable (as he stiles him) Mr John Locke, who, in his Essay upon Human Understanding, he observes, had rectified more received mistakes, and delivered more profound truths established upon experience and observation, for the direction of man's mind in the prosecution of knowledge (which may be properly termed Logic), than are to be met with in all the volumes of the Ancients; and that he had clearly overthrown all those metaphysical whimsies, which affected mens brains with a species of madness, whereby they fancied a knowledge where they had none, by making a noise with sounds without clear and distinct significations. This compliment, together with a present of his book, to Mr Locke, drew a letter of thanks from that gentleman to our author (*ee*): whence begun an acquaintance that presently grew into an intimate friendship; and from this time a constant correspondence †, in the most affectionate terms, was carried on between them as long as Mr Molyneux lived, to whom many of the improvements that were made in the second edition of the Essay on Human Understanding must be atttributed (*ff*). Before he left Chester he lost his lady (*gg*) [*P*], who died soon after she had brought him a son, whom he was extremely fond of, and spared no cost or pains in his education, which he formed according to the plan laid down by his friend Mr Locke upon that subject (*hh*). As soon as the publick tranquillity was settled in his native country, he returned home; and, upon the convening of a new Parliament under Lord Sydney in 1692, he was chosen one of the representatives for the city of Dublin. In the next Parliament, under Lord Capel, in 1695, he was one of the representatives for the University there ||, and continued therein during his life (*ii*); that learned body having, before the end of the first session of the former Parliament, conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Laws (*kk*). He was likewise nominated by the Lord Lieutenant one of the Commissioners for the forfeited estates; but notwithstanding the salary of 500 pounds a year annexed to that employment, he chose for some reasons to decline it [*Q*]. As he had the warmest affection for the honour and interest

(*ee*) It is dated July 16, 1692. Familiar Letters of Mr Locke and his friends, No. 2.

† In these letters our author proposes that noted problem, whether a person blind from his birth, being made to see, could by sight alone distinguish a globe from a cube, whose difference he knew by feeling; which was pronounced in the negative by both these Philosophers, but has since been controverted by Dr Jurin, who holds the affirmative, as Dr Synge had done before, and for the same reasons. Familiar Letters, p. 37, and 135, & seq. Essay on Human Understanding, B. I. c. ix. Smith's Optics, in remarks, art. 160, & seqq.

(*ff*) Familiar Letters, passim. Particularly the whole chapter of identity and diversity was added, from a hint given by our author. See Locke's Letter of March 8, 1694.

(*gg*) Compare his letter to Mr Locke of March 2, 1692, with that of Aug. 4, 1695.

(*hh*) Molyneux to Locke, Feb. 12, 1693.

|| Familiar Letters, p. 121.

(*ii*) Case of Ireland stated, &c. p. 94. and pref. p. xii. edit. 1720.

(*kk*) Communicated by Mr Madden to Dr Birch.

which is all the honour that can justly be paid to him (50). In much the same manner Dr Smith shews from the next chapter in the *Opus Majus*, concerning refracted vision †, which is cited to prove the Friar's knowledge of telescopes, that though he mentions several problems of the telescopical kind (51), yet he did not think of performing them by a single portable instrument like a telescope, but by fixing up several glasses in proper places at large intervals from one another, which would certainly prove ineffectual. That considering the false notions he had from the Ancients about distinct and confused vision; the false principle he maintains, that the apparent magnitude of an object is as the angle subtended at the eye by it's image, and reciprocally as the distance of the image too; and lastly, the false conclusions he has drawn, and must always draw from these principles, as I have shewn in his attempt upon making spectacles, it was certainly next to impossible for him to have invented by theory a much nicer and more complex instrument; I mean a telescope of any sort. That it does not appear he knew what a concave or convex glass was, nor ever considered the appearance of an object placed at a distance beyond a refracting body of any shape, but only within a spherical one. Hence he was not qualified to invent a telescope by theory, nor by experiments for want of lenses. That as to the passage produced from a manuscript (52), to shew that he actually applied telescopes to astronomical purposes, it may be replied, that the Ancients had some occasion for perspective in plain instruments, before the invention of telescopic ones; but as the passage stands alone, it is not easy to know the intent of it. That the Friar speaks only hypothetically, saying, that glasses may be figured and objects magnified so and so, but never asserts one single trial or observation upon the sun or moon (or any thing else) though he mentions them both. On the other hand, he conceives some effects of telescopes that cannot possibly be performed by them (53). To conclude, if it be asked how he came by these notions, I answer, from the common doctrine of refractions in his canons, and from common appearances by refraction and reflection, especially, from concave speculums, whose effects were well known to him, both by the accounts of them in ancient authors, and by his own experience. And this I take to be a sufficient ground for a man of good sense and fancy to produce all that he has said (54). Thus Dr Smith against the opinion of Mr Molyneux, but in justice to the latter, we must not omit a remark of Mr Hooke's, who July 26th, 1682 read before the Royal Society a passage that he had met with in Diggs's *Stratioticos*, wherein he affirms, that his father had a method of discovering all objects pretty far distant, which lie round about in the country, and this was by the help of a book or manuscript of Roger Bacon of Oxford, who he conceived was the only man besides his father who knew it. This was the more remarkable, for that this *Stratioticos* was printed in 1579, which was more than thirty years before Metius or Galileo made the discovery of these glasses, and therefore it seemed evident that Roger Bacon was the first inventor of telescopes, and Leonard Digges the next reviver of them, both Englishmen (55).

(50) Compleat History of Opticks, in remarks, art. 86, 87, 88. edit. 1738, 4to.

† See the original in this work, ubi supra, p. 353.

(51) As to read the smallest letters from an incredible distance, a man appear as big as a mountain, the sun, moon, and stars, made to descend hither in appearance, &c.

(52) The passage is, Sed longe magis quam hæc oporteret homines habere, qui bene immo optime scirent perspectivam & instrumenta ejus— quia instrumenta astronomiæ non vadunt nisi per visionem secundum leges istius scientiæ. Jebb's edition of the Opus Majus, in the dedication, edit. 1733.

(53) Viz. That Julius Cæsar raised up speculums to a great height upon the coast of France, to discover the disposition of the cities and camps in England when he was going to invade it; which is impracticable, unless the word *specula* means not glasses but watch-towers. Smith's Opticks, p. 357.

(54) Ibid. in remarks: §. 111 to 121.

[*P*] *He lost his lady.*] She had lost her eye-sight above twelve years before, so that she must have been struck with this heavy calamity in a few months after her marriage in 1678, from which time she had been very sickly, and afflicted with extreme pains of the head (56). Some years after her decease Mr Molyneux writing to Mr Locke about the temper and qualities of his son, has this remark. I find by a book lately written by Mr Norris, that Mr Masham || and my son agree in one odd circumstance of life, having both their mothers blind (57). In answer to which Mr Locke write thus: 'I read that passage in your letter to my 'Lady Masham which concerned her sight. She bid 'me tell you, that she hopes to *see* you here this summer, you will possibly wonder at the miracle, but 'that you must find in Mr Norris's book. She has, ''tis true, but weak eyes, which Mr Norris for reasons he knew best, resolved to make blind ones, and 'having suited his epistle to that supposition, could not 'be hindered from publishing it so, tho' to prevent it, '*my* Lady wrote him word, that she was not so, and 'hoped she never should be (58).'

[*Q*] *He chose to decline it.*] In the preface to his *Case of Ireland stated*, in order to shew that he was prompted to *that* undertaking purely for the sake of his country, without any view of private interest or advantage: he expresses himself thus, 'I have no concern in the woollen trade, I am no ways interested in the forfeitures or grants, I am not at all sollicitous whether the Bishop or Society of Derry recover the lands they contest about ‡.' Whence we may infer that he looked upon the commission for forfeited estates to be too invidious an employment for him to accept, who was plainly too not of a covetous disposition: but besides, though he was satisfied of the justice of such forfeitures in general, yet he thought in this particular statute of forfeitures, enough had not been left to the Parliament of Ireland. It had been urged that the wars in Ireland had given the English a just title to the lands and inheritances of the rebels. To this he answers, that 'if we consider the wars of Ireland, we shall observe 'the common case of wars between two common enemies. Ours are rather rebellions, or rather intestine, 'commotions,

(55) Birch's History of the Royal Society, Vol. IV. p. 156.

(56) Molyneux's Letter to Locke of Feb. 3, 1696-7.

|| Son to Lady Masham, in whose house at Oates Mr Locke resided. See his article.

(57) Ibid. Feb. 22, 1693.

(58) Ibid. Aug. 12.

‡ This contest was about the Bishop's right to some forfeited estates.

interest of his country, so in Parliament he was zealous for promoting the linnen manufactory there, which was much encouraged by Queen Mary *(ll)*: but with singular ardency he espoused the cause of their woollen manufactory, when he conceived it to be oppressed by the English Government; and, as soon as that affair came to a crisis, he drew his pen boldly [*R*] in defence of his country's independency. The piece, produced by this noble effort, was intituled, *The Case of Ireland's being bound by Acts of Parliament in England, stated* [*S*]. It was not published 'till the beginning of the year 1698, which happened to be a little while after the case was determined against his opinion by the English Parliament *(m)*. He had given Mr Locke a hint of his thoughts upon this subject before it was quite ready for the press, and desired his sentiments upon the fundamental principle on

(ll) See his letter to Mr Locke of Feb. 3, 1696-7, where we learn, that the whole scheme of this contrivance was wholly owing to James Hamilton of Tullymore.

(m m) See rem. [*T*].

' commotions, that is, the Irish Papists rising against the ' King and Protestants of Ireland; and then 'tis plain, ' that if these latter, by the assistance of their brethren ' of England and their purse, do prove victorious, the ' people of England ought to be fully repaid. But ' then the manner of their payment, and in what way ' it shall be levied, ought to be left to the people of ' Ireland in Parliament assembled; and so it was, after the rebellion of forty-one. The adventurers then ' were at vast charges, and there were several acts of ' Parliament in England made for their reimbursement, ' by disposing to them the rebels lands; but after all, it ' was thought reasonable that the Parliament of Ireland ' should do this in their own way, and therefore the ' acts of settlement and explanation made all the former English acts of no force. In like manner we allow that England ought to be repaid all their expences in suppressing this late rebellion; all we desire is, ' that in preservation of our own rights and liberties, ' we may do it in our methods regularly in our own ' Parliament (59).'

(59) Case of Ireland stated, p. 122. edit. 1720.

[*R*] *He drew his pen boldly.*] It seems some threatnings against him were whispered about, which made him cautious of his behaviour. In a letter to Mr Locke dated at Dublin April 19th, this year, 1698, he expresses his apprehensions in these terms: ''Till I either see how the Parliament at Westminster is disposed to take it [his book], or 'till I see them risen, I don't think it adviseable for me to go on t'other side the water, tho' I am not apprehensive of any mischief from them, yet God knows what resentments captious men may take on such occasions *.' And in the preface to the book, 'I have heard, says he, that it has ' been said, that perhaps I might run some hazard in ' attempting this argument: but I am not at all apprehensive of any such danger. We are in a miserable condition, indeed, if we might not be allowed to ' complain when we think we are hurt, and to give ' our reasons with all modesty and submission †. But ' were it otherwise, it would not in the least discourage me in an attempt where I think my cause good ' and my country concerned.'

* Familiar Letters between Mr Locke and his friends, p. 270.

† In the letter last cited he says, he had treated the subject with that caution and submission, that it could not justly give offence; so that he not only put his name to it, but dedicated it to his Majesty. But a complaint was made of it to the House of Commons May 21; whereupon they addressed his Majesty, asserting the dependency and subordination of Ireland to the kingdom of England. Salmon's Chron. Hist. p. 230. edit. 1723, 8vo.

[*S*] *The case of Ireland, &c.*] As this piece contains all or most of what can be said on this subject, which is very interesting, we shall give a short and concise account of it, as follows: He begins with observing that, the claim of the English Parliament must be founded either on conquest, purchase, or precedents, and matters of record. Wherefore, he first shews from Gyraldus Cambrensis, Roger Hoveden, Matthew Paris, John Brumpton, that Ireland was not properly so conquered by Henry II. as to give the Parliament of England any jurisdiction over Ireland; and though it were conquered, he maintains, that even a just conquest gives no right over the liberties and estates of posterity, being only a personal right over the actual opposers; for the proof of which, he refers to Mr Locke's Treatise on Civil Government, ch 16. 3. Granting this to be wrong, he urges that such concessions have been made by the Conquerors to the people of Ireland, as are inconsistent with the aforesaid claim; for this he produces precedents, records, and history, shewing the gradual steps by which the laws of England were introduced into Ireland. Here he cites Matthew Paris ad ann. 1172. vit. H II. and Coke's Instit. 4. ch. 1 and 76, who mentions the *modus tenendi Parlimentorum*, granted by H II. a copy of which original *modus*, he gives from the record itself. He maintains that the donation of Ireland by H. II. to his son K. John, before he came to the crown of England, proves the former to be a separate and distinct kingdom from the latter; and that after the uniting of the two kingdoms in the person of John, that King came to Dublin and granted them the same Magna Charta with that of England, ann. 1210. That his son H. III. who came to the crown 19 Oct. 1216. did grant them in Nov. following a magna charta dated at Bristol Nov. 12th, ann. regni primo, which was the same that he granted to England ann. regni nono. The same H. III. ann. regni 12mo, provided that all the laws of England should be observed in Ireland, and that K. John's charter should be kept inviolably; and that from the time of these two Kings, the two kingdoms were governed under one head, the King of England, yet so as both remained separate and distinct in their several jurisdictions, as those of Scotland, and are without any subordination. He urges, that these laws of England, thus received voluntarily in Ireland, must be the law of Parliament and the common law. He then proceeds to shew, that the statutes passed in England from the reign of H. III. were not in force in Ireland 'till they were allowed and published by the Parliament there; and that the English statutes since, which are in force in Ireland, though not allowed by that Parliament, are only declaratory of the old common law, and not introductory of a new law; of all which he gives a great number of instances in particular statutes made in England, which never were in force in Ireland 'till so received and so enacted by that Parliament. In this place he takes notice of such statutes where Ireland is particularly mentioned, and of Lord Chief Justice Hussey's opinion in H. VIIth's time, that the statutes made in England shall bind those of Ireland, which he allows in some cases might be true, viz. when the Irish had their representatives in the English Parliament, which he shews they had upon some occasions, in Edw. the First's reign, and Edw. the Third, and Oliver Cromwell's Parliament. He concludes therefore, that this practice began in 1641: he gives an account how it arose, and concludes that the three acts of Charles the Second, one against planting tobacco, another for encouraging shipping and navigation, and a third prohibiting the exportation of wool from Ireland to any country except England, did effectually bind them so, as they did not transgress them; but how rightfully they do this, says he, is the matter in question. This I am sure of, that before these acts, the eldest of which is not over thirty seven years, there is not one positive full precedent to be met with in all the statute books of an English act binding the kingdom of Ireland. And on this argument we may venture to assert, that these are at least innovations on us, as not being warranted by any former precedents: and shall proceedings, continues he, only of thirty seven years standing, be urged against a nation to deprive them of their rights and liberties, which they enjoyed for five hundred years before, and which were invaded without and against their consent, and, from that day to this, have been constantly complained of. As to the act for taking the oaths to King William, he says, their compliance to it was purely voluntary, because of the benefit of it to Ireland, and not from the right they concluded to be in the legislators. He insists strongly on a record in Richard the Third's time, wherein are these words: *Hibernia habet Parliamentum & faciunt leges & nostra statuta non ligant eos quia non mittunt milites ad Parliamentum.* As to writs of error lying from the King's-bench in Ireland to that of England, he observes that practice arises from the King's supposed presence in the latter, while he resides in that kingdom; and if he should reside in Ireland, such writs would lie from the English King's bench to that of Ireland, and therefore the English Parliament cannot from hence claim any right of jurisdiction in Ireland, because they claim a jurisdiction of their own, and their Court is not the King's Court in that proper and strict sense that the King's-bench is (60).

(60) This piece was answered by Mr Cary, a merchant of Bristol, in a Vindication of the Parliament of England, in answer to a book written by William Molyneux of Dublin, Esq; entituled, The Case of Ireland, &c. dedicated to Lord Chancellor Somers.

[*T*] *This*

on which the argument in it was grounded: in answer to which, that gentleman intimating, that the business was of too large extent for the subject of a letter, proposed to talk the matter over with him in England. This invitation prevailed upon him [T], notwithstanding the very infirm state of health under which he laboured at that time, to cross the water once more, as he did in July this year. He staid in England 'till about the middle of September; but the pleasure of this long wished for interview, which he had intended to repeat the following spring (*nn*), with that dear friend, seems to have been purchased at the expence of his life [U]; for shortly after he was seized with a severe fit of his constitutional distemper, the stone, which occasioned such violent wretchings, as burst a blood-vessel; from which the loss of blood was so great, that he was not able to struggle with it any longer than two days, expiring on the 11th of October 1698. His body being opened, there was found a large stone in his right kidney, and some small ones in his left. He was interred in St Audoen's church in Dublin, in the tomb of his great-grandfather Sir William Usher, near which there is a handsome monument erected to his memory. In person he was something like his friend Mr Locke (*oo*), of whom, as he had frequently done before, so, during his short sickness, he spoke several times with great respect, and in his Will wrote the following clause with his own hand: *I give and bequeath to my excellent friend John Locke, Esq; author of the* Essay concerning Human Understanding, *the sum of five pounds to buy him a ring, in memory of the value and esteem I had for him* (*pp*).

(*nn*) Letter of Mr Locke to Mr Burridge, dated Oates 27 Octob. 1698. Familiar Letters, p. 275.

(*oo*) Ibid. p. 172.

(*pp*) Ibid. p. 292, 293.

[T] *This argument prevailed.*] In a letter to Mr Locke dated March 15th, 1697, having informed his friend of the disappointment he had met with in his design of coming to Bath that spring, by being chosen, by the King's directions, one of the guardians of the young Lord Woodstock, he proceeds thus: 'Were it 'only in my health that I am disappointed, I could 'the easier bear it; but I am delayed from embracing 'my dear friend, which is most grievous of all. Yet 'I hope it will be so but for a time; for if my Lord 'Chancellor (61) comes over in any convenient season, 'I will certainly get loose. But this I cannot hope 'for, 'till the Parliament in England rises. I should 'be glad to know from you when that is expected; 'for indeed they bear very hard upon us in Ireland. 'How justly they can bind us without our consent and 'representatives, I leave the author of the *two treatises of government* to consider. But of this I shall trouble 'you further another time, for you will hear more 'hereafter.' To this Mr Locke having answered, that he saw no likelihood of the Parliament's rising yet a good while, and begged him not to defer his journey on that or any other account, and urges the matter in these terms: 'Among other things I would be glad to 'talk with you before I die, is that which you suggest 'at the bottom of the first page of your letter. I am 'mightily concerned for the place meant in the question 'about which you say you will ask the author of the treatise you mention, and wish extremely well to it, and 'would be very glad to be informed by you what would 'be best for it, and debate with you the ways to compose it. But this can't be done by letters, the subject is of too great extent, the views too large, and 'the particulars too many to be so managed. Come 'therefore yourself, and come as well prepared in that 'matter as you can. But if you talk with others on 'that point there, mention not me to any body on 'that subject, only let you and I try what good we 'can do for those whom we wish well to. Great 'things have sometimes been brought about from small 'beginnings well laid together (62).' This, says Mr Molyneux, in his reply, is irresistible (63); 'I had thoughts of coming into England, as I have told you, on occasion of my health, but since the receipt of your's of April 6th, which came to my hands but this morning, that consideration weighs but little with me. The desire of seeing and conversing with you has drowned all other expectations from my journey: and now I am resolved to accomplish it, let what will come on't.—I shall embrace you, God willing, as soon as ever the Parliament of England rises.' He then proceeds to mention the reason of his waiting that event, viz. his *Case of Ireland's being bound*, &c. which was then printed, and some copies for Mr Locke and his friends upon the road to England, after which, desiring that friend's opinion of it, he writes as follows: 'I cannot pretend this to be an accomplished performance, it was done in haste, and intended to overtake the proceedings at Westminster, but it comes 'too late for that: what effect it may possibly have in 'time to come, God and the wise Council of England 'only knows. But were it again under my hands, 'I could considerably amend and add to it (64).'

[U] *He fell into his constitutional disorder.*] He had been seized with a severe fit of the stone colic about three years before, and was so much subject upon any slight cold to returns of that disorder, that it drew the following expression from him in 1696. 'It is a melancholy thought to me, that since I have had the 'honour of your correspondence, it has hardly ever 'happened, that when both you and I have made an 'apology for our long silence, that it has not been 'drawn from want of health. P

(61) Sir Paul Methuen; he was another of Lord Woodstock's guardians.

(62) Locke to Molyneux, dated Oates April 6, 1698. Familiar Letters, p. 265, & seq.

(63) Dated Dublin April 19, 1698. Ibid. p. 269, & seq.

(64) This was done in the 2d edition, in 1720, 8vo.

(65) In a letter to Locke, dated Dov. June 6, 1696. Familiar Letters p. 147.

MOLYNEUX [SAMUEL], son to the preceding, was born at Chester about the middle of July 1689 (*a*); being descended from a sickly mother, his constitution was delicate, yet he was very healthful in his infancy (*b*). As he was an only child, his father, who was extremely fond of him, made it the chief, if not the sole, business of his life to educate him; wherein he followed the plan laid down by his friend Mr Locke, who occasionally gave him his advice; and, in return, he sent that gentleman an account of his extraordinary progress. By which it appears, that when he was but just turned of five, he could read perfectly well, and, on the globes, could trace out, and point to all the noted parts, countries, and cities, in the world, both land and sea. By five and a half he could perform many of the plainest problems on the globe, as the longitude and latitude, the antipodes, the time with them and other countries, &c. and this by way of play and diversion, seldom called to it, never chid or beaten for it. About the same age he could read any number of figures, not exceeding six places, break it as you please by cyphers. By the time he was six he could manage a compass, ruler, and pencil, very prettily, and perform many little geometrical tricks, and advanced to writing and arithmetick; and, in August 1695, had been about three months at Latin, under a proper tutor. He could then read a Gazette, and in the large maps of Sanson could shew most of the remarkable places as he read along, and turn to the proper maps. He had been shewn some dogs dissected, and could give some little account of the grand traces of Anatomy.

(*a*) Familiar Letters between Mr Locke, &c. p. 123.

(*b*) Ibid. p. 52.

tomy. As to his morals, no child had ever his passions more perfectly at command. He was obedient and observant to the nicest particular, and at the same time sprightly, playful, and active (c). He continued to proceed suitably to these beginnings as long as his father lived (d), who at his death left him to the care and management of his brother Dr Thomas Molyneux, an excellent scholar and Physician at Dublin [A]. This gentleman undertook the trust in a full resolution to execute it, with all the regard possible to his brother's memory, and the benefit of his child (e); and no doubt our author had all the advantages which a genteel fortune could give him for improving his talents, and the perfection he attained shews he deserved them all; for, at the age of manhood, he was allowed to be one of the politest and most accomplished gentlemen either in that country or in England, where his present Majesty, when he was Prince of Wales, appointed him his Secretary. For the convenience of executing this office, he had a house at Kew near Richmond, where, Astronomy being his favourite study, he set himself to make such improvements in that science as his fortune enabled him to do. In this spirit, about the year 1723, he applied himself to find out a convenient method for making the *specula* for Sir Isaac Newton's reflecting telescope; and being assisted therein by Mr Bradley, the present Astronomer Royal (f), they finished a good instrument of twenty-six inches in May 1724, and afterwards another of eight feet. The principal design was to reduce the method of making these instruments to some degree of certainty and ease, to the intent, that the difficulty in making them, and the danger in miscarrying, might no longer discourage any workman from attempting the same for publick sale. Accordingly, as soon as they were satisfied as to most of the circumstances in this performance, they communicated the whole process of the operation (g) to Mr Scarlet, an Optician near St Anne's church Soho, and Mr Hearne, a Mathematical-Instrument-Maker in Dogwell-court White-Friars, who afterwards succeeded in making these telescopes; and Mr Molyneux presented one of his own making to his majesty John the Fifth King of Portugal (h). In the year 1725, he erected a very accurate instrument of his own contrivance, in order to determine, if possible, that grand astronomical desideratum, the annual parallax of the fixed stars. This had been attempted by Dr Hooke, Mr Flamstead, and others (i), without success. Mr Molyneux followed the method of Dr Hooke in some respects (k); as in taking the zenith distances of the brightest star in the Dragon's head at the times of it's transits over the meridian, and also in the form of his instrument, constructed almost upon the same principles with the doctor's, but executed to a degree of exactness vastly greater, and chiefly owing to the care and contrivance of Mr George Graham, the best workman in Europe. Our Astronomer was all along assisted in the prosecution of this noble design by Mr Bradley, who has obliged the publick with a very accurate history of it in a letter to Dr Halley (l), containing not only an account of several new and surprizing phænomena that attended the observations (which he carried on and repeated after Mr Molyneux's decease), but also a compleat discovery of the true cause of them; which at last enabled him to settle the point in question, and to draw from it some admirable consequences relating to the propagation of light, by which the earth's annual motion in her orbit was first ascertained; these being esteemed to be some of the finest discoveries that have been made since the invention of telescopes, we shall give the substance of them below [B]. Our ingenious and honourable

(c) Ibid. p. 124.

(d) Ibid. p. 218.

(e) Ibid. p. 293.

(f) He was then Savilian Professor of Astronomy at Oxford.

(g) It is printed in Smith's Opticks, art. 784 to 789.

(h) See a draught and description of it. Ibid. art. 913 to 921.

(i) See Dr Wallis's Works, Vol. III. and this Mathematician had made a proposal to our author's father, for inquiring into this parallax in reference to the earth's annual orbit, which is printed in Phil. Trans. No. 202.

(k) See Hooke's article, rem. [N].

(l) It is printed in Phil. Trans. No. 406. Abridgm. Vol. VI. p. 167.

[A] *Dr Thomas Molyneux.*] This gentleman was younger brother to Mr William Molyneux; he was bred at Leyden, where he first became known to Mr Locke about the year 1675, with whom he kept a correspondence (1) as well as his brother, from the year 1692: before he left Holland, he sent an account of Mr Lewenhoek's microscopes to the Royal Society, of which he became a Fellow in 1686, and communicated several curiosities to that Society, which are printed in their Transactions. He had always preserved an inviolable affection, and cultivated a strict friendship, with his brother, at whose death he had been settled some time in the practice of his profession at Dublin, and was married and had two daughters (2).

(1) These letters shew him to have been well read in his faculty.

(2) Familiar Letttrs, ubi supra, passim.

[B] *We shall give the substance of it below.*] The result of the observations upon the bright star in the dragon's head marked γ by Bayer (3), was this. Beginning from Decemb. 3d, 1725, it's distance from the zenith being taken several days, at the time of it's transit over the meridian, there appeared no material difference in the observations. On Decemb. 17th, it passed a little more southerly from the zenith than before, and still more on the 20th, which was matter of surprize, both because no sensible alteration of parallax could so soon be expected in this star at that time of the year; and because it was the contrary way to what it would have been, had it proceeded from an annual parallax. About the beginning of March 1726, the star was found to be 20″ more southerly, than at the time of the first observation, and seemed to have arrived at it's utmost limits southwards. By the middle of April, it appeared to be returning back again towards the north, and about the beginning of June it passed at the same distance from the zenith, as it had done in December, when it was first observed. From that time it continued to move northwards 'till September following, when it again became stationary, being then near 20″ more northerly than in June, and no less than 39″ more northerly than it was in March. From September it returned towards the south, 'till it arrived in December at the same situation it was in at that time twelve months, allowing for the difference of declination on account of the precession of the equinox. By the like observations made on a small star almost opposite in right ascension to γ draconis, and at about the same distance from the north pole of the equator, it appeared to change it's declination 19″, that is about half as much as γ draconis did in the same time: Which plainly proved, as Mr Bradley observes, that these apparent changes were not owing to a nutation of the earth's axis, since the changes on this account would have been nearly equal in these stars, as lying near the solstitial colure. Upon comparing the observations with each other, it was discovered in both these stars, that the apparent difference of declination, reckoned from the limits abovementioned, was always nearly proportionable to the versed sine of the sun's distance from the equinoctial points: and that the whole difference of declination in these stars, was as the sine of the latitude of each respectively. After a year's observation upon many other stars in different parts of the heavens, made with a new instrument set up at Wanstead in 1727, Mr Bradley found out some other properties of their appparent motions, and after examining

(3) The stars upon the common celestial globes are usually marked after Bayer's.

rable author, out of his great regard for the improvement of Astronomy, by perfecting the methods of making telescopes both by refraction and reflection, did not only collect and consider what had been written and practised by others, but also made several new experiments of his own contriving, after he had procured a most compleat apparatus of instruments for that purpose. But in the midst of these thoughts, being appointed a Lord Commissioner of the Admiralty, he became so engaged in publick affairs, that he had not leisure to pursue these enquiries any further, and gave his papers to Dr Robert Smith, Professor of Astronomy at Cambridge, whom he invited to make use of his house and apparatus of instruments, in order to finish what he had left imperfect. But as he died soon after, the doctor lost that opportunity; whereupon, supplying what was unfinished by our honourable author from Mr Huygens and others, he published the whole in his Compleat Treatise of Optics (*m*). Mr Molyneux married the Lady Elizabeth, sister to the Earl of Essex, but had no issue by her (*n*).

(*m*) B. III. ch. 1. intituled, The Method of forming and grinding glasses for Telescopes, &c.

(*n*) Peerage of England, in the Essex family.

examining and rejecting two or three hypotheses, by which he attempted to solve them, at last he conjectured, that all these phænomena proceeded from the progressive motion of light, and the earth's annual motion in her orbit. For he perceived, that if light was propagated not instantly but in time, the apparent place of a fixt object would not be the same when the eye is at rest, as when it is moving in any other direction than that of a line passing through the eye and object; and that when the eye is moving in different directions, the apparent place of the object would be different. Mr Bradley having applied his observations to the parallax in declination of stars in any situation whatever, to his theory further pursued, assures us, they all conspire to prove that the greatest parallax is about 40 or 41 seconds, and thinks the medium $40''\frac{1}{2}$ cannot differ so much as one second from the truth. Hence the velocity of star-light comes out 10210 times greater than the velocity of the earth's motion round the sun. From what has been said Mr Bradley infers: 1. That the lights of all those stars arrive at the earth with equal velocities. 2. That unless their distances from us are all equal (which for other reasons besides that of their different lustre, is highly improbable) their lights are propagated uniformly to all distances from them. 3. That the velocity of star-light is such as carries it through a space equal to the sun's distance from us in $8' 13''$, this time being to the time in which the earth might describe that distance with the velocity of her mean motion round the sun as 1 to 10210, and this latter time to half a year, as the diameter of a circle to it's circumference. 4. That the time so determined can scarce differ 5 or 10 seconds from the truth, which is such a degree of exactness, as can never be expected from the eclipses of Jupiter's satellites. 5. That as this determination of the velocity of star-light comes out a medium, among several determinations, of the velocity of the sun's light reflected from those satellites; we may reasonably conclude, that the velocities of these lights are equal. And lastly, since it is highly probable that the velocity of the sun's emitted light is also equal to that of star-light; it is equally probable, that it's velocity is not altered by reflection into the same medium. Upon this theory farther pursued, Mr Bradley proceeds synthetically, by assuming the *maximum* of apparent parallax as determined above, and calculating tables of the differences in declination of *γ draconis* situated near the solstitial colure, and of *γ ursæ majoris* nearer to the equinoctial than the solstitial colure; and by comparing the tables with his observations, he found they agreed together throughout the year, sometimes in the very same number of seconds, and that in 50 or 60 observations of each star, they never differed so much as two seconds, allowing for the variation of declination caused by the regression of the equinoctial points: Which amounts to a physical demonstration of the truth of this theory, and does in consequence afford a very satisfactory answer to the point in question, concerning the real parallax and distance of the fixt stars. As to which he believes he may venture to say, that the real parallax in either of the stars abovementioned does not amount to $2''$, being of opinion that if it were $1''$, he should have perceived it in the great number of observations that he made, especially upon *γ draconis*; which agreeing with the theory, without allowing any thing for a real parallax nearly, as well when the sun was in conjunction with, as in opposition to, this star; it seemed to him very probable, that it's real parallax is not so great as one single second; and consequently that it is above 400000 times further from us than the sun. Thence it follows, that the light by which we now see any fixt star, must have been emitted from it above six years before, so that our seeing the fixt stars in any night whatsoever, is so far from being a proof of their real existence that night, that notwithstanding our sight of them, they may have been extinguished and destroyed above six years ago. A consequence so startling to the comprehension of ordinary readers, who are not qualified to enter into the demonstration, that they are apt to call the truth of it in question upon this very account. And as the certainty of that depends principally upon the great accuracy of the instrument made use of in the observations, Dr Smith has given a draught and description of it from a memorandum of Mr Molyneux (4). P

(4) Opticks, art. 1200, and Fig. 687.

MONK [George], Duke of Albemarle, the renowned restorer of King Charles the Second to his crown and kingdoms, was descended of a family, settled so early as the reign of Henry the Third [*A*], at Potheridge in Devonshire, where he was born on the sixth of December 1608. He was likewise chiefly educated there by his grandfather and godfather Sir George Smith, with whom he mostly resided. He dedicated himself to arms from his youth, no provision being expected from his father Sir Thomas Monk; whose reduced fortune, however, brought an affront upon him, which was resented by our young warriour in such a spirited manner [*B*], as obliged him to enter into the service sooner than was

[*A*] *Descended of an ancient family.*] When our General was really possessed of the supreme power of the nation in 1659, several of his flatterers sollicited him to assume the crown (1); and in order to satisfy the people in such a case, there came out a pamphlet asserting his claim thereto (2): wherein it was observed, that Sir Thomas Monk of Potheridge married Frances, one of the daughters and co heirs of Arthur Plantagenet, which Sir Thomas, was also grandson to Humphry Monk of Potheridge, by his wife Mary, daughter and co-heir of Richard Champernoon of Cornwall, who was descended by the female line, from Edmund Earl of Cornwall son to Richard, king of the Romans (3).

[*B*] *Was resented by our young warriour in such a spirited manner.*] Sir Thomas was in danger of being taken in execution, at the time that King Charles the First made a progress into the west, and came to Plymouth to review the forces intended for the Spanish expedition; and being willing to make an appearance suitable to his rank, on that publick occasion, he sent his son George, to make a present to the Under-Sheriff of the county, and intreat him not to execute his warrant against him at that particular time: the Under-Sheriff accepted the gratuity, and promised forbearance; notwithstanding which, he afterwards publickly arrested

(1) Echard's History of England, p. 757.

(2) It was intituled, the Pedigree and Descent of his Excellency General George Monk; setting forth how he is descended from King Edward III. by a branch and slip of the White Rose, the House of York; and likewise his extraction from Richard King of the Romans.

(3) Skinner's Life of Monk, in fine.

was intended, which rendered it neceffary for him, when not quite feventeen years of age, to enter as a volunteer under his kinfman Sir Richard Greenvile, then lying at Plymouth, and juft upon fetting out under Lord Wimbledon, on the ill-concerted and worfe executed expedition againft Spain (*d*). The ill fuccefs which attended our young volunteer's firft effay, neither damped his courage nor changed his martial inclination; for the very next year he obtained a pair of colours under Sir John Burroughs, in the expedition to the ifle of Rheé and Rochell; wherein Mr Skinner obferves (*e*), *It is not eafy to fay which were greater, the misfortunes of the Englifh or their courage.* From hence he returned at the end of that war in 1628, and the following year, being then juft of age, he ferved as Enfign in the Low Countries, firft under Lord Oxford, and then under Lord Goring, by whom he was promoted to the rank of Captain of his own company (*f*). In this ftation he was concerned in feveral fieges and battles; and having, in ten years fervice, by a fteady and clofe application to the duties of his profeffion, made himfelf an abfolute mafter of the art military, and become extremely ufeful to the fervice, he retired on a difguft given him by the Prince of Orange [*C*], and returned to his native country, juft on the breaking out of the firft war between King Charles the Firft and his Scotifh fubjects (*g*). The Captain's reputation, backed by the powerful recommendations of the Earl of Leicefter and Lady Carlifle (*h*), procured him the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in the regiment belonging to Lord Newport; in which poft he ferved in both the King's northern expeditions: wherein what little was performed the Lieutenant-Colonel had an ample fhare in; and, perhaps, it was none of that prince's leaft misfortunes, that our hero had fo fmall a portion of power and influence at that critical conjuncture [*C* 2.] The treaty commenced at Rippon, and the fummoning a Parliament, had fcarce put an end to the Scotch war, when the horrid Irifh rebellion broke out; to quell which, Lord Leicefter was appointed to fucceed the late Earl of Strafford, who went with Colonel Monk there (that Lord having raifed him to that poft in his own regiment), where he did fuch confiderable fervice, that the Lords-Juftices appointed him Governor of Dublin (*i*); but the Parliament intervening, that authority was vefted in another: and foon after, the Colonel returned to England with his regiment, along with the reft of the forces fent by the Marquis of Ormond, on his figning a truce with the Irifh rebels, purfuant to the King's orders; which was done on the 15th of September, 1643. But on the Colonel's arrival at Briftol, he was met by orders fent both from Ireland and Oxford, directing Lord Hawley, Governor of Briftol, to fecure him 'till further orders (*k*) [*D*]. However, his Lordfhip (on being informed of the unjuft fufpicions entertained of the Colonel, purely for being an officer under the Earl of Leicefter, who was nominated by the Parliament to command the forces raifed, and paid by them for the Irifh fervice; and from a fear that he might not willingly enter into a war againft thofe whofe pay he received; and being fatisfied he had no fort of inclination to fide with them), fuffered him to proceed to Oxford on his bare parole; where he fo fully juftified himfelf to Lord Digby, the then Secretary of State, that he was by that nobleman

(*d*) Sir William Monfon's Naval Tracts. Lediard's Naval Hiftory. Lives of the Admirals. The fleet failed from Plymouth 19 Octob. 1625.

(*e*) P. 13.

(*f*) Skinner, p. 14. Lives Englifh and Foreign, p. 128. Lives of the Admirals, &c. p. 339.

(*g*) Iidem ibid.

(*h*) Skinner, p. 18. Lives Englifh and Foreign, p. 129. Campbell, p. 339.

(*i*) Skinner, p. 20. Lives Englifh and Foreign, p. 129. Campbell, p. 340.

(*k*) Iidem ibid.

arrefted Sir Thomas in the face of the county. Our young gentleman was fo irritated at this fcandalous treatment of his father, that he went to Exeter, and firft upbraided, and then caned, the Under Sheriff very feverely for his double dealing. The Attorney immediately applied for legal redrefs, and to avoid the fuit, young Mr Monk was obliged to fhelter himfelf in the King's fervice (4). Whether on his fo abfconding his adverfary dropped a fruitlefs profecution, or whether it was afterwards compounded, is unknown.

(4) Skinner, p. 12. Lives Englifh and Foreign, p. 127. Lives of the Admirals, p. 338.

[*C*] *He retired on a difguft given him by the Prince of Orange.*] Captain Monk having winter quarters affigned him at Dort, fome of his foldiers were guilty of diforders; for which, when he would have punifhed them by martial law (he always maintaining a very ftrict difcipline amongft his men) the civil magiftrates interfered, and would take cognizance of the affair themfelves, infifting that they could not permit any one within their diftricts, to exercife a diftinct authority equal to their own. The Captain claimed his proper jurifdiction, as it was rather a military than a civil affair; but the burghers would not recede from their pretenfions, which drew on fo warm a conteft, that the affair was laid before the Prince of Orange; who, although in a parallel inftance, he determined in favour of the fword, in the cafe of Sir Richard Cave, yet now fuffered himfelf to be fo far influenced by the counfel of the Heer de Wit (5) (father of the de Wits, who made it their conftant endeavours to deprive his fon of every honour his high birth entitled him to) that he pronounced fentence in the behalf of the Burghers, who thereupon, obliged Captain Monk to quit Dort, and take up with much worfe quarters (6). This publick affront the Captain (who feldom forgot or forgave one, as the Dutch afterwards experienced to their coft) could not put up with, and therefore he threw up his commiffion, and returned to England (7).

(5) Lives Englifh and Foreign, p. 128.

(6) Id. ibid.

(7) Skinner, p. 15. Campbell, p. 339.

[*C* 2.] *That our hero had fo fmall a portion of power and influence at that critical conjuncture.*] Lord Newport being General of the Ordnance the Scots preffed fo hard on his quarters, that the artillery was in great danger of falling into their hands, and was faved chiefly by the courage and conduct of the Lieutenant-Colonel, who difpofed his men to fuch advantage, the Scots durft not venture to attack him in his retreat to Newcaftle, where the whole train was feized by the enemy (8). Dr Skinner alfo relates, that 'When the Earl of Strafford, General of the Army, moved the King, inftead of treating further with fuch infolent rebels, to give him leave to charge them; Lieutenant-Colonel Monk was one of thofe few that earneftly urged a battle, and gave very good reafons for the fecurity of the event; and was many times afterwards heard to difcourfe it with a particular indignation, that fo brave a force of horfe and foot, *able to have reduced a better army than the Covenanters could have raifed, and another kind of kingdom than Scotland*, fhould be fo bafely betrayed and baffled by thofe, who had influence upon or betrayed the counfels of the late King (9).'

(8) Skinner, p. 18. Rapin, fol. edit. 1733, p. 322.

(9) Id. ibid.

[*D*] *Directing Lord Hawley - - - - to fecure him 'till further orders.*] Ludlow, in his Memoirs (10), tells us the Colonel made fome fcruple to quit the Irifh fervice, and engage in that againft the Parliament in England; and was for that reafon fecured on board a fhip, while thofe forces were embarking, left he fhould have obftructed their going over. This feems to have fome foundation, fince Dr Skinner takes notice (11), that the Marquis fent orders, as well as Lord Digby, to Lord Hawley, to fecure the Colonel as foon as he fhould arrive at Briftol; and there is no doubt but that it was thefe ill impreffions which prevailed on the King to take away his commiffion fo fuddenly Mr Campbell fays, Major Warren was not eafily prevailed upon to accept the regiment (12).

(10) Ludlow's Memoirs, fol. edit. 1751, p. 30.

(11) Skinner's Life of Monk, p. 21.

(12) Lives of the Admirals, Vol. II. p. 340.

man introduced to his Majesty: but his regiment was given to Colonel Warren, who had been his Major. In order to make him amends for this precipitancy, the King raised him to the rank of Major-General in the Irish brigade, then commanded by Lord Byron, and employed in the siege of Nantwich in Cheshire; to which post Major-General Monk speedily repaired, but arrived only time enough to share in the unfortunate surprisal of that whole brigade by Sir Thomas Fairfax, who brought a considerable body of the Parliament's forces to the relief of that place; from whence he sent to Hull, amongst the other prisoners, the Major-General, who was in a short time conveyed from thence to the Tower of London, where he remained in close confinement 'till the 13th of November, 1646; when, at the sollicitation of his kinsman Lord Lisle (eldest son to the Earl of Leicester), who, on the Marquis of Ormond's declaring for the King, was made Deputy of that kingdom by the Parliament, he took the Covenant, engaged with the Parliament, and agreed to accept a command under them in the Irish service, as the only means to be enlarged from his tedious confinement (*l*) [*E*]. Lord Leicester and the Colonel set out on their journey to Ireland the 28th of January after; but as the Marquis of Ormond refused obedience to the orders of the Parliament, nor would deliver up the city of Dublin to their Deputy without the King's command; Lord Lisle and his forces were obliged to steer for Cork, near which they landed; but not being able to do any great matters, and his Lordship's commission expiring, on the 17th of April he embarked again for England, together with Colonel Monk (*m*): who was not long in a state of inactivity, having the command in chief of all the Parliament's forces in the north of Ireland conferred upon him, together with the regiment late Colonel Broket's (*n*); whereupon he returned for the third time to Ireland, and landed at Belfast (*o*). The Scots under the command of Major-General Monroe refusing to join the English in the service of the Parliament, Colonel Monk was prevented from entering into action so soon as he chose; but being joined by Colonel Michael Jones, he made large amends [*F*], and disputed the possession of Ulster very warmly with Owen Roe O'Neal, obliging him to raise the siege of Londonderry; and by securing the corn and forage, and laying waste the country, almost famished his army (*q*): he likewise managed so well the tilling and improving those parts in his possession, and was so provident in disposing the booties from time to time brought in by his parties, that he made the Irish war nearly maintain itself, 'The Parliament at Westminster, says Mr Skinner (*r*), having too many irons in the fire, to take any care of 'money or provision for an army in the north of Ireland.' Yet, notwithstanding these small

(*l*) Skinner, p. 27. Lives English and foreign, p. 131. Lives of the Admirals. &c. p. 340. Rapin, p. 527.

(*m*) Skinner. p. 28.

(*n*) Lives English and Foreign, p. 132.

(*o*) Id ibid. Skinner, p. 30. Campbell, p. 342.

(*q*) Lives English and Foreign, p. 133. Skinner, p. 31. Lives of the Admirals, &c. p. 342.

(*r*) P. 31.

[*E*] *As the only means to be enlarged from his tedious confinement.*] The Major-General's father dying just before he was confined (13), and leaving him (as his second son) only a small annuity, which was now but very ill paid, he was reduced to great hardships in prison; and would have suffered still more, had not the King sent him an hundred pounds (a great sum for his Majesty then much distressed) from Oxford; and his brother furnished him with the like sum at two different payments, as we find by the following letter sent by him to his elder brother, Thomas Monk, Esq; 'I 'wrote unto you by Captain Bley, in which letter I 'did desire you to send me some money. I have re'ceived fifty pounds by your order long since, for 'which I return you many thanks. My necessities 'are such, that they inforce me to intreat you to 'furnish me with fifty pounds more, as soon as pos'sible you may, and you shall very much oblige me 'in it. I shall intreat you to be mindful of me, con'cerning my exchange, for, I doubt, all my friends 'have forgotten me. I earnestly intreat you therefore, 'if it lies in your power, to remember me concerning 'my liberty; and so, in haste, I rest,

'Your faithful brother

From the Tower this 6th of Novemb. 1644 (14). 'and servant

'George Monk.'

Notwithstanding the neglect and pressures mentioned in this letter, he would never listen to any terms made him by the Parliamentarians, whilst the King had any army on foot, *though he wanted not many and good offers for his enlargement, upon acceptance of a commission to serve them* (15); but now, the King being in the hands of his enemies, and Lord Lisle, from whom he had received many favours whilst in prison, offering him a Colonel's commission, he readily embraced it, as he had been engaged against the Irish rebels before, to oppose whom to the utmost, he thought was entirely consistent with the duty he owed, and had hitherto inviolably maintained, to the King: in which sentiment he went to take his leave of his fellow-prisoners, and particularly of Dr Matthew Wren, Bishop of Ely, whose blessing he requested, telling him, *He was now going to do the King the best service he could against the rebels in Ireland, and hoped he should one day do him further service in* England (16). The writer of his life in that collection called *Lives English and Foreign*, gives another turn to this incident, suggesting that he was guilty of ingratitude to the King; for having mentioned the hundred pounds which he received from the royal bounty, 'Yet, (says he) not 'long after, when my Lord Lisle succeeded his father, 'the Earl of Leicester, in the government of Ireland, 'the Colonel hearkened to the offers that were made 'him by the new Deputy, who held his power of the 'Parliament. He proposed to Monk his enlargement 'and a regiment, if he would qualify himself, and 'November 13th, 1646, the Colonel made his appli'cation to the House of Lords, informing them, that 'he had taken the solemn League and Covenant, and 'was ready to take the negative oath. On which 'compliance the Lords recommended him to the Com'mons to grant him a commission, in consideration of 'his valour and his skill in military affairs. The Com'mons, believing they might trust him after he had 'given such convincing proofs of his good disposition 'towards them, agreed to the desire of the Lords.' This resolution was carried with only the single negative of Mr William Cawley (17). It were no difficult matter to justify Colonel Monk from this charge of ingratitude, for accepting the command now offered him; but perhaps it is not easy to vindicate his behaviour from 1648 to 1659.

[*F*] *He made large amends.*] He first carried Bellahor Castle by storm, and then took Nabor; and then, with the assistance of Colonel Jones, drove the Irish from Port-Lester and Asboy, and carried off a great booty. He likewise defeated and took Major-General Monroe, whom he sent to England by order of the Parliament, who gave Captain Brough 200 *l.* for that service, and voted 500 *l.* to Colonel Monk, constituting him Governour of Carrickfergus and Belfast, for the same, and for the victory he had obtained the 24th of May 1648, over Macartey, killing eight hundred of his men, and taking as many prisoners, with all their arms and baggage (18).

(13) Skinner, p. 24.

(14) Webster's Preface to Skinner's Life of General Monk, &c. p. 19, 20.

(15) Skinner, p. 26.

(16) Skinner, p. 28. Campbell, p. 341.

(17) Lives English and Foreign, p. 131, 132. Ludlow's Memoirs, fol. p. 66.

(18) Lives English and Foreign, p. 131.

small successes, the superiority of the Marquis of Ormond and Lord Inchequin, at the head of the Royalists, and the unconquerable distrust of the Scots, to whom most of his garrison of Dundalk revolted on their approach to that place, reduced him to the necessity of entering into a treaty with that bold Irish leader; who deceiving him, he was obliged to surrender Dundalk to Lord Inchequin, and return to England, where he was called to an account by the Parliament, for having treated with the Irish rebels: an affront he never forgave (s) [G]. He was perhaps the more offended with this treatment, as he was not employed in the reduction of Ireland under Oliver Cromwell, who, all accounts agree, received considerable advantage from this very treaty made between O'Neal and the Colonel (t). During this inactivity, his elder brother dying without issue male, the family estate by entail devolved upon him, and he repaired it from the ruinous condition in which his father and brother had left it (u). He had scarce settled his private affairs, when he was called to serve against the Scots (who had proclaimed King Charles the Second in that kingdom) under Oliver Cromwell, by whom he was made Lieutenant-General of the Artillery, and had a regiment given him, composed of six companies taken out of Fenwick's, and six out of Sir Arthur Haslerig's (w). In this post he was extremely serviceable to Cromwell, particularly at the famous battle of Dunbar; where personally charging and routing Lower's regiment, he led the way to that compleat victory there obtained by the English forces (x) [H]. After this victory, the Lieutenant-General was employed in dispersing a body of irregulars, known by the name of Moss-troopers; and reducing Darlington, Roswell, Brothwick, and Tantallon, castles, where they used to harbour (y). He was also concerned in settling the articles for the surrender of Edinburgh-castle (z); and being left Commander in Chief in Scotland, at the head of six thousand men, by Cromwell, when he returned to England in pursuit of King Charles the Second, he besieged and took Sterling, and carried Dundee by storm; where he behaved with great cruelty (aa), putting Lunsdaine, the Governor, and 800 men, to the sword. Soon after this, St Andrews and Aberdeen having also submitted to him (bb), he was seized with a violent fit of illness, which obliged him in 1652 to have recourse to the Bath for his recovery (cc): returning from whence, he set out again for Scotland, as one of the commissioners for uniting that kingdom with the new-erected English Commonwealth; which having

(s) Iidem ibid. Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 143.

(t) Skinner, ubi supra.

(u) Idem, p. 33.

(w) Lives English and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 135, 136. Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 126. Lives of the Admirals, Vol. II. p. 344.

(x) Lives English and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 136. Skinner's Life of Monk, p. 38. Lives of the Admirals, Vol. II. p. 344.

(y) Lives English and Foreign, ubi supra. Life of Oliver Cromwell, 8vo. 1743, p. 183.

(z) Heath's Flagellum, p. 102.

(aa) Flagellum, p. 112. Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 141. Lives English and foreign, Vol. II. p. 137. Life of Oliver Cromwell, p. 212.

(bb) Lives English and Foreign, Vol. II. ubi sup.

(cc) Skinner, p. 41. Lives of the Admirals, Vol. II. p. 345.

[G] *An affront he never forgave.*] There are very different accounts of this transaction; Monk, says one writer (19), landed at Chester the 24th of July, and went to London the 31st. He was summoned to appear before the House, who, after hearing him at the bar, passed this vote the 10th of August 1649. *That they did disapprove of what Major-General Monk had done, in concluding a peace with the grand and bloody Irish rebel Owen Roe O'Neal, and did abhor the having any thing to do with him therein. Yet are easily persuaded, that the making the same by the said Major-General, was in his judgment for the most advantage of the English interest in that nation. And that he shall not be further questioned for the same in time to come.* This vote highly offended the Major-General, though not so much as some passages in the House, reflecting on his honour and fidelity. It was the opinion of several of the members, either not to have questioned him at all, or not to have employed him afterwards; and some have thought he never forgot the printing and publishing his treaty with O'Neal, and his defence of it. Monk's friends endeavoured to clear his reputation; his reasons for agreeing with O'Neal were also printed, yet nothing could wipe off the stain of his treating with the bloody Irish rebels, 'till it was forgot in his future fortune. Ludlow, though a Member of that Parliament, takes no notice of the proceeding against the Colonel, or of the vote which the last writer mentions: but seems to think he was not guilty of any thing wrong, or at least, that they had no proof, for he says *he met with a cold reception from the Parliament*, upon suggestion *that he had corresponded with the Irish rebels* (20). That Dr Skinner passed this over slightly, is not to be wondered at; it contradicted his plan, which was to prove the Colonel always retained his loyalty: and his refusing to join the Lords Ormond, and Inchequin, and Monroe, who all resented the Parliament's putting the King to death, the two former openly declaring for Chales the Second, was too gross a defection to be palliated, therefore the doctor wisely hurried it over. Mr Campbell, the last writer who mentions this transaction, relates it in the following terms: 'In the spring of the 'year 1649, Colonel Monk found himself in so 'weak a condition by the desertion brought on his ar'my through the detestation the soldiers had of the 'King's murder, that he was constrained to enter into 'a treaty with this Owen Roe O'Neal; which cer'tainly saved the few troops he had under his com'mand, and thereby preserved the Parliament's inte'rest in that country. However, it gave such offence, 'that on his return, he was subjected to a strict enqui'ry by the House of Commons, who after a very full 'hearing of the matter, came to a resolution against 'the treaty, but in justification of Monk's intentions 'therein, which tho' but a partial censure, some 'think the General never forgot (21).' This gentleman differs widely in his account from the other three, making the treaty with O'Neal to be the effect of that revolt or desertion, which all the others say it was the cause of: it is true he owns this to be *one of the darkest parts of his history* (22), and supposes, on the authority of Ludlow, (who, by the way, gives no foundation for such a supposition) that Monk did nothing but under direction in that treaty. Ludlow indeed says (23), that much about the time of the Colonel's return from Dundalk, there was a private application made to the Council of State, by an agent of O'Neal's in order to obtain terms from the Parliament, but that his proposals were too extravagant, and that therefore he was not regarded. How the delivering Dundalk to the Lord Inchequin, then in arms for the King, contributed to securing the Parliament's interest in Ireland, or how the revolting of the Colonel's forces to the Scots, *saved the few troops under his command*, are difficulties that must, with the rest, be submitted to the reader's determination.

(19) Id. p. 133.

(20) Ludlow's Memoirs, ubi supra.

(21) Lives of the Admirals, &c. Vol. II. p. 341.

(22) Id. p. 342.

(23) P. 114.

[H] *He led the way to that compleat victory.*] Mr Campbell mentioning Cromwell's distressful situation before the battle, tells us, that he called a Council of War, in which opinions were divided, 'till General Monk delivered his in these words: '*Sir, the* Scots *have numbers and the hills, those are their advantages; we have discipline and despair, two things that will make soldiers fight; and these are ours. My advice therefore is, to attack them immediately; which, if you follow, I am ready to command the van.*' This author adds, *His proposal being accepted, he began the attack, and, as* Ludlow *acknowledges, was the instrument of that victory which gained* Cromwell *so great reputation* *. The acknowledgement, indeed, is made by many other writers (24), but not by Ludlow; and though he mentions the Council of War and the result of it (25), yet he takes no notice of Monk's opinion in particular.

* Lives of the Admirals, Vol. II. p. 344, 345.

(24) Heath's Flagellum, 12mo. 1663, p. 98. Lives English and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 136. Skinner's Life of Monk, p. 33.

(25) Memoirs, p. 126. edit. 1751.

[I] *The*

having brought to a fuccefsful conclufion, he returned with the others again to London (dd). The Dutch war having now been carried on for fome months, Lieutenant-General Monk, on the death of Colonel Popham (ee), was joined with the Admirals Blake and Dean in the command at fea; in which fervice he had made his firft military effay, as has been before related, and on the fecond of June, 1653, he, by his courage and conduct, contributed greatly to the defeat then given to the Dutch fleet (ff) [I], and likewife to the next obtained on the 31ft of July following [K]. While General Monk and the other Admirals were thus triumphing over the nation's enemies, and increafing the honour of the Commonwealth abroad, Cromwell was paving his way to the fupremacy at home, which, on the 16th of December 1653, he obtained under the title of Protector. In this capacity he foon concluded a peace with the Dutch, who obtained much more favourable terms from him, than what the Council of State and Parliament had appeared willing to grant. General Monk, who lay with his fleet on the Dutch coaft, remonftrated fo warmly againft this peace, and thofe remonftrances were fo well received by Oliver's own (called the Little or Barebones) Parliament; and Monk, on his return, was treated fo kindly by them, that Oliver is faid to grow jealous of him to that degree, that he clofeted him, to find whether he was inclined to any other intereft; but receiving fatisfaction from the General on this head, he not only took him into favour, but on the breaking out of frefh troubles in the north of Scotland, where the Marquis of Athol, the Earl of Glencairne, Major-General Middleton, and feveral more of the nobility and others, had raifed forces on the behalf of King Charles the Second, fent him down there Commander in Chief, for which poft he fet out in April 1654 (kk). Arriving at Leith, he fent Colonel Morgan with a large detachment againft the Royalifts; and having affifted in proclaiming the Protector at Edinburgh, on the 14th of May, followed himfelf with the reft of the forces. Thro' the General's prudent management this war was finifhed by Auguft [L], when he returned from the Highlands, and fixed his abode at Dalkeith, a feat belonging to the Countefs of Buccleugh, within four or five miles of Edinburgh, where he conftantly refided during the remaining time (which was five years) that he ftaid in Scotland; amufing himfelf with the pleafures of a rural life, and beloved by the people, though his government was more abfolute than any of their princes had dared to practice (ll). The war in Scotland being put an end to thus fpeedily and happily for the Protector, he appointed a Council of State for that part of his government, confifting of the Lord Broghill; General Monk; Colonel Howard, created Earl of Carlifle after the Reftoration; Colonel William Lockhart; Colonel

(dd) Iidem ibid.

(ee) Lives of the Admirals, Vol. II. p. 346.

(ff) Ludlow, p. 177, 178.

(kk) Lives Englifh and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 145. Skinner, p. 57. Lives of the Admirals, p. 348.

(ll) Skinner, p. 63. Lives of the Admirals, Vol. II. p. 349.

[I] *The defeat then given to the Dutch fleet.*] In May 1653, Monk and Dean (who were both on board the Refolution) failed with the Englifh fleet, confifting of ninety-five fhips of war and five fire-fhips, towards the coafts of Holland; while Van Tromp, with ninety-eight men of war and fix fire-fhips, came before Dover, which he canonaded all the 28th of that month: but receiving advice that Monk and Dean were approaching, he went to meet them, and prepared for battle. The fight began about eleven in the morning; and Admiral Dean was killed the firft broadfide, by General Monk's fide; who, throwing his cloak over the body, gave orders for continuing the fight, which was maintained with great obftinacy all that day, the enemy (as no flag was ftruck) not knowing we had loft one of our Admirals (26). General Monk purfued the enemy all that night, and re-engaged them the next day, when he was joined by Admiral Blake, who commanded a fquadron of eighteen fhips, which feafonable affiftance put an end to the difpute, after a very fierce engagement which lafted about four hours, when Tromp fairly fled. The Dutch had fix fhips funk, two blown up, and eleven taken, with about thirteen hundred men. The Englifh loft no fhip, had about one hundred and fifty private men killed, and twenty wounded, and Dean and one Captain killed (27). The Dutch were commanded by Van Tromp, De Ruyter, the two Evertzens, and De Witt; and the Englifh by Monk and Dean in the beginning, by Monk alone the latter part of the firft day, and by him and Blake the fecond.

[K] *The next defeat on the 31ft of July.*] Ludlow obferves, that in this Dutch war, of which this fecond defeat was the finifhing ftroke, we took, funk, and deftroyed, between fourteen and fifteen hundred of their fhips (29); and General Monk tells Cromwell in a letter dated Auguft 2d, 1693; that out of five Dutch flags which were flying at the beginning, he himfelf had fortunately fetched down three during the action, which was more obftinate and bloody, from his having ordered his fhips to give no quarter (which he did to prevent weakening his fleet by fending fhips out of it to take care of the prizes which might be taken) notwithftanding which fevere orders, near twelve hundred Dutchmen were taken out of the fea by our fhips (30). We are alfo informed by the authors cited in the margin, that Oliver Cromwell induced his Parliament to fend gold chains to the four Englifh Admirals, and upon General Monk's attending on the day of thankfgiving for this victory, the Protector, at a publick city entertainment, put the chain himfelf about the General's neck, and obliged him to wear it during the feaft.

(26) Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 177, 178. Lives Englifh and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 139, 140. Skinner, p. 46. Lives of the Admirals, Vol. II. p. 181.

(27) Iidem ibid.

(29) Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 179. Mr Campbell fays 1700, valued at fix millions. Lives of the Admirals, Vol. II. p. 190.

(30) Lives Englifh and Foreign, ubi fupra. Life of Monk, ibid. Lives of the Admirals, Vol. II. p. 186.

[L] *This war was finifhed in Auguft.*] Major-General Middleton's brother, and five or fix more of the King's officers being taken at Muffelburgh, Monk hanged two of them for fpies, and burned the inn where they were found, for harbouring them (31). In the beginning of June, he furprized a party of the Royalifts, and took four and twenty horfes near Douglafs caftle, and on approaching the mountains, fummoned and reduced the garrifon of Lough Tay: in July he took Fofs and Loch-Gary, and built a fort at Lochaber; on the 20th of July Colonel Morgan routed Middleton's horfe near Loch gary, taking three hundred prifoners, and wounding their leader, whom the General purfued clofely for fome time, 'till his forces were diminifhed to not more than a hundred; then leaving them to Colonel Morgan, he went and wafted the Lord Glencairn's, and Glencameron's lands (32): he alfo publifhed a proclamation, fetting a price on the heads of Major General Middleton, the Earls of Athol and Seaforth, the Lord Vifcount Kenmure, and Major General Dalziel, for killing each of whom, or bringing them prifoners to any Englifh garrifon, he offered two hundred pounds reward (33); nor would he fuffer any of the nobility or gentry to wear fwords, or to keep or ufe any horfes of value, nor to exercife any jurifdiction over their inferiors or fervants (34). He alfo harraffed the Prefbyterians, taking from them the power of excommunication and forbidding them to hold their general affemblies (35). Dr Skinner mentions thefe tranfactions with applaufe, but wifely fkips over all his acts againft the royal intereft during his government of Scotland, as well knowing they did not exactly agree with thofe fentiments of loyalty, he would fain perfuade the world, the General always preferved.

(31) Lives Englifh and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 146.

(32) Id. ibid. & feqq.

(33) Lives of the Admirals, Vol. II. p. 349. Thurloe's Papers, Vol. II. p. 261.

(34) Skinner's Life of Monk, p. 65.

(35) Id. p. 64.

[M] To

Colonel Adrian Scroop; Colonel John Whetham; and Major-General Desborough (*mm*); who came to Scotland in September 1655, and began to exercise their authority, which was very extensive [*M*]. The majority of these commissioners (three of whom, Lord Broghill, Colonel Howard, and Colonel Whetham, were afterwards very instrumental in the Restoration) concurred with General Monk in almost every thing he proposed, by which means the government of Scotland still remained chiefly in his hands; which, together with his affable behaviour towards the better sort of all parties, made Cromwell begin to entertain some suspicions of him: and, in order to prevent his influence from growing too powerful, the Protector used to make frequent changes in the forces under his command, by recalling such regiments as were most trusted by the General, and sending in their rooms those who were most violent and refractory at home; who gave him much trouble to bring them into order, and make them submit to that discipline which he obliged all under him strictly to observe. Nor was this distrust entirely without some appearance of foundation; it is certain the King entertained good hopes of him, and to that purpose wrote to him from Colen on the 12th of August 1655. However, the General made no scruple of discovering every step taken by the Cavaliers which came to his knowledge, even to the sending the Protector this letter [*N*], and joined in promoting addresses to him from the army in Scotland, one of which was most graciously received by the Protector the 19th of March 1657, and the same year he received a summons to Oliver's House of Lords (*nn*). About this time George, second son of General Monk, died in his infancy, which was a great affliction to his father, who was doatingly fond of him [*O*]. From this period to the death of Oliver, the General maintained Scotland in absolute subjection, and lived free from all disturbance, not intermeddling further with the mad politicks of those times, than to put what orders he received from England punctually into execution; in pursuance of which plan he proclaimed Richard Cromwell Protector there after his father's death, Richard having dispatched Dr (afterwards Sir) Thomas Clarges, then Commissioner of the Scotch and Irish forces, whose sister the General had some time before owned for his wife, with letters to him; to which he returned a suitable and respectful answer, aiming only at securing his own command (*oo*); at the same time joining with the rest of the officers and army under his command, in an address to the new Protector, whose power he might easily foresee would have but a short date, it having been his opinion that Oliver, had he lived much longer, would scarce have been able to preserve himself in his station (*pp*). And indeed Cromwell began to be apprehensive of that great alteration which happened in the government, and fearful that the General was deeply engaged in those measures which procured it; if we may judge from a letter wrote by him to General Monk but a little while before his death, to which was added the following remarkable postscript: 'There be that tell me, that there is a certain cunning fellow in Scotland called George Monk, who is said to lie in wait there to introduce Charles Stuart; I pray you use your diligence to apprehend him and send him up to me (*qq*).' However, as Clarges had informed him by Richard's order, that his

(*mm*) Their commission bore date in June 1655. Skinner's Life of Monk, p. 66.

(*nn*) Lives English and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 149. Life of Oliver Cromwell, p. 368. Rapin.

(*oo*) Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 234, 245. Lives English and Foreign, p. 151. Skinner's Life of Monk, p. 75. Rapin, edit. 1733, Vol. II. p. 603. Echard, edit. 1720, B. iii. p. 746.

(*pp*) Iidem ibid.

(*qq*) Life of Cromwell, p. 386. Echard, ubi sup. Skinner's Life of Monk, p. 72. Lives of the Admirals, p. 351.

[*M*] *To exercise their authority, which was very extensive.*] 'They were (says Dr Skinner) enabled to order and dispose of the revenues in Scotland, to appoint the Officers of the Exchequer, the Commissioners of Excise and Customs, and of the Sequestrations, and all subordinate officers under them. They had also the nomination of all Justices of the Peace, of Sheriffs and Commissaries in the several counties; which Commissaries kept their courts for probate of wills and granting administrations in their respective limits And by an additional power from Cromwell, they were afterwards authorized to approve and allow of all incumbents that were to be admitted into any ecclesiastical benefice (36).' Before the issuing of this commission by the Protector, Overton, a Fifth-Monarchy-man, and Major-General of all the forces in Scotland, with others of his principles and party, had been engaged deeply in designs against Oliver and General Monk, who they intended to have assassinated by the hands of Miles Syndercombe, whom General Monk had disbanded out of Overton's corps, and who was afterwards engaged, and convicted, for a like design against Cromwell (37). But the General having information of their schemes, watched them so narrowly, that he seized and secured all the principals, particularly, Overton, Bramstone, and Holmes; and sent the first prisoner to London, where he was, by the Protector's order, confined in the Tower, and his regiment given to Major-General Morgan (38).

(36) Skinner's Life of Monk, p. 66.

(37) Flagellum, p. 160, 180. The General was to have been secured on New-years day, 1654. Skinner, p. 68. Lives English and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 149. Life of Cromwell, p. 311.

(38) Skinner, p. 68.

[*N*] *A letter wrote by King Charles the Second to him from Colen, August 12th, 1655.*] This letter was as follows.

'Colen Aug: 12th 1655.

'One who believes he knows your nature and inclinations very well, assures me, that notwithstanding all ill accidents and misfortunes, you retain still your old affection to me, and resolve to express it upon the first seasonable opportunity; which is as much as I look for from you. We must all patiently wait for that opportunity, which may be offered sooner than we expect: when it is, let it find you ready; and in the mean time, have a care to keep yourself out of their hands, who know the hurt you can do them in a good conjuncture; and can never but suspect your affection to be, as I am confident it is, towards

'Your, &c.

'Charles Rex (39).'

(39) Webster's preface to Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 25.

[*O*] *A great affliction to his father, who was doatingly fond of him.*] We know very little concerning the mother of this child; Ludlow says she was originally an Exchange woman (40); Mr Archdeacon Echard (41) tells us she had another husband living, though unknown to the world; and all agree that she cohabited with the General for some time, before he publickly acknowledged her to be his wife: which was not done 'till about the last time of his returning from Ireland in 1649, when his elder brother died (42), though he is said to have married her in 1648 (43). Some writers stile her a low mean woman (44); others, that she was of mean circumstances and quality (45); but as they all agree her brother was a Physician, a profession that implies a birth and fortune entitled to a liberal education, perhaps they have carried their spleen too far, or implicitly followed those whose interest it was to blemish the reputation of General Monk, and all who belonged to him.

(40) Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 353.

(41) Echard, p. 746.

(42) Lives of the Admirals, Vol. II. p. 343.

(43) Lives English and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 149. But this author by mistake says it was his eldest son which died.

(44) Burnet.

(45) Lives English and Foreign, ubi supra.

his late father had expresly charged him to do nothing without his advice (which, as Mr Campbell very justly observes (rr) is not at all likely to be true); the General recommended to him to encourage a learned, pious, and moderate Ministry in the Church, to permit no Councils of Officers, a liberty they had too often abused, to call a Parliament, and to endeavour to be master of the army (ss). It is well known a Parliament was called by Richard Cromwell, and also, that by the divisions arising in the Upper House thereof, which spread their influence over the army, he was soon obliged to dissolve it [P]. The General receiving advice of these transactions, and of the deposition of Richard, readily abandoned him he had so lately proclaimed, and his brother-in-law being again sent to him from the Rump-Parliament on their restoration, he acquiesced in all they had done (as the surest way to preserve his own command), only recommending Richard to their favour (tt), and with his officers signed the engagement against Charles Stuart, or any other single person being admitted to the government. But when their Committee, consisting of ten persons (uu), began, on the information of Peirson and Mason, two republican Colonels in his army, to make considerable alterations therein, by cashiering of those officers in whom he most confided, of which his brother-in-law, Clarges, gave him information: he wrote a letter to the House, complaining of this treatment in so warm a stile, at the same time engaging for the fidelity of his officers, that they ordered their Committee not to proceed further therein 'till the General himself was consulted (ww). The Royalists were far from idle in this conjuncture; there had been a kind of secret Committee of that party, for managing affairs in behalf of the Crown, ever since the death of Charles the First (xx), among whom was Sir John Greenvile, our General's kinsman, who had lately given a very good living in Cornwall to Mr Nicholas Monk, his brother; and Sir John receiving at this time two letters from King Charles the Second, then at Brussels, one directed to himself, and the other to the General, together with a private commission to treat with the latter; the success of that overture ended, as is well known, in the restoration of the King, and the particular steps taken to compleat it have been already related in the course of this work †. On the eighth of May the General assisted at the proclamation of King Charles the Second, and having received advice by Sir Thomas Clarges, that his Majesty intended to land at Dover, on the 23d the General set out for that place (being the same day the King embarked from Holland) and lying at Rochester that night, arrived the next day at Dover, where the King landed the 25th *. The interview between the King and the General, was conformable to every one's expectation, full of duty on one side, and favour and esteem on the other (yy); the King permitting the General to ride in his coach two miles out of the town, when his Majesty took horse, and with General Monk on his left hand, and his two brothers on his right, proceeded to Canterbury, where he conferred the Order of the Garter on General Monk, the Dukes of York and Gloucester investing him with the honourable badges of that dignity (zz). From Canterbury the King removed to Rochester, where he lay on Monday the 28th, and the next morning, being his birth-day, set out for Black-heath to review the army which the General had caused to be drawn up there, and from thence proceeded to his capital, into which he made his publick entry with much magnificence (aaa). General Monk was now sworn one of the Privy-Council, made Master of the Horse, and one of the Gentlemen of the Bed-chamber, and had apartments in the Cock-pit, and was in a little time made First Lord-Commissioner of the Treasury; and in about a month afterwards was created a Peer, being made Baron Monk of Potheridge, Beauchamp, and Tees, Earl of Torrington, and Duke of Albemarle, with a grant of seven thousand pounds a year, estate of inheritance, besides other pensions (bbb); and received a very peculiar acknowledgement of regard on being thus called to the Peerage, almost the whole House of Commons attending him to the very door of the House of Lords (ccc), whither, Dr Skinner observes, he carried the same temper, moderation,

(rr) Lives of the Admirals, ut sup.

(ss) Lives English and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 150. Philips, p. 636. Rapin, ut supra.

(tt) Lives English and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 152. Echard, p. 746. Rapin, Vol. II. p. 605.

(uu) See their names in Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 248.

(ww) Lives English and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 153. Rapin, Vol. II. p. 607. Philips, p. 648.

(xx) Lives English and Foreign, p. 187. Gesta Britannorum, p. 487. Rapin, ubi supra. Echard, p. 765. says, the King did not embark 'till the 24th.

† Viz. In Sir John Greenvile's article.

* Iidem ibid.

(yy) Skinner, p. 310. Echard, p. 766. Lives English and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 187.

(zz) Lives English and Foreign, p. 188. Skinner, ubi sup.

(aaa) Skinner, p. 311. Lives English and Foreign, ubi sup. Echard, ubi sup.

(bbb) Skinner, p. 314. Lives English and Foreign, ubi sup. Lives of the Admirals, Vol. II. p. 315. Echard, p. 770.

(ccc) Skinner, ubi supra.

[P] *A Parliament was called by Richard Cromwell - - - - - and he was soon obliged to dissolve it.*] Ludlow tells us, that the other House were divided into three parties; the Republicans, the Wallingford-housemen, and the Cromwellians: the two first soon united together; and the latter, by endeavouring to steer a middle course, voting the removal of, and not the securing, those who were refractory in the army; were soon abandoned, and the Parliament dissolved, which in a short time threw the whole power into the hands of the Army, who restored the remains of the Long-Parliament, and after they had deposed Richard, turned them out again, and governed by themselves, 'till the Fleet, several towns in England, and General Monk in Scotland, declaring for the Parliament, they were obliged to re-admit the Rump to the administration of the government (46). It was during the first struggle between the Parliament and Army, a little after the deposition of Richard from the Protectorship, that Sir George Booth's insurrection, and the negotiation with General Monk mentioned in the text, were carrying on; and there is some reason to believe, that had the other confederates been as active as Sir George, the General would have declared himself sooner than he did, for Ludlow says (47), he had not only held a correspondence with Lord Fawconbridge and Colonel Howard, who retired into the North on deposing Richard; but also refused to send two regiments of foot and two of horse, which the Parliament demanded, upon the Cheshire insurrection: 'Under colour of the 'enemy's strength and inclination to revolt, tho' there 'were not wanting some who then thought that his en'gagements with the common enemy were the true 'reasons of that refusal. And it is certain, that a 'gentleman from the King had been with him, and 'tho' what passed between them was not made pub'lick, yet, since he did not seize him, as it was his 'duty, but permitted him to return safely from whence 'he came, he may justly be suspected, even then, to 'have betrayed those whom he pretended to serve '(48).' Was this more than presumptive, it would be the strongest evidence of General Monk's early endeavours to restore King Charles the Second.

(46) See Whitelocke, Clarendon, Heath, Echard, Philips, and all the writers of this period.

(47) P. 245.

(48) Id. p. 263.

[Q] *Receiving*

ration, silence, and humility, that he had shewn in the House of Commons. And a writer of his life, who does not seem over biassed in his favour, after mentioning, that by the income of his grants and places, he was enabled in eight years time to amass a fortune of four hundred thousand pounds in lands and money, adds, ' Yet we must own he was ' not overpaid for the share he had in this glorious revolution. So great a service, that ' his Majesty used to call him his Political Father, and he behaved so modestly after ' it, that the King said of him, *The Duke of Albemarle demeaned himself in such a man- ' ner to the prince he had obliged, as never to seem to overvalue the services of General Monk* ' *(ddd)*.' And we are told, that Sir Edward Nicholas (who, as Dr Skinner observes, had been Secretary of State to two Kings) said, *That the industry and service which the Duke of Albemarle had paid to the Crown since the King's restoration, without reflecting upon his service before, deserved all the favour and bounty which his Majesty had been pleased to confer upon him* (*eee*). In October the Duke was made one of the Commissioners for trying the regicides, and acted accordingly under it, but observed great moderation. Soon after his Grace was made Lord-Lieutenant of the counties of Devonshire and Middlesex, and of the borough of Southwark *(fff)*; and the Parliament voting the disbanding of the army, the Duke joined very heartily with Lord Chancellor Hyde in promoting that step, and took great pains by changing of officers, to bring it to be submitted to quietly; in which he succeeded, all but his own regiment of foot, and a new raised regiment of horse for the King's guard being paid off and dismissed *(ggg)*, as some time before had been the Commissioners for Scotland, by a letter from the Duke of Albemarle, signifying to them, that it was the King's pleasure, not to have them intermeddle any more in the government of that kingdom *(hhh)*. In January following, while the King was accompanying his mother and sister on their return to France, the Duke was employed at London in quelling an insurrection made by some Fifth-Monarchy men, under one Venner, a Wine-cooper; who were with some difficulty reduced by the Duke of Albemarle's regiment, after repulsing some detatchments of the city militia, and the new raised horse. This gave rise to a proposal for keeping up some standing forces; but the Duke was averse thereto, saying, ' That his endeavouring to continue any part of the army, would be li- ' able to so much mis interpretation, that he would by no means appear in it *(iii)*:' but being much sollicited to countenance the scheme, Dr Skinner very honestly owns *(kkk)*, that he tacitly consented *not to hinder their endeavours therein*, and fairly insinuates, that the keeping his regiment on foot (the first model of a standing army in time of peace in England) was owing to his want of opposition. The 22d of April, 1661, the Duke, as Master of the Horse, attended the King in his procession (leading the horse of state) from the Tower to Whitehal, and the next day carried the sceptre and dove, and was one of the supporters of the canopy during the royal unction at the coronation, after which, he and the Duke of Buckingham did homage for themselves and the rest of their degree *(lll)*. The latter part of this year he was attacked with a dangerous illness, from which he was recovered by the King's Physician, Sir Robert Fraser *(mmm)*; after this, every thing being in full peace, he enjoyed himself for some time in retirement; 'till, on the breaking out of the first Dutch war under King Charles the Second, in 1664, he was, by his Royal Highness the Duke of York, who commanded the fleet, intrusted with the care of the Admiralty, receiving at the same time a very obliging letter from his Royal Highness, as the reader may see below [Q]. The plague broke out in London the same year, and the King removing from thence to Oxford, the Duke of Albemarle's vigilance and activity made his Majesty regard him as the fittest nobleman to entrust with the care of his capital city in that time of imminent danger and distress; which additional burthen he chearfully underwent, and was greatly assisted therein by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Earl of Craven *(nnn)*. About Michaelmas the King sent for him to Oxford, whither he went post, and, on his arrival, found his Majesty had appointed Prince Rupert and himself joint Admirals of the Fleet for the ensuing year; which dangerous post, though many of his friends disswaded him, he readily accepted, and immediately set himself diligently about his new employment, wherein all the care of finishing those new ships which were on the stocks, repairing the old ones, which had been much damaged in an action

(ddd) Lives English and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 188.

(eee) Skinner, p. 318. Lives of the Admirals, Vol. II. p. 376.

(fff) Lives English and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 190.

(ggg) Id. ibid. Skinner, p. 316. Ludlow, p. 375.

(hhh) Echard, p. 783.

(iii) Skinner, p. 322.

(kkk) Ibid.

(lll) Id. p. 324.

(mmm) Lives English and Foreign, ubi supra.

(nnn) Lives English and Foreign, ubi supra. Skinner, p. 331, 332. Lives of the Admirals, ubi supra.

[Q] *Receiving - - - - a very obliging letter from his Royal Highness, as the reader may see below.*] Some of our historians having endeavoured to depreciate the Duke of Albemarle's character by representing him as one who was very little regarded by the Court after the Restoration, Mr Campbell, in his Memoirs of General Monk (49), produces the letter in question as a strong testimony to the contrary; it was wrote as follows:

' My Lord Duke of Albemarle,

' Having formerly, by the King's approbation, desired you to take the care of giving all necessary orders for the affairs of the navy during my absence, in the same manner as I ought do do if present, I should not now need to repeat it to you, were it not to acquaint you, that I have not only by word of mouth, but also by writing, given the principal officers and commanders of his Majesty's navy, directions to execute all your commands. I desire you, if you find any commanders, or other officers, negligent in the dispatch expected from them for his Majesty's service, not to be sparing in using your authority for their punishment: whether by displacing them, or such other ways as you shall think fit. I have commanded my Secretary to leave with you all such things, as may be necessary for your information; if any thing be wanting, upon the least intimation, it shall be supplied, so bidding you heartily farewell,

' I am, &c.

Mar. 22. 1664-5. ' James.'

(49) Lives of the Admirals, Vol. II. p. 363, where, by an error of the press, the date of the year is 1964-5.

[R] A

action with the Dutch that ſummer, rigging, victualling, and manning, the whole fleet, fell chiefly to his lot, and was ſo effectually and expeditiouſly purſued by him, the ſeamen offering in crowds to the ſervice, becauſe they ſaid they *were ſure honeſt George* (as they commonly called him) *would ſee them well fed and juſtly paid* (*ooo*), that on the 23d of April, 1666, the Prince and he took their leaves of the King, and repaired on board the fleet; where the former hoiſted his flag, having Sir George Aſcough under him, as Admiral of the White, on board the Royal James, and the latter, as Admiral of the Red, on board the Royal Charles (*ppp*). The particulars of his bravery againſt the Dutch in this ſtation are properly the ſubject of general hiſtory, to which therefore we refer. He returned home in the beginning of September, and lay with the fleet at anchor in the bay of St Helens, near Spithead. During that interval, broke out the terrible fire in London, which beginning on the 2d of September, 1666, burned with unparallelled fury for three days, and laid the greateſt part of the city in aſhes; this unexpected accident occaſioned the Duke of Albemarle to be recalled from the fleet, to aſſiſt in quieting the minds of the people, who expreſſed their affection and eſteem for him, by crying out publickly, as he paſſed through the ruined ſtreets, that *If his Grace had been there, the city had not been burnt* (*qqq*): than which they could ſcarce give a more extravagant mark, in what high opinion they held his abilities, inſignificant as a Right Reverend writer has endeavoured to repreſent them. The Earl of Southampton dying on the 16th of May, 1667 (*rrr*), his Majeſty, after the peace, put the Treaſury in commiſſion, at the head of which was again placed his Grace the Duke of Albemarle (*sss*). This was the laſt teſtimony of the royal favour his Grace received; for being now in the ſixtieth year of his age, the many hardſhips and fatigues he had undergone in a military life began to ſhake his conſtitution, hitherto remarkably healthy, he being about this time attacked with a dropſy, the firſt ſymptoms of which were too much neglected. In this declining condition he withdrew from publick buſineſs, as much as his poſt and the ſtate of affairs would permit, and retired to his ſeat at Newhall in the county of Eſſex, where he was prevailed upon by the importunity of friends to try a pill then in vogue, being a preparation of one Dr Sermon of Briſtol, who had formerly ſerved under his Grace as a common ſoldier (*ttt*); from which he at firſt received ſuch conſiderable relief, that towards the latter end of the year he returned to town. But ſoon after falling into a relapſe, with the addition of an aſthmatick complaint, he ſet about finiſhing the laſt great temporal affair, the marriage of his only ſon with the Lady Elizabeth, eldeſt daughter to Henry Earl of Ogle, only ſon to Charles the then Duke of Newcaſtle: which being ſettled, the nuptial ceremony was performed in his own chamber, December 30th, 1669; and on January the third, four days after, he died ſitting in his chair without a ſingle groan (*uuu*). Thus, in the entrance of the 62d year of his life, died this noble and valiant commander (for whatever diſputes there have been about his civil capacity, his military ſkill or his courage were never called in queſtion), beloved by moſt, admired by many, and envied but by few. In his laſt year, many differences ariſing between the perſons in power, and eſpecially between the two Houſes of Parliament, he endeavoured, almoſt to his lateſt minute, to recommend unanimity to the ſtudy of thoſe who viſited him, which were the greateſt men in the nation; particularly the Earl of Bath and the Lord Arlington, as well as ſeveral of the members of both Houſes; whom he conjured to preſerve always a good underſtanding between the two Houſes, and to prevent his Majeſty's crown and government from ſuffering any inconvenience by the paſſions or prejudice of thoſe who were ſo nearly obliged to take care of it (*www*). That he died in the eſteem of his ſovereign and his brother the Duke of York is very clear, not only from the high poſts he enjoyed under, and the great truſt repoſed in him by, both; but alſo from the tender concern ſhewn by them, in a conſtant enquiry after his ſtate during the latter part of his illneſs, and by the publick and princely regard paid to his memory after his deceaſe, by honouring his funeral ſolemnity with all the pomp ſuch ſorrowful pageantry is capable of, and admitting his aſhes to mingle with thoſe of the anceſtors of that King whom he had fixed in their throne. Extraordinary merit, whether real or imputed, muſt always ſubmit to pay the tax of envy, and frequently, the greater the deſert the heavier the impoſition of calumny; ſuch the Duke of Albemarle found it while living, ſuch the treatment his name has met with ſince his deceaſe. His loyalty has been termed ſelf-intereſt, his valour raſhneſs, his œconomy avarice, and his cloſeneſs and taciturnity want of capacity; and, not content with thus depreciating his worth as a man, they have brought ſome very heavy accuſations againſt him as a Counſellor of State, as the reader may ſee below, together with a deſcription of his perſon, and a ſketch of his private character [*R*]: for we ſhall here cloſe his publick

(*ooo*) Lives of the Admirals, Vol. II. p. 345.

(*ppp*) Skinner, p. 345.

(*qqq*) Lives of the Admirals, Vol. II. p. 369.

(*rrr*) Hiſtorians Guide, p. 73.

(*sss*) Lives of the Admirals, Vol. II. p. 372.

(*ttt*) Skinner, p. 370.

(*uuu*) Hiſtorians Guide, p. 87. Echard, p. 857. Rapin, Vol. II. p. 654. Skinner, p. 373. Both in Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 196. and in the Lives of the Admirals, Vol. II. p. 373. the marriage of his ſon and his own death are antedated a whole year, they ſaying they happened in December and January, 1668.

(*www*) Skinner, p. 371.

[*R*] *A deſcription of his perſon, and a ſketch of his private character.*] His perſon was of the middle ſtature, and every way well proportioned, which, with a remarkable good conſtitution, rendered him both ſtrong and active, and, by an early temperance, he made himſelf hardy to ſuch a degree, that he was enabled to march at the head of his regiment every day on horſe-back, under the ſmall-pox (50); and by a conſtant perſeverance in the ſame virtue, he could ſupport fatigue longer than moſt men, without ſleep (51): his countenance is ſaid to carry in it much military grandure and affability; his ſight was rather ſhort, but his hearing remarkably quick, and both continued good to the laſt (52). He was ever an early riſer, and having diſpatched all his domeſtick affairs by ſeven in the morning, he applied himſelf to the publick buſineſs of the day, giving audience to all that came; and, if poſſible, diſpatched the requeſts of the poor inſtantaneouſly (53). He conſtantly diſcouraged oppreſſion, laying it down as a maxim, that thoſe in command under him, ought to exert their power rather in protecting, than in pillaging thoſe who did their duty,

(50) Skinner, p. 378.

(51) Id. ibid. Lives of the Admirals, p. 373.

(52) Skinner, ubi ſupra.

(53) Lives of the Admirals, Vol. II. p. 373.

publick one by observing, he had abilities sufficient to carry all his designs into execution, and to defeat the attempts of those who opposed him; and was fortunate enough to have it in his power, and in his only, to do more than ever any subject did, recall his sovereign from a twelve years exile in poverty and distress, to the full and peaceable possession of the dignity, wealth, and potency, of his progenitors. The means and motives which induced him to undertake, or were used by him to perfect, this great incident in his life, have been variously treated by various writers, nor have there been wanting competitors for the sole honour of the action (*xxx*); but upon a strict examination of the several bare facts it will appear, that if General Monk had not readily and heartily thrown his weight into the scale, Faction would have continued to outweigh Loyalty; and the great change for the worse, which happened soon after his death, is the greatest compliment that can be paid to the memory, counsels, and conduct, of the Duke of Albemarle. His corpse was carried to Somerset-house, where it lay in state (being embalmed) many weeks; and, on the fourth of April, 1670, was carried with great pomp to Westminster-abbey, and interred in Henry the Seventh's chapel, but never had any monument erected to his memory, except the effigie used at his funeral, and still preserved in a wooden case in the abbey, may be reckoned one, though he died possessed of a real estate worth 15000 pounds per annum, besides 60000 pounds personal, which he left to his only son Christopher, a minor, then sixteen years of age (*yyy*).

(*xxx*) Vid. Clarendon, Burnet, Locke, and the articles BOYLE, COOPER, and COOTE.

(*yyy*) Select Cases in Chancery, fol. 1702, p. 79, 116.

duty, for the neglect of which, he admitted no excuse; being very strict in discipline, and a punctual observer of his word, a remarkable instance of both being told of him, at the close of the first Dutch war under Cromwell. The sailors growing very importunate for their prize-money, assembled in great numbers about the Navy-office to demand it: he spoke to them, telling them there were fifteen hundred ships to be disposed of, and as soon as those were sold, they should be paid; upon this they all dispersed: but in the afternoon, they assembled again, to the number of near five thousand, with arms, and came towards Whitehall, near which they were met by Cromwell and other officers, accompanied by General Monk; who reproaching them with distrusting his word, which he had never broke, he drew his sword, and wounding some of the foremost, the rest were so alarmed at his intrepidity, that they instantly retired, and waited patiently for his promise, which was in a short time punctually performed (54). His courage was truly great, he being as cool and sedate in the midst of the hottest service, as at any other period, as his behaviour on the death of Admiral Dean who was killed by his side, sufficiently shews: and when some about him in the action at Chatham, where he exposed himself to the thickest of the enemy's shot, advised him to retire to some safer place; he only answered, *Sir, if I had been afraid of bullets, I should have quitted this trade of a soldier long ago* (55). And we are told, by no less authority than that of the Duke of Buckingham, an eye-witness, that in King Charles the First's Dutch war, in the engagement on the first of June, before he began (56), he declared, *he was sure of one thing, that he would not be taken*; and was seen to charge a pocket pistol with powder, which it is supposed he intended, if he had been boarded and in danger of being overpowered, to have fired into his own powder-room, and thereby have blown up his ship. To crown all, he was an excellent husband, and an indulgent father, in which last character alone he shewed himself liable to the common weaknesses of human nature, on the death of his second son, as has already been taken notice of. The things he was accused of as a Minister, were three: The first is his occasioning the death of the Marquis of Argyle, by betraying a private correspondence; the second was, his proposing the King's match with Catherine of Portugal; and the third, his not only consenting to, but advising, the sale of Dunkirk. All three have been brought against him only by Bishop Burnet (57), which is almost sufficient to overthrow them; but whoever is not of that opinion, may find him fully justified from each, in Mr Campbell's Lives of the Admirals (58). Z

(54) Lives English and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 144. where it is said, the General cut off one man's nose, for which he afterwards gave him 10*l*. Lives of the Admirals, Vol. II. p. 374.

(55) Lives of the Admirals, Vol. II. p. 375.

(56) In his Memoirs.

(57) History of his own Times, Vol. I.

(58) Vol. II. p. 360, 361, 362.

MONK [CHRISTOPHER], only son of George Duke of Albemarle, was born in 1653 (*a*), and in 1654 was carried into Scotland (*b*), where he remained between six and seven years, 'till his father setting out on his march to England, he and his mother were sent by sea to London. At 16 years of age he was married to Lord Ogle's daughter, and by his father's death came into the possession of a prodigious fortune, his father leaving all to him by Will. On the 28th of May, 1671, he was installed Knight of the Garter at Windsor (*c*), which honour he chiefly owed to his great friend and kinsman John Earl of Bath [*A*], on whom King Charles designed to bestow the late Duke's vacant Garter; that deceased nobleman having obtained a promise under the King's sign manual, that the Earl should be made Duke of Albemarle, in case of his own son's dying without issue: but the Earl not only generously refused the offered honour, but warmly sollicited it for the son of his friend; and was so successful in his sollicitation, that when the young Duke came to deliver up to the King the ensigns of the deceased's order, his Majesty with

(*a*) Select Cases in Chancery, ubi supra.

(*b*) Vid. antea, p. 3138. and the authorities there cited.

(*c*) Echard, p. 876.

[*A*] *Which honour he chiefly owed to his great friend and kinsman John Earl of Bath.*] This we learn from the argument of the Lord Keeper Somers (1), who, in delivering his opinion preparatory to his decree, in the famous case between the Earls of Bath and Montague, on the 23d of December, 1693, takes notice that it had been alledged, and not controverted in the course of the cause, that there was a very near relation between the Duke and the Earl, and that Duke George owned he owed his first setting out in the world to the ancestors of Lord Bath: and goes on thus, 'It doth 'plainly appear there was a particular friendship and 'confidence between them, in matters of the highest 'nature, and chiefest concern; nay, that this proceed-'ed so far on my Lord of Bath's side in Duke George's 'time, that he prevailed with King Charles the Second 'to promise under the sign manual, and recommended 'it to his successors, to create my Lord of Bath 'Duke of Albemarle, if there were a failure of issue 'by the Duke [Christopher].

'Then that this friendship did continue between 'Duke Christopher and my Lord of Bath, is plain be-'yond all controversy; for it began upon a very good 'foundation: that is, *whereas the Garter should have 'been given to the Earl of Bath, he prevailed to have 'it returned to the young Duke.* - - - - And all this pro-'ved by a series of letters, continuing down from the 'death of Duke George, to the death of Duke Chri-'stopher.'

(1) Select Cases in Chancery, p. 120.

with much kindness returned them to him again, and declared his election as one of the Knights Companions (*d*). In 1679, he was made Captain of the Life Guard (*e*), and Chancellor of the university of Cambridge *, on the disgrace of James Duke of Monmouth; against whom, when he made his descent at Lyme in Dorsetshire in June 1685, the Duke of Albemarle raised the militia of Devonshire and Cornwall, and marched with them to Axminster: but Monmouth approaching, the militia and their commander retired (*f*). In 1687, the Duke of Albemarle encouraged a scheme, proposed by Captain (afterwards Sir William) Phipps, for fishing on a Spanish wreck off of Hispaniola [*B*], by subscribing a large sum towards the undertaking; which proving successful, he received for his share, on the Captain's return, 90000 pounds (*g*); and introducing the Captain to King James, procured him the honour of knighthood (*h*). The same year the Duke was made Governor of Jamaica, which post some think he applied for, in expectation of recovering more treasure by the same means from the former, or from other wrecks on those coasts, which proved but a vain hope (*i*); while others looked upon it but as a more honourable exile (*k*), though no reasons are assigned for either of the suggestions. His Grace having addicted himself pretty much to the bottle [*C*], did not live long to enjoy the honours of his new post, dying at Jamaica in the year 1688; and, on the 8th of July, 1691, the great cause depending between the two Earls of Bath and Montague, touching the enjoyment of the deceased Duke's estate, was first heard before the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal; though it did not receive determination 'till December 1693, and then only as to one particular point, which was, indeed, a most essential one, and went in favour of the Earl of Bath; to whom the Lord Keeper Somers decreed the bulk of the Duke's estate, he having no issue by his Duchess [*D*]. And thus, in little more than half a century, this branch of the family of Monk, after having rose to the highest pitch of British honour, failed in the second generation, and became totally extinct. His Duchess afterwards married Ralph Lord Montague (*l*), who joined with her in promoting a suit against the Earl of Bath, Mr Greenvile, and Sir Walter Clarges, touching the disposition made by the Duke of his estate (*m*); but they lost their cause. She had no issue by this nobleman (who left several by his first lady), and having out-lived him many years, died superannuated on the 28th of August, 1734, at Newcastle-house in Clerkenwell (*n*).

(*d*) Lives of the Admirals, Vol. II. p. 377. Select Cases in Chancery, p. 78.

(*e*) Echard, p. 985.

* Rapin, p. 759.

(*f*) Lives English and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 313. Echard.

(*g*) Lives of the Admirals, Vol. II. p. 378. Lives English and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 196. where the sum received is said to have been but 50000 *l*.

(*h*) Echard, p. 1094.

(*i*) Lives of the Admirals, Vol. II. p. 379. However, Sir Hans Sloane, who attended him thither as his Physician, made those collections which furnished the materials of his Natural History of Jamaica.

(*k*) Echard, ubi supra.

(*l*) Created Marquis of Mouthermer and Duke of Montague in 1705, the 4th of Queen Anne. British Compendium, 1738, p. 142.

(*m*) See Vol. IV. p. 2337. remark [*O*].

(*n*) British Compendium.

[*B*] *For fishing on a Spanish wreck off of Hispaniola.*] The Captain had made a proposal of this kind in the latter end of the reign of King Charles the Second, who had been furnished with a ship called the Algier Rose, and all other requisites for the design; but the experiment failed that voyage: however, the Captain on his return continuing still positive, that it might be advantageous, sollicited assistance from the Ministers of James the Second (who, before he came back, had succeeded to the throne); but they refusing to listen to him, he then proposed to set on foot a subscription for making it a private adventure, which was to be divided amongst twenty proprietors. This project was for some time treated with much contempt, 'till Christopher Duke of Albemarle, by entering heartily into it, promoted the subscription, and equipped the Captain for a second voyage, which sufficiently answered the ends of his several subscribers, and put 20000 *l*. in his own pocket (3). It is said King James was advised to seize the treasure, when brought home, on a suggestion that the Captain had concealed the true value, when he applied for a licence from the Crown; but the King refused to comply, saying, He knew the Captain was a man of honour and honesty; and therefore if he had brought home twice as much, his subscribers should share it (4). The silver recovered was valued at 300000 *l*. according to which each share must have been worth 15000 *l*. but what the subsubscription was we know not: however, be what it would, his Grace of Albemarle subscribed at least for six shares, which proves he was a liberal encourager of merit and industry.

(3) Lives of the Admirals, Vol. II. p. 377, 378.

(4) Id. p. 378.

[*C*] *His Grace having addicted himself pretty much to the bottle.*] That this was his predominant (if not his only) vice, is too true: but then it is as true, that uneasinesses at home, if not the first inducement to, strongly contributed to confirm him in, so unworthy and destructive a habit. This was proved in the cause abovementioned, as we are told by the Lord Chief-Justice Treby; who in his argument (5) says, 'But besides this 'they bring you in proofs that I cannot but mention-'that the Dutchess conceived a displeasure, though it 'be not known for what reason, against the Earls of 'Bath; that the Duke was uneasy under her impor-'tunities to do what he had no mind to, and that was 'the cause of his drinking so hard to divert himself.' This is a circumstance we should not have touched upon, had not those who have mentioned this nobleman (6) taken notice of his deviating from his father's temperance in this respect; and then it was but justice to shew the cause which led him into the error: we have already taken notice that he was married very young, and he is far from being a single instance, that health and happiness, nay life itself, have been sacrificed to riches and grandeur.

(5) Select Cases in Chancery, p. 81.

(6) Lives English and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 196. Lives of the Admirals, Vol. II. p. 377, 379.

[*D*] *Decreed the bulk of the Duke's estate, he having no issue by his Duchess.*] We are informed by the authority mentioned in the last note (7), that he left a natural son; whether born before or after he went to Jamaica, or what became of him, is unknown at present: but it seems to prove, the want of issue to inherit his title and estate was not wholly his fault. The Duchess, we are told in the same place, was but sickly, and from what is said in the last note, does not appear to have been the best tempered lady in the world: what provocations she might have are not now to be come at, but the Duke's characteristic was good nature and generosity. Z

(7) Select Cases in Chancery, p. 93.

MONK [Nicholas], a Church of England Divine, brother to George Duke of Albemarle, and uncle to Christopher, mentioned in the preceding article, was born at Potheridge, or at Marton, in the county of Devon (*a*), in 1609 [*A*]. Where he received the

(*a*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1143.

[*A*] *Was born at Potheridge or at Marton in the county of Devon, in* 1609.] This date is fixed to his birth from the learned Oxford Antiquary, who says he was seventeen in 1626; though he is dubious as to the place of his birth, his father residing at Marton, when this son was sent to the university. Mr Wood (1) also gives us his descent from the Plantagenets; saying he was the 'third son of Sir Thomas Monk of Potheridge in Devonshire, Knight; son of Thomas Monk of the said place, Gent. by Frances his wife (widow of John Basset, of Umberley in the said county, Esq;) daughter of Arthur Plantagenet, natural son of King Henry the Fourth, by Elizabeth Lucy, as is supposed, his concubine.' In which account, the Antiquary has committed a palpable mistake both as to person and time, Arthur Plantagenet being the son of Edward, not Henry, the Fourth; and Edward died in 1483: consequently a daughter of his natural son, could not well

(1) Ubi supra.

the firſt rudiments of learning we know not, but, in 1626, at ſeventeen years of age, he was entered a Commoner in Wadham-college, Oxford (*b*); where, in 1634, he proceeded in Arts, and ſoon after entered into Holy Orders (*c*). From this time we know but little, or rather nothing, of him, 'till the year 1658, when we are told he had married a widow with ſome acceſſion of fortune, and had lately obtained a moderate living within twelve miles of Kill, or Kelkhampton, in his own country (*d*); and that in *that* year he received the preſentation of Kelkhampton, worth 300 pounds per annum, without ſimony (*e*), from Sir John Greenvile (*f*) [*B*]. The following year he went to Scotland, at Sir John Greenvile's requeſt, to begin the treaty between King Charles the Second and his brother General Monk (*g*); and returning from thence to his living, remained quiet there 'till June 1660, when he was made Provoſt of Eton-college (*h*), and, on the firſt of Auguſt that year, was preſented to the degree of Doctor in Divinity, and actually created ſuch by virtue of the King's letter (*i*) [*C*]. Not long after, he was nominated to the ſee of Hereford, which had lain vacant for fourteen years, and was conſecrated by the Archbiſhop of York, aſſiſted by the Biſhops of Durham, Chicheſter, Lincoln, and Peterborough, at Weſtminſter-abbey, on the feaſt of Epiphany, January the ſixth, the ſame year (*k*); and died at his lodgings in Old Palace yard, Weſtminſter, on the 17th day of December following, in the fifty-ſecond or fifty-third year of his age. He was buried on the 20th of the ſame month, in the chapel of St Edward, in the abbey, and was ſucceeded in his epiſcopal dignity by Dr Herbert Croft (*l*).

(*b*) Id. ibid.
(*c*) Ibid.
(*d*) Skinner's Life of Monk, p. 91.
(*e*) Athenæ Oxon. ut ſupra.
(*f*) Skinner, p. 90.
(*g*) Idem.
(*h*) Ath. Oxon. ut ſupra.
(*i*) Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 135.
(*k*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1144.
(*l*) Id. ibid.

well be grandmother to Nicholas Monk, born in 1609.

[*B*] *Received the preſentation of Kelkhampton . . . from Sir John Greenvile.*] Sir John Greenvile returning, after the reduction of Scilly by the Parliament in 1651, to his own eſtate in the country, found both that and the living under ſequeſtration, Mr Rowſe the incumbent, turned out of the latter, and a ſon-in-law of the ſequeſtrator's in poſſeſſion. Mr Rowſe dying ſometime after, the ſequeſtrator was very earneſt with Sir John to fix his ſon-in-law therein, but he, willing to oblige as far as he could his kinſman General Monk (then Commander in Chief in Scotland), gave it to his brother Nicholas; who found ſome difficulty from the triers of thoſe times, but his relation to the General ſoon ſurmounted them, and fixed him in quiet poſſeſſion (2).

[*C*] *Actually created ſuch by virtue of the King's letter.*] The tenor of the letter is, 'That we are well ſatiſfied of the full ſtanding, ſufficiency, and merit, of Nicholas Monk, A. M. as duly qualified for the degree of Doctor of Divinity, and alſo well aſſured of his particular and eminent ſufferings and ſervice for our ſake and the Church, during the late diſtractions, &c (3). Z

(2) Skinner's Life of Monk, p. 190, 191. Wood's Athen. Oxon. ubi ſupra.
(3) Wood's Faſti, ubi ſupra.

MONSON or MUNSON [Sir WILLIAM], a brave Engliſh Admiral, in part of the XVIth and XVIIth centuries, was the third ſon of Sir John Munſon of South Carlton in Lincolnſhire, by Jane his wife, daughter of Robert Dighton of Little Sturton in the ſame county (*a*). For about two years he was a Student in Balliol-college in Oxford: but his mind being of an active and martial diſpoſition, he ſoon grew weary of a contemplative life, and applied himſelf to the ſea-ſervice, wherein he arrived to great perfection (*b*). In the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's war with Spain, he entered on that profeſſion, and was led to it by the wildneſs of his youth; as being but ſixteen years of age, and entering himſelf without the knowledge of his father or mother. His wages, according to the frugality of that time, were no more than 10*s*. a month, and his condition only that of a private man. The firſt voyage he engaged in, was, in the year 1585, on board a ſmall bark, or privateer, and in company only with another ſtill ſmaller, commiſſioned to ſeize upon the ſubjects of the King of Spain. They failed from the iſle of Wight in the month of September, and being come upon the coaſt of Spain, about eight o'clock in the evening, they met and boarded a Spaniſh veſſel of three hundred tons burden, well manned and armed, returning from Newfoundland; which, after a moſt obſtinate engagement, yielded the next morning at ſeven o'clock [*A*]. This was the firſt Spaniſh prize that ever ſaw the Engliſh ſhore (*c*). In 1587, he went out commander of a veſſel, but keeping longer at ſea than he expected, he was reduced to great extremity for want of victuals; and coming back from the Canary-iſlands, was very near being loſt in Dingle-bay, upon the coaſt of Ireland (*d*). He ſerved, in 1588, in one of the Queen's ſhips, named the Charles, but had not the command of it (*e*). In 1589, he was Vice-Admiral to the Earl of Cumberland in his expedition to the Azores iſlands, and at the taking of Fayal, where he did very great ſervice: but, in their return, endured ſuch hardſhips [*B*] as threw him into a violent illneſs, which kept him at home the whole year 1590

(*a*) Ar. Collins's Peerage, edit. 1735, Vol. III. p. 498.
(*b*) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 336.
(*c*) Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, in Churchill's Collection of Voyages, edit. 1745, Vol. III. p. 218, 225, 467.
(*d*) Naval Tracts, p. 467.
(*e*) Ibid. p. 230.

[*A*] *Which, after a moſt obſtinate engagement, yielded, &c.*] He gives us theſe further particulars of that deſperate enterprize, as it may juſtly be called.—— 'All our men with one conſent and courage entered her, and we were left fighting aboard her all night, the ſeas being ſo grown, that our barks were forced to ungrapple and fall off. The Spaniards betook themſelves to their cloſe fights, and gave two attempts by trains of powder, to blow up their decks on which we were; but we happily prevented it by fire-pikes. Thus continued the fight 'till ſeven in the morning, when the Spaniards found they had ſo many men killed and diſabled, that they were forced to yield. When we came to take a view of our people, we found few left alive but could ſhew a wound or ſhot through their cloaths in that fight: we were a woeful ſpectacle, as well as the Spaniards; and I dare ſay, that in the whole time of the war, there was not ſo rare a manner of fight, or ſo great a ſlaughter of men on both ſides (1).'

[*B*] *But in their return endured ſuch hardſhips.*] He has left us the following account of them. 'The extremity we endured, was more terrible than befel any ſhip in the eighteen years war; for laying aſide the continual expectation of death by ſhipwreck, and the daily mortality of our men, I will ſpeak of our famine, that exceeded all men and ſhips I have known in the courſe of my life: for ſixteen days together, we

(1) Nav. Tracts, as above, p. 225.

1590 (*f*). He served a second time, in 1591, under the Earl of Cumberland, having the command of the Garland, wherein his Lordship went out Admiral. Their commission was to annoy the Spaniards, from whom they accordingly took several ships. Captain Monson being sent to convoy one of them to England; was surrounded and taken, in a calm, near the Burlings, by six Spanish gallies, after a long and bloody fight. What was worse, they detained him as an hostage for performance of the covenants agreed upon for release of his men, and carried him to Portugal, where he was kept prisoner near two years at Cascais and Lisbon (*g*). Not discouraged by that ill success, he entered a third time in the Earl's service, in 1593, as Captain of the Lion, wherein his Lordship had hoisted his flag as Admiral; and exposed himself to great dangers, to save his Lordship's life (*h*). In 1594, he was created Master of Arts at Oxford (*i*). In 1595 he married; but, before his marriage, he engaged again to attend the Earl of Cumberland to sea, as his Vice-Admiral, in the Rainbow. When they had sailed a few leagues towards Spain, the Earl, without saying any thing, suddenly quitted the voyage, and appointed another Captain for his own ship; which so discontented Mr Monson, that he betook himself to his own adventure, and after having made a fruitless voyage to the coast of Spain, and suffered much by storms, returned to Plymouth (*k*). In the great expedition to Cadiz, in the year 1596, he was captain of the Repulse, under Walter Devereux Earl of Essex, Commander in Chief in that expedition, to whom he did great service by his wise and moderate counsel, and was deservedly knighted (*l*). He was near being killed, but escaped in a very unexpected manner [C]. After the taking of Cadiz, they made themselves also masters of Faro; and brought over to England the library of the famous Osorio, Bishop of that place, part of which was given to the Bodleian Library (*m*). The next year, he commanded the Rainbow at the *Island Voyage*, as it was called; that is the voyage to the Azores-islands; and, had the Earl of Essex followed his advice, he had, within a few hours, made himself master of the Spanish plate fleet. But his want of experience, and his flexible nature to be over-ruled, made him take wrong measures: which so vexed him, that the next time Sir William came to him after the escape of the fleet, his Lordship wished he had lost his hand, so he had been ruled by him (*n*). In 1599, he had the command of the Defiance in the Downs; and though it was like some of those unactive armaments, which have been common and very much censured since, he shows it was of great advantage to England in many respects (*o*) [D]. He went out in 1602, as Vice-admiral, in the Garland, to the coast of Spain, with Sir Richard Lewson, Admiral; and they were so successful as to take, in the road of Cessimbra, a carrack of seventeen hundred tons, worth, with its cargo, a million of pieces of eight (*p*). In August, the same year, he was sent with a squadron upon the coast of Spain, to prevent the Spaniards making any attempt upon Ireland, by alarming them at home; and, after having endured great hazard from the enemy, the fury of the sea, and foul weather, he returned to Plymouth the 24th of November; which was the latest time in winter, that a fleet had ever kept upon the Spanish coast (*q*). The Christmass following, there was a consultation in the Privy Council to prepare two fleets, one for the spring, the other to second the first in June following: for, the Queen found it a course both secure and profitable, to keep a continual force upon the Spanish coast from February to November. Sir Richard Lewson was to command the former, and Sir William the latter. But though this was a pretence to satisfy the world, the Lords of the Council had another view in it; for at that time the Queen being sick, there was much danger of her death, on account of her years; which made them the more willing to hasten this fleet to sea, that it might be in a readiness to defend the kingdom, if the Queen's death should happen. And though Sir Richard Lewson, nominated General of this fleet, was not beloved by the Lords, who feared his ambition; yet they continued him in his command: and Sir William, who had been appointed to second him in a latter fleet, was by importunity persuaded

(*f*) Ibid. p. 461, 467, &c. See also Hakluyt, Vol. II. Part ii. p. 143, &c. and above, the article CLIFFORD Earl of Cumberland.

(*g*) Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 164, 460, &c. 464, &c. 469.

(*h*) Ibid. p. 165, 469.

(*i*) Wood, Ath. ut supra.

(*k*) Naval Tracts, p. 230, 470.

(*l*) See the Voyage to Cadiz, in Hakluyt's Collections, Vol. I. p. 616. and Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 168, 242, &c. 466, 470. and Naval History by J. Campbell, Esq; edit. 1750, Vol. II. p. 141.

(*m*) Naval Tracts, p. 171.

(*n*) Ibid. p. 172, 175, 470, 471.

(*o*) Ibid. p. 178.

(*p*) Ibid. p. 181, 230, 471.

(*q*) Ibid. p. 186, &c.

'we never tasted a drop of drink, either beer, wine, 'or water; and though we had plenty of beef and 'pork of a year's salting, yet did we forbear eating it, 'for making us the drier. Many drunk salt water, 'and those that did, died suddenly, and the last word 'they usually spake, was, *drink, drink, drink!* and I 'dare boldly say, that of five hundred men that were 'in that ship seven years before, at this day there is 'not a man alive but myself, and one more (2).'

(2) Ibid. p. 469.

[C] *But escaped in a very unexpected manner.*] He was preserved by a bullet hitting upon his sword; as he had been also at the island of St Mary's in 1589. His own account is thus.——'In that conflict [in Cadiz] I was shot with a musket bullet through my 'scarf and breeches; and the handle and pummel of 'my sword shot from my side, without any further 'hurt.'————And at an 'encounter,' in the island of St Mary's, 'my sword, which I placed naked, 'and the point upward, was shot asunder, and the 'bullet pass'd through the belly of my doublet, which, 'if it had not been for my sword, had done the like 'through my belly.'————'By the way, this I 'note, that as the sword is the death of many a 'man, so it hath been twice the preserver of my life '(3).'

(3) Nav. Tracts, p. 468, 470.

[D] *He shews it was of great advantage to England in many respects.*] 'To say truth, saith he, the expedi'tion which was then used in drawing together so great 'an army by land, and rigging so great and royal a '*Navy* to sea, in so little a space of time, was so ad'mirable in other countries, that they received a ter'ror by it; and many that came from beyond sea, 'said, *The Queen was never more dreaded abroad for 'any thing she ever did. Frenchmen* that came aboard 'our ships did wonder (as a thing incredible) that her 'Majesty had rigged, victualled, and furnished, her 'royal ships to sea in twelve days time: and *Spain*, 'as an enemy, had reason to fear and grieve to see 'this sudden preparation; but more, when they un'derstood how the hearts of his Majesty's subjects join'ed with their hands, being all ready to spend their 'dearest blood for her, and her service. *Holland* 'might likewise see, that if they became insolent, we 'could be as soon provided as they; nor did they ex'pect to find such celerity in any nation but them'selves (4).'

(4) Nav. Tracts, p. 178.

[E] *According*

fuaded by the Lords to accompany Sir Richard as Vice-admiral in this voyage, they having a greater truft and confidence in Sir William than in the other; therefore he was ordered to command the Mere Honour, a better fhip than that Sir Richard ferved in. All this was done out of policy; and few of the Lords, but fuch as were intimate friends to King James, knew of it. For their intention was, if the Queen died, and King James had found any oppofition, that the Lord Thomas Howard, afterwards Earl of Suffolk, fhould take charge of this fleet, and come aboard Sir William, and Sir William to go into Sir Richard's fhip, and fuperfede his authority (*r*). But the King's peaceable acceffion rendered all this precaution needlefs. It might have been thought, that Sir William's loyalty to that Prince, and his ftrong attachment to his fucceffion, would have entitled him to particular Favour and extraordinary Rewards or Promotions. But military men were not King James's Favourites. Therefore, fince the death of Queen Elizabeth, who was both gracious and bountiful to Sir William, he never tafted or received either recompence or preferment, more than his ordinary entertainment or pay, according to the fervices he was employed in, as he fays himfelf (*s*) [*E*]. However, in 1604, he was appointed Admiral of the Narrow Seas, in which ftation he continued about twelve years [*F*], 'till 1616. And in that time, he fupported the honour of the Englifh Flag, againft the faucinefs of the infant Commonwealth of Holland [*G*]; and protected our Trade againft the encroachments of France (*t*) [*H*]. The firft fervice he was employed in, was the bringing over the Conftable of Caftile, who was to come and conclude a peace between the two crowns of England and Spain, that had been eighteen years at variance (*u*). And, in 1614, he effectually cleared the Scotifh and Irifh feas of Pirates, which had long infefted thofe parts (*w*). Notwithftanding his long and faithful fervices, he had the misfortune of falling into difgrace, and through the refentment of fome powerful courtiers [*I*], was imprifoned in the Tower in the year 1616; but, after having been examined by the Lord Chief Juftice Coke, and Secretary Winwood, he was difcharged, and wrote a vindication of his conduct (*x*) [*K*]. His honeft zeal againft the infolencies of the Dutch, and promoting an enquiry into the ftate of the Navy [*L*], contrary to the fenfe and

(*r*) Ibid. p. 188, 472.

(*s*) Ibid. p. 218.

(*t*) Ibid. p. 217, &c.

(*u*) Ibid. p. 219, 472.

(*w*) Ibid. p. 225.

(*x*) Nav. Tracts, p. 219, 472. and Camden's Annals of King James I. under the year 1616.

[*E*] *According to the fervices he was employed in.*] He began the wars with ten fhillings *per* month pay; then with two fhillings and fix-pence *per* day; afterwards with five fhillings, with ten fhillings, with fifteen fhillings, with twenty fhillings, and fixteen pages allowed him for his retinue; afterwards with thirty fhillings a day; and laftly, with forty fhillings a day (5).

[*F*] *In which ftation he continued about twelve years.*] And in that time he ferved in the following fhips. In 1604, in the Vanguard; in 1605, in the Rainbow; in 1606, in the Affurance; in 1607, in the Rainbow; in 1609, in the Vanguard; in 1610, in the Affurance; in 1611, in the Rainbow; in 1612, in the Adventure; in 1613, in the Affurance; in 1614, in the Lion; in 1615, in the Nonfuch (6).

[*G*] *Againft the faucinefs of the infant Commonwealth of Holland*] He gives feveral inftances of their pertnefs, and of his little affection for them. He obferves, in particular, that fuch was their infolency, that they challenged a Prerogative [of not ftriking the Flag] where nothing was granted by us but of courtefy; —and that they were very cruel, in taking and burning our fhips, and fometimes murdering our men, only for trading in the ports of Flanders (7). How ready Sir William was to vindicate the honour of the Englifh Flag, appears from one inftance given us by Sir Antony Weldon (8). 'The old Earl of Hertford, fays he, being fent Embaffadour to the Archduke, was conveyed over by one of the King's fhips, by Sir William Monfon, in whofe paffage a Dutch man of warre coming by that fhip, would not vail, as the manner is, acknowledging by that our Soveraignty over the fea, Sir William Monfon gave him a fhot to inftruct him manners; but inftead of hearing, he taught him, by returning another, he acknowledged no fuch Soveraignty, this was the very firft indignity and affront ever offered to the royall fhips of England, which fince have been moft frequent; Sir William Monfon defired my Lord of Hertford to goe into the hold, and he would inftruct him by ftripes, that refufed to be taught by faire meanes; but the Earle charged him on his allegiance firft to land him, on whom he was appointed to attend; fo to his great regreet, he was forced to endure that indignity, for which I have often heard him wifh he had been hanged, rather than live that unfortunate commander of a King's fhip, to be chronicled for the firft that ever endured that affront, although it was not in his power to have helped it.'

(5) See Naval Tracts, &c. p. 218.

(6) See his Nav. Tracts, p. 230.

(7) Ibid. p. 219.

(8) Court and Character of King James, edit 1650, p. 48, &c.

[*H*] *And protected our Trade againft the encroachments of France.*] Efpecially the Fifhery on the coaft of Suffex. 'The towns of Rye and Haftings found themfelves impoverifhed, and almoft ruined, by the French incroaching upon their fifhing on the Englifh coaft, contrary to the articles and agreement betwixt the two Kings. Thefe towns upon juft caufe complain'd of it, and Sir William was fent down to redrefs it; which he carefully performed, tho' it coft the lives of fome Frenchmen: for two years he was fain to ufe force, and brought the French to that fubmiffion, that the Englifh enjoyed their ufual privileges (9).'

[*I*] *Through the refentment of fome powerful courtiers*] The account of his difgrace, he gives us in thefe words.—I 'at laft found, malice had a greater power and force againft me, than by fea I found, or otherwife I deferved; for when I thought to have left my painful labours at fea, and to have enjoy'd tranquillity of peace on land, envy, unluckily, and unlooked for, feized upon my innocency: For being thought a bofom friend to a nobleman I much honour'd, who at that time began to be aimed at (10), and was afterwards bornec down by a court faction, tho' I was one of the meaneft in number, and unworthy to have knowledge taken of me, as a man of no eminency; yet confidering how my eftate then ftood by my engagements, and otherwife, I found fortune more averfed to me than moft of the others had felt, by malicious practices (11).' Thomas Howard Earl of Arundel was one of his great enemies (12).

[*K*] *And wrote a vindication of his conduct.*] It is directed to the Lord Chancellor Elfmore, and Sir Francis Bacon, Attorney and Counfellor; and intituled, Concerning the infolencies of the Dutch, and a juftification of Sir William Monfon. He complains in it greatly of the ill ufage he had received. 'Some, fays he, have obtain'd their defires in ruining my eftate, made me infamous to the world, taken from me my imployment, feized by way of forfeiture upon my land, denying to account with me, which they have long practifed; and, above all, caft fuch an afperfion upon my children, as all hope of preferment is taken from them:' but my comfort is in the faying of David, That *my defence is in God, who faveth the upright in heart* (13).

[*L*] *His honeft zeal againft the infolencies of the Dutch, and promoting an enquiry into the ftate of the Navy, &c.*] In his Vindication, he pofitively imputes his Troubles to thefe caufes.—'What I have faid is fufficient

(9) Nav. Tracts, p. 218.

(10) Tho. Howard Earl of Suffolk. See Camden's Annals of King James I. under the years 1615, 1616.

(11) Naval Tracts, p. 472.

(12) Ib. p. 223.

(13) Ib. p. 225.

(y) See Naval Tracts, p. 224, 225. and Rushworth's Historical Collections, Part i.

(a) See above the article ARBELLA Steuart.

(b) Naval Tracts, p. 218, 225.

(c) Ibid. p. 231, &c.

(d) Ibid. p. 234.

(e) See his Naval Tracts, p. 231, &c.

(f) Ibid. p. 261, 264.

(g) Collins, as above.

and inclination of the Earl of Nottingham, then Lord High-Admiral (y), seem to have been the occasion of his troubles. He had also the misfortune of bringing upon himself a general and popular odium, in retaking the Lady Arbella Steuart, after her escape out of England (a) [M], though it was acting exactly according to his orders and duty (b). However, he soon recovered his credit at Court; for in 1617, he was called before the Privy-Council, to give his opinion, how the pirates of Algiers might be suppressed, and the town attacked. At which time, he shewed the impossibility of taking Algiers, either by surprize or siege; the little use we could make of it, either to annoy the King of Spain, or any other potentate; as also the small profit it would be to England. But notwithstanding his good advice, the expedition was undertaken by George Villiers Duke of Buckingham, who was young, and infected with the disease of youth, to hearken to base flattery; and by whose ill-management it was quite unsuccessful (c). Sir William was also against two other ill undertakings, and as ill managed, in the years 1625 and 1628, namely, the expeditions to Cadiz and to the isle of Rheé; wherein, says he, our rashness appeared greater than our discretion, in bidding defiance to the two mighty and potent princes of Europe, both at one time, without help or assistance from abroad, and under the uncertainty of money; the then Parliament opposing his Majesty's demands (d). In these actions Sir William was not employed, because he found fault with the Prime Minister's measures (e). But in 1635, it being found necessary to equip a large fleet, in order to break a confederacy that was forming between the French and the Dutch, Sir William was appointed Vice-Admiral of that armament in the James, and performed his duty with great honour and bravery (f). After that he was employed no more, but spent the remainder of his days in privacy and peace, at his seat at Kinnersley in Surrey (g), where he digested and finished his Naval Tracts [N]. He dyed there in February 1642-3, being

'sufficient to shew the arrogant and unmannerly carriage of the *Hollanders*, who ambitiously desire to incroach upon his Majesty's jurisdiction. Had I connived at them, I had purchased less hate of them, and their well-wishers. And, not long before my commitment, there fell out an accident, which, perhaps, might hasten my imprisonment. Sir *Howell* (14) *Caroone*, their agent, coming over in a man of war, was shot at by a pinnace of the King's, for not striking his topsail to her, which I understood he took in ill part, and cast it upon me.——I must confess my folly and misfortune: the one made me too forward in complaining, and wishing *a reformation of his Majesty's Navy*, which has purchas'd me much envy: the other procured me as much hate, in taking the Lady *Arabella*: and then, perhaps, the cause of my imprisonment will more plainly appear (15).'

(14) It should be Nool.

(15) Naval Tracts, p. 224, 225.

[M] *In retaking the Lady* Arbella Steuart, *after her escape out of England.*] This Lady was confined to the Tower for her marriage with William Seymour, Esq; but the true cause of her confinement, was, her being too high-allied, and having a title or claim to the Crown of England. She making her escape June 3d, 1611, Sir William Monson receiv'd orders to retake her, before she reach'd either France or Flanders, which he effectually perform'd. His own account is thus. 'Many other accidents happen'd in the narrow seas, that need no remembrance; and yet I will conclude with the escape of the Lady Arabella, twenty four hours before Sir William Monson had orders to pursue her; which he did with that celerity, that she was taken within four miles of Calais, shipped in a French bark of that town, whither she was bound. The manner is so commonly known, that no more needs be said, but that it was done; though the accident was so strange and unlook'd for, that few could be persuaded but that her escape was plotted, with an intent to take her again: And it was the rather believ'd, because Sir William was not rewarded according to the importance of that service (16).' As the miserable, and state-prisoners in general, are the object of popular pity; therefore Sir William's uncommon diligence in retaking that unfortunate Lady, brought severe reflections upon him, and made him the object of the resentment of the vulgar.

(16) Naval Tracts, p. 218.

[N] *Where he digested and finished his Naval Tracts.*] He divided them himself into six books. The first is chiefly a collection of every year's Actions in the wars against Spain, during Queen Elizabeth's reign, on our own and the Spanish coasts, and in the West-Indies. The Accounts are clear, and *concise*; for no more is said, but the force they were undertaken with, and the success of the enterprize: to which are subjoin'd the reasons why they miscarried, or why so little advantage was made where they succeeded. In some he is more particular than in others, and, what perhaps may be still of use, he at last sets down the abuses of the fleet, and the methods for redressing them. The second book contains a justification of himself after his imprisonment in the Tower; his actions and conduct while he was Admiral of the Narrow Seas; his expedition against the pirates in 1614; and his advice and thoughts about the ill-managed design against Algiers; and against Cadiz; rates for seamen's wages in 1626; a muster of ships and mariners throughout England, taken by the Earl of Lincoln, Lord High-Admiral, in 1582. List of the English fleet in the days of King Edward the Third. Of the Sovereignty of the Kings of England over the Narrow Seas, with severe reflections on the Dutch: The two voyages in 1635 and 1636. How to make war upon Scotland, and to provide for the west part of that kingdom, &c. The third book treats of the Admiralty; that is, of all things relating to the royal Navy, from the Lord High-Admiral, to the meanest person employed ashore, and to the cabin-boys at sea; and from a complete fleet to the smallest vessel, and the several parts of it; with instructions for all officers, and those given by the Earl of Lindsey in 1635; the size of all sorts of guns; Spanish ships, with their allowance; excellent directions for fighting at sea; the benefit and use of galleys in England; the ceremony of wearing the flag; the corrupt abuses used in his Majesty's service by sea, and the means how to reform them; of the harbours of England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, their depths, &c. The fourth book is a collection of the Discoveries made by the Spaniards and Portuguese, and their conquests, in Africk, Asia, and America; with the voyages of Sir Francis Drake, Mr Cavendish, and other Englishmen; and also some Dutch voyages: Of the two worlds undiscovered, besides the four known; i. e. one under the North Pole, and the other south of Magellan's Streights; of other seas besides the ocean. A discourse concerning the North-West passage. A Comparison between our ancient and modern trades; with something relating to the Hollanders and fishing; of certain plantations of the French: Advice how to plant the isle of St Laurence. The fifth book contains divers Projects and Stratagems, for managing affairs at sea, to the benefit and advantage of this nation. The sixth and last book treats of a Fishery to be set up on the coast of England, Scotland, and Ireland, with the benefit that will accrue by it to all his Majesty's three kingdoms: With many other things concerning Fish, Fishing, and matters of that nature.—To the first and second book are prefixed Addresses to his eldest and second Sons, wherein he gives them most excellent Advice, worthy of any man's attention and perusal. The conclusion of the Address to the first is in these excellent words.—'Let me (good son) be your pattern of patience; for you can witness with me, that the dis- graces

being in the 73d year of his age [O]; and left a numerous posterity (b). Such was the end of this brave man, who had served in all stations, as a Soldier, a private Captain, a Rear-Admiral, a Vice-Admiral, a Captain under the General, and lastly an absolute General (i). In which last station, as he boldly and truly said, there was never service neglected, omitted, or unperformed, that he was commanded upon; not to be parallelled by any that enjoyed his employment before (k).

(b) Collins, ibid.

(i) Naval Tracts, p. 218.

(k) Ibid. p. 230.

'graces I have unjustly suffered, (my estate being 'through my misfortunes ruined, my health by impri-'sonments decay'd, and my services undervalued and 'unrecompenc'd) have not bred the least distaste or 'discontent in me, or alter'd my resolution from my 'infancy, that is, I was never so base as to insinuate 'into any man's favour, who was favour'd by the 'times; I was never so ambitious as to seek or crave 'employment, or to undertake any that was not put 'upon me. My great and only comfort is, that I 'serv'd my Princes both faithfully and fortunately '(17).'———Part of these Naval Tracts was printed at London in 1682. fol. and they were afterwards all inserted in Vol. III, of the Collection of Voyages, published in 1703. fol. and commonly known by the title of Churchill's Collection of Voyages; reprinted since more than once.

(17) Naval Tracts, p. 153.

[O] *Being in the seventy-third year of his age.*] He informs us, that he was a youth of sixteen years of age, in September 1585, when he first went to sea (18). Therefore he was born in the year 1569, and was in the seventy-third year of his age, at the time of his death. C

(18) Naval Tracts, p. 467.

MONTAGUE [CHARLES], Earl of Halifax, the most distinguished Statesman of his time, was born April 16th, 1661, at Horton in Northamptonshire, the seat of his father, the Honourable George Montague, Esq; younger son by a second venter to Henry Earl of Manchester. He had a numerous family (a), and though possessed of no other estate than his mother's jointure, yet being an excellent œconomist, he bred all his children in the genteelest manner, and provided handsome fortunes for them. The subject of this article being his fourth and youngest son, gave very early tokens of an admirable genius, and after he had gone through the first rudiments of grammar learning at a school in the country, was sent to that of Westminster, at the age of fourteen; and in 1677, two years afterwards, was chosen King's scholar. Being now under the immediate care of Dr Busby, that excellent observer of a boy's genius improved his talent for poetry, by frequently putting him upon making extempory epigrams, in which exercise he particularly excelled. At this school he contracted a more than ordinary degree of friendship with Mr Geo. Stepney [A], who was then also in the college, but being his senior, was elected to Trinity-college in Cambridge in 1682. Our author's election came on the next year, but the apprehension of being chosen to Christ-Church in Oxford (b), and thereby separated from his friend, so much troubled him, that he begged of his relations not to keep him waiting the issue of his election, but to forego that advantage, and let him now bear young Stepney company to Cambridge. He was tenderly indulged in this request, and admitted at Trinity-college there that year, in the station of a Fellow-Commoner; his kinsman Dr John Montague, then Master of that college, taking him under his tuition (c). Our Student quickly made an uncommon proficiency in every branch of academical learning, presently recommended himself to the notice and acquaintance of Mr [afterwards Sir] Isaac Newton; and in 1684 joined with him in endeavouring to erect a philosophical society at Cambridge like that established in the sister university (d). But the poets engaged Mr Mountague's brighter hours [B]. These were particularly endeared to him by the society of his friend Stepney, and the death of King Charles the Second furnished both a favourable, opportunity which they did not let slip, of shewing the world their merit in that way. Mr Montague's verses on this occasion (e) drew the regard of the Earl of Dorset upon their author [C], who was thereupon invited to London by that noble patron of the Muses (f), and brought into the acquaintance of some of the choicest wits of the age. Among these, it was not long before he procured himself a place in the first class, and his fame in this kind was completely established, by the share he had in transversing

(a) Viz. three sons, Edward, Christopher, and James, besides our author, and four daughters. Peerage of England.

(b) It would then be the turn of the Dean of Christ-Church to make the first choice. Life of our author, together with his Poetical Works, p. 5. edit. 2, 1716, 8vo.

(c) Ibid. p. 3 to p. 7.

(d) Birch's Hist. of the R. S. Vol. IV. p. 376. edit. 1757, 4to.

(e) They were printed in the collection by the University on that King's death.

(f) Stepney had the same invitation, but is said to have declined it out of his love for a retired life. Id. ibid.

[A] *A friendship with Mr G. Stepney.*] This gentleman was descended of the ancient family of Pendergrast in Wales, and born in Westminster in 1663, was put to school there, being chosen King's scholar in 1676, and went to Trinity-college in 1682. By our author's recommendation, he was appointed a Commissioner of Trade in 1697, and was constantly employed in embassies abroad from 1691 to his death, which happened in 1707 at Chelsey; whence his corpse was conducted, by a numerous train of nobility, to it's interment in Westminster-abbey, where there is a very handsome marble monument, with an elegant Latin elogium, erected to his memory *.

* See the inscription. He was one of the most elegant poets of his time; several of his pieces are preserved in a late collection, intitled, The Works of the Minor Poets.

[B] *Poetry engaged his brighter hours.*] The first performance in this way, was *An Ode on the Marriage of her Royal Highness Princess Anne and Prince George of Denmark.* As the ode is the most sublime and exquisite species of poetry, our author's genius, which lay particularly to the familiar stile, did not lead him to shine in this way, yet he has succeeded very well in this attempt. The entrance into it is excellent, that peculiar happiness which results from an union of hearts in marriage, receives the strongest relievo by contrasting it with the plot, a genuine offspring of discord and the mother of distraction and misery. This ode is written in the Pindaric form, and has this distinguishing variety, that it consists of six stanzas, each of which surprizes us with a new measure entirely different from the former, yet uniform in itself.

[C] *His verses drew the regard of Lord Dorset.*] His Lordship perused these verses in company with Sir Charles Sidley, who seconded the invitation of our author: this favour of Sir Charles was not forgot. The writer of Mr Montague's life (1), mentions a repartee made by him in defence of his friend's conduct at the Revolution, it was in answer to a certain nobleman, who seeing Sir Charles on horseback the day that the new King and Queen were proclaimed, asked him *whither he was going? He is going* (replies Mr Montague, who happened to be in company) *to repay one good turn for another, and to make King James's daughter a Queen, since that Prince has made his a Countess.* (2)

(1) P. 17.

(2) Viz. of Dorchester. Her daughter by his Majesty was married to John Duke of Buckinghamshire. See his article.

[D] The

verſing the fable of the Hind and Panther into the Country Mouſe and City Mouſe [*D*], in 1687. The univerſity had before this given their atteſtation to his diſtinguiſhed merit, by conferring upon him the degree of Maſter of Arts in an extraordinary manner (*g*); and he had been alſo elected Fellow of his college (*h*). In 1688 he ſigned, among many others, the invitation of the Prince of Orange to come over to England. Upon the departure of King James the Second, he was choſen a Member of the Convention, where he voted for the declaring the Throne vacant by that King's abdication (*i*). Before King William was crowned, Mr Montague engaged in a marriage with the Counteſs dowager of Mancheſter *, and went to London with a deſign to enter into Holy Orders, but was afterwards diverted from that deſign, and inſtead thereof, purchaſed the place of one of the Clerks of the Council, for which he gave 1500 *l.* (*k*). Not long after, the Earl of Dorſet, who had been advanced to the office of Lord Chamberlain, and had been very ſerviceable in bringing on the Revolution, introduced our young ſtateſman in the moſt engaging manner to King William, ſaying, May it pleaſe your Majeſty, *I have brought a mouſe to have the honour of kiſſing your hand.* The King ſmiled, and being told the reaſon of that addreſs, replied, *You will do well to put me in a way of making a man of him*; and immediately ordered him a penſion of 500 *l.* a year, 'till an opportunity ſhould offer of promoting him (*l*). Accordingly, in the beginning of March 1691, having in the Houſe of Commons, of which he was a member, diſplayed his eminent abilities in the debates upon the bill for regulating trials in caſes of high-treaſon (*m*) [*E*], Lord Dorſet, though the bill miſcarried, eaſily obtained for him the place of one of the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, then vacant by the reſignation of Thomas Pelham Eſq; (*n*). Our young courtier, who was now ſworn a Privy Counſellor, diſtinguiſhed himſelf both at the Treaſury and Council Boards ſo well, that upon a change in the commiſſion of the firſt, in the beginning of May 1694, he was made ſecond Commiſſioner and Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Under-Treaſurer (*o*). The exigence of the publick affairs called for the utmoſt ſkill of the ableſt ſtateſmen at this juncture. However, Mr Montague ſhewed himſelf equal thereto, and conducted the government ſafe through dangers, that were thought by many to be utterly unſurmountable. In 1695 he entred into the deſign of recoining all the current money of the nation, which, notwithſtanding the extreme difficulties that attended it, he undertook, and perfectly compleated in the compaſs of two years (*p*) [*F*]. In 1696, he

(*g*) He is ſtiled A. M. in the title of the Traveſty, when he was only five years ſtanding in the univerſity.

(*h*) See the inſcription on his monument in Weſtminſter-abbey.

(*i*) His Life, p. 16.

* Ibid. p. 3.

(*k*) Ibid. p. 6.

(*l*) Ibid. p. 17.

(*m*) Young as he was, yet he appeared at the head of the Committee of the Houſe of Commons, in ſeveral conferences between the two Houſes on this bill.

(*n*) He was ſworn into this office Feb. 21, 1688-9. Ibid. p. 29. Wood's Faſti, Vol. II. col. 163. and Salmon's Chronological Hiſtorian, p. 205. edit. 1723, 8vo.

(*o*) Salmon, p. 211. col. a.

(*p*) The recoinage was by ſeveral called a fortunate temerity. Compleat Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. under that year.

[*D*] *The ſhare he had in tranſverſing the Hind and Panther, &c.*] The author juſt mentioned tells us, this Traveſty was undertaken by Mr Montague and Mr Prior, at the requeſt of their friends. However that be, no body doubts but Mr Montague had the greateſt ſhare in it, and that the preface was intirely his. It was of ſingular ſervice to the cauſe of liberty and the Proteſtant Religion, by cudgelling the laureat champion with his own weapon. The ſervice it did Mr Montague is ſeen above, in his introduction to King William by the Earl of Dorſet. It muſt be obſerved, that our author had before this wrote *The Man of Honour*, and *The Epiſtle on his Majeſty's Victory in Ireland.*

[*E*] *Speech on the bill for regulating trials in caſes of high-treaſon.*] This was the firſt opening of his talents as a ſpeaker in the Houſe. The deſign of the bill was, amongſt other things, to allow counſel to priſoners charged with that offence, while it was depending. Our author roſe up in order to ſpeak for it, and having begun his ſpeech, was ſtruck ſuddenly with ſuch a ſurprize, that for a while he was not able to go on; but recovering himſelf, he took occaſion from this very ſurprize, *To enforce the neceſſity of allowing counſel to priſoners who were to appear before their Judges, ſince he who was not only innocent and unaccuſed, but one of their own members, was ſo daſhed when he was to ſpeak before that wiſe and illuſtrious aſſembly* (3): which turn of wit did no ſmall ſervice in facilitating the paſſage of that bill through the Houſe of Commons, though it was loſt afterwards, by an amendment with which it was clogged in the Upper Houſe.

(3) See his Life, p. 30.

[*F*] *He compleated the recoinage in two years.*] The reaſons againſt this undertaking, urged by Mr Bromley, Sir John Packington, Heneage Finch, and Robert Harley, Eſq; &c. were: That this was no fit juncture for it, while the nation was engaged in a burthenſome and doubtful war, by which the kingdom had already greatly ſuffered, and of which it grew every day more ſenſible; that therefore the people, on whoſe good affections ſo much depended, ſhould not be provoked by freſh grievances, greater than they had yet felt, as thoſe would certainly be, that muſt ariſe from calling in the ſilver coin. That if this was done, however things might be managed and accommodated at home, it were impoſſible to maintain either the commerce or the war abroad, for neither the merchant could be paid his bills of exchange, nor the ſoldier receive his ſubſiſtence. That this was to lay the axe to the root, and dig up the foundation of the government. That if this deſign was proſecuted, trade would unavoidably ſtand ſtill for want of mutual payments, whence ſuch diſorder and confuſion would certainly follow, as would diſcourage and diſhearten the people in the higheſt meaſure, if not drive them to perfect deſpair, as deſpair would to the moſt terrible extremities. That therefore, recoining the money at this time was not any way to be attempted without hazarding all. In anſwer to theſe arguments, it was alledged by Mr Montague, that the miſchief would be fatal, if a preſent remedy was not found out and applied. That by reaſon of the ill ſtate of the coin, the exchange abroad was infinitely to the nation's prejudice: That the ſupplies that were raiſed to maintain the army would never attain their end, being ſo much diminiſhed and devoured by the unequal exchange, and exorbitant premiums before they reached the camp. That this was the unhappy cauſe, that the guineas advanced to thirty ſhillings and foreign gold in proportion. That therefore, to the nation's great loſs, not only the Dutch, but indeed all Europe, ſent that commodity to this market, and would continue to do ſo, 'till the nation ſhould be impoveriſhed and undone by plenty of gold. That we muſt exchange for their goods our own ſilver, 'till at laſt we ſhould have only guineas to trade withal, which no body could think our neighbours would be ſo kind to receive back at the rate they were at here. That therefore, this diſeaſe would take deeper root, infect the very vitals of the nation, and, if not remedied, would ſoon become incurable. That our enemies would be mightily intimidated by ſo great an action, and would ſooner be induced to agree to honourable terms of peace, in caſe they ſaw us able to ſurmount that difficulty, by retrieving the ill ſtate of the coin, in which their hopes of the nation's ſpeedy ruin ſo much depended; and that it would juſtly create a mighty eſteem abroad, of the greatneſs and wiſdom of the Parliament of England, which was able to conquer ſuch an obſtinate, and almoſt inſuperable, evil, in ſuch a juncture of affairs. The ſeveral prudent ſteps that were taken by our great projector, in the execution of this moſt important affair, may be ſeen in the Complete Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. It is ſufficient for us to remit the reader to the articles LOCKE [JOHN], HALLEY [EDMUND], and NEWTON [Sir ISAAC], where he will ſee how far thoſe eminently learned perſons were of ſervice to Mr Montague by their aſſiſtance therein (4).

(4) See Parliament Debates for the year 1696.

he projected the scheme for a general fund [*G*], and procured it's establishment. The same year he found out a method to raise the sinking credit of the Bank of England [*H*], and the following year he provided against the mischiefs from the scarcity of money, by raising for the service of the Government above two millions in Exchequer notes (*q*) [*I*]: and before the end of this session of Parliament, it was resolved by the House of Commons, in approbation of a grant made to him of some Crown-lands in Ireland, That Charles Montague Esq; Chancellor of the Exchequer, for his good services to the government, *did deserve his Majesty's favour* (*r*) [*K*]. He had the chief hand in managing the project for erecting a new East-India Company [*L*] in 1698, and the same year was made First

(*q*) On this occasion he was sometimes called the British Machiavel. His Life, p. 41.

(*r*) This vote is mentioned expresly in the preamble to his patent for the Barony.

[*G*] *He projected a general fund*] This scheme was projected by our author to retrieve the publick credit, which, partly by the deficiency of Parliamentary funds, and partly by the recoinage was sunk so low, that bank notes were now discounted at twenty, and exchequer tallies at forty, fifty, and sixty, *per cent*. To remedy this latter evil, by his means and interest in the House of Commons, an estimate was made and laid before them, of what sums were or would be wanting to discharge all the principal and interest due, or to become due, on the several aids, duties, or funds, over and above the arrears then standing out upon them that were determined, besides all monies to be raised by such as were unexpired. To him it was owing, that the people were given to understand that the nation was in debt 5160400 *l*.; and to him, that having got to the bottom of the disease, resolutions were taken for a thorough cure. In order to effect this, divers duties arising, not only by the customs, but by continuing additional impositions after the day on which they would have otherwise expired, were continued; and all the monies which should arise and be brought into his Majesty's exchequer from any of those taxes or duties, from the day on which they were otherwise to expire to the 1st of August, 1716, were appointed to be *a general fund*, for making good all the deficient ones by the payment of principal and interest due or to become due thereupon: And to remove all doubts about the security intended to be given in case that on the 1st of August 1706, or within three months then next ensuing, the *general fund*, together with other grants then in being, should not be sufficient to discharge the aforesaid debt of 5160400 *l*. that then what was deficient should be made good out of such aids or revenues as should be granted in the next session of Parliament (5). 'Tis well known that this General Fund was the first stone that was laid towards erecting the *Sinking Fund*, which was the great boast of Sir Robert Walpole.

(5) See Life of Charles Earl of Halifax, p. 38, 39.

[*H*] *A scheme to support the credit of the Bank*.] This was brought about by augmenting their capital stock, and thereupon admitting new subscriptions, which subscriptions should be made good in tallies and bank notes (6); and an interest of eight *per cent*. was allowed, as well for such tallies as should be brought in to enlarge their stock, as for those which the company was then possessed of; provided they did not exceed the value of *those* bank notes, which should be paid in upon this engraftment on their new stock; and for securing the payment of their interest of eight *per cent*. the additional duty upon salt (7) was afterwards granted and appropriated. They likewise extended the continuance of the Bank to 1710, gave liberty to enlarge the number of it's bills; voted that no other bank should be erected in it's prejudice; and made it their chief care to prevent the abetting, counterfeiting, or forging, any bank bills or notes, as likewise the defacing, rasing, or altering, any indorsement upon any such bill or note, &c. Upon these encouragements a million was subscribed and paid in tallies and bank notes, as the Parliament had directed. *This expedient*, says a learned historian (8), *was the result of Mr* Charles Montague's *skill and prudence, and tho' many persons who were interested in it could not presently apprehend the reasonableness of it, yet the advantages they afterwards receiv'd, did fully convince them, that no other way could have been found to call back their sinking credit*. For the value of 20000 *l*. being sunk by the new subscription, the rest began presently to rise in worth, and so likewise did the tallies after so many as amounted to 80000 *l*. were paid in to enlarge the Bank. Upon this the credit at Grocer's-Hall (9) recovered apace, 'till in a short time their notes, which bore no interest, were at a *par* with cash, and their bills that bore interest better than cash.

(6) The proportion was 4 of the first, and 5 of the last.

(7) The duty on salt was taken off afterwards by the interest of Sir Robert Walpole, in order to destroy this appropriation; which duty the year following was granted again.

(8) Dr White Kennet, in the Compleat History of England, Vol. III.

(9) The Bank was then held at this hall.

[*I*] *He provided against the scarcity of money by Exchequer notes*.] With this view, in order to prevent disappointments by settling funds which might be deficient, he made a motion in Parliament, which was followed by a resolution, that the *supply for the year* 1697 (10), *should be raised within a year*. This was effectuated by authorizing the Lords of the Treasury to issue out bills from the Exchequer to the value, first and last, of above two millions; which bills were first appointed to be brought in and sunk upon the capitation tax then on foot; and that proving deficient, upon any other of the King's duties or revenues except the land-tax; an interest of seven pound twelve shillings *per ann*. being allowed upon the second issuing the said bills out of the Exchequer, whereas at first they bore no interest: Hence the people were all satisfied to take these notes, at first, indeed, at a small discount, but not long after at *par*. A great number of these notes were only for five or ten pounds, which answered the necessities of commerce among the meaner people, for the common conveniencies of life. And that those who advanced money on loans upon any part of the King's revenues, might not be obliged to receive it back in notes that were under the value of cash, to strengthen the reputation of these bills, the Lords of the Treasury were authorized to contract with any corporation, or numbers of private men, and to allow them a competent premium, provided they obliged themselves to exchange those notes for ready money, when tendered to them for that purpose. By this means the Exchequer notes daily arose nearer, and at last exceeded *par*. And whereas the trustees with whom the Government had contracted to exchange them, were at first allowed ten *per cent*. as a premium, they were afterwards content to do it for four. Thus these state counters so well supplied the want of money, 'till new coin was issued from the Mint, that trade and commerce were maintained, and mutual payments effectually made to answer both the demands of the Government and the People. This project, says my historian abovementioned, which proved sufficient, tho' a paper-prop, to support the state when it's silver pillars, if I may so speak, were for a time removed, was likewise owing to the prudence and industry of Mr Charles Montague. We have thought proper to give a succinct account of these three remarkable services, as it was by them particularly that Mr Montague merited the peerage, as the reader will see by his patent in rem. [*M*].

(10) This was upwards of 5 millions.

[*K*] *Did deserve his Majesty's favour*] Under a pretence of applying all the forfeited estates to the use of the publick, an enquiry was made by the House of Commons into the grants of King Charles the Second and James the Second, and a bill was ordered to be brought in to make them void (11). In this enquiry they inspected into the grants of King William in Ireland, and one being found there made to Mr Railton, which Mr Montague very readily owned to be for his benefit, a warm debate arose, wherein a motion was made that he should withdraw, which passing in the negative, it was resolved by a great majority as above: 'A vote that will render his name famous 'to all succeeding ages (12).' It is expresly mentioned in his patent for the Barony.

(11) See Debates in the House of Commons for this year.

(12) So says the author of his Life, p. 52.

[*L*] *The new East-India Company*.] A proposal being given into the House of Commons by Samuel Shepherd and Gilbert Heathcote, at the head of several other eminent merchants, for raising two millions at eight *per cent*. on condition the trade to India might be settled on the subscribers exclusive of all others; it was preferred to one given in by the old company, for advancing 700000 *l*. at four *per cent*. upon the same condition; and by the interest of our statesman an act was passed accordingly, and the subscription filled in two days. But this bill had met with very great opposition in going through the House, which gathered strength in the several difficulties that afterwards

First Commissioner of the Treasury, and, July 16th, appointed one of the Lords Justices of England during his Majesty's absence (s). As he was also in 1699 (t), the same year he was made Auditor of the Exchequer (u); and on the 13th of December 1700, having resigned his post in the Treasury, he was created a Peer of England [M], by the title of Baron of Halifax in the county of York (w). But in the Parliament which met February 6th this year, he was attacked by the House of Commons, who addressed his Majesty to remove him from his presence and councils; and afterwards impeached him of high crimes and misdemeanors in six articles [N]; which were, however, dismissed by the House of Lords, and he continued in King William's favour 'till the death of that Prince: but not long after the accession of Queen Anne, his name was struck out of the Privy Council (x) [O], and in the first Parliament of that Queen in 1702, he was again attacked by the House

(s) Salmon, p. 231.

(t) Ibid. p. 234.

(u) His Life, p. 67. This was a patent place for life; he got the grant made to his brother Christopher before his resignation of the other two. See his answer to the articles of impeachment in 1701.

(w) Salmon, p. 239 col a. He was succeeded as Commissioner of the Treasury by Sidney Lord Godolphin.

(x) His Life, p. 75.

wards arose from the interfering claims of the two companies. So that Mr Prior intimates, that his friend Charles was called up to the House of Lords at this juncture by his Majesty (13), in order to save the ill countenance of his minister's defeat in the Lower House, upon the struggle between the two East India companies.

(13) See Prior's article.

[M] *He was created a Peer of England.*] The reason of his advancement was, as usual, declared in the preamble to his patent, which was drawn in very elegant Latin by his friend Mr Prior. *Si ab antiquissima procerum familia splendorem derivare, &c.* The English of which is: If it be accounted honourable to be descended from a most ancient family of noblemen; if it be any glory to grow illustrious by great actions proceeding from personal and inherent merit, our right well-beloved and very faithful Counsellor, Charles Montague, Esq; on both accounts, recommends himself to our singular good opinion and esteem, who derives his splendor from a house, which at once very plentifully provides for the ornament and support of our kingdom, in three Earls and eight Members of Parliament: a gentleman adorned with those virtues to which no good citizen can envy any increase of honour, and which a just Prince cannot but freely offer. Nature has endued him with a genius to manage affairs of the highest concern, and which cultivated by learning, and by a continual practice of speaking well and acting wisely, we have found him strenuous and eloquent in Parliament; in Council, faithful and prudent; in determining causes relating to the Exhequer, upright and penetrating. We gratefully acknowledge ourselves altogether indebted to the Parliament for the supplies we have received to carry on a nine year's war in fighting for religion and liberty, and the common welfare of Europe: But we must not pass over in silence the sagacity of this excellent gentleman, who took care, that in the greatest scarcity, the publick credit should not sink, by being over-burthened with excessive interest. We must likewise reckon it a happiness, that he was at that time Chancellor of our Exchequer, when to our admiration we beheld the current money, which was adulterated and debased by the fraud and villainy of wicked men, in the space of two years (though accounted the work of an age) coined anew, and restored to it's intrinsic value. An attempt as fortunate as it was bold; and the demands of money increasing upon us, by his counsel and advice, we entered upon a new and unusual method of establishing a paper credit, whereby we made provision to advance the riches of the nation. For these good offices he gained the love and esteem of the people, and for the benefit which they received by his means, he has easily obtained ours. Wherefore, as we are always inclined to comply with the frequent wishes of our good subjects; we willingly and with all chearfulness call *him* to the House of Peers, whom the Commons by a publick vote for his eminent services have pronounced deserving of our royal favour. Now know ye, &c.

[N] *He was impeached in six articles.*] These were in substance. 1. That he had procured a grant to Thomas Railton, Esq; in trust for himself, of several debts, interests, &c. amounting to 13000 *l.* accruing from forfeitures in Ireland. This he acknowledged, but asserted the innocence of it, and took notice that this grant had been since resumed, and that he had not cleared from it above 400. 2. That he had put 1000 *l.* into his own pocket accruing from the profits of the abovenamed grant, which ought to have been repaid to the receipt of the Exchequer in Ireland (14). He answered, that in this matter he gave directions to follow the advice of counsel, who gave their opinion that this money was not within that act. 3. That he advised the making of divers grants to others, and obtained several for himself. For answer, he confessed both parts of this article, confining the grants to himself to those mentioned in this article. 4. That he had procured a grant for the sum of 14000 *l.* of scrubbed beech, holly, and many tons of well grown timber had been felled and sold for his benefit. In answer, he acknowledged his receiving a grant of 2000 *l.* a year, to be raised by the fall of scrubbed beech, birch, &c. for seven years, which was not prejudicial to any timber, and that the cutting of the wood being done by the directions of the proper officers, did not relate to him. 5. That he was in effect, at one and the same time, one of the Commissioners of the Treasury, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Auditor of the receipts of the Exchequer, which were inconsistent, and ought to have been a check to each other. He answered, that the grant of the Auditor's place was procured upon a design of resigning those in the Treasury, which he had since done. 6. That he advised the Partition-treaty (15). This he absolutely denied, averring, that he never was consulted upon any clause or article thereof: but when the said matter was discoursed at Tunbridge-Wells, he made several objections to it. The issue of this last affair may be seen in Mr Prior's article.

(14) By virtue of an act for granting an aid to his Majesty by the sale of the forfeited estates in Ireland.

(15) See more of this treaty in Lord Somers's article.

[O] *He was struck out of the Privy-Council.*] His Lordship being earlier than was expected with his compliments to the new sovereign; on this occasion, the author of the poem called the Golden Age, was very severe upon this step in the following couplet:

Dissembling statesmen shall before thee stand,
And Halifax be first shall kiss thy hand.

However, he had the comfort of having better times foretold to him in a poetical vision by another writer, who addressed him in the following lines.

Quintus Arbelius to Charles Lord Halifax.

Take courage, noble Charles, and cease to muse,
I come from t'other world, to bring thee news;
I'm Quint' Arbelius in black Scylla's time,
Proscribed then, and for no other crime,
Than that my lands in fair Albania's field
Were pleasant there, and did much profit yield.
Take courage, man, for that thou hast a charm;
Thy pleasant lands can never do thee harm:
And yet thy faults are worse, far worse than mine,
My lands were my faults, and thy place is thine.
Thy faults are worse, for I poor silly fool,
Had no ambition, nor a soul to rule;
But thou, great Charles, the glory of that Court,
Thy master's crown and honour did support:
Thou kept those vipers from that sacred head,
But the great patron of mankind is dead.
And now they spit their venom, shoot their sting
On thee, and all that lov'd the glorious King.
But 'tis a crime enough in any case,
To keep, when men in power want, a place.
Take courage, Ch— ! for I this comfort bring,
The heav'ns that did protect, and love thy King,
After some trial, thou shalt surely find
To all his friends propitious and kind.

More

House of Commons, who voted him guilty of a breach of trust in the execution of his office of Auditor [*P*], and addressed her Majesty to give directions to the Attorney General for his prosecution (*y*). But this was soon afterwards dropt by order of the Queen and Council, the House of Lords having before resolved that he had performed the duty of his office, and that he had not been guilty of any neglect or breach of trust in the principal article alledged against him. He constantly opposed, and was greatly instrumental in defeating, the attempts of the House of Commons upon the Occasional Conformity bill, this and the following years (*z*); and in 1704, he wrote an answer to Mr Bromley's speech upon that subject [*Q*]. Before the rising of the Parliament on March the 14th, the same year, he made the first proposal for the union of England and Scotland (*a a*); and upon the return of the writs for a new Parliament which met September 10th 1705, was received into her Majesty's favour, and recalled to his seat at the Council Board. He likewise attended her Majesty from Newmarket to Cambridge, and was there created Doctor of Laws (*b b*). In the Parliament that met September 6th this year, he made the first motion for the famous enquiry into the danger of the Church [*R*], which ended in an address

(*y*) The report from the Commissioners of Accounts, which occasioned this vote, was given into the House of Commons by Henry St John, afterwards Viscount Bolingbroke. Ibid. p. 77.

(*z*) Ibid. p. 88 to 110.

(*a a*) Ibid. p. 112.

(*b b*) Ibid. p. 131.

More would I tell thee, but th' approach of day
Forces us shadows to make haste away (16).

(16) State Poems, Vol. III. p. 467, 468. edit. 3d, 1703.

[*P*] *Guilty of a breach of trust.*] viz. In not transmitting the imprest rolls half yearly to the King's Remembrancer; the whole charge was branched out into five other articles, but they were all consequent upon this the chief and leading offence. But the Lords, before whom the accounts had been laid, appointed a committee to examine into this matter, who made the following report to the House: That in their opinion Charles Lord Halifax, Auditor, &c. hath performed the duty of his office, in transmitting the ordinary imprest rolls to the Queen's Remembrancer, according to the ancient custom of the Exchequer, and the direction of the act 8th & 9th Gul. III. Regis, intituled, *An act for the better observation of the course anciently used in the receipt of the Exchequer*; and that he hath not been guilty of any neglect or breach of trust upon that account. This report being agreed to by the House, the Commons desired a conference with the Lords thereupon, wherein they charged the Lords with giving judgment without a trial. But the latter defending their proceedings as no ways impeding a prosecution of the Lord Halifax, a second conference was had, in which the Upper House appointed Lord Halifax one of their managers, who, in his own defence, alledged that the Lord's resolution was well founded, since they had the rolls themselves before them, and proof upon oath. That by the words of the act, the Auditor was to transmit the imprest rolls to the Remembrancer half yearly, according to the usual course of the Exchequer, within eight months and four months. That it was not his duty to transmit them immediately to the Remembrancer, because he was to send them to the Clerk of the Rolls, who was to examine and sign them. That it could not be imagined the Auditor should be tied to a certain time to transmit the rolls to the Remembrancer, because they were first to pass through another hand: and he never took it, there was any occasion to put down the time he examined them, for that would appear from the time of the delivery, and date of the roll. That there was one examined by the Clerk of the Rolls the fourth of July, and not delivered 'till the 23d of January, which he did not take to be the Auditor's fault, but to be the duty of the Pells to deliver them. That every body knew the great trouble that had been given in his as well as other offices by the Commissioners of accompts; and that no less had happened by not transmitting those rolls, no process having been issued forth for many years upon them. The answer made by the managers for the Commons was judged so unsatisfactory, that the generality of the people appeared to be against this prosecution, and the Attorney-General received orders to drop it (17).

(17) See his Life, p. 88.

[*Q*] *Answer to B—'s speech.*] Mr Bromley, amongst other reasons for the bill, had urged, That the Sacramental Test was appointed by the wisdom of the legislature, to preserve the Established Church, which Church seems, says he, in as much danger from the Dissenters now, as it was from the Papists then. To this our author replies, That every body knew the circumstances our affairs were in at the time when this Test-Act was made. We had a Sovereign upon the throne, who was suspected to have a very strong inclination towards Popery; and who, if the proofs published after his death by authority may be believed, was then actually a Papist. His brother, who had then the greatest share in the administration, and who had the fleet and army in his own hands, was a professed one. The Lord Treasurer, who had the disposal of all the publick money was a Papist. The persons employed in publick trusts, were such as were likely to pursue the methods prescribed them by these. Secret treaties were made with the French King, great sums of money received from him, and his Ambassador was at the head of our affairs in England. In fine, there appeared upon all occasions an evident disposition at Court to introduce Popery, and destroy the liberty of the subject; and there was a potent Prince ready at all times to engage in any enterprize against the Protestant Religion, and civil rights of Europe. But is there any danger, continues he, like this, from the Dissenters at present? Has ever the most malicious enemy but once suspected her Majesty of any designs against the Church of England? Is there any man employed in any offices under her, who has ever been said to be a Dissenter? Have the Dissenters shewn any inclination to invade the Church? Are they not firmly united with her in the same common interest? Or if they were not, have they any foreign Prince either willing or able to support them in any attempt against her? The influence this opinion of the Church's danger had upon Mr Montague's fortune, appears in the next remark.

[*R*] *An enquiry into the danger of the Church.*] In answer to this motion, the 6th of December following was appointed for this enquiry, when the Queen being in the House, the Earl of Rochester opened the debate, wherein, after a proper preface of regard to the Queen's presence, he observed, that the fear of the Church's danger arose from three causes: 1. The act of security of Scotland. 2. *The heir of the house of Hanover not being sent for over.* 3. The not passing the occasional bill. Upon the first, he said the Presbyterian Church in Scotland was established without a toleration for the Episcopalians. That to arm these people was to give them a power to invade England; where they had a powerful party for their friends, who never wanted will to destroy the Church. 2. That he thought the heir to the crown ought to be present among us, in order to be fully acquainted with us and our constitution, and thereby be enabled to prevent any evil designs upon the Church and State. And, 3. That the occasional bill was in itself so reasonable, and the Church's request in it so small, that the industry in opposing it gave the greater grounds for suspicion. When he had ended, the House sat still and was silent a quarter of an hour, expecting some body would second him, but no body else speaking on that side, the Lord Halifax stood up and said: That he having moved for that day's debate, it might be expected he should speak to it: he therefore told the House, that the act of security in Scotland was only a national thing, wholly foreign to Church affairs, that it was passed only to prevent immediate war, which the Scots seemed to have resolved on; and, *That if that should happen, England, however, was well able to defend itself as it had done in former times* (18); but that at present there was no reason for fearing an amicable issue of that difference. *As to the house of Hanover*, he said, *that was a danger but of eight days standing*, for he durst say, a fortnight ago, no body made the absence of the Princess Sophia a danger to the Church. And as for her absence upon the Queen's death, that was now so well provided for by

(18) See remark [*X*].

dress of both Houses to her Majesty, declaring all those enemies to the State, who suggested the Church to be then in any danger (*cc*). In 1706 he first moved for appointing Commissioners to treat of the union with Scotland, and was himself appointed one of the Commissioners for that treaty (*dd*), wherein he first projected the equivalent [*S*], without which, that incorporation of the two kingdoms had apparently never been accomplished; and as soon as the act for the naturalization of the House of Hanover, and the better securing the Crown in the Protestant line was passed, his Lordship was pitched upon to carry it (*ee*), together with the ensigns of the Order of the Garter, to the Electoral Prince [*T*]. In 1707, he obtained a decree in the House of Lords confirming his right to the Auditor's place against the claim of the Marquis of Caermarthen (*ff*). In 1709, he gave his vote for the sentence which passed upon Dr Henry Sacheverel (*gg*), and the following year he wrote Seasonable Questions concerning a new Parliament [*U*]. His Lordship now saw himself

(*cc*) P. 132 to 136.

(*dd*) P. 137 to 141.

(*ee*) See Toland's article.

(*ff*) This claim was brought by writ of error to that House, where the Marquis pleaded a grant of the place made to him after the death of Sir Rob. Howard, whom Lord Halifax had succeeded. Ibid. p. 145.

(*gg*) P. 156.

by the acts for Lords Justices, that he thought no evil could possibly happen to the Church before her arrival. That he wondered the house of Hanover should be now esteemed such a security to the Church, whereas, when the laws were made for the security of that succession, it was generally reckoned a hardship upon the Church; and a clergyman in company of a Convocation man, had openly called her an unbaptized *Lutheran*: the truth of which he could prove. As to the occasional bill, *that*, he said, was much the same as before, only he added, that soon after the accession of King William to the crown, the cry of the Church's danger began, and was continued all his reign, but on what grounds, he could not know. That upon her Majesty's happy accession the complaint had no vent given to it for some time; but that when she was pleased to make some alterations, it was immediately revived, grew clamorous, and had ever since continued so: he concluded, that the Church was then in no manner of danger (19). After this, the debate was continued a long time, and was closed at last by his Lordship, with a very high encomium upon the present Ministry (20). As the attempt to bring over the next heir to the crown was particularly disagreeable to her Majesty, this Lord's opposing it in her presence opened the door through which he entred into her favour: but we shall see in the sequel, that this door being afterwards opened too wide, made a passage, through which he was thrust out of favour again.

(19) See Parliament Debates for this year.

(20) Viz. Lord Godolphin, the Duke of Marlborough, and the Earl of Sunderland.

[*S*] *He projected the equivalent.*] This was the 15th article of the Union, by which it was agreed, that 398085 *l.* should be paid to the Scots nation as an equivalent for the revenues of their country. It being observed by the Earl of Nottingham, that this article consisted of two parts, viz. a certain grant of money, and the application thereof. In reference to the said article, it was highly unreasonable that the Scotch, who were by the treaty let into all the branches of our trade, and paid so little toward the support of the Government, and of an expensive war, should moreover have an *equivalent* of 398085 *l.* given them for coming into the treaty. He insisted much upon this argument, and took notice, that as to the disposal of that equivalent, the part of it which was to be given to the Darien Company might be swallowed up by a few persons, without any particular regard to the indemnifying every private trader in that unhappy enterprize. To this Lord Halifax answered, that the equivalent could not be looked upon as a gift, but as an equal purchase of the Scotch revenue and customs, which by this union were to be applied to the payment of the debts of England, and that they were no more gainers by it, than we were here by the sale of annuities of 15 or 16 years purchase; that as to the disposal of the money, it being their own, it was but reasonable, they should have the liberty of applying the same as they thought most convenient, the English commissioners being no ways concerned therein, whose care, nevertheless, and great prudence, had been such, that they made provision it should not be disposed of, but by certain commissioners, who should be accountable to the Parliament of Great-Britain for the same (21). Notwithstanding these pretences, it is well known, nor could his Lordship be ignorant of it, that this money was distributed according to the design of giving it among the leading men of the Scotish nation, as an equivalent for the power and interest employed upon their countrymen. It cannot escape notice, that the sum is within a trifle of 400000 *l.* for which that nation sold formerly King Charles the First to his murderers.

(21) Consult that treaty.

[*T*] *He carried the bill to the Elector of Hanover.*] We have the following account of his reception at that court. His Lordship being arrived in the Elector's territories, was welcomed at Diepeneau, a town upon the frontiers, by the Governors of the place, and afterwards splendidly treated by his Highness's officers, who had been sent thither for that purpose. The next day his Lordship was met by Sir Rowland Gwin, Chamberlain to the Electress Dowager, with a compliment from his mistress, and found a very splendid entertainment prepared for him by the Elector's officers. His Lordship arrived late in the evening at Hanover, and was conducted to a palace magnificently fitted up for his reception, after which Baron Grote, the late Envoy to Sweden, and Mr Schutz, son to the Elector's Envoy in England, acquainted him with their appointment to attend his Lordship, and do the honours of their master's house and table during his stay at that court. On the day following he had his audience with the usual ceremonies, excepting only that the Elector had ordered six coaches instead of three (the usual number) to attend upon him, and the drum of the court to beat as his Lordship passed by. Baron Gurits, President of the Chamber and Grand Marshal, received his Lordship at the head of the stairs, and thence conducted him to the several apartments of the Princess Sophia, the Elector, the Electoral Prince, and the Electoral Princess. There was an extraordinary appearance of nobility on this occasion, and tables prepared for the ladies that were invited to the solemnity. Dinner was served in the same manner as when a Prince dined with the Elector, the trumpets and kettle drums sounding at their going to table; and after dinner his Lordship had his audience of the Princess and Duke Ernest the Elector's brother. Two of the Elector's pages and four coaches were appointed to wait on his Lordship, and a party of foot guards to attend constantly before his house. Not many days after the investiture of the Electoral Prince with the ensigns of the Order of the Garter (22). The Prince Royal of Prussia (23), who was married to the Electoral Princess during the Lord Halifax's residence at the court, set out with his Lordship for the Confederate Army. From the army he went to the Hague, and thence returned home (24).

(22) The ceremony was performed by Captain (afterwards Sir John) Vanbrug, Clarencieux King at Arms.

(23) Father to the present King of Prussia.

(24) Life of Charles Earl of Halifax, p. 141, & seq.

[*U*] *Queries concerning a new Parliament.*] This paper was the last struggle of our minister and his party, to retrieve the absolute loss of their departing power; and to that end, it was calculated to raise such a general clamour among the people (the majority of whom they still believed to be on their side) as should intimidate their antagonists from attempting a dissolution of the Parliament. The queries, therefore, set forth the ability, integrity, and popularity, of the declining Ministry, contrasting those with the contrary qualities in the rising one, which not safely admitting of a direct charge, it was necessary (and at the same time, conveyed a stronger confidence in the implied truth of it) to suggest and insinuate in the form of queries. These are branched out in an even dozen, of which, the three following point out the true cause of the Junto's defeat (25). 7. 'Whether the permitting Dr Sacheverell to ride in triumph from place to 'place, being convicted by the High Court of Parliament, be not the greatest indignity that ever was, 'or can be, acted against the State. 8. Whether 'those persons that have aided and abetted the doctor 'in his progress, may not justly be accounted enemies 'to her Majesty and her government, tending only to 'raise commotions in the kingdom. 9. Whether it 'mayn't be an encouragement to the French King to 'throw in the Pretender upon you in the time of 'chusing

(25) This was the name set upon our author's party by their antagonists, and passed current every where.

himſelf again out of the royal favour; however, he found means to defeat an attempt made by the ſucceeding Miniſtry to reſume all King William's grants, and therein his own, of Crown lands, &c (*bb*). During the reſt of this reign he ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the terms of the peace of Utrecht †, and ſtruggled upon all occaſions to ſupport the honour and intereſt of the Duke of Marlborough [*W*]. He appeared alſo warm for ſecuring the Hanover ſucceſſion, which he conceived to be in ſome danger [*X*]; and in 1714 projected a ſcheme, which ſucceeded, for procuring a writ to call the Electoral Prince of Hanover, as Duke of Cambridge, to the Houſe of Peers [*Y*]. In conſequence of this conduct, upon the deceaſe of the Queen, he found himſelf appointed one of the Regency during her ſucceſſor's abſence from his kingdoms, and as ſoon as his Majeſty King George the Firſt had taken poſſeſſion of his throne, he was created Earl of Halifax, and inſtalled Knight of the Garter, and a ſecond time appointed Firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, having obtained a grant of the reverſion of the Auditor's place for his nephew George Montague, Eſq; (*ii*). But he enjoyed theſe accumulated honours a very ſhort time, for while he appeared to be in a very vigorous ſtate of health, he was taken ſuddenly ill on the 15th

(*bb*) P. 160, 161.

† In the debates on this ſubject, among other things, he obſerved, that Port Mahon was in the power of France and Spain to take from us when they pleaſe. His Life, p. 171.

(*ii*) P. 258, 259.

'chuſing a new Parliament, and who are moſt likely to 'come to his aſſiſtance, the moderate Churchmen and 'Diſſenters, who acknowledge and will ſtand by her 'Majeſty's Parliamentary right, or the High-flyers and 'Sacheverelites, who will own no other but what is hereditary?' It is obſervable, that there is not a word of the Church's danger in theſe queries, though his his Lordſhip could not but know *that* cry was the great engine by which this change in the Miniſtry was effected. But the truth is, the extraordinary heat ſhewn in proſecuting Dr Sacheverell, had given the engine too much force to be meddled with. 'Tis certain Lord Halifax ſaid little in that trial beſides what related to Parliamentary forms, and ſeconded the motion for a much milder puniſhment, than had been propoſed by his friend the Earl of Wharton: being one of thoſe that preſently foreſaw they ſhould roaſt the parſon at a fire ſo hot as to burn their own fingers (26).

[*W*] *Struggled to ſupport the Duke of Marlborough's honour.*] After the Houſe of Lords had voted and returned thanks to the Earl of Peterborough (27), maugre all the oppoſition to it by the reſt of the Duke of Marlborough's friends, as well as our fallen Miniſter (28). The very next day there was publiſhed by his Lordſhip's encouragement, in the form of an epiſtle to the Earl of Galway, containing a laboured panegyrick upon that Earl's conduct, who had loſt the battle of Almanza. It concludes with the following lines pointed againſt the Earl of Peterborough.

Homer, who beſt of poets underſtood,
To temper heroes, or to form a god;
Makes bold raſh heat to cooler conduct yield,
And hotſpur Mars to Pallas quit the field.

(26) Our author's Life, p. 157—159.

(27) This was done to mortify the Duke of Marlborough, who had no thanks this ſeſſion. General Hiſtory of England.

(28) Lord Halifax drew up all the proteſts againſt the ſeveral queſtions, except the laſt in this debate. His Life, p. 193.

[*X*] *Warm for ſecuring the Proteſtant Succeſſion.*] As the Scots were known to be no friends to the Church of England, in order to mortify them, the Tory Miniſtry in 1713, had inſerted a clauſe in the malt bill for laying that tax equally upon both kingdoms. This ſo incenſed the Scots, that they moved to bring in a bill for diſſolving the Union, as not having thoſe good effects that were expected from it, one of which was ſecuring the Proteſtant Succeſſion in the Houſe of Hanover: Lord Halifax ſeconded this motion. When the Earl of Peterborough urged the impoſſibility of diſſolving the Union, and among other things ſaid, that he had heard the Union compared to a marriage: That according to that notion, ſince it was made it could not be broke, being made by the greateſt power upon earth: That though ſometimes there happened a difference between man and wife, yet it did not preſently break the marriage. So, in like manner, though England, who in this national marriage muſt be ſuppoſed the huſband, might in ſome inſtances be unkind to the Lady, yet ſhe ought not preſently to ſue for a divorce, the rather, becauſe ſhe had very much mended her fortune by the match. Adding, that the Union was a contract, than which nothing could be more binding. To this Lord Halifax replied, that if the Union had the ſame ſanction as marriage, which was an ordinance of God, he ſhould be for obſerving it as religiouſly as that, but that he thought there was a great difference; when Lord Peterborough returned for anſwer, that he could not tell how it could be more ſolemn than it was, except it was expected, that it ſhould have come down from heaven like the ten commandments; concluding that the Scots were a people, that could never be ſatisfied; that would have all the advantage of being united to England, without the inconveniencies; that they would pay no taxes at all by their good will; and that ſome of them had more money from England, than all their eſtates amounted to in their own country (29). This being pointed at the Duke of Argyle becauſe of his great places, was let go by Lord Halifax, who obſerved the oppoſition conſtantly made by that Duke, to the reputation of the Duke of Marlborough; and when one of the Scotch Peers urged the danger that England would be in from the Pretender, ſhould the Union be diſſolved, the Lord Halifax anſwered, He could not tell what England had to fear from that or any other incident; and that the Queen, Lords, and Commons, if all in one intereſt, need to fear no enemies in the world, but ought to deſpiſe the Pretender and all his abettors (30).

(29) Dean Swift at this time publiſhed a pamphlet, wherein he ſaid, he could point out ſome with great titles, who affected to appear very vigorous for diſſolving the Union, though their whole revenues before that period would have ill maintained a Welſh Juſtice of the Peace, and had ſince gathered more money than ever any Scotchman who had not travelled could form an idea of. Publick Spirit of the Whigs. This piece was moved to be cenſured by Lord Halifax. Boyer.

(30) Parliamentary Debates under this year.

[*Y*] *He projected a ſcheme for bringing the Electoral Prince of Hanover to England.*] This expedient was hatched at Lord Halifax's houſe, in the following manner: Baron Schutz made a viſit to Lord Chancellor Harcourt, and among other civilities acknowledged the affection his Lordſhip had ſhewn on ſeveral occaſions to the moſt ſerene Electoral houſe of Brunſwick. Lord Chancellor told him, he *was extremely ſenſible of the honour and juſtice he did him by this viſit and compliment, and deſired him to aſſure the Elector his maſter, of his entire devotion to his ſervice; hoping that his Electoral Highneſs gave no credit to the falſe reports that were induſtriouſly ſpread abroad, in order to give him jealouſies of her Majeſty's Miniſters.* The Baron anſwered, he would not fail of diſcharging ſo agreeable a commiſſion; but added, he had a favour to aſk the Lord Chancellor in the name of the Electoral Prince, viz That his Lordſhip would be pleaſed to make out a writ for his Highneſs's ſitting in the Houſe of Peers, as Duke of Cambridge. To which Lord Chancellor, as is probable, in no ſmall ſurprize, anſwered, *That it was not uſual to make out writs for Peers that were out of the kingdom; however, he would forthwith apply to her Majeſty for directions in that caſe.* The Baron replied, he did not doubt but his Lordſhip knew, and would perform the duties of his office; and that as to the difficulty of the Duke of Cambridge's being out of the kingdom, he might aſſure himſelf, that his Highneſs, the Electoral Prince, had reſolved to come over very ſpeedily, and perhaps might be landed before the writ was made out. After which, the Baron taking his leave, was deſired by the Lord Chancellor, to remember, *he did not refuſe his demand, but only thought it proper to acquaint her Majeſty with it; which he would do immediately.* To this the Baron ſaid, he deſired his Lordſhip likewiſe to remember, that he had applied to him for the Duke of Cambridge's writ. The Lord Chancellor the ſame evening acquainted her Majeſty with all that had paſſed; whereupon a Council was immediately called, which ſitting from nine to eleven at night, it was reſolved, that a writ ſhould be made out for his Highneſs, as requeſted: But Baron Schutz within five days was forbid the Court. As the Queen's mind in this point was well known, this proceeding cannot be cleared from the imputation of rudeneſs, not to ſay inſult, in our ſtateſman to his Sovereign; all we can ſay, is, that it was almoſt the only inſtance wherein the heat of party made him forget his good nature (31).

(31) It was likewiſe concerted, that letters ſhould be ſent from her Majeſty to the Princeſs Sophia, and to the Duke her grandſon, to diſſwade the one from giving her conſent, and the other from coming to England. His Life, p. 223, 224, 225.

 [*Z*] *His*

15th of May, 1715; at the house of Mynheer Davenvoord, one of the Dutch Ambassadors; and his distemper increasing with great violence, put a period to his life the 19th of the same month. During his short illness he was attended by Dr Shadwell, principal Physician to the King, and Dr Seigerthal, his Majesty's German Physician, who consulting also with Sir Richard Blackmore and Dr Mead, agreed all in their opinion, that his disorder was a pleurisy †: but upon opening his body, it was found to be an inflammation of the lungs. On the 26th, his corps was conducted from the Jerusalem-Chamber, and interred in General Monk's vault in Henry VIIth's Chapel adjoining to Westminster-Abbey, pursuant to his own request (*kk*), where a handsom plain monument is erected, with an inscription in Latin to his Memory (*ll*). As he was not only possessed of a great share of polite and useful learning himself, but likewise a general Mæcenas of it in others (*mm*), so we find many eulogiums of him in dedications, &c. as by Sir Richard Steel ‖, Mr Tickell [*Z*], and others; and the genius of his muse was particularly described by Mr Addison [*AA*]. His singular merit as a statesman, deserved a place in these memoirs, and as much justice has been done to it as the plan of them would admit. At the same time it must not be dissembled that he has not escaped censure, for playing the courtier too much to King William (*nn*); especially in two points: first, by his endeavours to bring the House of Commons into that King's measures for keeping on foot more standing forces after the conclusion of the peace of Ryswick, than the stated establishment; and secondly, for the interest he made among them for the continuance of his Majesty's Dutch blue-guards. Upon the whole, the most amiable quality in his composition, I own, to me, is, that true English good nature, which was a continual source of general benevolence and kindnesses to all that had the least claim to it, and which at the same time, led him to dislike, and generally prevailed with him to oppose *, all violent measures on each side. After the death of his Lady, which happened many years before his own, he continued single, being disappointed in his views of a second marriage to a Lady of great birth and fortune [*BB*]; which perhaps was less regretted, as he had some time before cast his eye upon a niece of his friend Sir Isaac Newton, to be superintendent of his domestic affairs (*oo*). This gentlewoman at that time was widow of one Colonel Barton, and was then a celebrated toast, being young, beautiful, and gay [*CC*], so that she did not escape censure, which was, however, passed upon her very undeservedly, since we are well assured she was a woman of strict honour and virtue. 'Tis certain she was very agreable to his Lordship in every particular, in testimony of which,

† P. 260.

(*kk*) P. 261.

(*ll*) The words of his Will are, 'I desire to be buried privately in Westminster-abbey, and to have a handsom plain monument.

(*mm*) As Stepney, Congreve, Addison, Prior, Pope, Steele, Sir Isaac Newton, Dr Halley, &c.

‖ Dedication to the Tatler, Vol. IV. and to the Spectator, Vol. III.

(*nn*) In the particular concern he always testified for King William's honour. On these and all other occasions he was apparently governed by a principle of gratitude to a prince, who from a *mouse* made a *man* of him.

* We have given an instance or two where he sacrificed this principle to party rage in the last four years of Queen Anne, which stand particularly marked in history for violent times.

(*oo*) His Life, p. 295, 296.

[*Z*] *His character by Tickell.*] The cause of Liberty, says this gentleman, will receive no small advantage in future times, when it shall be observed, that the Earl of Halifax was one of the patriots who were at the head of it; and that most of those who were eminent in the several parts of polite and useful learning, were by his influence and example engaged in the same interest (32).

(32) Dedication of his Poems.

[*AA*] *As also by Mr Addison.*] It is in his account of the greatest English Poets, where he makes the following remark:

How negligently graceful he unreins
His verse, and writes in loose familiar strains.

Where the client only re echoes what the patron had sung himself.

I know my compass, and my muse's size,
She loves to sport and play, but dares not rise;
Idly affects in this familiar way,
In easy numbers loosely to convey,
What mutual friendship would at distance say.

[*BB*] *Disappointed in a second marriage.*] The writer of his Lordship's life tells us, that after the loss of his lady, he resolved to live single. This seemed a little unaccountable, as by that loss he was left without issue, and (notwithstanding his attachment to Widow Barton) there is reason to believe is indeed no better than a mistake, yet not unpardonable; since the defeat he met with in attempting a second match, might probably dispose him to keep the attempt a secret. And so it remained, 'till lately the affair came to be made publick in some letters of his rival the Earl of Shaftesbury. This Lord having determined to make his addresses to a certain Nobleman's daughter, upon the recommendation of Lord Molesworth, who was a relation to the lady's family, held a correspondence upon the occasion with that Lord, to whom he opened himself freely; and, having particularly begged his kindness in promoting the treaty, proceeds thus: 'If the 'person talked of be really my rival, and in favour 'with the father, I must own my case is desperate; 'not only because I truly think him, as the world 'goes, likely enough to make a good (at least a civil) 'husband; but because, as my aim is not fortune, and 'his is, he being an old friend too, I should unwillingly stand between him and an estate; which his liberality has hitherto hindered him from gaining, as 'great as his advantages have been hitherto in the government. By what I have said, I believe you may 'guess, who my supposed rival is (33): or if you want 'further hint, 'tis one of the chief of the *Junto*, an 'old friend of your's and mine, whom we long sat with 'in the House of Commons (not often voted with) 'but who was afterwards taken up to a higher house; 'and is as much noted for wit and gallantry, and 'magnificence, as for his eloquence and courtier's character. But whether this be so suited to this meek 'good lady's happiness, I know not. Fear of partiality and self-love makes me not dare determine; 'but rather mistrust myself, and turn the ballance 'against me. Pray keep this secret, for I got it by 'chance: and if there be any thing in it, 'tis a great 'secret between the two Lords themselves. But sometimes I fancy I hit a nail, which will hardly go, tho' 'I am pretty certain it has been aimed at, by this old 'acquaintance of ours, ever since a disappointment 'happened from a great Lord beyond sea, who was to 'have had the lady (34)'

'(33) Charles Montague, late 'Earl of Halifax.'

(34) Letters from the Earl of Shaftesbury to Robert Molesworth, Esq; afterwards Lord Viscount of that name, &c. edit. 1750, 8vo. letter iii. p. 70, 71, 72.

[*CC*] *She was young, beautiful, and gay.*] In a poem called the Toasters, where all the distinguished beauties at that time are celebrated in distinct epigrams: These two appear in honour of Mrs Barton.

Stampt with her reigning charms, this brittle glass
Will safely thro' the realms of Bacchus pass;
Full fraught with beauty, will new flames impart,
And mount her shining image in the heart.

Another.

Beauty and wit strove each in vain,
To vanquish Bacchus and his train:
But Barton with successful charms,
From both their quivers drew her arms;
The roving god his sway resigns,
And chearfully submits his vines.

[*DD*] He

which, he left her by his will, a very large legacy, by a codicil wrote with his own hand, in the following terms. 'By virtue, and in pursuance of the power reserved to myself in 'my last will and testament of the tenth day of April, one thousand seven hundred and 'six; I do make this codicil to my said will and testament, and do hereby give to Sir 'Isaac Newton the sum of one hundred pounds, as a mark of the great honour and 'esteem I have for so great a man. And I do likewise give, grant, devise, and bequeath, 'to his niece, Mrs Catherine Barton, the sum of five thousand pounds of lawful money of 'England. And I do likewise give, devise, and bequeath to her, all the right, title, and 'interest, I have in a grant from the Crown, of the Rangership and Lodge of Bushy-'Park; together with all the houshold-goods and furniture belonging to the house, gar-'dens, and park; to have, hold, and enjoy, to her own use and benefit, the said Ran-'gership, Lodge, and Park, during her life: and to enable the said Mrs Barton to keep 'the said house and gardens in repair and good order, I do likewise give, grant, and be-'queath, my manour of *Apscourt* in the county of Surrey, together with all the rents, 'profits, and advantages thereunto belonging, to the said Mrs Catherine Barton during 'her life.—These gifts and legacies I leave to her as a token of the sincere love, affection, 'and esteem I have long had for her person, and as a small recompence for the pleasure 'and happiness I have had in her conversation. And I strictly charge and command my 'executor, to give all aid, help, and assistance to her in possessing and enjoying what I 'have hereby given her; and also in doing any act or acts necessary to transfer to her an 'annuity of two hundred pounds *per annum*, purchased in Sir Isaac Newton's name, 'which I hold for her in trust, as appears by a declaration of trust in that behalf. Hali-'fax. Feb. 1. 1712 *(pp)*.' He also made afterwards another codicil to secure the performance of this [*DD*]. His Lordship's residuary legatee and sole executor mentioned in this codicil, was his nephew George Montague of Horton, Esq; son to his eldest brother Edward, and then Member of Parliament for Northampton; who by the patent succeeded his uncle likewise in the Barony, and was afterwards created also Earl of Halifax, being father to the present Earl, who has merited so much by the signal service he has done his country in promoting the establishment of the new colony of Nova-Scotia, the present flourishing condition of which is originally owing entirely to his Lordship's generosity and indefatigable attention to it's welfare.

(pp) Copy of the last Will and Testament of Charles Lord Halifax, subjoined to his Life, p. v, vi.

[*DD*] *He also made another codicil to secure the performance thereof.*] Two days after the date of his will, he added the folowing codicil: 'By virtue, and in pursuance of the power reserved in my last will and testa-'ment of the 10th of April, one thousand seven hun-'dred and six, I do by this codicil to my said will, 'give and bequeath to Mrs Catherine Barton, all the 'jewels I have at the time of my death; and likewise 'three thousand pounds, as a small token of the great 'love and affection I have long had for her.—Signed 'and sealed by me this twelfth day of April, *Anno 'Domini* one thousand seven hundred and six.' After the adding of that in the text above, he cancelled this in a third codicil dated August 30th, 1713; and took that opportunity of confirming the other, as follows: 'In case there be no dispute upon the co-'dicile of the first of February 1712, which I enjoin 'my executor not to make, I do by these presents re-'voke and make void this codicil of the 12th of April '1706. P

MORE [Sir Thomas], Lord High Chancellor of England, was descended of a genteel family (*a*), and born in the year 1480, in Milk-street London, not without some presages both before and after his birth of the great man he afterwards proved [*A*]. He was the only son of Sir John More, Knt. one of the Judges of the King's Bench (*b*); who put him first to school at St Anthony's in Thread-needle-street, under the care of Nicholas Holt, an eminent schoolmaster (*c*). He made a very quick progress through Grammar learning, after which his father, for his further improvement, procured him a reception into the house of Cardinal Moreton [*B*]. Our young scholar soon drew the regards

(*a*) His father bore arms from his birth, and his coat being quartered, shews that he came to his inheritance by descent, and was a gentleman. More's Life of Sir Thomas More, p. 3, 4. edit. 1726, 8vo.

(*b*) In eum Judicum ordinem a Principe cooptatus qui *Regius Consessus* vocatur. Sir Tho. More's epitaph, printed in his Latin Works, append. No. xi.

(*c*) See Bishop Whitgift's article.

[*A*] *Some presages of the great man.*] His mother (1), the next night after her marriage, had the following vision. She saw in her sleep, as it were, engraven on her wedding-ring, the number and favour of all the children she was to have; whereof, the face of one was so dark and obscure, that she could not well discern it, but the face of another she beheld shining most gloriously. Accordingly, it is observed, that she had one miscarriage, and this shining boy, the subject of our present article. Again, shortly after his birth, his nurse riding with him through a water, the horse happened to step aside into a deep place; she, in order to save the infant from drowning, in her fright, threw it over a hedge into the next field: when she came, after her own escape, to take him up, she found the babe sweetly smiling upon her, having received no manner of hurt in the fall (2). How idle soever it may justly appear to persons unconcerned, to convert such events as these into omens, yet what mother is there that is not disposed to indulge such fondnesses. 'Tis a pardonable, and I had almost said, an amiable weakness in itself, and therefore the craft of making it a handle to impose the grossest superstition is the more detestable. *Hæ tibi Roma sunt artes.*

[*B*] *Taken into the house of Cardinal Moreton.*] This was a favour not ordinarily granted to any but noblemens sons, or gentlemen of the best families, and is a strong testimony of Sir John More's worth and merit. 'Tis a method of education much practised in that age, and no doubt was of excellent use: it seems to be copied from the Romans. We find Cicero, after he had gone through his school-learning, was bred in the same manner with Scævola, and he informs us of the great advantage he reaped by it. *Ego a Patre ita eram deductus ad Scævolam sumpta virili toga, ut quoad possem, & liceret, a senis latere nunquam discederem. Itaque multa ab eo prudenter disputata, multa etiam breviter & commode dicta memoriæ mandabam, fierique studebam ejus prudentia doctior, quo mortuo me ad Pontificem Scævolam contuli quem unum nostræ civitatis & ingenio & justitia præstantissimum audeo discere* (3). At fourteen years of age, I was introduced by my father to Scævola, with orders to attend the old man as closely as possible; so that I treasured up in my memory many of his discourses, and short and apposite remarks, studying to improve by his prudence and knowledge: and after his death, I betook myself to Scævola the Pontifex who, I am bold to pronounce the

(1) Her name before this marriage was Mrs Handcomb of Holiwell in Bedfordshire. Before our author's birth she had brought her husband two daughters, Jane, married to Mr Richard Stapleton, and Elizabeth, wife to Judge Rastal's father. More's Life of Sir Thomas More, p. 4, 5. edit. 1726, 8vo.

(2) Stapleton, Vita Th. Mori, cap. i. p. 154, & seq.

(3) Ciceronis Lælius sive de Amicitia, in initio.

regards of this new patron upon him; his Eminency was greatly pleased in observing the youth's genius to literature, together with his ready wit and ingenuous modesty *(d)* [*C*]: therefore, with his father's concurrence, he sent him to Canterbury-college in Oxford about the year 1497 *(e)* [*D*]. There he had the advantage of hearing the lectures of Lynacre and Grocinus [*E*] upon the Latin and Greek languages; and it was not long before he gave some excellent specimens of a masterly skill in both, as well as in Oratory [*F*]. After two years spent in these, wherein he also made a great proficiency in the academical studies [*G*], as Rhetorick, Logick, and Philosophy, he was removed from the university to New-Inn at London, in order to study the Law, being then about the age of eighteen *(f)*. Having passed a proper time in this nursery of the Chancery, he was placed in Lincoln's-Inn, of which society his father was a member *(g)*. Here he prosecuted his studies 'till he became an Utter Barrister. In the mean time, when he was about twenty years of age, he began to use a monkish discipline upon himself [*H*]. At the age of twenty-one he was a Burgess in Parliament *(h)*, and distinguished himself remarkably in the House of Commons in 1503, upon the motion for granting a subsidy and three fifteenths for the marriage of King Henry the Seventh's eldest daughter, Margaret, to the King of Scots *(i)*. Mr More opposed this, as an exorbitant demand, with such strength of reasoning, that the motion was rejected. As soon as the vote had passed, Mr Tyler, one of the King's Privy-Council, went presently from the House, and told his Majesty, that a beardless boy had overthrown all his purpose. The King resented the matter so highly, that he would not be satisfied 'till he had some way revenged it; and since the son who had nothing could lose nothing, the King devised a causeless quarrel against the father, and sending him to the Tower, he kept him there 'till he had forced a fine from him of 100 pounds for his pretended offence. It happened soon after, that our author coming in a suit to Dr Richard Fox, Bishop of Winchester, one of the King's Privy-Council, the Bishop called him aside, and pretending great favour to him, promised, that if he would be ruled by him, he would not fail to restore him to the King's favour; intending, as it was afterwards conjectured, to draw him into a confession of his offence against the King, that so his Majesty might, with the better colour, have occasion to revenge his displeasure against him. But Mr More going from the Bishop, fell into discourse with Mr Whiteford *(k)*, his familiar friend, then Chaplain to the Bishop, and afterwards a Monk of Sion; to him he related what the Bishop had proposed, desiring his advice. Mr Whiteford counselled him not to listen to the Bishop's motion; For, says he, my Lord and Master, to serve the King's turn, will not stick to consent to his own father's death. Whereupon, our author

(d) In return, Sir Thomas speaks of this Cardinal as a man of great natural wit, very well learned, and honourable in behaviour, &c In his History of King Richard III.

(e) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 36.

(f) More's Life of Sir Thomas, chap. i.

(g) Ibid. p. 33.

(h) Roper, p. 29.

(i) Salmon's Chron. Hist. under that year.

(k) See some account of this monk, who called himself in his writings the Wretch of Sion, in Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 59.

the most ingenious and virtuous person in our city. In like manner Sir Thomas More has recorded the benefits he received from the Cardinal. *Multum debui R. P. Jo. Moretono Cant. Archiep. Cardinali ac tum quoque Angliæ Cancellario, viro non authoritate magis quam prudentia & virtute incomparabili*, &c (4). I am much indebted [as to my education] to Cardinal Moreton, an incomparable person, and not more so by the height of his station and authority, than by his prudence and virtue, &c.

[*C*] *Pleased with his modesty and wit.*] 'Tis said he came to the Cardinal very young, and yet in the Christmass holy days, while the players were acting there, he would sometimes suddenly step in among them, and without studying at all for the matter, make a part presently of his own, by which he gave the audience more diversion than all the players beside: Insomuch, that the Cardinal, much delighted with his wit and towardliness, would often say to the Nobles at dinner with him, *This child here waiting at table, whosoever shall live to see it, will prove a marvellous man* *.

[*D*] *Admitted of Canterbury-college.*] A great part of this edifice was standing 'till lately, though upon the building of Christ-Church by Cardinal Wolsey, the old small college was taken in as a part of the royal and ample foundation (5), under the name of Canterbury Quadrangle. It seems not improbable, that notwithstanding our author's admission in this college, he resided in a chamber at St Mary Hall, as Mr Wood asserts; it being customary then, and even of late frequently practised, for the students, both of Christ-Church, and Oriel-College, to have chambers, and follow their studies at St Mary-Hall, which lies contiguous to both (6).

[*E*] *Linacre and Grocinus.*] Our author improved himself greatly by these lectures, and, 'tis said, had Aristotle's works translated by the latter into Greek (7). He kept an acquaintance with them both after he left Oxford, as appears from a letter of his to Dean Colet, who was then absent from London. 'In the mean 'time [during your absence] says he, I pass my time 'with Grocinus, Linacre, and Lilly. The first being, 'as you know, the director of my (8) life, in your 'absence; the second, the maister of my studies; the 'third, my most deare companion (9).' Notwithstanding this declaration, he was then, as he expressly writes, actually entered upon the practice of the Law.

[*F*] *Specimens of his skill in both languages.*] He wrote many of his epigrams about the age of eighteen (10): he also composed several verses upon the vanity of life, which were set up by his father, with pictures and pageants about them, in his house. It was at this time also, that he translated, by way of exercise, Lucian's Oration *de tyrannicida*, which he calls his first fruits of the Greek tongue, and thereto he added another oration of his own, in answer to that of Lucian, wherein he opposeth Lucian's arguments for killing a tyrant, with others of equal force against that position. This is thought by his great-grandson to be not at all inferior to that of the witty Greek's, either in point of invention or elocution (11).

[*G*] *He made great proficiency in the academical studies.*] In order to oblige him to mind his book, his father kept him at a very short allowance, not suffering him scarcely to have money enough in his own custody to pay for mending his cloaths; even no more than necessity required, and of this too, he exacted a particular account. However, this course of his father was often mentioned and commended by his son when he came to riper years, who affirmed, that by this means he was curbed from all vice, and with-held from many idle expences, either of gaming or keeping bad company †.

[*H*] *He began to use a monkish discipline.*] For instance, he used often to wear a sharp shirt of hair next to his skin, which he never after left entirely off, no not when he was Lord Chancellor, which my grandmother (12), says Mr More, spying once in the heat of summer, laughed at, not being much sensible of such spiritual exercises. Our young devotee added also to this austerity, a discipline every Friday and high fasting days, he used much fasting and watching, and lying often either upon the bare ground, or upon some bench, laying a log under his head, allowing himself but four or five hours in a night at the most for sleep; and about this time it was, that he chose Dr Colet already mentioned for his ghostly father (13).

[*I*] He

(4) Mori Utopia, cited by Stapleton, p. 157, 158.

* Roper's Life and death of Sir Tho. More, p. 27. edit. 1731, 8vo.

(5) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 36.

(6) Hearne's Collections before Roper's Life of Sir T. More, p. 29.

(7) Ibid. p. 45. Consult Linacre's article.

(8) He had chosen Dr Colet not long before for his ghostly father.

(9) See remark [*H*]. The whole letter is in Stapleton's Vita Th. Mori, c. ii. p. 163.

(10) These are printed in the beginning of his English Works.

(11) Life of Sir T. More, p. 11.

† Ibid. p. 9, 10.

(12) This gentlewoman's maiden name was Anne Chrysacre. She was daughter and sole heir of Edward Chrysacre of Barenburgh in Yorkshire. She was married under 15 years of age to Sir Tho. More's only son John, then not 19. Life by More, p. 25.

(13) Ibid. p. 16.

author returned no more to the Bishop (*l*), and, to avoid a worse consequence, had some thoughts of going beyond-sea. In that design he studied the French tongue, sometimes refreshing himself with his viol, on which he performed very well. He also made himself master of most of the liberal sciences, as Musick, Arithmetick (*m*), Geometry, and Astronomy, and grew to be a perfect Historian (*n*). But meeting with no further disturbance in that reign, he did not leave England; and, as soon as he put on the Bar-gown, he read a publick lecture in the church of St Lawrence Old-Jewry *, upon St Austin's treatise *De Civitate Dei* with great applause [*I*]. He was then appointed Law-Reader at Furnival's-Inn, which place he held above three years (*o*), and afterwards he took lodgings near the Charterhouse, and went through all the spiritual exercises of that society with the most religious devotion, but without engaging in a vow (*p*). For though he had once a strong inclination to take the order of the Franciscans, as well as the Priesthood (*q*), yet he was diverted from both [*K*]. And though his aptness for eloquence seemed much to disagree with the serious studies of the Common-Law, so that few could suppose such a wit would have had the patience to have taken a law-book in hand; yet such was his obedience to his father, that he studied the Law diligently at his command (*r*): for whom he had so great a reverence, that in all his life he never offended or contradicted him in any the least word or action. Therefore, after four years spent in these austerities, by the advice of Dr Colet, Dean of St Paul's, he engaged in a marriage with Jane, the eldest daughter of John Colt of New-Hall in Essex [*L*]; and settling his wife and family at Bucklersbury, he attended the business of his profession at his chambers in Lincoln's-Inn (*s*), where he continued 'till he was called to the Bench, and had read there twice [*M*]. In the mean time he was appointed, in 1508, Judge of the Sheriff's Court (*t*) in the city of London [*N*]: about the same time was made a Justice of the Peace [O], and became so eminent in the practice of the Law, that there was scarcely a cause of any importance tried at the Bar in which he was not retained [*P*]. Yet he found leisure to exercise his talents

(*l*) In the subsequent reign, when Emson and Dudley were going to execution, Sir Thomas asked the latter, whether he had not done better than they, which was sorrowfully acknowledged. Stapleton Vita Th. Mori, cap. iii. p. 181.

(*m*) His friend Cuthbert Tonstal dedicated his book *De Arte Supputandi* to him, as having the best claim of any one to it, on account of his skill in that art.

(*n*) More, p. 36, 37.

* Roper, p. 28. Mr More p. 44. calls it St Lawrence Lothbury.

(*o*) Hist. of the Life and Death of Sir Thomas More, by J. Hoddesden, p. 5. edit. 1662, 12mo.

(*p*) Roper, p. 28.

(*q*) More, p. 16.

(*r*) Ibid. p. 26.

(*s*) Roper, p. 29.

(*t*) Dr Knight tells us, he was Senior Judge of this court. Life of Erasmus, p. 308.

[*I*] *He read a publick lecture in the church of St Lawrence, &c*] In these lectures he did not discuss any points of divinity, so much as explain the precepts of moral philosophy, and clear up some difficulties in history. This treatise of St Austin is written chiefly upon these subjects. He performed the undertaking with such an excellent grace; that whereas before all the flower of the English youth went to hear the famous Grocine, who was lately come from learning Greek in Italy to teach it at home: now almost all left his lectures, and flocked to hear Mr More (14); and Grocine himself also became one of his auditors (15).

[*K*] *He was diverted from both.*] His grandson observes, that it was most agreeable to the severity of his virtue, to profess and take orders, and that in the latter of these purposes he was joined by his friend Lilly the Grammarian. The same author attributes the changing his mind with regard to a monkish life, to his observing the great degeneracy of the Religieux at that time, from their ancient strictness (16): a reason so very unsatisfactory, that it seems to be made for him; but he suggests a much better reason for his declining both these orders, viz. the difficulties he found after all the discipline (17) he used, to preserve his chastity, for which reason he followed the advice of his ghostly father in taking a wife (18).

[*L*] *He married a daughter of Mr Colt.*] Mr Colt being a gentleman of a pleasant and merry disposition took great delight in our author's company, and inviting him to New-Hall, there made the profer of any of his daughters. They were all agreeable, both in temper and person. Mr More inclined to the second, which he thought the handsomest, but did not declare himself immediately, and upon second thoughts, considering that it might be a grief, and some reflection on the eldest, to see her younger sister preferred to herself, he therefore by kindness and compassion settled his affections upon the eldest, and married her soon after (20). 'Tis said, that after he determined to marry, he proposed to himself for a pattern John Picus, Earl of Mirandula, whose life he translated, and many of his letters, as also, his Twelve Precepts of a good Life. To the same end he wrote a treatise of the Four last Things, but left it imperfect, being called by his father to other studies (21).

[*M*] *He had read twice at Lincoln's-Inn.*] This was a very honourable post at that time; some of these readings are quoted by Lord Coke, as uncontested authorities in the law. Dr Stapleton mentions it as a particular honour to Sir Thomas's extraordinary merit, that he read twice (22); and Mr Roper observes, that it was as often as any judge of the law did ordinarily read (23). 'Tis certain, this was reckoned, as Stapleton observes, a very honourable exercise, and performed only by seniors, and such as were the most learned in the law, others compounding for it with a handsome sum of money; the money is still paid for a dispensation, with this rule, but the custom of reading is intirely dropt.

(14) Ibid, p. 44, 45.

(15) Roper, p. 28.

(16) Ibid, p. 16, 17.

(17) P. 18.

(18) P. 29.

(20) Ibid. ch. ii. in initio.

(21) Ibid. p. 19.

(22) Vit. Mori, chap. i. p. 168.

(23) Life of Sir T. M. p. 28. edit. 1731, 8vo.

[*N*] *Judge of the Sheriff's Court.*] So Dr Stapleton (24) and Mr More (25), from the words and authority cited in the text; yet Mr More's editor scruples not to censure this as a mistake in that writer, as well as in Stapleton, from whom he supposes Mr More borrowed it (26); since Mr Roper makes Sir Thomas no more than one of the Under-Sheriffs (27). But no doubt Mr Roper's authority must give way to that of Sir Thomas himself cited above. Perhaps the Under-Sheriffs in those days, might perform the judicial, as well as the executive, part of the Sheriff's office. 'Tis worth notice, that Mr Lewis, without explicitly controverting Mr Roper's words, has given two passages, one from the Utopia (28), and another from Erasmus (29); which expresly mention his hearing and determining causes in the quality of a Judge: and these probably gave rise to a report after his death, that he was some time Recorder of the city of London, for which Mr More, however, thinks there was no good foundation (30).

[*O*] *He was a Justice of the Peace.*] For this we have the authority of Mr Hoddesden, who having observed that he used to sit upon the bench at the sessions at Newgate in that station, tells us, that at one of these sessions he persuaded a cut-purse in Newgate, who was to be tried next day, to cut the purse of one of his brother justices while he was sitting on the bench; which being dextrously performed by the thief, even while upon his trial ‡ for cutting purses. Our author thereupon rallying his brother, who had often chid the prosecutors for not being more careful of their purses, obtained the thief's pardon, according to his promise made to him, in order to encourage him to the fact (31). It may be observed, that the passage in the Utopia, cited in the precedent remark from Mr Lewis, seems more directly to point at this latter character, than to the Sheriff's Judge, as will be seen in remark [*Q*], where it is produced at length.

[*P*] *There was scarce a cause of importance wherein he was not retained.*] Sir Thomas told his son Roper, that he earned by his business at this time, above four hundred pounds a year, with a good conscience (32), and this Mr More observes was a large gain in those days, when lawyers sped not so well as now [in Charles the First's time] they do; neither, continues he, were they then so plentiful (33). 'Tis not unlikely that the great improvement which Lord Coke had made in the study of the Law, might induce greater numbers to engage therein. But if we compare the value of money in

(24) Vit. Tho. Mori, c. iii. p. 169.

(25) Life of Sir Th. More, p. 34.

(26) ibid. in note (*a*).

(27) Roper, edit. ubi supra, p. 30.

(28) The words in the letter prefixed to the Utopia, are *Dum causas forenses— Judex dirimo.*

(29) In urbe Londinensi, annos aliquot Judicem egit in causis civilibus. Erasmi Epist.

(30) Life of Sir Tho. More, p. 34.

‡ He said he could clear himself if he might speak privately with this Judge, which being granted, he cut his purse while he whispered him in the ear.

(31) Hoddesden's Hist. of Sir Tho. More, p. 180, 181, 182. edit. 1662, 12mo.

(32) Life of Sir Tho. More, p. 30.

(33) Ibid. p. 34.

talents for polite literature, and in the height of this hurry of business he wrote his Utopia in 1516 [*Q*], and held a correspondence with the most learned men of that age, particularly Erasmus [*R*]. Before he entered into the immediate service of Henry the Eighth, he had been twice employed, with his Majesty's consent, at the suit of the English merchants, as their agent in some very considerable disputes between them and the merchants of the Steel-yard (*u*); and about the year 1516 he went to Flanders, in the retinue of Cuthbert Tonstal [*S*], Bishop of Durham, and Dr Knight, Commissioners for renewing the treaty of alliance between Henry the Eighth and Charles the Fifth, then only Archduke of Austria (*w*); when the King observing his address in adjusting those differences, ordered Cardinal Wolsey, then Prime Minister, to engage him in the service of the Court; in which view he was offered a pension [*T*]. But he excused himself at that time, and a few years after appeared in the Star-chamber, as an Advocate against the Crown [*U*]. The issue of this cause was a decree in favour of his client the Pope. But the abilities of the pleader displayed therein, evacuated every plea he could make against his own promotion. The King would hear of no further excuse, and, for want of a better vacancy,

(*u*) This carried him to Flanders, where the woolstaple was then held.

(*w*) More, p. 39.

in Henry the Seventh's or the beginning of Henry the Eighth's reign to the present, which is six to one, Sir Thomas's gains will amount to upwards of two thousand four hundred pounds *per ann.* which perhaps is exceeded by very few of the profession at this day.

[*Q*] *He wrote his Utopia amidst a hurry of business*] This is happily described by himself, in his letter to his friend Peter Giles, prefixed to the Utopia, where he expresses himself as follows: *Dum causas forenses assidue alias ago, alias audio, alias arbiter finio, alias judex dirimo, dum hic officii causa visitur, ille negotii, dum foris totum ferme diem aliis impartior, reliquum meis relinquo mihi, hoc est literis, nihil*, &c. In English thus: Whilst I daily either plead other men's causes, or hear them, sometimes as an arbitrator, other while as a judge: whilst this man I visit for friendship, another for business; and whilst I am employed abroad about other mens matters all the whole day, I leave no time for myself, that is for study. For when I come home, I must discourse with my wife, chat with my children, speak with my servants; and seeing this must needs be done, I number it amongst my affairs, and needful they are, unless one will be a stranger in his own house: for we must endeavour to be affable and pleasing, to whom either nature, chance, or choice, hath made our companions; but with such measure it must be done, that we don't marre them with affability, or make them of servants our masters by too much gentle entreaty and favour. Whilst these things are doing, a day, a month, a year, passeth; when then can I find any time to write? for I have not yet spoken of the time that is spent in eating and sleeping, which things alone bereave most men of half their life. As for me, I get only that spare time which I steal from my meat and sleep; which, because it is but small, I proceed slowly; yet it being somewhat, I have now at length prevailed so much, as I have finished and sent unto you, Peter, my *Utopia*.—Our author feigns this country to be one of those then lately discovered in America, and the account of it to be given to him by one Hythlodius a Portugueze, who sailed in company with Americus Vespucius the first discoverer of that quarter of the world. Many learned men were pleased with the description of the climate and manners of the people, and having no suspicion of the truth, out of a fervent zeal, wished that some divines might be sent thither to preach Christianity, and several were very desirous to take the voyage. Soon after it's publication it was translated into French, Italian, Dutch, and into English, both by our author himself, and several others, especially Bishop Burnet (34). In this book he declares his opinion in favour of Toleration, as he did also to Erasmus about this time. Before he had finished his Utopia, he began the History of Richard the Third (35), but it was never finished, and is esteemed none of the best of his pieces; however, it is inserted in the Complete History of England: Mr Wood observes, that he has therein described that King as being deformed, in which he has been followed by all the historians (36).

(34) The Bishop tells us he did it to improve himself in the English language; but besides, he has censured some passages as not consistent with moral virtue, particularly a community of goods And, indeed, Sir Thomas himself, in his maturer age, retracted some things advanced in the *Utopia*.

(35) Judge Rastall says it was written in 1513. See his Life by that Judge. He wrote it also in Latin, which was printed at Louvain in 1566. Hearne's Collections before Roper's Life of T. M. p. 33, 34. Vossius observes, it is far inferior to his other writings in the elegance of the Latin stile.

(36) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 39. See Rapin concerning the appellation of Crouchback given to that King.

[*R*] *Particularly Erasmus*] Amongst all the foreigners, Erasmus had in the first place his affections. After they had long held a correspondence by letters, Erasmus came to England on purpose to see his friend; upon which occasion it was contrived that they should meet at my Lord Mayor's table in London, before they were introduced to each other. At dinner, happening to fall into an argument, Erasmus feeling the peculiar sharpness of his antagonist's wit, broke out into this expression, not without some choler, *Aut tu es Morus aut nullus*; whereto Sir Thomas readily replied, *Aut tu es Erasmus aut Diabolus* *. Sir Thomas had here the advantage. But Erasmus, after his return home, paid this debt; when instead of returning a horse that had been lent to him by Sir Thomas for that journey, he carried it over to Holland, and sent his friend the following epigram.

* In this conference Erasmus had spoken of the Clergy in very abusive terms, which Sir Thomas returned upon him in the word *Diabolus*.

Quod mihi dixisti
De corpore Christi,
  Crede quod edas, & edis:
Sic tibi rescribo
De tuo Palfrido,
  Crede quod habeas & habes.

[*S*] *He went to Flanders in the retinue of Cuthbert Tonstal.*] He was on some of these occasions at Bruges, when an arrogant fellow set up there a challenge, that he would answer any question that could be propounded to him: Upon which Sir Thomas put up this question: *An averia capta in withernamia sint irreplegibilia* † ? adding, that there was one of the English Ambassador's retinue who was ready to dispute with him upon it. But the fellow not understanding the Law terms, was gravelled; and deservedly laught at ‖.

† i. e. Whether cattle taken in withernam (a writ to make reprisals on one who has wrongfully distrained another man's cattle, and drove them out of the county) be irrepleviable.

‖ More, p. 60.

[*T*] *Offered a pension.*] Mr Hoddesden tells us, that the Cardinal, according to the King's request, laboured earnestly to effect this, alledging, among other things, how dear his service must needs be to his Majesty, who could not with his honour allow him less, than he should yearly lose by changing his estate; but that he would rather enlarge his fortune and recompence him fully (37). However, being loth to change his condition, he prevailed with his Majesty by the Cardinal to forbear him: Our author himself relates the matter to Erasmus as follows, 'When I returned from embassy to Flanders, the King would have given me a yearly pension, which surely, if one would respect honour and profit, was not to be little esteemed. Yet have I hitherto refused it, and I think I shall refuse it still, because I should be forced to forsake my present means, which I have already in the city, and I esteem it more than a better; or else I must keep it with some dislike to the citizens, between whom and his Highness, if there should happen any controversy (as sometimes it doth chance) about their privileges, they might suspect me as not sincere and trusty unto them, in respect I am obliged to the King with an annual stipend (38).'

(37) Hist. of Sir Tho. More, p. 13.

(38) Inter Erasmi Epist. lib. ii. p. 83. Stapleton, c. iii. p. 170.

[*U*] *He pleaded against the Crown.*] The case was this. A ship of the Pope's putting into the port of Southampton, was seized as a forfeiture to the King; but the Pope's Legate obtained of his Majesty to have the case argued in his own [the Legate's] presence, himself being an excellent Civilian. None of the lawyers were found so fit to be Counsel for the Legate, as Mr More, who could report to him in Latin the substance of the pleadings on each side. The cause was heard in the Star-Chamber, and our counsellor performed his part so well, that the ship was restored, with the highest applause of the pleader by all the Judges (39).

(39) Hoddesden, p. 13, 14.

[*W*] He

cy, obliged him for the present to accept the place of Master of the Requests; within a month after which he was created a Knight, and taken into the Privy-Council (x) [W]; and, upon the death of Mr Weston the following year, 1520, he found himself raised to be Treasurer of the Exchequer by the same free and gracious bounty (y). Soon after this, he bought a house upon the river-side at Chelsey *, and settled his family there [X], having married a second wife (z). With all his excellent endowments for the publick scene of action, Sir Thomas was particularly formed for the sweets of a private life; and the King having once experienced this engaging part of his new favourite's character, grew (as was the temper of that prince) too impatiently eager of his conversation. The artful address which he made use of to give a check to the frequency of his sovereign's visits, when they became troublesome, is worth notice [Y]. But the almost unparallelled civil intrepidity which he shewed when he was Speaker of the House of Commons in 1523, in opposing an oppressive subsidy demanded by the Prime Minister with an unprecedented strain of authority, is yet more interesting [Z]. Nor, perhaps, will it be thought less remarkable, that

* Situated, perhaps, where there is at present a private mad-house.

(x) Roper, p. 32, 33.

(y) Ibid. p. 34.

(z) His first wife had been dead about two or three years. More, p. 32.

[W] *He was made a Privy-Counsellor.*] Sir Thomas unbosomed himself to Bishop Fisher on this occasion, as follows: 'I am come to the Court extremely against 'my will, as every body knows, and as the King him'self often twitteth me in sport for it; and hereto do 'I hang so unseemly, as a man not using to ride doth 'sit unhandsomely in his saddle. But our Prince, 'whose special and extraordinary favour towards me, 'I know not how I ever shall be able to deserve, is so 'affable and courteous to all men, that every one who 'has never so little hope of himself, may find some'what, whereby he may imagine, that he loveth him, 'even as the citizens wives of London do, who ima'gine that our Lady's picture near the Tower doth 'smile upon them, as they pray before it. But I am 'not so happy, that I can perceive such fortunate signs 'of deserving his love, and of a more abject spirit than 'that I can persuade myself, that I have it already: 'Yet such is the virtue and learning of the King, and 'and his daily increasing industry in both, that by 'how much the more I see his Highness increase in 'these kingly ornaments, by so much the less trouble'some this courtier's life seemeth unto me (40).'

(40) Stapleton, p. 229, & seq.

[X] *He settled with his family at Chelsey.*] Erasmus gives us the following excellent picture of his friend's manner of living at this house. 'More, says he, hath built near London upon the Thames, such a commodious house as is neither mean, nor subject to envy, yet magnificent enough; there he converseth affably with his family, his wife, his son, and daughter in-law, his three daughters and their husbands; with eleven grandchildren. There is not any man living so affectionate to his children as he, and he loveth his old wife as well, as if she were a young maid; and such is the excellence of his temper, that whatsoever happeneth that could not be helped, he loveth it as tho' nothing could have happened more happily: you would say there were in that place Plato's Academy. But I do the house injury, in comparing it to Plato's Academy, where there was only disputations of numbers and geometrical figures, and sometimes of moral virtues; I should rather call his house a school or university of Christian religion, for there is none therein but readeth or studieth the liberal sciences, their special care is piety and virtue, there is no quarelling or intemperate words heard, none seen idle: which houshold discipline that worthy gentleman doth not govern by proud and lofty words, but with all kind and courteous benevolence; every body performeth his duty, yet is there always alacrity, neither is sober mirth any thing wanting (41).' Again. 'His first wife, which was but young, he caused to be instructed in learning, and to be taught all kind of musick; she dying after she had brought him four children, he married a widow [Alice Middleton] not for lust, but to be a governess to his young family; who, altho' she were inclining to old age, and of a nature somewhat harsh, and very worldly besides, yet he persuaded her to play upon the lute, viol, and some other instruments, every day performing thereon her task; and so with the like gentleness he ordered his family (42).'—We see by this account his wife was old, ugly, ill tempered, and covetous. Mr More, by way of excuse for his great grand-father, says, he had heard it reported, that he first wooed her for a friend of his, not once thinking to have her for himself, but she wisely answering that he might speed, if he would speak in his own behalf, he acquainted his friend with her speech, and with his good liking, married her: That she proved a kind and careful step-mother to his children, as he was always a most loving father, and not only to his own, but to her daughter also, who was married to Mr Alington, and mother to Sir Giles Alington (43).

(41) Ibid. c. ix. p. 247.

(42) Ibid. p. 248.

(43) More's Life of Sir Thomas, p. 32, 33.

[Y] *Worth notice.*] When the King had performed his devotions on holy-days, he used to send for Sir Thoma into his closet, and there confer with him sometimes about Astronomy, Geometry, Divinity, and other parts of learning, and at other times upon his affairs; and he would frequently in the night carry him up into his leads on the top of his house, and discourse with him about the motions of the planets: and because Sir Thomas was of a very pleasant disposition, the King and Queen, after supper, or in supper-time, used to send for him to be merry with him. Sir Thomas perceiving by this fondness, that he could not once in a month get leave to go home to his wife and children, and that he could not be absent from the Court two days together without being sent for, he began somewhat to dissemble his nature, and so by little and little to disuse himself from his accustomed mirth, that he was sent for no more from that time so ordinarily at such seasons (44). There was also another motive for the King's fondness. About this time he was writing his answer to Martin Luther (45), wherein Sir Thomas assisted his Majesty, by casting that treatise into a proper method (46). And in 1523, he published, written by himself, *Responsio ad convitia M. Lutheri congesta in Henricum Regem Angliæ* (47).

(44) Roper, p. 33, 34.

(45) It was published in 1521 under this title, Assertio VII Sacramentorum adversus Martinum Lutherum edita ab invictissimo Angliæ & Franciæ Rege, & Domino Hyberniæ, Henrico ejus nominis octavo, in ædibus Pynsonianis apud inclytam urbem Londinum.

(46) It was composed by Fisher Bishop of Rochester, and Lea, afterward Archbishop of York, as the report went at that time. However, Henry obtained thereby the title of *Fidei Defensor*, Defender of the Faith.

(47) This is the same with Vindicatio Henrici VIII Regis Angliæ & Galliæ a calumniis Lutheri a Gulielmo Roffæo Lond. 1523.

[Z] *Is yet more interesting.*] This Minister was Cardinal Wolsey, who being apprehensive of the ill humour of the house, resolved to be present at the question; and giving the House notice of it, there arose a warm debate whether they should receive him with a few of his Lords, which was the general opinion, or with his whole train. Hereupon Sir Thomas More said, Maisters, forasmuch as my Lord Cardinal lately, yee woote well, laid to our charge the lightness of our tongues, for things uttered out of this house; it should not in my mind be amiss to receive him with all his pomp, with his maces, his pillars, his pollaxes, his crosses, his hat, and the great seal too, to the intent that if he find the like fault with us, then we may be the bolder, from our selves, to lay the blame on those, whom his Grace bringeth with him. The house agreeing to this, the Cardinal was received accordingly; where, after he had made a solemn oration to shew the necessity there was of granting the subsidies moved for, and that less would not satisfy the King's occasions, finding no body made answer, he urged them again to give a reasonable reply: but applying to some other members in particular, all remained silent, being before agreed, as the custom was, to answer only by their Speaker. Maisters, said the Cardinal, unless it be the manner of your House, as of likelihood it is, to deliver your minds only by the mouth of your Speaker, whom you have chosen for trusty and wise as he is indeed, in such cases, here is without doubt a marvellous obstinate silence. He then required an answer of the Speaker: whereupon Sir Thomas first reverently upon his knees excused the silence of the House, abashed as he said, at the presence of so noble a personage; after which he shewed by many arguments, that it was neither expedient nor agreeable to the ancient liberty of that House for them to make answer, concluding with this declaration, that tho' they had all trusted him with their voices, yet except every one of them could put their several wits into his head, he alone, in so weighty a matter, was not able to make His Grace a sufficient answer. Upon this, the

that we find his patriotism rewarded in a few years with the Chancellorship of the duchy of Lancaster, *which he was possessed of in 1526 (*aa*) [*AA*]. The following year he was joined, with several other officers of State, to Cardinal Wolsey, in an embassy to France (*bb*); and, in July 1529 (*cc*), he set out with Cuthbert Tonstal on another to Cambray [*BB*]. Before he went on this last embassy, the King founded Sir Thomas upon the subject of the divorce, and not receiving an answer agreeable to his intentions (*dd*), he tried him a second time after his return from Cambray, but still found him immovable (*ee*). Yet his Majesty's fixed resolution in that point did not hinder him, upon the disgrace of Cardinal Wolsey, from intrusting the Great Seal with Sir Thomas, which was delivered to him October 25, 1530 (*ff*). This favour was the more extraordinary, as he was the first layman who enjoyed it (*gg*): the truth is, it was apparently conferred with a view of engaging him to approve the intended divorce (*hh*).* Accordingly he entered upon it with just apprehensions of the danger to which it would expose him on that account (*ii*); and, after he had executed all the duties of it for near three years, with a most exemplary diligence, a true magnanimity of spirit [*CC*], and an undeviating uprightness, not being able

(*aa*) Rapin's Hist. of England, p. 768. Vol. III. folio edition.

(*bb*) They set out July 3, 1527. Id. ibid. p. 771.

(*cc*) See his Letter to his lady, dated at Woodstock, Sept. 13, 1529, soon after his return. More, p. 182. and Sir Thomas's English Works, p. 1419, col. 1.

(*dd*) Hoddesden, p. 50, 51, 52.

(*ee*) Ibid. p. 57. Roper, p. 5[illegible]

(*ff*) Dugdale's Chron. Series Cancellar. die lunæ 25 Octob. 1530, 21 Hen. VIII.

(*gg*) Reg. Poli pro Eccles. Unit. Defens. lib. iii. p. 64. fol. 2.

(*hh*) More, p. 155.

(*ii*) See his speech at his entrance into the office, Hoddesden, p. 70. More, p. 168.

* Accordingly, his Majesty moved him again to consider that point, soon after his entrance upon this office.

the Cardinal highly displeased that Sir Thomas had not answered his expectation in that Parliament, rose up suddenly and departed; and afterwards, in the gallery at Whitehall, complaining of it said, Would to God you had been at Rome, Mr More, when I made you Speaker: Your Grace not offended, so would I too, answered Sir Thomas, for then should I have seen the place I long have desired to visit. The Cardinal in revenge moved the King to send him on an embassy into Spain (48) in 1526, but this also Sir Thomas found means to avoid, on account of his health; which his Majesty accepted as a sufficient plea, saying, *It is not our meaning, Mr More, to do you any hurt, but to do you good; we will think of some other, and employ your service otherwise* (49).

(48) See the next remark.

(49) Hoddesden, p. 23 to 28.

[*AA*] *Chancellor of the Dutchy in* 1526.] The business of the embassy mentioned in the preceding remark, was to negotiate an alliance after the battle of Pavia in 1525; upon which the King sent Cuthbert Tonstall, then Bishop of London, and Sir Richard Wingfield, Chancellor of the Dutchy of Lancaster (50). But this last, it seems, did not long survive that business; for in August 1526, we find a treaty of reciprocal engagement between Henry the Eight and Francis the First, negotiated and concluded by John Lord of Vaux, Ambassador from France, and Sir Thomas More, Chancellor of the Dutchy (51), which post all agree with Mr Roper (52), was given him upon the death of Sir Richard Wingfield.—About this time the King coming, as he used to do, suddenly, to Sir Thomas's house at Chelsey, and dining with him, walked after dinner in the garden near an hour, with his arm about Sir Thomas's neck. Hereupon, after his Majesty's departure, Mr Roper observed to him how happy he was, since the King had treated him with so much familiarity, as he had never seen him use to any person before, except Cardinal Wolsey, whom he once saw his Majesty walk with arm in arm. *I thank our Lord, Son, answered Sir Thomas, I find his Grace my very good Lord indeed, and I belive he doth as singularly favour me, as any subject within this realm; howbeit, Son Roper, I must tell thee, I have no cause to be proud thereof, for if my head would win him a castle in France, it would not fail to go off* (53).

(50) Rapin, Vol. I. p. 763. folio edit.

(51) Ibid. p. 768.

(52) Life of Sir T. More, p. 41. where 1528 is put in the margin, which, perhaps, is a mistake for 1526.

(53) Roper, p. 41. At this time we were at war with France. See Rapin, ubi supra.

[*BB*] *He went on an embassy to Cambray with Cuthbert Tonstal.*] This Prelate was one of Sir Thomas's first friends: Dr Stapleton has given us several of their letters (54), by which, among other things, that the Bishop had sent our author a token of his love, which is acknowledged by the latter, as follows: 'The amber which you sent me, being a precious sepulchre of flies, was for many respects most welcome unto me; for the matter thereof may be compared in colour and brightness to any precious stone, and the form is more excellent, because it representeth the figure of a heart, as it were the hieroglyphick of our love, which, I interpret, your meaning is, that between us it will never fly away, and yet be always without corruption, because I see the fly (which has wings like Cupid the son of Venus, and is as fickle as he) so shut up here and enclosed in this glewy matter of amber, as it cannot fly away, and so embalmed and preserved therewith, as it cannot perish.'

(54) Mori Vit. cap. v. p. 201, & seq.

The King's business in this treaty was to secure the money due to him from the Emperor (55), which Sir Thomas succeeded in far beyond all the expectations either of the King or any of his Council; and Mr Hoddesden tells us, that it was for his good service in this employment, that his Majesty made him Lord Chancellor (56).

(55) Rapin, Vol. VII. p. 646. 8vo. edit.

(56) Hist. of the Life and death of Sir Tho. More, p. 56, 57.

[*CC*] *He executed his office with diligence, magnanimity, and integrity.*] As he was particularly regardful of the poor man's cause, in order to dispatch them with greater expedition, he sat every afternoon in his own hall, to encourage such suitors to come to him; and his diligence was such, that before he resigned the office, having dispatched one cause, and calling for the next, he was told there was not one more depending; which he ordered to be entered on record: yet the frequency of his injunctions to the law courts was complained of by those judges. This being told to him by Mr Roper, he ordered a docket of all his injunctions and the causes for them to be made out, and then inviting all the Judges to dine with him in the Council-chamber at Westminster, after dinner he shewed them the docket, upon which, when the Judges allowed the injunctions to be reasonable, averring that they should have done the same in his place, he admonished them not to give reason for so many injunctions by pursuing the letter of the law too rigorously, observing that it was their duty in all cases to interpret the penal laws in the most favourable sense, and promising that upon such their behaviour he would grant no more injunctions. But they refusing this, he said, 'Forasmuch as yourselves, my Lords, drive me to that necessity for awarding out injunctions to relieve the people's injuries, you cannot hereafter any more justly blame me.' Talking afterwards in private to his son Roper, 'I perceive, Son, says he, why they like not so to do; for they see that they may by the verdict of a jury, cast off all quarrels from themselves, on those, which they do account their chief defence, and therefore am I compelled to abide the adventure of all such reports (57).' After this he took order with all the Attorneys of his court, that no subpœnas should go out, whereof in general he should not have notice of the matter, with one of their hands to the bill; declaring he would cancel it, if not containing sufficient cause of complaint. And when one of his Attorneys, whose name was Tub, had brought to him the subpœna of his client's cause, requesting his hand to it, Sir Thomas upon the perusal finding it to be a frivolous matter, instead of his name, wrote under it, *A Tale of a Tub* (58). His integrity in this office, which indeed was never questioned before, happened to be made very conspicuous to the confusion of his adversaries ‖ after his fall, when by their procurement one Parnel accused him of receiving a bribe for making a decree against him in favour of his antagonist Vaughan, who gave him for it a gold cup. Sir Thomas confessed he received the cup from the hands of Vaughan's wife, but immediately ordering his Butler to fill it with wine, drank to her, and when she had pledged him, says he, *As freely as your husband hath given the cup to me, even so freely give I the same to you again, to give to your husband for his new year's-gift*: and obliged her to take it. At another time, one Gresham having a cause depending in Chancery, sent Sir Thomas for a new-year's-gift, a fair gilded cup, the fashion whereof pleased him so well, that he caused one of his own, though not in his fancy of so good a fashion, yet of more value, to be delivered to the messenger for his master, nor would he receive it on any other condition. With the same upright resolution, being presented by one Mrs Goaker with

(57) Roper, p. 58, 59, 60.

(58) Hoddesden, p. 78.

‖ The Earl of Wiltshire Queen Anne Boleyn's father, was the person who preferred the complaint to the Council against him, for taking the cup as a bribe from Vaughan.

able to satisfy his conscience concerning the invalidity of that divorce (*k k*), a confirmation of which he was sensible would soon be required of him by the nature of his office (*l l*); he begged leave, with a view to his own safety, to resign; which being granted, though not without some difficulty (*m m*), delivered the Great Seal to his royal master May 16, 1533 (*n n*). He was much better pleased with this favour than he had been with the former (*o o*); and, as the affair was not immediately known, the next morning, being a holy-day, he went to Chelsey church with his lady and family, where, during the service, he sat as usual in the choir, wearing a surplice; and because it had been a custom after mass was done, for one of his gentlemen to go to his lady's pew, and tell her that my Lord was gone before, he came now himself, and making her a low bow, said, *Madam, my Lord is gone.* She thinking it to be no more than his usual humour, took no notice of it; but in the way home, to her great mortification, he unriddled the jest, by acquainting her with what he had done the preceding day (*p p*). A little before his resignation he buried his father [*D D*], to whom in his last illness he behaved, as he had always done, with the highest degree of filial piety; and notwithstanding the great age to which the father's life was extended, yet the son was much affected with his loss (*q q*). As long as he held the Chancellor's post, he maintained a state suitable thereto, according to the magnificence of those times, the expence of which, partly by reason of his conscientious integrity, proved, though he was no bad œconomist, a sufficient drain for all his income (*r r*). Whence, by the loss of that place, his fortune sunk to a lower ebb than it ever had been at before, and became so much reduced, that he was obliged to reduce his family in proportion [*E E*]. Hitherto he had kept his children, with their respective families, after their marriage, and provided for them all in his own house; but not being able now any longer to support that primitive patriarchal state, he dismissed them each to their own homes, and discharged all his state-servants, and procured other suitable services for them (*s s*). After this he resolved never to engage again in publick business; he passed his time altogether in study and devotion [*F F*], not without some presages of the storm which was gathering

(*k k*) Thomas Morus doctrina & probitate spectabili vir, Cancellarius in ejus [Wolsey, locum constituitur haudquaquam in Regis causæ æquior. Thuan. Hist. lib. i. p. 23.

(*l l*) Roper, p. 64.

(*m m*) More, p. 185. The reason he alledged was want of health, for which there was really some foundation. Stapleton, c. iii. p. 180. and c. vii. p 231, 232.

(*n n*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 36.

(*o o*) More, p. 192. from Erasmus's Epistles, lib. xxvii.

(*p p*) Roper, p. 68.

(*q q*) He particularly complained that the pain in his breast increased after this loss. More.

(*r r*) Roper, p. 65, 67.

(*s s*) He placed all his gentlemen and yeomen with noblemen and bishops, and his eight watermen with Lord Audley his successor, to whom also he gave his great barge. Ibid.

with a pair of gloves and forty pounds in angels put into them: he said to her, *Mistresse, since it were against good manners to refuse your new-year's gift, I am content to take your gloves; but as for the lining, I utterly refuse it* (59).

[*D D*] *He buried his father.*] The old gentleman died, as is said, of a surfeit of grapes, being then lusty and strong, though near ninety years of age*. He had been a puisné Judge of the King's-Bench for a very great number of years, and Sir Thomas, after he was Chancellor, never passed through the hall to his seat in the Chancery, without going into the Court of King's-Bench when his father was sitting, and asking him blessing upon his knees (60). He was buried in St Laurence church in the Old Jewry ||, and Sir Thomas wrote an epitaph for him (61), by which it appears, that the son inherited his father's endowments; and Campden gives an instance of the pleasantness of his wit in comparing the dangers of the choice of a wife to that of putting a man's hand into a bag full of snakes, with only one eel in it; where he may indeed chance to light of the eel, but 'tis an hundred to one that he is stung by a snake (62). However, he married three wives, the last of which (63) had for her jointure his principal seat and lands at More place or Gubbins in the parish of North-Mimes in Hertfordshire. She outlived Sir Thomas about ten years (64), so that he never enjoyed any inheritance scarcely from his father (65).

[*E E*] *His fortune being reduced, he reduced his family.*] Upon this occasion he called his children together, and asked their advice how they might (now his fortune was so impaired that he could not, as he had done, and gladly would, bear out the whole charges of them all himself) thenceforth be able to live together as he wished they should: seeing them silent on this sad occasion, then will I, says he, shew my poor mind to you. 'I have been brought up at Oxford, 'at an Inne of the Chancery, at Lincoln's Inn, and 'also in the King's Court, and so from the least degree to the highest, and yet have I in yearly revenues 'at this present left me a little above 100 *l.* by the 'year; so that now must we hereafter, if we like to 'live together, be contented to become contributors 'together. But by my counsel it shall not be best for 'us to fall to the lowest fare first: we will not therefore descend to Oxford fare, nor to the fare of New-'Inn; but we will begin with Lincoln's-Inn diet, 'where many Right Worshipfuls, and of good years, 'do live full well together: which, if we find not 'ourselves able to maintain the first year, then will we 'the next year go one step down to New-Inn fare, 'wherewith many an honest man is well contented. If 'that exceed our ability too, then will we the next 'year after descend to Oxford fare, where many great, 'learned, and ancient fathers be continually conversant: which if our power stretch not to maintain 'neither, then may we yet with bags and wallets go a 'begging together, and hoping that for pity some good 'folkes will give us their charity, at every man's door 'sing *salve Regina* (66); and so still keep company and be merry together (67).' Upon this and some other like passages of our author's behaviour on the present occasion, Lord Herbert makes the following remark; 'These jests were thought to have in them more levity than to be taken every where for current. He might have quitted his dignity without using such sarcasms, and betaken himself to a more retired and quiet life, without making his family or himself contemptible. And certainly whatsoever he intended hereby, his family so little understood his meaning, that they needed some more serious instructions. So that I cannot, continues his Lordship, persuade myself, for all this talk, that so excellent a person would omit at fit times to give his family that sober account of his relinquishing this place [the Chancellorship] which I find he did, to the Archbishop Warham, Erasmus, and others (68).' Mr Roper informs us, that all the land which Sir Thomas ever purchased (which too was before he was Lord Chancellor) did not amount to above twenty marks a year, and after his debts paid, he had not, (his gold chain excepted) in gold and silver left the value of above 100 *l.* (69). And Sir Thomas himself assures us, that all the lands and fees he had while his mother-in-law lived, besides those given him by the King, did not clear full fifty pounds a year (70). Whence it follows, that the manours of Duckington, Frinkford, and Barly-Park in Oxfordshire, which were grants from the Crown (71), made up one half at least of his estate.

[*F F*] *Spent his time at Chelsey in study and devotion.*] Soon after his settling at Chelsey, he built in his garden an edifice which contained a chapel, a library, and a gallery. This was called the new buildings, here he prayed every evening before bed-time with his family, and spent himself some part of the day in devotions, and on Fridays, he used to continue there from morning 'till evening, spending his time in prayer and other spiritual exercises (72). And to shew the prevalency of his prayers, Dr Stapleton tells us, that upon his favourite daughter's being once so ill of the sweating sickness, as to be given up by the Physicians, Sir Thomas having prayed here very earnestly for her recovery, it presently came into his mind, that a clyster was her only remedy, which being applied, she accordingly recovered (73). Besides the new buildings, he had built a chapel before he was Lord Chancellor, adjoining

(59) Roper, p. 73, 74, 75.

* Hoddesden, p. 79.

(60) More's Life of his great-grandfather, chap. v.i.

|| Ibid. p. 44.

(61) 'Tis extant among his Latin Works.

(62) Hoddesden, p. 2.

(63) She was one of the Mores of Surrey, and great aunt of Sir W. More, whose son, Sir George More, was Lieutenant of the Tower in the reign of King James the First. More, p. 5.

(64) More place was seized a little before her death by King Henry, so that she died at Northall about a mile from thence, and was buried in that church. Id. ibid.

(65) Ibid. p. 471.

(66) An anthem to the Virgin Mary, very devout, and on that account particularly misliked by Tindal.

(67) Roper, p. 65, 66, 67.

(68) Lord Herbert's Life of Henry VIII. p. 344.

(69) Roper's Life of Sir Thomas More, p. 67, 68.

(70) More's English Works, p. 866. col. 2.

(71) Hoddesden, p. 88.

(72) P. 90.

(73) Hoddesden, from Stapleton, p. 45, 46.

* The King married her privately October 1532, the marriage was solemnized publickly the Easter following, and ſhe was proclaimed Queen 12 April 1533. Stapleton, cap. xv. p. 298.

(tt) Roper, p. 70.

(uu) Ibid. p. 75, 80.

gathering over his head [*GG*]. Anne Boleyn's coronation being fixed * for the 31ſt of this month, May 1533, the Biſhops of Durham, Bath, and Wincheſter, gave him an invitation to keep them company in attending that ceremony, and at the ſame time ſent him, conſidering his circumſtances, a preſent of 20 pounds to buy himſelf a gown for the occaſion. Sir Thomas accepted the preſent, but never ſtirred from home, and at their next meeting excuſed his behaviour with a pleaſant ſtory (*tt*), which is inſerted below [*HH*], intimating a firm adherence to his opinion concerning the unlawfulneſs of the King's marriage. Thus all fair means proving ineffectual to win him over, recourſe was had to terror and threats. In this ſpirit, in the enſuing Parliament a bill was brought into the Houſe of Lords, attainting him, as well as his friend Biſhop Fiſher, and ſome others, of miſpriſion of treaſon, for countenancing and encouraging Elizabeth Barton, the famous Nun of Kent, in her treaſonable practices. Upon examination, his innocence in that matter ſo clearly appeared, that his enemies were obliged to ſtrike his name out of the bill (*uu*). Several other accuſations were brought againſt him with the ſame ill ſucceſs [*II*], 'till the Act of Supremacy was paſſed in 1534, when the oath enjoined by that act being tendered to him about a month after, he refuſed to take it. Hereupon he was firſt taken into the cuſtody of the Abbot of Weſtminſter, and upon a ſecond refuſal four days after, was committed priſoner to the Tower of London [*KK*]. His reputation in the kingdom was very great, and much was apprehended to depend upon his conduct in this critical juncture; ſo that during his confinement, all the arguments that could be deviſed were alledged to him by Archbiſhop Cranmer and others, to perſwade him to a compliance; and many fair promiſes were made from the King to induce him thereto [*LL*]: but

(74) Ibid. p. 85.

(75) Roper, p. 68, 69.

(76) More, p. 198.

(77) Hoddeſden, p. 102.

(78) Roper, p. 70, 71.

adjoining to the church, and adorned it with plate and other rich furniture. He alſo hired a houſe for many aged people in the town, whom he daily relieved, and it was his daughter Margaret's charge to ſee them want nothing (74).

[*GG*] *Preſages of the ſtorm.*] Conſidering the fickleneſs and violence of Henry the Eighth's temper in general, and the growing influence of Anne Boleyn, there was no need of a prophetic ſpirit to foretel Sir Thomas's fate. Accordingly, we find him mentioning his apprehenſions of it beforehand to his family, and ſaying that if he might perceive his wife and children would encourage him to die in a good cauſe, it would make him merrily run to death (75). When the commiſſion was iſſued to Archbiſhop Cranmer, to determine the matter of the divorce, which was followed by the King's marriage to Anne Boleyn; Sir Thomas ſaid, God grant theſe matters be not within a while confirmed with oaths (76). In ſhort, he ſaw his danger approaching, and did not ſleep ſeveral nights for thinking of the worſt that could happen to him: and to prepare his family for it, he hired a purſuivant to come ſuddenly to his houſe, when he was at dinner, and knocking haſtily at the door to warn him to appear next day before the Commiſſioners (77).

[*HH*] *A pleaſant ſtory.*] The ſtory was this. An Emperor made a law, that whoever committed a certain offence, except it were a virgin, ſhould ſuffer death, ſuch a reverence had he to virginity. It happened that the firſt breaker of this law was indeed a virgin, whereof, the Emperor hearing, was in no ſmall perplexity, ſince he would fain have had the law put in execution by ſome example. Hereupon, the matter being long ſolemnly debated in Council, there aroſe at length one of the Counſellors, a good plain man, and ſaid, Why make you ſo much ado, my Lords, about ſo ſmall a matter? let her be firſt defloured, and thereafter may ſhe be devoured. And ſo, tho' your Lordſhips [the Biſhops] have in the matter of the matrimony, hitherto kept yourſelves pure virgins, yet take good heed, my Lords, that you keep your virginity ſtill. For ſome there be, that, by procuring your Lordſhips firſt at the coronation to be preſent, and next to preach for the ſetting forth of it, and finally to write books to all the world in defence thereof, are deſirous to deflour ye, and then will they not fail ſoon after to devour ye. *Now, my Lords, quoth he, it lieth not in my power but that they may devour me; but God being my good Lord, I will ſo provide, that they ſhall never deflour me* (78).

[*II*] *Several other accuſations were brought with the like ill ſucceſs.*] In one of theſe attempts upon him, he was ſummoned before Cranmer, Audley the Chancellor, Duke of Norfolk, and Cromwell; who having firſt tried in vain, to move him to a compliance with the divorce, by offers of any favour he pleaſed to aſk from the King, proceeded to threats for his diſobedience and ingratitude; and among other things, charged him with procuring the King to ſet forth his book againſt Luther, in mainteinance of the Pope's authority, and thereby having cauſed his Majeſty to put a ſword into the Pope's hand to fight againſt himſelf. 'My Lords, ' ſaid he, theſe terrors be arguments for children, not ' for me: but to anſwer that wherewith you chiefly ' charge me, I believe the King's highneſs, his honour, will never lay that to my charge: for none is ' there that can in that point ſay more in mine excuſe ' than his Highneſs himſelf, who right well knoweth ' that I never was procurer nor counſellor of his Majeſty thereunto: but after it was finiſhed, by his ' Grace's appointment and conſent of the makers of ' the ſame, I was only a ſorter out and placer of the ' principal matters therein contained: wherein, finding the Pope's authority highly advanced, and with ' ſtrong arguments highly defended. I ſaid unto his ' Majeſty, I muſt put your Highneſs in remembrance ' of one thing, and that is this: The Pope, as your ' Grace knoweth, is a Prince as you are, and in league ' with all other Chriſtian Princes: it may hereafter ſo ' fall out, that your Grace and he may vary, upon ' ſome points of the league, whereupon may grow ' breach of amity between you both; I think it beſt, ' that *that* place be amended, and his authority more ' ſlenderly touched. Nay, ſaid his Grace, tha tſhall ' not be, we are ſo much bounden to the ſee of Rome, ' that we cannot do too much honour unto it. Then ' did I put him in mind of the ſtatute of *Præmunire*, ' whereby a good part of the Pope's paſtoral cure was ' pared away. To that anſwered his Highneſs, whatſoever impediment be to the contrary, we will ſet ' forth that authority to the uttermoſt, for we received ' from the ſee of Rome our crown imperial: which, ' 'till his Grace with his own mouth told it me, I never heard of before. So that I truſt, when that his ' Majeſty ſhall be truly informed of this, and call to ' his gracious remembrance my dealing in that behalf, ' his Highneſs will never ſpeak of it more, but clear ' me thoroughly therein himſelf.' With which words they diſmiſſed him and departed (79).

(79) Hoddeſden, p. 112, 113, 114.

[*KK*] *He was ſent to the Tower.*] When he came to the gate, the porter, according to cuſtom, demanded his upper garment. *Mr Porter*, ſaid he, *here it is*, and taking off his cap, gave it to him; ſaying, *I am ſorry it is no better for thee. No, Sir*, ſaid the porter, *I muſt have your gown*: which was accordingly complied with. As ſoon as he was placed in his lodgings, he called one John Wood, his ſervant, there appointed to attend him, who could neither write nor read, and ſwore him before the Lieutenant, that if he ſhould hear or ſee him at any time ſpeak or write any manner of thing againſt the King, the Council, or the ſtate of the realm, he ſhould tell it to the Lieutenant, that he might preſently reveal it to the Council (80).

(80) More, p. 226.

[*LL*] *Many fair promiſes to induce him thereto.*] Cromwell, then Secretary of State, viſiting him once from the King, told him, that his Majeſty was his good and gracious Lord, and intended not any more to trouble his

but nothing could prevail upon him to hurt his conscience by taking the oath of Supremacy, though at the same time he was prudent enough neither positively to affirm or deny it. Thus all other means failing, after he had lain almost fifteen months in prison, he was arraigned and tried at the King's-Bench bar of high-treason, for denying the King's supremacy upon the statute lately made to that purpose †. The proof rested upon the single testimony of Rich the Sollicitor-General *; and though Sir Thomas not only denied, in the solemnest manner, the words alledged against him, but sufficiently discredited the witness [*MM*], yet the jury brought him in guilty, and he was accordingly condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, and his head to be stuck on a pole on London-Bridge (*ww*). But this sentence, on account of the office he had borne, was, all but the last particular, changed by the King into beheading; which was executed July 5, 1535 (*xx*), on Tower-hill. His body being interred in the chapel of the Tower, was afterwards begged by his daughter Margaret, and deposited on the south side of the chancel in the church of Chelsey (*yy*), where a monument, with an inscription written by himself, had been erected some time before (*zz*). The same most piously affectionate daughter found means also to procure his head, after it had remained upon London-Bridge fourteen days. This she carefully preserved for some time in a leaden box (*aaa*), 'till there was an opportunity of removing it to Canterbury, where she placed it in a vault belonging to the Roper's family, into which she was married, under a chapel joining to St Dunstan's church in that city. As to his character, to begin with his person, a description whereof we have from Erasmus (*bbb*), as follows: He was of a middle stature, exactly proportioned, his complexion fair, with a light tincture of red; the colour of his hair a dark chesnut; his beard thin, and grey eyes; his countenance the true portrait of his mind, chearful and pleasant; his aspect composed by habit to the smile, and, to speak ingenuously, more apposite to festivity and jesting than either to gravity or dignity, but very remote from the scurrilous. In walking his right shoulder appeared higher than the other (*ccc*); but this was the effect of habit, and not the fault of nature. Accordingly, the rest of his body was entirely faultless, only his hands were somewhat clumsy and rustick. His apparel was generally plain, yet when the dignity of his place required it, he conformed to the custom. His voice is said to be neither strong nor shrill, but clear and distinct, though not very tuneable, as much as he delighted in musick: his constitution generally healthy, only toward the latter part of his life, by much writing, he complained of a pain in his breast, and some decay (*ddd*) of strength, such as was enough to serve him for a pretence to resign

† 26 Hen. VIII. c. xiii.

* The same person appeared also an evidence against Bishop Fisher. See his article.

(*ww*) Hoddesden, p. 138.

(*xx*) Roper, p. 100, 101, 102.

(*yy*) Weaver's Funeral Monuments, p. 505, 506.

(*zz*) Viz. in the summer of 1532, after he resigned the Chancellorship. More's English Works, where the inscription is printed, and in several other books. At the end he subjoined twelve elegiac verses, written by him 20 years before. The whole is still to be seen in that church.

(*aaa*) Wood, Vol. I. col. 39. More, p. 277. says, it had remained on the bridge some months; she was taken up for it, and being examined before the Council, declared she bought it, that it might not become food for fishes in the Thames; so after a short imprisonment, she was discharged. Ibid. p. 279.

(*bbb*) In an epistle to Ulric Hutten.

(*ccc*) Ascham takes notice of this, and seems to ascribe it to affectation. Schoolmaster, p. 54. edit. 1589, 4to.

(*ddd*) More, p. 281, 282.

his conscience with any thing, wherein he should have any cause of scruple (81). As soon as the Secretary was gone, to express how much comforted he was by these words, he wrote with a coal (for then he had no ink) these verses:

Ey flattering fortune, loke thou never so fayre,
Or never so pleasantlie begin to smile;
As tho' thou would'st my ruine all repayre:
During my life thou shalt me not beguile.
Trust shall I God to entre in a while,
His haven of heaven, sure and uniforme;
Ever after thy calme, loke I for a storme (82).

(81) Roper, p. 88.

(82) Sir Thomas More's English Works, p. 1432.

[*MM*] *The Jury brought him in guilty.*] The indictment consisted of four articles, of which the second was the principal, 'that he had transgressed the statute 'in the last Parliament, in that being a prisoner, and 'twice examined by the Lords of the Council, he would 'not disclose unto them his opinion (out of a malignant, perfidious, obstinate, and traiterous mind) whether the King were supreme head of the Church or 'no.' He confessed the simple fact, but denied the malicious intent *; and to clear himself thereof, having observed that the statute belonged properly to the Clergy, and not to him as a Layman; he protested that he had never said or done any thing against it, and challenged the prosecutor to produce any such word or action; to strengthen this he urged the constant tenour of his behaviour, undeniably loyal, obedient, faithful, and affectionate, for the twenty years wherein he had been the King's servant. But the malice being still insisted on and buzzed all through the Court, the jury were determined to bring in the verdict mentioned above (83). The extraordinary complaisance of the Parliament, and in them of the people, to this Prince, is the constant remark of all our historians, and there is not a more signal instance of it than is to be found in this prosecution. Sir Thomas is undeniably an eminent example of the danger of having too much merit. Hence it was urged, that if he was suffered to escape, his authority might make an ill impression upon the people, and his example encourage others to fall off from their affection to the King, and hence it came to pass that he was invidiously charged with ingratitude, in the preamble to an act of Parliament, for the great favours he had received from the King, as well as for studying to sowe and make sedition among the King's subjects, and refusing to take the oath of succession (84): whereas he only refused the oath as then framed, but at the same time offered to swear fealty to that succession. On this account Cranmer sollicited in his behalf, as appears by a letter from him to Secretary Cromwell, dated the 17th of April 1535, wherein he pressed that Sir Thomas and the Bishop of Rochester might be dispensed with in the present case, and allowed to take oath to the succession only, without swearing to the preamble, as they have both of them, says he, freely offered to do (85). In reality, the statute did not set down the form of the oath to be taken, but only enacted, that as well all the nobles of the realm spiritual and temporal, as all other the King's subjects, should make a corporal oath in the presence of his Majesty, or before such other as his Majesty will depute for the same: 'That they shall truly, firmly, and 'constantly, without fraud or guile, observe, fulfil, 'maintain, defend, and keep, to their cunning, wit, 'and uttermost of their powers the whole effects and 'contents of this present act.' But the form was much enlarged afterwards, and then offered to Sir Thomas, whereupon, speaking to his favourite daughter, he said, 'I may tell thee, Megg, they that have committed me hither, for refusing of this oath not agreeable 'with their statute, are not by their own law able to 'justify mine imprisonment (86).' The court was sensible of their error, and afterwards another statute was passed confirming this latter oath (87); which it seems was required to be taken not only by all men, but by all women throughout the realm. Mr Justice Rastall observes, that Sir Thomas's daughter Mrs Margaret Roper took it with this exception *as far as would stand with the law of God*. And 'tis said of Henry Patison, Sir Thomas's quondam fool, that one day meeting one of Mr Roper's servants, he asked where Sir Thomas was, and being told he was still in the Tower, he grew very angry, and said *why, what aileth him that he will not swear? wherefore should he stick to swear? I have sworn the oath myself* (88).

* In support of this he argued as Bishop Fisher did; and being known to have a great influence upon that prelate, he was charged with drawing him into this conspiracy, as it was called, against the King's Supremacy.

(83) Hoddesden, p. 141. & seq.

(84) Burnet's History of the Reformation, Vol. I. B. ii. p. 158.

(85) Strype's Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, Append. No. XI. p. 14. See also Weaver's Funeral Monuments, p. 504, 506.

(86) Roper, p. 85.

(87) Rapin, in the years 1553, 1554, 1555.

(88) More's English Works. When he dismissed his state-servants, he gave this fool to my Lord Mayor and his successors. His Life by More, p. 188. and Herbert's Life of Henry VIII.

[*NN*] *Bishop*

ſign the Chancellorſhip. In his youth he drank much water, only taſting wine when he pledged others. In eating he loved ſalt meats, eſpecially powdered beef, milk, cheeſe, eggs, and fruit (*eee*). It is univerſally agreed, that he was admirably ſkilled in every branch of polite learning. Biſhop Burnet, who treats him ſeverely, both as a writer and a perſecutor of the Reformers [*NN*], declares however, that for juſtice, contempt of money, humility, and a true generoſity of mind, he was an example to the age in which he lived (*fff*). And himſelf declaring, as he did upon the ſcaffold, that he died in and for the faith of the Romiſh Church (*ggg*); that Church hath not without reaſon placed him among her brighteſt martyrs [*OO*]. In reality, his Chriſtian perfection was ſuch

(*eee*) Id. ibid.

(*fff*) Hiſt. of the Reformation, lib. iii. p. 355.

(*ggg*) More, p. 274.

[*NN*] *Biſhop Burnet treats him ſeverely.*] This author, as his manner is, obſerves among other things, That Sir Thomas was ſo ſuperſtitiouſly devoted to the intereſts and paſſions of the Popiſh Clergy, that when he was in authority, he aſſiſted them in all their cruelties. "More, continues he, was no Divine at all, and it is plain to any one that reads his writings, that he knew nothing of antiquity beyond the quotations he found in the Canon Law and in the *Maſter of the Sentences*, (only he had read ſome of St Auſtin's Treatiſes). For in all points of controverſy he quotes only what he had found in thoſe collections. Nor was he at all converſant in the critical learning upon the Scriptures, but his peculiar excellence in writing was, that he had a natural eaſy expreſſion, and repreſented all the opinions of Popery with their fair ſide to the reader, diſguiſing or concealing the black ſide of them with great art, and was no leſs induſtrious in expoſing all the ill conſequences that could follow from the doctrine of the Reformers, and had upon all occaſions great ſtore of pleaſant tales which he applied wittily to his purpoſe (89)." As to the accuſation of cruelty, it was laid to his charge in his life-time: But in anſwer thereto he tells us himſelf, that it was ſaid of him while he was Chancellor, he uſed to examine the Proteſtants with torments, cauſing them to be bounden to a tree in his garden, and there piteouſly beaten; but he ſolemnly declares of very great trouthe, that albeit for a heynous murder, robbery, or ſacrilege, he cauſed ſuch things to be done by ſome officers of the Marſhalſea or ſome other priſons, he never did els cauſe any ſuch thing to be done except to one child, and another mad perſon, that diſturbed the divine ſervice (90). And Eraſmus obſerves, that though he declared his hatred of the ſeditious tenets of the heretics, yet this was a ſufficient argument of his clemency, that while he was Chancellor no one was put to death for his diſapproved opinions (91). However, Sir Thomas declares, that he wiſhed obſtinate heretics were in time taken away, to prevent their ſeditious tenets from ſpreading (92); nor, to ſay the truth, can it be denied, that the principles and practices of the Reformers, particularly, the Anabaptiſts in Germany, at this time, were ſuch as entitled them to a better fate. Stapleton ſays, that Sir Thomas laboured with his pen againſt theſe heretics more than all the whole Clergy of England put together (93): and we are aſſured by Roper, that the Clergy were ſo ſenſible of his merit on this account, that a ſum not leſs than four or five thouſand pounds was voted by them in convocation to be raiſed by a proportionable tax upon their whole body, and was actually preſented to Sir Thomas as a recompence for his pains herein, though he both refuſed to take it himſelf, nor would ſuffer them to beſtow it upon his children, declaring himſelf abundantly rewarded by the pleaſure he had in writing thoſe books *.

(89) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. I.

(90) More's Engliſh Works, p. 901. col. 1.

(91) In his Epiſtles.

(92) Engliſh Works, p. 925. col. 2.

(93) Vita T. Mori, cap. vi. p. 221.

* Roper, p. 60, 61, 62.

[*OO*] *He is deſervedly ranked among the martyrs of the Romiſh Church.*] To ſhew the juſtice of his claim to that honour, we need only obſerve that he was unjuſtly put to death for a principle of that religion, being innocent of that particular offence for which he ſuffered; ſince the general courſe of his life is univerſally allowed to be not only irreproachable, but that he arrived to a very high degree of perfection in all Chriſtian graces, eminently diſtinguiſhed by all thoſe virtues and graces which particularly conſtitute the character of a martyr, ſuch as piety, humility, devotion, ſanctity, reſignation, and fortitude. In this laſt virtue, with regard to the conqueſt of the world, he may be ſaid even to have arrived at a ſtate of abſolute perfection, at leaſt for above a year before his ſuffering. Mr Roper informs us, that Sir Thomas being ſeated with him, as he attended in his boat to wait upon the commiſſioners appointed to tender him the oath of ſupremacy the firſt time, after he had remained a while ſad and ſerious, at laſt he ſuddenly rounded him in the ear, and ſaid, *Son Roper, I thank our Lord the field is won.* What he meant thereby, continues this writer, I then wiſt not, yet loathe to ſeeme ignorant, I anſweared, Sir, I am therefore verye glad. But as I conjectured afterward, it was for that the love he had to God wrought in him ſo effectuallye, that he had conquered all his carnall affeccions utterlie (94). Accordingly, his ſubſequent behaviour beſpoke a particular chearfulneſs under his perſecution, which grew into an earneſt longing to put on the martyr's crown. After he had been in the Tower a little more than a month, being viſited by his beloved daughter, he told her they were miſtaken in thinking they would mortify him by that impriſonment, for ſince he was come thither without his own deſert, thank God, he found no cauſe to reckon himſelf in worſe caſe there than at home: 'For, continues he, methinketh God maketh me a wanton, and ſetteth me on his lap, and dandleth me †.' At laſt, May 4th, 1535 as he ſaw ſome monks of the Charter-Houſe going out of the Tower to execution for the ſame cauſe, he called upon the ſame daughter, who then ſtood by his ſide, to ſee how thoſe bleſſed fathers were as chearfully going to their deaths as bridegrooms to their marriage; and aſſuring her this was a ſpecial favour of God, who, on account of their holy lives, would not longer ſuffer them to remain in this vale of miſery, but ſpeedily took them hence to the fruition of his everlaſting deity; he expreſſes his uneaſineſs at being left behind in the following ſtrong terms, and applied the remark to himſelf in a way of contraſt: 'Whereas, ſays he, thy ſillie father, 'Megg, that like a wicked caitiff hath paſſed forth the 'whole courſe of his miſerable life moſt ſinfully, God 'thinking him not worthy ſo ſoon to come to that 'eternal felicity, leaveth him here yet ſtill in this world 'further to be plagued and turmoiled with miſery (95).' When it was urged that he was not ſo content to die as he pretended, otherwiſe he would not fear to ſpeak out plainly againſt the ſtatute. To this he anſwered, that his life had not been ſo holy as to clear ſuch a bold offering himſelf to death of preſumption, and therefore he put not himſelf forward, but drew back ‖. Here was nothing of that enthuſiaſtic forwardneſs in ruſhing to death, for which ſome of the primitive Chriſtians have not eſcaped a juſt cenſure. On the contrary, this modern martyr was ſo far from ſtudying to provoke his enemies to that end, that no ſufferer could be more diligent than he was to avert, if poſſible, the ſtorm of their anger: in this diſpoſition we ſee him avoiding all occaſion of giving offence, and eluding by the moſt prudent caution all the devices that were practiſed (and very many were practiſed) to draw him into an exceptionable behaviour. Laſtly, the finely reaſoned, and, in truth, unanſwerable defence made by him at his trial, ſhews that he omitted no means whatſoever, that lay in his power to ſave a life, which, in a religious view, he wiſhed and longed to loſe. Thus far Sir Thomas More deſerves a place in the Roman Martyrology, ſuppoſing the King's ſupremacy to be taken in the preſent ſenſe of the words *for a civil and not a ſpiritual power*; but there is reaſon to believe that Sir Thomas underſtood, that thereby a claim was made to all the ſpiritual functions of the Clergy, ſuch as adminiſtring the ſacraments, ordination of Prieſts and Biſhops, &c. which has always been condemned under the name of Eraſtianiſm; and it muſt be confeſſed, the plain obvious ſenſe of the words in the act that eſtabliſhed it ſoon after, do ſuggeſt ſomething more than a civil juriſdiction (96), however, they were otherwiſe interpreted, both by that Prince and his Parliaments. Wherefore, ſince ſuch a ſupremacy is denied to the temporal Prince in all Chriſtian Churches, Sir Thomas may be deemed a martyr of the Chriſtian Church in general; but he is particularly claimed by the Roman Church, becauſe his martyrdom was brought about by the

(94) Ibid. p. 82.

† Ibid. p. 83.

(95) P. 87, 88.

‖ Ibid. p. 141.

(96) The words of the act are, that our ſovereign, &c. ſhall have full power, &c. to viſit, repreſs, redreſs, reform, order, correct, reſtrain, and amend, all ſuch errors, hereſies, abuſes, contempts, and enormities, whatſoever they be, which by any manner of ſpiritual authority or juriſdiction ought or may lawfully be repreſſed, ordered, &c. words which plainly conſtitute the Prince ſole judge in matters of faith.

such as made him an honour not only to any particular Church, but to the Christian name and cause in general. However, he is charged with some foibles [*P P*], the principal of which seems to have been too great an affectation of singularity: he used, we are told, to wear his gown awry upon one shoulder, which made one shoulder, as Erasmus observed, appear higher than the other (*bbb*). Archbishop Cranmer too seems to have been of this mind, that Sir Thomas was somewhat too conceited, and desirous of esteem; and therefore, in a point where he had once said his mind, he would not vary therefrom, that he might not for ever distain or blemish his fame and reputation [*Q Q*]. It is certain, his zeal against the Reformers called hereticks, transported him into some unbecoming and unjustifiable measures [*R R*]. By his first wife he had four children, who

(*bbb*) Ascham, ubi supra.

the persecution of the Reformers. Yet after all, his merit to that Church, in regard to this point of the Pope's supremacy, furnishes no great room for any extraordinary boasting, since in the same place that he declares he was brought to the belief of it's being the institution of God, by reading the King's book against Luther, it appears, that though he was not determined in it, yet he inclined to the opinion, that the Pope is not of the essence of the Visible Church, which might subsist without a Pope, under the government of provincial Patriarchs or Archbishops; and he clearly affirms, that a General Council is above the Pope, and that there are orders in Christ's Church, by which a Pope may be both admonished and amended, and hath been for incorrigible mind and lack of amendment finally deposed and changed (97); which is the very same conclusion that Wickliff maintained, and which was condemned by the Council of Constance.

(97) See his letter to Secretary Cromwell, in the appendix of his Life by Roper, No iv. and also his English Works, p. 614. col. 2.

[*P P*] *He is charged with some foibles.*] The levity of his wit in jesting, was censured by Lord Herbert, as we have already observed ‖; and herein he is backed by Erasmus, who calls him another Democritus (98). The well known story of his witticism in the last scene of his life, after his head was laid upon the block, when he put his beard aside, saying, *That had committed no treason*, gave birth to that celebrated irony of the Duke of Bucks,

‖ In rem. [*E E*].

(98) See also Hall's Chronicle, who observes that to be a great blemish to gravity.

Tho' who can chuse but pity
A dying heroe, miserably witty (99).

(99) Works of Sheffield Duke of Bucks. Vol. I.

However, his apology was wrote by Mr Addison, who looks upon his mirth, which was natural to him all his life before, to be at this time the effect of his innocence. ' His death, says he, was of a piece with his life; there was nothing in it new, forced, or affected. He saw nothing in death to put him from his ordinary humour; and as he died under a fixed and settled hope of immortality, he thought any unusual degree of sorrow and concern improper on such an occasion, as had nothing in it which could deject or terrify him ‡.' However, he concludes with the following remark, that what was philosophy in this extraordinary man, would be phrenzy in any one who did not resemble him, as well in the chearfulness of his temper as in the sanctity of his life and manners. This author might have said, that Sir Thomas saw something in death to raise his natural chearfulness above it's ordinary pitch (100), as we see by his behaviour on the day of his execution, of which, when notice was brought to him that morning by Sir Thomas Pope, he sent back his thanks to the King for the favour, declaring he would pray for his Majesty therefore, both here and in the next world, and with the same confident assurance of his future bliss. When Sir Thomas at parting could not refrain from tears, our martyr bid him be comforted, for that he trusted they should one day meet and be merry in heaven (101). With regard to the witticism upon his beard on the scaffold, which gave occasion to Mr Addison's Apology, we ought not to omit in justice thereto, another story, without which, the full pleasantry of the wit will not be understood. After his condemnation, he was visited by a certain courtier, whose whole discourse being nothing else but urging him to change his mind, Sir Thomas at last being wearied with his importunity, answered that he had changed it. The courtier went presently and told the King, and being by him commanded to know wherein his mind was changed, Sir Thomas rebuked him for his lightness, in that he would tell the King every word that he spoke in jest, meaning, that whereas he had intended to be shaven, that he might appear to the people as before he was wont; now he was fully resolved that his beard should take such part as his head did: which made the courtier blank, and the King very angry (102).

‡ Spectator, No. 349. Vol. V.

(100) See the preceding remark.

(101) Roper, p. 100, 101.

(102) Hoddesden, p. 167.

[*Q Q*] *Having once said his mind he would not vary.*] This remark is somewhat countenanced by what Sir Thomas said to his son Roper, after he had been examined by Cranmer and other Lords, while the bill was depending against the nun of Canterbury, wherein he was included. He was so very merry in the way home, that Mr Roper who was in the boat with him could not forbear saying, that he trusted all was well. It is so indeed, son Roper, I thank God, quoth he. Are you then put out of the Parliament bill, says Roper. By my troth, son Roper, quoth he, I never remembred it. Never remembred it! said Roper, a cause that toucheth yourself so near, and us all for your sake, I'm sorry to hear it; for I verily trusted when I saw you so merry, that all had been well. Then, said he, wilt thou know, son Roper, why I was so merry. That would I gladly, Sir, said Roper. In good faith I rejoiced, son, said he, that I had given the Devil a foul fall, and that with those Lords I had gone so far, as without great shame I should never go back again; meaning, in regard to the divorce, against which he had in this conference declared his opinion fully (103).

(103) Roper, p. 75—79.

[*R R*] *His zeal against the Reformers betrayed him into some unbecoming measures.*] In a letter to Erasmus he declares, he so far hated that sort of men called hereticks, that unless they repented, he would be as troublesome to them as he could; and that this he had declared in his epitaph (104), out of ambition. Accordingly, he tells us himself, it was laid to his charge, that he handled Luther, Tindal, &c. with no fayrer wordes, nor in more courteous manner, and treated their persons when he had them in his power, with too much rigour and severity; and it is particularly remarked of his Latin answer to Luther, that in it ' he has ' forgotten himself so far, that he has there thrown out ' the greatest heap of nasty language, that perhaps ever ' was put together, and that the book throughout is ' nothing but downright ribaldry without a grain of ' reason to support it, and gave the author no other ' reputation but that of having the best knack of any ' man in Europe at calling bad names in good Latin: ' though his passion is sometimes so strong upon him, ' that he sacrifices even his beloved purity to it (105).' And his English works deserve the like censure, where he charges Luther with incest, for marrying a nun, and lying with her nightlie in abominable *bycherie* (106). Nay it is laid to his charge, that he is not always so careful as one would expect a person of his learning, and of so tender and scrupulous a conscience, would be, in reporting matters of fact, wherein they whom he called heretics were concerned; instances whereof may be seen in the places cited in the margin *. However, 'tis certain he did not always so far act beneath himself: on the contrary, we have upon record one very remarkable transaction, where his lenity is very conspicuous. ' The Popish Bishops, and the Bishop of London in particular, in order to suppress Tindal's translation of the Bible, advised with one Packington, a ' merchant of that city concerning it. The merchant ' could think of no way so probable as to buy up the ' whole impression; this being approved of by the Bishops, they furnished a round sum for the purpose, ' which the merchant (being more a friend to Tindal ' than the Bishops) sent to Tindal, and had the impression sent him, some few copies being, as we must ' imagine, first sold off. With this money Tindal ' supported himself in his exile, and was also enabled ' to go on with his translation of the other part of the ' Bible, and to prepare a complete English Bible (107). ' In the mean time Sir Thomas More being Lord ' Chancellor, and having several persons [twenty se- ' ven]

(104) The words are, *Furibus, homicidis, hæreticisque, molestus*.

(105) Atterbury's Considerations upon the Spirit of Martin Luther, &c.

(106) English Works, p. 360.

* Ibid. p. 342. col. 1. and p. 901. col. 1.

(107) Tindal's and Coverdale's Bibles were read in churches 'till 1577, when the Bishops made a new translation, which was called the Bishops Bible.

who all ſurvived him; three daughters, Margaret, Elizabeth, and Cecilia, of whom ſome account ſhall be given in remark [*S S*]; and one ſon, named after his grandfather John. Sir Thomas had the three daughters firſt, and his wife very much deſired a boy; at laſt, ſhe brought him this ſon, who proved little better than an idiot, upon which Sir Thomas, it is ſaid, told his lady, *She had prayed ſo long for a boy, that ſhe had now one who would be a boy as long as he lived* (*iii*). However, he had all the advantages that a good and ingenuous education could give him, by which his natural parts ſeem to have been improved (*kkk*). After the death of his father, he was committed to the Tower for refuſing the ſame oath of ſupremacy, and condemned, but afterwards pardoned and ſet at liberty, which favour he did not long ſurvive (*lll*). He was married very young (*mmm*), as has been ſaid, to a Yorkſhire heireſs, of more than a hundred pounds a year. By her he had iſſue five ſons, of whom the eldeſt was named Thomas, and had thirteen children, the firſt of which was named Thomas, who being a moſt zealous Roman Catholick, gave the family eſtate to his younger brother, and took Orders at Rome, whence, by the Pope's command, he came a miſſionary into England. He afterwards lived at Rome (*nnn*), where, and in Spain, he negotiated the affairs of the Engliſh Clergy at his own expence, and wrote the life of his great grandfather, which, two years after his death, was printed in quarto, with a dedication to Henrietta-Maria, King Charles the Firſt's Queen, which match, the author of the dedication tells us, he was very inſtrumental in making. He died April 11th, 1625, aged 59, as appears by the inſcription which Mr Wood has given us (*ooo*) upon his monumental ſtone of white marble, in the church of St Lewis at Rome, where he died and was buried, and his monument alſo erected at the charge of the Engliſh Clergy. Sir Thomas was ſurvived alſo by his ſecond wife, who, upon the ſeizure of his eſtate, as a forfeiture, by the Crown, was obliged to quit the houſe at Chelſey. But the King allowed her annuity of twenty pounds for her life (*ppp*).

(*iii*) Apophthegms at the end of Herbert's Remains, p. 185.

(*kkk*) Eraſmus ſtiles him a youth of great hopes. Epiſt. lib. xxix. No. 16. He alſo inſcribed his account of Ariſtotle's Works to him, which ſhould ſeem as if he underſtood Greek as well as Latin.

(*lll*) Sir Thomas's daughters were all married alſo very young. More.

(*mmm*) Ibid. p. 280, 281.

(*nnn*) He had been married, and had then children, as appears from his Life of his grandfather, where he mentions them more than once.

(*ooo*) Athen. Oxon. ubi ſupra.

(*ppp*) More, p. 280.

'ven] accuſed before him for hereſy, and ready for 'execution, offered to compound with any of them 'for his life upon the eaſy terms of diſcovering to him 'who they were in London that maintained Tindal 'beyond ſea. One of them, George Conſtantine, af-'ter he had got as good ſecurity for his life as the ho-'nour and truth of the Chancellor could give him, 'told him, It was the Biſhop of London that main-'tained Tindal, by ſending him a ſum of money to 'buy up the impreſſion of his Bibles. The Chancellor 'ſmiled, ſaying he believed he ſaid true. Thus, ſays 'my author, was the poor confeſſor's life ſaved (108).'

[*S S*] *Account of his three daughters.*] Of theſe, the eldeſt, Margaret, was married while her father was Chancellor of the Dutchy of Lancaſter, to William Roper, ſon and heir of John Roper, Eſq; Prothonotary of the King's-Bench, of an ancient and worſhipful family at St Dunſtan's in the ſuburbs of the city of Canterbury (109). This lady had all the advantages that could ariſe from great natural parts and very fine learning. She was a perfect miſtreſs of the Greek and Latin tongues, and of all ſorts of muſick, beſides her ſkill in Arithmetick and other ſciences. For thus we are aſſured by a very learned friend of Sir Thomas, that he took a great deal of care to have his children inſtructed in the liberal diſciplines or ſciences; ſo that the fine things ſaid of her and to her by the greateſt men of that age, and ſince, were more than compliments and words of courſe, they were what ſhe had a right to, and very well deſerved (110). She lived with her huſband about ſixteen years, and dying in 1544, was buried in the family burying-place of the Ropers at St Dunſtan's, with her father's head in her arms, as ſhe had deſired. She brought Mr Roper two ſons, Thomas and Anthony, and three daughters, Elizabeth, Margaret, and Mary, of whoſe education the mother took the ſame care, as had been taken of her own. The famous Roger Aſcham, then Fellow of St John's College in Cambridge, and afterwards Latin Secretary to Queen Elizabeth, tells us, that ſhe was very deſirous of having him for their tutor, to inſtruct them in the learned languages; but that he would not then upon any terms be prevailed with to leave the univerſity; that therefore ſhe procured Dr Cole and Dr Chriſtopherſon, afterwards Biſhop of Chicheſter, both very famous at that time for their ſkill in the Greek tongue. Elizabeth was married firſt to Mr Stephenſon, and afterwards to Sir Edward Bray, Knight: Margaret married William Dawtrey; and Mary married firſt to Mr Stephen Clarke, and next to Mr James Baſſet. Aſcham ſtiles her an eminent ornament to her ſex, and of Queen Mary's court. She was one of the Gentlewomen (ſo they were then called) of that Queen's Privy-chamber, and tranſlated into Engliſh part of her grandfather's *Expoſition of the Paſſion of our Saviour*; wherein ſhe exactly imitated Sir Thomas's ſtile in Engliſh (111). Mrs Roper's ſon Thomas married Lucy, daughter of Sir Anthony Brown, Maſter of the Horſe, and Privy-Counſellor to King Henry the Eighth (112). Sir Thomas More's ſecond daughter married John Dancy, ſon and heir to Sir John Dancy; and his third daughter Cicilia married Giles Heron of Shacklewell in Middleſex, Eſq; (113). We have already obſerved, that Sir Thomas had all his children with their families dwelling in his houſe at Chelſey, and they were ſo drawn in ſeveral family-pieces (114) by Hans Holben for Sir Thomas, who firſt recommended that famous artiſt to King Henry the Eighth, after he had kept him two years privately to paint for him in his houſe at Chelſey. He was ſent to Sir Thomas by Eraſmus, who in compliance to this friend's requeſt to have his picture, procured Holben to draw it, and then ſent the Painter with it to England (115). P

(108) Scultetus's Annals in anno 1532, as cited in the preface to Pool's Annotations to the Bible.

(109) His younger ſon, Chriſtopher Roper of Lodge, had by his wife, Elizabeth Blore, John Roper of Lodge, who was knighted 19 July, 1603, and 9 July, 1616, created Baron of Tenham, from whom is deſcended Harry Roper, the preſent Lord Tenham, who married a daughter of Mr Powel of Sandford near Oxford.

(110) See Hearne's additions prefixed to his edition of Roper's Life of Sir Tho. More.

(111) She tranſlated alſo Euſebius's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory from the Greek into Latin, but this was never publiſhed, being anticipated by Chriſtopherſon's verſion. Id. ibid.

(112) Lewis's appendix to Roper.

(113) Hearne, ubi ſupra.

(114) One of theſe pictures was lately at Well-hall, the ſeat of the Ropers at Eltham in Kent. Lewis's Appendix, where there is a deſcription of it. Another was at Baſills-Lee in 1689, a houſe of the Lenthals near Abingdon in Berkſhire. Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 41.

(115) Knight's Life of Eraſmus, p. 307. This picture of Eraſmus was drawn at Baſil in the year 1520.

MORE [Henry], an eminent Divine and Platonic Philoſopher, was born October 12, 1614, at Grantham in Lincolnſhire, where his father, Alexander More, reſided; a gentleman of a fair fortune and eſtate, and of diſtinguiſhed probity as well as piety (*a*): but being puritannically inclined, and a zealous Calviniſt, he took eſpecial care to breed up his children in thoſe principles. With this caution our author, who was his ſecond ſon, was firſt put to ſchool to a private maſter, of an eſtabliſhed character in that perſwaſion, and continued under his direction 'till the fourteenth year of his age; at which time his excellent talents for learning being diſcerned by his uncle, he prevailed upon his father to ſend him to Eton. Accordingly thither he went, carrying along with him a ſtrict and affectionate charge not to recede from thoſe principles of religion in which he had been ſo carefully trained up [*A*]. But as, from his natural temper, he had ſecretly harboured a diſlike

(*a*) Life of Dr Henry More, by Richard Ward, Rector of Ingoldſby in Lincolnſhire, 1710, 8vo. p. 22. and dedication to Dr More's Philoſophical Poems.

[*A*] *Thoſe principles in which he had been trained up.*] He tells us himſelf, that he went to Eton ſchool, not to learn any new precepts or inſtitutes of religion. Accordingly, when his uncle came to know of the diſpute

diſlike to the hard-heartedneſs, as he calls it, of the predeſtinarian doctrine, even from his infancy; ſo now he was removed from the immediate inſpection of his Calviniſtic inſtructors, he indulged his thoughts upon this ſubject more freely, and quickly grew into a firm and unſhaken perſwaſion, young as he was, that thoſe tenets were utterly inconſiſtent with the juſtice and goodneſs of God [B]. And he had not been long at Eton, when he diſputed ſtoutly againſt this Calviniſtical predeſtination with his elder brother, who came thither to make him a viſit in company with his uncle. The account which he gives himſelf of this diſpute, and of the ſtate of his thoughts at that time, ſhews at once an amiable ſimplicity in his manners, and a boyiſh juvenility in his underſtanding. He was conſtitutionally melancholy, and unalterably inclined to religious contemplations; inſomuch, that from his firſt childhood an inward ſenſe of the Divine Preſence was ſo ſtrong upon him, that he did then believe there could be no or word thought hidden from God. At the ſame time, with regard to Predeſtination, he came ſeriouſly and deliberately to this concluſion, that if he was one of thoſe predeſtinated unto hell, where all things are full of curſing and blaſphemy, yet he would behave himſelf there patiently and ſubmiſſively towards God; and if there was any thing more than another that was acceptable to him, *that* he would ſet himſelf to do with a ſincere heart, and to the utmoſt of his power; being certainly perſwaded, that if he thus demeaned himſelf, God would hardly keep him long in that place (*b*) [C]. Theſe reflections, however, were only occaſionally indulged as they roſe up in his mind, he was far from ſuffering them to draw him into a neglect of the main deſign of his parents in ſending him to Eton-ſchool. On the contrary, the extraordinary progreſs he made here in Greek and Latin, muſt needs be ſome ſatiſfaction for the diſappointment they met with in reſpect to his religious notions; for we are told, that his maſter would not unfrequently be in admiration at the exerciſes performed by him. There is ſomething very amiable in his own modeſty upon theſe occaſions; the wonder and pleaſure with which his maſter and others would ſometimes read his exerciſes, was ſo far from elating him, that he was rather troubled and aſhamed, as not knowing whether he could do ſo well another time. The uncle's advice having ſucceeded hitherto, his father left the further conduct of his education to him [D]; by whoſe direction having ſpent about three years at Eton, he went to Cambridge, where he was admitted of Chriſt's-college in 1631, and at his own earneſt ſollicitations under a tutor that was no Calviniſt (*c*). Being now arrived at the fountain of learning, he immediately abandoned every other thought,

(*b*) Short Narrative of himſelf, in the general preface to his Philoſophical Works in Latin.

(*c*) Ibid.

pute, mentioned a little lower in the text, which he had with his elder brother upon Predeſtination, he not only chid him ſeverely for it, but even threatened him with correction and a rod, for his immature philoſophizing in ſuch matters (1).

(1) Life of H. More, &c. p. 6.

[B] *Inconſiſtent with the juſtice and goodneſs of God.*] We are obliged to our author for an account of the true ſtate of his mind in this firſt part of his life, which indeed no body but himſelf could ſo graphically have deſcribed. He aſſures us, that he had in his childhood a connate ſenſe of the exiſtence of God and his providence, in the following pictureſque expreſſions. As to what concerns the exiſtence of God, though in that ground belonging to Eton college where the boys uſed to play, walking, as my manner was, ſlowly, and with my head on one ſide, and kicking now and then the ſtones with my feet, I was wont, ſays he, ſometimes, with a ſort of muſical and melancholy murmur, to repeat or rather hum to myſelf thoſe verſes of Claudian:

Sæpe mihi dubiam traxit ſententia mentem
Curarent ſuperi terras; an nullus ineſſet
Rector, & incerto fluerent mortalia caſu.

Oft hath my anxious mind divided ſtood,
Whether the Gods did mind this lower world;
Or whether no ſuch ruler wiſe and good
We had, and all things here by chance are hurl'd.

yet that exceeding hail and entire ſenſe of God, which nature herſelf had planted in me, very eaſily ſilenced all ſuch ſlight and poetical dubitations as theſe (2).

(2) General preface to his Philoſophical Works in Latin.

[C] *God would hardly keep him long in hell.*] The hopes of changing the ſtate of the damned is a very natural conceit for a boy of his age and thoughtful complexion: nor does he ſtand in need of an apology for miſconceiving the exact ſenſe of Epictetus's ἡ πεπρωμένη (3), or fate, by which that author probably meant nothing elſe but God's ſovereign power and providence in ordering the affairs of this world, not ſubject either to oppoſition or mutability. In this ſenſe Marcus Antoninus, who was a great admirer of Epictetus (4), uſes the word εἱμαρμένη (5), and in the ſame ſenſe it is uſed by Plotinus and the Platoniſts, as is obſerved by Meric Caſaubon (6), and in this ſenſe our author himſelf underſtood it afterwards. In his Ethics B. III. Ch. 1. he ſpeaks of ſome, that by a divine ſort of fate, are virtuous and good to a very great and heroical degree, and the ſame perſons are intimated by him elſewhere (7), as coming into the drudgery of the world rather for the good of others, or by a divine force, than through their own proper fault, or any neceſſary or immediate congruity of their nature. All which is evidently borrowed from Plato, where he ſays ſome deſcend hither to declare the being and nature of the Gods, and for the greater health, purity, and perfection of this lower world. And thus, by the ſame way of arguing, he inferred, that if he was thruſt into hell, it would be done for the ſame providential reaſons; and therefore, God would not keep him long there. This error was rather a beauty than a blemiſh in a boy of fourteen, in whom the ſallies of a ſprightly wit and fancy are both more agreeable and more hopeful than a turn to dry and laborious criticiſm, which indeed was never our author's talent. He ſtudied things more than words. With regard to his ſkill in the languages, though in reality it was very conſiderable, yet he ſaid of it himſelf, that in this reſpect, he was like the man that paſſed by a garriſon with a horſe-ſhoe at his girdle, when a bullet being ſhot at him, ſtruck right upon it, upon which he remarked, that a little armour was ſufficient, if but well placed. And he often ſaid, in writing his books, when he came to criticiſm and quotations, it was like going over plowed lands *.

(3) The diſpute with his brother began upon theſe words, Ἄγε με ὦ Ζεῦ, ϗ σὺ ἡ πεπρωμένη.

(4) This Emperor mentions it as one part of his happineſs, that he had read the writings of Epictetus. Opus de Seipſo, lib. i. p. 7. Lond. 1643.

(5) Ibid. lib. viii. p. 33.

(6) See his tranſlation of Marcus Antoninus in the preface.

(7) Mercav. Expoſ. poſt. 8 & 10.

* Life, p. 144, and 154.

[D] *His father left the care of his education to his uncle.*] The progreſs our author made in learning, added to the natural ſweetneſs of his temper and turn to piety, ſeems at length to have reconciled his father to his religious principles. For coming one day into his room at the college, and ſeeing him there with his books about him, and knowing the tendency of his ſtudies, was moſt highly affected with it, and ſaid to him in a rapture, that he thought he ſpent his time in an angelical way (8). The doctor dedicated his philoſophical poems to his father, the whole turn of which addreſs plainly implies a reconciliation (9). He ſaid he thought his father before he died, had no great ſtomach to his ſtrict Calviniſm, and he was diſtinguiſhed by a very handſome legacy at the old gentleman's death (10).

(8) Ibid. p. 22.

(9) He there takes notice, that his father uſed to read to his children in the evenings Spenſer's Fairy Queen, with which our author was highly delighted; and it gave him a fondneſs for poetry.

(10) Life, p. 60.

[E] *Ended*

thought, but that of gratifying his ardent thirst after knowledge. He tells us himself, that his tutor, presently after the first salutation and discourse with him, observing his melancholy thoughtful disposition, asked him whether he had a discernment of things good and evil; to which, says he, answering in somewhat a low voice, I said, I hope I have; when at the same time I was conscious to myself, that I had from my very soul a very strong sense and savoury discrimination as to all those matters, notwithstanding the mean while, a mighty and almost immoderate thirst after knowledge possessed me throughout, especially for that which was natural, and, above all others, that which was said to dive into the deepest causes of things, and Aristotle calls the first and highest philosophy or wisdom. Some time after this, his tutor observing his mind highly inflamed, and carried with an extraordinary eagerness and vehement career to knowledge, took an opportunity to ask him, why he was so above measure intent upon his studies, meaning for what end he did it, suspecting, as our author supposed, that there was only at bottom a certain itch after vain-glory, that by this means he might become an egregious Philosopher among those of his own standing; I answered briefly, and from my heart, That I may know. But, young man, what is the reason, says he again, that you have such an earnest desire to know things. To which I instantly replied, I desire, I say, so earnestly to know, that I may know; for, even at that time, the knowledge of natural and divine things seemed to me the highest pleasure and felicity imaginable. In this temper he eagerly read over the works of Aristotle, Cardan, Julius Scaliger, and other Philosophers of the greatest note. These he made himself master of before he took his degree of Bachelor of Arts, which was in 1635. But these did not answer his expectations; he felt none of that high delight which he had promised himself in these studies; their manner of treating Philosophy did not fall in with the peculiar turn and temper of his mind. Though he met with many things here and there in them, both acutely said and solidly observed, yet the greatest part of their words seemed to him either so false or uncertain, or else so obvious and trivial, that he looked upon himself as having plainly lost his time in reading them; and, in short, all the time, which was almost four years, that he spent in these studies, as to what concerned those matters he chiefly desired to be satisfied in (for as to the being of a God and the duties of morality he never had the least doubt), ended in a manner in nothing but meer Scepticism [*E*]. This disappointment, therefore, threw him to search for what he wanted in the Platonic writers and mystic divines, such as Marsilius Ficinus, Plotinus, Trismegistus, &c. Here he found his much longed for treasure [*F*]. The pretensions which

[*E*] *Ended in nothing but mere Scepticism.*] In this state of his mind, as his manner was, he composed a stanza of eight Greek verses, called Ἀπορία, inserted at the end of his second philosophical volume, and begins thus:

Οὐκ ἔγνων πόθεν εἰμὶ ὁ δύσμορος, οὐδὲ τίς εἰμι, &c.

Thus englished by himself.

Nor whence nor who I am, poor wretch know I,
Nor yet, O madness! whither I must go;
But in grief's crooked claws fast held I lie,
And live, I think, by force, lugg'd to and fro;
Asleep or wake all one. O father Jove,
'Tis brave we mortals live in clouds like thee:
Lies, night dreams, empty toys, fear, fatal love,
This is my life: I nothing else do see.

[*F*] *Here he found his much longed for treasure.*] He was so highly transported with delight in finding this treasure, that he declares the disappointment he met with in Aristotle was even lucky to him, since it put him upon thinking seriously whether something greater and more divine, was not that supreme felicity of man, and not the knowledge of things, as he had 'till then imagined (11). Our author was now evidently plunging into the depth of the Platonic Philosophy, according to which, not the simple knowledge of things, as they stand created in the world, but their archetypal ideas in the divine mind, is the proper food of the human mind; which food is only to be obtained by passing through the purgative and illuminative, to the unitive life; this is the doctrine of the mystic Divines. And our author himself tells, 'that among all 'the writings of this kind, none so much pierced and 'affected him as that golden little book, with which 'Luther was so prodigiously pleased, entituled, *Theologia Germanica*. That precept particularly which 'this author so mightily inculcates, that we should 'thoroughly put off, and extinguish our own proper 'will; that being thus dead to ourselves, we may live 'alone to God, and do all things whatsoever by his 'instinct or plenary permission, was so connatural, says 'our doctor, and agreeable to my most intimate rea'son and conscience, that I could not of any thing 'whatsoever be more clearly and certainly convinced, 'which sense yet, continues he, (that no one may use 'that insipid and idle expression, *quales legimus, tales evadimus*, such as we read; such we are) that truly 'golden book did not then first implant in my soul, but 'struck and rouz'd it, as it were, out of a sleep in me; 'which it did verily as in a moment, or the twinkling 'of an eye (12).' It may be proper to observe, that the *Theologia Germanica* was written by one John Taulerus a Dominican monk, who flourished in the fourteenth century, and being thought to be favoured with revelations from heaven, he was stiled the *Illuminated Divine*. He preached chiefly at Cologne and Strasburg, and died in 1361 (13); he wrote several treatises in the mystical way (one intituled *De decem cæcitatibus, & quatuordecem divini amoris radicibus*) which are most of them comprized in this volume, intituled, *Theologia Germanica*, which was translated into Latin by Surius (which passed for the original 'till 1615) and then by Sebastian Castalio. The author wrote it in the German language, and it went through a great number of editions from 1518 to the year 1700, when it was printed in French at Amsterdam. What Luther says of it may be found in the first volume of his works in Latin (14), and is to this effect: I am sensible, that this doctor is unknown to the schools of Divines, and therefore, perhaps, much despised, but I have found in him, tho' his writings are all in the German language, more solid and true divinity, than is found in all the doctors of all the universities, or than can be found in their opinions. This is mere panegyrick, let us hear the character given him by one of undoubted skill in these matters; The character, says that writer, of this illuminated author, is in my opinion as follows: That the soul by the mortification of it's passions and vices, by the practice of virtue, by the denial of itself, it's will, and self love, and it's whole activity, and of all created beings, should return into it's internal fund where it seeks God, and finds him at last, who manifests himself by the birth of his divine word, and the inspiration of his holy spirit; and that afterwards,

(11) Narrative of himself in the general preface, ubi supra.

(12) Id. ibid.

(13) Memoria Johan. Tauleri restaurata, à Georgio Frederico Henepelio. Argentorat.

(14) Opera, Tom. I. p. 86. ap. Henepelium, in Memoria Tauleri, &c.

which those authors make, of arriving at extraordinary degrees of illumination by their institutes, entirely captivated Mr More's fancy; he pursued their method with great seriousness, and an uncommon intenseness of application: and in three or four years, had reduced himself into such a thin state of body, and began to talk of such particular experiences and communications, as brought him into some suspicion of being touched with enthusiasm [G]. In the beginning of 1640, he composed his *Psycho Zoïa, or the Life of the Soul*; wherein he comprized the chief speculations and experiences he fell into by persisting in this way, and he even believed himself stirred up to write this poem by some heavenly impulse of mind. He took the degree of Master of Arts the preceding year, and being chosen Fellow of his college (*d*), became a tutor to several persons of very great quality *, as well as others, and, among the rest, to those two remarkable friends, Sir John Finch and Sir Thomas Baynes †. The former of these was brother to Mrs Anne Finch, by marriage Lady Conway, who may be called another of the doctor's pupils at a distance, or out of college. This lady (whose genius and temper was nearly allied to the doctor's) had the misfortune to fall into Quakerism, from which our author laboured many years to reclaim her without success. This intercourse with her Ladyship brought him into the knowledge and acquaintance of the famous Sir William Pen, and several other leaders of that sect (*e*), with whom he had many free conferences both personally and in writing; and he seems to have been peculiarly qualified for such engagements [*H*]. He

(*d*) When he stood for his fellowship, they were afraid of him at first as a melancholy man, 'till some that knew him better assured them, that though he was studious and serious, yet he was a very pleasant companion, and, indeed, in his way one of the merriest Greeks they were acquainted with. Life of Dr More, p. 120.

* Among others, Lord Radnor was one.

† See Baynes's article in this work.

(*e*) As George Knot and Rob. Barclay.

afterwards, by a lasting and continual introversion, it should remain in this interior state, in which God may produce in it his will, his wonders, and his special direction; of which this author speaks but generally. Thus writes the author of the new edition of the *Theologia Germanica* (15), printed in 1700, as already mentioned.

(15) Lettres sur les Auteurs Mystiques, p. 11, 12.

[G] *Touched with enthusiasm.*] As soon as he had gone through the exercises mentioned in the preceding note, he says he felt the divine seed sown in him, whence grew an indifference to all his other studies, and he became sollicitous about nothing so much as a more full union with this divine and celestial principle, the inward flowing well spring of life eternal. So far all is intelligible, and within the reach of an ordinary capacity. But what follows is of a higher nature, when he professes (and no body ever doubted his sincerity) to declare the thing as it was: That there shone in upon him daily a greater assurance than ever he could have expected, even of those things which before he had the greatest desire to know; insomuch, that within three or four years he was got into a most joyous and lucid state, and such plainly as is ineffable. This, however, according to his custom, he endeavoured to express as far as lay in his power, in another stanza of eight verses contrasted to the former in Rem. [*E*], under the title of Εὐπορία, i. e. fullness and perviousness as follows:

'Εκ θεόθεν γέγονα προθερῶν Θεοῦ ἄμβροτον ἀκτὶς, &c.

In English thus:

I come from heaven; am an immortal ray
Of God; O joy! and back to God shall go:
And here sweet love on's wings me up doth stay.
I live I'm sure, I joy this life to know.
Night, and vain dreams begone: father of lights,
We live as thou, clad with eternal day.
Faith, wisdom, love, fixed joy, free-winged might,
This is true life; all else death and decay (16).

(16) Narrative of himself, &c.

This joy seems to have something enthusiastic in it. His character, with regard thereto, is not expressed amiss by Mr Norris, who stiles him the *Intellectual Epicure* (17). 'Tis certain he continued to express himself with the same extatic rapturous warmth all his life afterwards, 'till a little before his death. It appears by his writings every where (18), but no where more freely than in the following passage, in which he breaks out thus. 'I say that a free, divine, universalized spirit is worth all; how lovely, how magnificent a state is the soul of man in, when the life of God inactuating her, shoots her along with himself thro' heaven and earth, makes her unite with, and after a sort, feel herself animate the whole world, &c. This is to become deiform, to be thus suspended, not by imagination, but by union of life; κέντρον κέντρῳ συνάψαντα, joining centres with God, and by a sensible touch to be held up from the clotty, dark, personality of this compacted body. Here is love! here is freedom! here is justice and equity in the superessential causes of them. He that is here looks upon all things as one: and on himself, if he can then mind himself, as a part of the whole. After much more, both of zeal and triumph, he goes on thus: Nor am I out of my wits, as some may fondly interpret me, in this divine freedom: but the love of God compelled me. Nor am I at all, Philalethes, enthusiastical. For God does not ride me as a horse, and guide me I know not whither myself, but converseth with me as a friend, and speaks to me in such a dialect, as I understand fully, and can make others understand, that have not made shipwreck of the faculties that God hath given them, by superstition or sensuality. For with such I cannot converse, because they don't converse with God, but only pity them or am angry with them, as I am merry and pleasant with thee. For God hath permitted to me, all these things, and I have it under the broad seal of heaven. Who doth charge me? God doth acquit me: for he hath made me full Lord of the four elements, and hath constituted me Emperor of the world. I am in the fire of choler, and am not burnt; in the water of phlegm, and am not drowned; in the airy sanguine, and yet not blown away with every blast of transient pleasure or vain doctrines of men. I descend also into the sad earthly melancholy, and yet am not buried from the sight of my God. I am, Philalethes, (tho' I dare say thou takest me for no bird of Paradise) Incola cœli in terra, an inhabitant of Paradise and heaven upon earth.—— I sport with the beasts of the earth; the lion licks my hand like a spaniel, and the serpent sleeps upon my lap, and stings me not. I play with the fowls of heaven, and the birds of the air sit singing on my fist. All these things are true in a sober sense, and the dispensation I live in, is more happiness above all measure, than if thou could'st call down the moon so near thee by thy magic charms, that thou mayst kiss her, as she is said to have kissed Endymion, or cou'd'st stop the course of the sun, or, which is all one, with one stamp of thy foot stay the motion of the earth (19).' He makes an apology for all such over adventurous flights as this in another place (20), and the following instance sets the prodigious sensibility of his mind, whence they sprung, in the fullest light. We are assured, that as he diverted himself sometimes with playing on the theorbo, a solemn instrument, the power of the musick added to the rapturous pleasure of his thoughts, has been so overcomingly great, that he was forced to desist †.

(17) In an ode of five stanzas, addressed to our author, stanza 4. Norris's Miscellanies, &c. p. 73.

(18) See particularly Philosophical Collections, in preface, p. 7.

(19) Second Lash of Ahaz, sect. 2.

(20) In his letter called Mastix.

† His Life, p. 54.

[*H*] *He was peculiarly qualified to engage the Quakers.*] He had by his own confession a natural touch of enthusiasm in his complexion (21), and no body better understood the extent of fancy, and nature of enthusiasm than he did. Few have wrote with that force and clearness, that he has done upon this argument; and he owns himself, that he was enabled to do it with greater life and judgment, because of the experience he had in it, he knowing, by this means, what was in the enthusiasts better than they themselves (22). And indeed from the general nature, and sound, and excellent frame, and tenour, of his writings, it appears, that he had so far subdued it in himself, as to prevent it

(21) But then he says it was such as was ever governable enough, and which he had found at length perfectly subduable. His Life, p. 43.

(22) Preface to Philosophical Collections.

* Life, p. 87.

He had a great esteem for Lady Conway, a very high degree of friendship with her, and at her death she left him a legacy of 400 pounds *. This lady was afflicted with such pains in her head, as she could get no relief for, though she had travelled into several parts of Europe to visit the most eminent Physicians for that purpose. At last the famous Baron Van Helmont lived in the family, and frequented the Quakers meetings with her. There was once a design of printing some remains of this lady after her death, and the preface was actually wrote by our author under the person of Van Helmont. In which disguise he draws the character of this lady with so much address, that the most rigid Quaker would see every thing he could wish for in it, and yet the sobereft Christian is entirely satisfied with it *(f)*. Some of his treatises were drawn up at her particular request, as, among others, his *Conjectura Cabalistica*, and *Philosophiæ Teutonicæ Censura* [*I*]; and he composed several others at Ragley *(g)*, the seat of her lord in Warwickshire; where, by intervals, he passed a considerable part of his time [*K*]. And, in 1675, he accepted a prebend

(f) It is printed at large in his Life, p. 203, & seq.

(g) As his divine dialogues, and a great part of the translation of his works into Latin. His letter to Sir William Pen was likewise wrote from Ragley. See that letter, and another subjoined to his Life, ubi supra, p. 357.

it from carrying him into any principles that were inconsistent with sound morality, and a decent external behaviour. In the mean time, his expression, even upon this subject, was frequently very little different from those of the Quakers. As, where he says, that 'sober morality conscientiously kept to, is like the 'morning light reflected from the higher clouds, and 'a certain prodrome of the sun of righteousness itself; 'but when he is risen above the horizon, the same 'virtues then stream immediately from his visible body, 'and they are the very members of Christ according to 'the spirit, and he that is come hither is a pillar in the 'temple of God for ever: for he reacheth the second 'covenant, which he can in no more likelyhood break, 'than he can lay violent hands on himself to the ta- 'king away of his natural life.' Farther, 'He that is 'come hither, God hath taken him to be his own fa- 'miliar friend, and tho' he speaks to others aloof, 'oft in outward religions and parables, yet he leads this 'man by the hand, teaching him intelligible docu- 'ments, upon all the objects of his providence, speaks 'to him plainly in his own language, sweetly insinu- 'ates himself, and possesseth all his faculties, under- 'standing, reason, and memory. This is the darling 'of God, and a Prince amongst men, far above the 'dispensation of either miracle or prophecy (23).' The reason of our author's concerning himself with these people was, because, especially at the first, he pitied their inward and melancholic wandrings; believed there was much seriousness and simplicity of life in many of them, and because they professed the guidance of the spirit; which made him very desirous to bring them, if possible, into a right way, and willing to own and commend their simplicity. But this he thought only of the better sort of them: for he observes, that though he could not but allow there might be some among them good and sincere hearted men, and it may be, nearer to the purity of Christianity for the life and power of it, than many others; yet, says he, I am well assured that the generality of them are prodigiously melancholy, and some few persons possessed with the Devil (24). With regard to these, as George Fox in particular, he said, *that in conversing with him, he felt himself turned, as it were, into brass* (25). But he had another opinion of Sir William Pen, and expressly declares his book *No Cross no Crown*, to be a serious treatise, and very pious and christian in the main (26). He therefore addresses himself to this author in his own way, and after he has proved the preparatory use of baptism and the eucharist, he allows the different degrees of conviction which arise from the external evidence of the truth of Christ's doctrines, and the internal, which latter he divides (agreeably to the language of the Quakers) into two kinds. First, when we arrive to a discovery, that there is an innate worthiness, loveliness, and reasonableness, in the commands of Christ: but yet this conviction is more imaginary and rational than substantial and vital, though it be accompanied, may be, with some rudiments of real regeneration. But the third is not only internal conviction that we ought to do, or be so and so, as being the most perfect and lovely state, but that we find it to be our natural joy and pleasure, and the very life of our soul, and fullest content of our heart, to be and do as our Saviour has prescribed unto us: which is the condition of a higher advance in real regeneration, when the spirit of holiness is to us, what our natural spirit was, and we are made partakers to this degree of the divine nature. Then he goes on to attack all the peculiarities in the dress and address of this sect, in a

(23) Second Lash of Abaz.

(24) Mystery of Godliness, B. X. c. xiii.

(25) See also what he says further of him, schol. in dialogue 5. sect. 5.

(26) Our author animadverts upon some passages in Sir William's two books against J. Faldo, in his Remarks upon G. K.'s [George Knot's] Immediate Revelation.

handsome and winning manner, by making it a question, only how consistent their doctrine and practice in these points are, with that generosity, freedom, charity, and kind complacency, that one would think, says he, did naturally accompany a truly Christian spirit. *I wish*, concludes he, *the Quakers would disencumber those excellent things they profess and give witness to, from some things as make them seem so uncouth and ridiculous*; that the most excellent things of the Gospel be not slighted by men, through the oddness and indiscretion of such as seem the most zealous professors of them (27).

(27) Letter viii. subjoined to his Life, ubi supra.

[*I*] *Philosophiæ Teutonicæ Censura.*] This was a censure upon the Torricellian experiment, and being attacked by Judge Hale in two tracts, was defended by our author, in *Remarks upon the two late ingenious Treatises*, which coming out in 1676, the publisher of the Philosophical Transactions put the following sleight upon it. 'Instead of giving an account of this tract, we shall desire the reader to compare with it what hath been not long since published by Mr Boyle and Dr Wallis in Hydrostatics in 1672, and to a discourse on gravity and gravitation, grounded upon experimental observations in 1675. These pieces being well laid together, and the doctrine of hydrostatics well understood and applied, will make it easy to the judicious and considerate reader what to judge of the whole controversy here treated of.' Our author's way of philosophizing was also animadverted on by a Cantabrigian in the same paper. 'I cannot understand, says this writer, why the learned Dr More, famous with us at Cambridge, should reduce so many effects to any principle distinct from the settled laws of nature and God's providence; but that he is too much devoted to the notions of the Platonists, as appears in all his writings, and others of the Ancients, that held the world animate, and this spirit of nature to be the soul or deity of it *: for never any supposed both God and this spirit. This explication of facts is no more than to say, it is produced by an universal cause, as the sun hardens clay, softens wax, &c. but methinks he might have told us how it acts, or what natural means it uses.'

* Our author in this piece maintained the Platonic notion of a mundane spirit.

[*K*] *He passed a considerable part of his time at Ragley.*] Here he once met the famous Valentine Greatrakes, who had been sent for to try his skill upon her Ladyship's head-ach. As this person made a great noise in his time, and his practice was abetted by our author, who hath occasionally discoursed concerning him ‖. We shall give the following short account of him. He was the son of William Greatrakes, Esq; and born at Affane in the county of Waterford in Ireland, on St Valentine's day [Feb. 14] 1628; was bred a Protestant at the free school at Lismore, and at thirteen years of age designed to be sent to the college in Dublin, but the rebellion breaking out in that kingdom, he was forced with his mother to fly into England, where they were entertained by his uncle Edmund Harris †; after whose death, his mother committed him to the care of John Daniel Getsius, a High German, Minister of Stoke Gabriel in Devonshire, with whom he spent some years in the studies of Humanity and Divinity. After five or six years absence he returned to his native country, at that time in a most deplorable state, which made him retire to the castle of Caperquin, where he spent a year in contemplation, much affected, as he says, with the wickedness of the world ‡. About 1649, he became a Lieutenant in the regiment of Roger Lord Broghill, then acting in Munster against the Irish Papists and others then called rebels, and on the disbanding of a great part of the army in 1656, he retired

‖ In schol. in Enthus. Triumph. sect. 58.

† Brother to Sir Edward Harris, Knt. his mother's father. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 565.

‡ He had the character of being really a very pious and extraordinary person. Dr More's Life, p. 124.

prebend in the church of Glouceſter, being collated to it by this lady's brother, Lord Finch, then Lord High-Chancellor of England, afterwards Earl of Nottingham, who gave him a ſtill greater mark of his reſpect and eſteem, in conferring that preferment at his requeſt upon Dr Edward Fowler, afterwards Biſhop of that dioceſe. We ſee with what views our author accepted of this preferment, and it was the only one he ever could be perſwaded to accept, after he had devoted himſelf to a college life, which he did very early; for in 1642 he reſigned the rectory of Ingoldſby in Lincolnſhire, ſoon after he had been preſented to it by his father, who had bought the perpetual advowſon for him. He had once ſome thoughts of ſettling upon it, but theſe quickly gave way to his ſtronger propenſions to a life of undiſturbed ſtudy and contemplation. In this way he had made to himſelf a paradiſe (it is his own expreſſion), and he was ſo apprehenſive of forfeiting it by any change in his preſent ſituation, that for fear thereof we are told, he even declined the maſterſhip of his own college; into which he might have been choſen in preference to Dr Cudworth in 1654. No wonder after this, that he withſtood all the courtſhip that was made to him to accept of ſeveral very conſiderable promotions in Ireland, as the deanery of Chriſt-Church in Dublin, and the provoſtſhip of the college there, as well as the deanery of St Patrick's, which had no power over him, notwithſtanding he was aſſured theſe were deſigned only to pave the way to ſomething higher; there being two biſhoprics in view offered to his choice, one of which was valued at 1500 pounds per annum at leaſt. This open attempt of his friends in Ireland to draw him thither proving ineffectal, a further trial was made to decoy him into a biſhopric in England. In this view, a very good one being procured for him, his friends got him as for as Whitehall, in order to the kiſſing his Majeſty's hand for it; but as ſoon as he underſtood the buſineſs, which it was then neceſſary to acquaint him with, and 'till then had been concealed from him, he could not, by any means or upon any account, be prevailed upon to ſtir a ſtep further towards it (b). As all the kind arts practiſed by his friends proved unable to draw him from his retirement at any other time, ſo in thoſe of the general confuſion, he had the good luck to eſcape being driven out of it by the mad zeal of his foes; and that too, notwithſtanding he rendered himſelf obnoxious to their fury, by conſtantly denying the Covenant, the taking of which was made to others a condition of keeping what preferments they had before, and many of his neareſt relations were active in the King's cauſe, and deep ſufferers for it. He ſaw, and once particularly wept over, the miſeries of his country [L]; but in the general, Archimedes like (i), he was ſo buſy in his chamber with his pen

(b) Ibid. p. 58, & ſeq.

(i) Preface to Tetract. Anti-Aſtrol. p. 3. The doctor writes very ſmartly in contempt of the ſectaries of all denominations, and declares that he ſhould diſſemble in the preſence of heaven, if he ſhould not ſay he was above them. Preface to his Poems, laſt edit.

retired to Affane, and was made Clerk of the Peace of the county of Cork, Regiſter for Tranſplantation, and Juſtice of the Peace. But being removed from his places after the Reſtoration, he grew diſcontented. About 1662, he had an impulſe, or a ſtrange perſuaſion of mind (of which he was not able to give any rational account to another) that there was beſtowed on him the gift of curing the King's evil, which after ſome time he communicated to his wife, who ſhortly brought to him one William Maker of Salterbridge, in the pariſh of Liſmore, very grievouſly afflicted with this diſtemper in his eyes, cheek, and throat; thereupon, he laid his hands on the places affected, and prayed to God for Jeſus's ſake to heal him: the child being brought again in three days time, was obſerved to be much better, and in a month's time, was perfectly recovered. After this he cured ſeveral others, not meddling with any other diſtemper 'till about the end of three years, when he cured ſome of agues; all done by ſtroaking with his hands. On the firſt Sunday after Eaſter, April 2, 1665, early in the morning, he had the like impulſe, that he had the gift of healing in general beſtowed upon him; and on the Wedneſday following, he went to one Mr Dean's houſe at Liſmore, where there came in a poor man, that with a pain in his loins and flank, went almoſt double, and had a moſt grievous ulcerous leg, at whoſe requeſt Greatrakes put his hands on the loins and flank, and immediately run the pains out of him, ſo that he could ſtand upright without the leaſt trouble. Then he put his hands on the ulcerous leg, which forthwith changed colour, from black became red, three of the five ulcers in it cloſed up, and the reſt in a few hours after: ſo that he went out well, that could hardly by the help of his ſtaff crawl in; and in two days worked at his buſineſs, being a maſon. After this, Greatrakes cured many diſeaſes of all ſorts, by ſtroaking. But the Clergy being alarmed *, he was cited to the Biſhop's Court, and prohibited to proceed in that courſe. Hereupon he came to England †, and in Jan. 1665, by the invitation of Edw. Lord Conway, repaired to Ragley in Warwickſhire, to cure by ſtroaking his Lady of the head-ach, but could give her no relief; yet continuing there three weeks, he cured innumerable people in thoſe parts, which was atteſted by an eye-witneſs, Henry Stubbe, who then practiſed phyſick at Stratford upon Avon, in a book intituled, *The Miraculous Conformiſt*, &c. Oxon. 1666, 4to (28). Afterwards, Mr Greatrakes repaired to Whitehall, by his Majeſty's command, and performed ſeveral cures there and in London, but making more miſtakes, as 'tis ſaid, than he did cures, there came out *Wonders no Miracles, or Mr Val. Greatrakes's Gift of Healing examined*, &c. London, 1666, 4to (29). In anſwer to which, there was publiſhed *A brief Account of* Mr Val. Greatrakes, *and divers of his ſtrange cures, by him lately performed, Lond.* 1666, 4*to. written by himſelf, in a letter to the Honourable Robert Boyle, Eſq;* &c. (30). Dr More being perſuaded that his cures were merely natural, and owing to the peculiar happy temperament of his blood, told Mr Boyle ſo, who once aſked him what he thought of theſe cures, which then ſo much ſurprized and puzzled all the world. The doctor alſo informed him of one Coker, who brought a dead arm to life once by the ſame method of ſtroaking, about ten years before; and he ſaid, that enquiring into Coker's temper and conſtitution of thoſe who told him the ſtory, he was perſuaded the cure was natural, but that his blood and ſpirits were raiſed to that height, that they would attack his brain; which proved true, for Coker was ſtruck mad not very long after. He thought there might be a ſanative and healing contagion, as well as a morbid and venemous one (31). Upon the whole, Greatrakes ſeems to be touched with enthuſiaſm as well as Dr More. While he was in the caſtle of Caperquin, he ſays, 'he ſaw ſo much of the madneſs and wickedneſs of the world, that his life became a burthen to him, and his ſoul was as weary of this habitation of clay, as ever was galley-ſlave of the oar; which brought his life even to the threſhold of death, ſo that his legs had hardly ſtrength to carry his enfeebled body about (32).'

[L] *He wept over the miſeries of his country.*] In his Immortality of the Soul he thus bewails the miſeries of thoſe times, in a ſtrain little inferior even to Milton, who, by the way, was his fellow-collegian.

Can wars, and jars, and fierce contention,
Swoln hatred, and conſuming envy ſpring
From piety? no, 'tis opinion
That makes the riven heavens with trumpets ring,
And

* He pretended to ſome extraordinary aſſiſtances from the Holy Ghoſt.

† Salmon's Chronol. Hiſt. under the year 1665.

(28) The whole title runs thus: The Miraculous Conformiſt, or an Account of Several Marvellous Cures performed by the ſtroaking of the hands of Mr Valentine Greatrakes, with a Phyſical Diſcourſe thereupon.

(29) The author was David Lloyd, Reader or Chaplain to the Charter-houſe. This author reflected much on the reputation of Greatrakes, repreſenting him little better than a cheat.

(30) To it he annexed teſtimonials of ſeveral eminent and worthy perſons of the chief matters of fact therein related.

(31) Enthuſ. Triumph. ſect. 58. ſchol.

(32) Brief Account, p. 17. from whence this abſtract of his life is taken.

pen and lines, as not to mind much the bustles and affairs of the world that were without. He wrote his two books of the Immortality of the soul in these times, and in the beginning of them held a correspondence with the famous Des Cartes (for whom he had an uncommon esteem) [*M*] upon several points of his Philosophy, especially in regard to the subject of Dioptrics *. The truth is, our author devoted his whole life to the writing of books, principally such as tended to settle the principles, and promote the practice, of religion and virtue; an employment, to which nature had not only given him a stronger bent, but had fitted him better for it than for any other (*k*) [*N*]. And thence he concluded himself marked out, by a particular providence, to be serviceable this way, not only to that generation, but even to the most distant ages of the world [*O*]. A good and great design; and he would have succeeded much better in it, had he not indulged his fancy too much in some opinions [*P*]. It is certain his piety and learning were universally esteemed;

* This is esteemed the best of Des Cartes's pieces, and accordingly we find our author read it with care and attention, and not without judgment, as appears from his letters to Des Cartes upon it in his Philosophical Collections.

(*k*) It is said, that once preaching before a country congregation upon the nature of God; he observed, among other things, that God was a pure simple being; which the Church warden not rightly hearing, or not understanding, presented him at the next visitation for calling God a poor simple being. If there be any thing in this story, it may account for his resigning Ingoldsby so soon after his presentation.

And thund'ring engines murderous balls out sling;
And send men's groaning ghosts to lower shade
Of horrid hell: This the wide world doth bring
To devastation; makes mankind to fade:
Such direful things doth false religion persuade.
But true religion sprung from God above,
Is like her fountain full of charity;
Embracing all things with a tender love;
Full of good will and meek expectancy,
Full of true justice and sure verity
In heart and voice; free, large, even infinite;
Not wedged in straight particularity,
But grasping all in her vast active spright:
Bright lamp of God! that men would joy in thy
pure light (33).

(33) Immortality of the Soul, B. II. canto 3. These lines were wrote upon the news of some sore battle.

[*M*] *He had an uncommon esteem for Des Cartes.*] This shews itself upon all occasions in his writings, but hardly any where so strongly as in the Second Lash of Ahaz, where he makes use of it as a foil to set off the ineffable worth of his favourite principle the divine sense; thus, 'Nor am I become cold to my own 'poems, for I say, that *that* divine spirit and life that 'lies under them, is worth not only all the magic that 'thou pretendest to, but all that thou art ignorant of 'besides, yea, and Des Cartes's philosophy to boot. 'Des Cartes's philosophy is indeed a fine neat subtle 'thing, but for the true ornament of the mind, bears 'no greater proportion to that principle I told you of, 'than the dry bones of a snake made up elegantly into 'a hatband, is to the royal cloathing of Solomon. 'But other natural philosophies in respect of Des Cartes's, are even less than a few chips of wood to a well 'erected fabric.' Farther than this, in his *Enthusiasme Triumphans*, he says, Des Cartes, in drawing up his system of the world, was inspired, if any man ever was. Though this high opinion of Des Cartes's system may be thought to do little credit to our author's judgment at this time of day, yet it is well known that at the time when this was written, and long afterwards, that philosophy was received at Cambridge with implicit faith; and it is as well known, that the authority of that philosopher was founded and established there by the reputation of Dr More. In the mean time, as to his expression that Des Cartes was inspired, it will be readily imputed by any reader of the doctor's works, to the strength of his imagination, which never fails to rise into a degree of poetical enthusiasm: and, however great his esteem might be for that philosopher, yet, it is certain it did no restrain him from making freely such remarks and objections as occurred to him in reading his works. For instance, Des Cartes treating of the cause of colours, having asserted, that a few only of the rays of light are reflected from the surface of the sea water (34). Our doctor makes the following remark: *nunquid igitur radiorum paucitas cæruleum colorem generat? videtur hoc haud ita consonum præcedentibus. Quippe quod cum supra statueris colores oriri ex varia proportione rotationis sphærularum ad motum earundem rectum, & particulatim cæruleum ex rotatione minore quam progressu proficisci, quasi in eo ipso constaret ipsa cærulei coloris ratio; num tamen causam refers non tam ad rotationis defectum, quam paucitatem radiorum resilientium a superficie maris. Hic igitur quæro, num sentias nullam aliam esse colorum rationem, præter eam quam ipse tam subtiliter & ingeniose exposuisti, an & aliis modis colores oriri possint, nulla habita ratione rotationis globulorum motusque rectilinei; præsertim cum & ipse innuis aquam marinam cæruleam, videri ob paucitatem duntaxat radiorum* (35). Here our author suggests, that the sea colour might probably be owing to the paucity of the reflected rays of light, without any regard to the rotation and progressive motion of the globules assigned by Des Cartes for the cause of colours; an opinion which is very consistent with Sir Isaac Newton's Theory of Colours.

(34) In his Dioptrics, cap. ix. art. 2.

(35) More's Philosophical Collections, p. 367. N. B. This letter is dated in 1649.

[*N*] *He was peculiarly fitted for writing books.*] His voice was somewhat inward, and so not fit for the pulpit. Upon this account he used to say among his friends, that he should not have known what to have done in the world, if he could not have preached at his fingers ends. And when some of the spiritualists pressed him upon this point, he shewed some indignation at it, and said, he thought they would have him go up upon a stall, and thence preach to the people. But, says he, I have measured myself from the height to the depth, and know what I ought to do, and I do it (36). Mr Mede his fellow-collegian intimates, that writing was particularly troublesome to himself, because he could never be well contented with what he first did, but was apt to make everlasting blots and changes in it (37). Whereas Dr More had this particular in his way, that what he first did, must go usually as he first wrote it. His first draught, he would say, must stand, and if he saw any faults, it was not easy to him to correct them; indeed he could do it, but this was against the grain, and seldom seemed so savoury to him as the rest *. The truth of this appears upon the face of his manuscripts, which being all writ fair and foul with his own hand, there was generally a very even thread, and much cleanness of writing. Though he used to say, that in writing his works, he was forced to cut his way through a crowd of thoughts as through a wood, and that he threw off in his compositions as much as would make an ordinary Philosopher (38). However, he said his thoughts were many times as clear as he could almost wish them to be (39), and that his dreams were often regular, so that he could study in them.

(36) His Life, p. 77, 78.

(37) See his letter to Archbishop Usher at the end of his Grace's Life by Dr Parr.

* However, if he perceived any mistake, he was impatient 'till it was some way rectified.

(38) Life, p. 153, 154, 155.

(39) Ibid. p. 42.

[*O*] *Marked by providence to be useful this way, &c.*] Dr More was not exempted from the common foible of authors, a good conceit of his own productions. A natural fondness for these brats of the brain, some limbs at least of which he saw crushed and maimed even in the cradle, kindled him into the warmest resentment and indignation. In this temper he thus expresses himself in a private letter to a friend. But assure your self *that* truth which you so much kick against in my publick discourses, nothing will ever get the ascendant of, but it will at long run lay flat all the hypochondraical fanaticism in Christendom †. And in the same temper he refers himself on another occasion, to wise and peaceful posterity; *Perspicax & pacifica posteritas*, and to a very illustrious time in those latter ages of the world both for wisdom and piety: when he says he doubts not but his pains and ardor in promoting the publick good in some great instances, will be of use and approved. Sometimes he said, that like the ostrich he had laid his eggs in the sand, which he hoped would prove vital and prolific in time (40). In another place he writes thus: I thank God, I glory in nothing, but that I feel myself an instrument in the hands of God to work the good of men (41). And he once said he had been shot as a fiery dart into the world, and he hoped he had hit the mark (42).

† Ibid. p. 44, 45.

(40) P. 77.

(41) Second Lash to Ahaz, Observat. 41.

(42) Life, p. 34.

[*P*] *Had indulged his fancy too much in some opinions.*] There is hardly a more conspicuous instance of the greatness and littleness of man than what the

doctor's

esteemed; upon which account he was called into the Royal Society, in the view of giving reputation to it, before the establishment by the royal charter: for which purpose he was proposed

doctor's example furnishes. His learning, his virtue, his divine faith, his charity, and his humility, were a perfect contrast to his groundless fancies, his monstrously absurd doctrines, and his extravagant self-conceit in both. For in the first, because his urine smelt like violets, and his body, especially in the entrance on the spring season, had a sweet odour, the ordinary fragrancy of redolent youth in healthy and temperate persons, he construed it to be a perfection peculiar to himself as a favourite of heaven (43). However, this is nothing in comparison of those much greater favours which he every where talks of in his celestial converse and communications; of which not the least extraordinary is the vision (as it is called) of Theomanes, which, when some well wishers to him would have excused as only an ingenious invention to embellish his discourse, he asserted to be no fiction but a real thing, and what surprized him without the least desire or expectation of his, in the very manner and circumstances that he relates (44). His Enchiridion Metaphysicum he himself was sensible would be thought whimsical by most readers (45). But the account he gives of the state of the world in the seventh chiliad, or thousand years, has been generally thought to favour strongly of enthusiasm. I do verily conceive, says he, that there will be so great union betwixt God and man, that they shall not only partake of his spirit, but that the inhabitants of the etherial region will openly converse with those of the terrestrial. And such frequent conversation and ordinary visits of our cordial friends of that other world, will take away all toil of life and the fear of death amongst men: they being very chearful and pleasant here in the body, and being well assured they shall be better when they are out of it: for heaven and earth shall then shake hands together, or become as one house; and to die shall be accounted but to ascend into a higher room. And tho' this dispensation for the present be but very sparingly set on foot, yet I suppose there may some few have a glympse of it. Concerning whom accomplished posterity may happily utter something answerable to that of our Saviour concerning Abraham, who tasted of Christianity before Christ was come in the flesh. *Abraham saw my day and rejoiced at it.* And without all doubt that plenitude of happiness that hath been reserved for future times, the presage and presentation of it, hath in all ages been a very great joy and triumph to all holy men and prophets (46). The doctor not only thought himself extraordinarily gifted for explaining the prophecies, but believed that he was under the direction of a particular providence as to the time of his writing upon that subject. With regard to the first, when he was engaged in his exposition of the Apocalypse, he said his nag was but over free, and went even faster than he desired, but he thought it was the right way. And further, that all the time he was writing that piece, he seemed to be in the air (47). The other remark will be justified by his own words, when he tells us, that after he had finished his Antidote against Atheism, he thought at that time to have added a treatise concerning the divine providence. And that he was sufficiently furnished for it, but found himself very strongly hindered and entangled in his thoughts in setting about it, which made him desist: when yet, at the same time, he set about, and finished his *Conjectura Cabalistica* †, in all appearance a more difficult province, with wonderful celerity and success. This, he says, he knew not the meaning of then, nor what to make of it; but understood it afterwards, when upon his actual writing his divine dialogues, he perceived that before he was not sufficiently ripe for it (48). These last words seem particularly to point to prophecies, since it is here he had his vision just mentioned, which he declares to be consonant both to Scripture and Philosophy, and to be useful for digesting all those visions in the Apocalypse, that appertain to the last trumpet into their right order, according to synchronism (49). And in the same place he professeth, he understands clearly the truth of several prophecies of the mainest concernment (which yet many others pretend to be very obscure) whether he will or no. And then he immediately declares, he is so far from being enthusiastical or fanatical, that whereas enthusiasm is a false surmise of a man's self, that he is inspired when he is not. He, on the contrary, doth dis-

(43) Schol. in Enthus. Triumph. sect. 58.

(44) Viz. In Divine Dialogues, dialogue 5. No. 38.

(45) See the dedication of it to Dr Sheldon, Archbishop of Canterbury.

(46) Defence of Mor. Cab. chap. ii, viii.

(47) Life, p. 145, 146.

† It is an attempt to reconcile the Mosaic account of the creation to the Pythagoric system.

(48) Ibid. p. 131.

(49) Divin. Dialog. 5. ubi supra.

claim his being at any time inspired, though a man would think sometimes that he is. Thus, to avoid the imputation of enthusiasm, he confines the sense of the word to a belief of having communications by the immediate act of the Holy Ghost; but at the same time he confesses it of himself in the sense of supernatural communications, which we shall see presently he was persuaded were made to him according to God's appointment by his particular genius, like Socrates's dæmon, and the whole tenour of the Platonic Philosophy. In which view he once significantly said, That there was something about us, that knew better than ourselves what we would be at (50). And besides this he related it very seriously, that from his infancy he had this thing along imprinted on his mind: That as he lay one moonshine night in the cradle awake, he was taken up by a matron-like person with a large Roman nose, saluted, and deposited there again (51). There is a remarkable story of this kind related by Bodinus, of a person who assured that author he was constantly directed in all his actions by one of these genii or spirits, who communicated his hints by sensible raps upon something that was near at hand, without speaking at all, which it seems he was not empowered to do: and therefore, when the person once attempted to speak to him, the spirit shut the door with that vehemence as if he had knocked upon it with a hammer, shewing thereby his dislike of the matter. Bodinus enquired whether he did ever see the shape and form of the spirit, he told him, that while he was awake, he never saw any thing, but a certain light very bright and clear, and of a round compass and figure: but that once being in great jeopardy of his life, and having heartily prayed to God, that he would be pleased to provide for his safety, about break of day, amidst his slumbering and waking, he spied on his bed, where he lay, a young boy clad in a white garment, tinctured somewhat with a touch of purple, and of a visage admirably beautiful and lively (52). Dr More, in descanting upon this story, speaks of the raptures of devotion that may be caused by a good spirit, and of the consociation of these genii in general, in such a manner, and so applicable to himself, as to give room to suspect his being conscious of not a few sensations of this kind; but he seems to be of opinion, that his genius united himself to his body like another soul, in which sense it it is, that he here says how far a man shall be carried beyond himself by this *redoubled soul* in him, none, I think, can well conceive, unless they had the experience of it (53). We would not be understood by any thing here said, to deny, that Dr More, who was undoubtedly a person of extraordinary piety might receive some extraordinary assistances. We are very sensible that the world has generally acknowledged, and seems to have experienced some extraordinary assistance and directions given to good men by the Deity (54). Our business is, and we intend nothing else, than to relate the fact how it has happened that the doctor's works did not answer his pious design in writing them, and are at present fallen into a general neglect and dis-esteem. It is certain his exposition of the prophecies are far from being approved by the best Divines, and if to what has been already produced be added his doctrine concerning the pre-existence of souls, the infinity of worlds, and the unmercenary love of God; we shall have the grounds of an observation made by the noble author of the Characteristics, that 'Dr More's *Enchiridion Ethicum* is a right good piece 'of sound morality, tho' the doctor himself in other 'English pieces would not abide by it, but made different excursions into other regions, and was perhaps 'himself as great an enthusiast as any of those he 'wrote against (55)' Notwithstanding which, Dr Outram said (56), that he looked upon Dr More as the holiest person upon the face of the earth, and that whenever there was any more than ordinary occasion for the exercise of prudence and virtue, he never knew Dr More to fail. And Bishop Burnet tells us, that he was an open hearted and sincere Christian Philosopher, who studied to establish men in the great principles of religion against atheism, that was then beginning to gain ground, chiefly by reason of the hypocrisy of some, and the fantastical conceits of the more sincere enthusiasts (57). Our author's own judgment of his

(50) Life, p. 133.

(51) Ibid. p. 134.

(52) Bodinus's Magic. Dæmoniac. lib. I. c. ii.

(53) Antidote against Atheism, B. III. c. 14.

(54) See this matter well handled by the author of the Religion of Nature delineated; sect. v. art. 18. where that thinking writer delivers it as his opinion, that men may be over-ruled in some of their actings so far, as even to be deprived of their liberty.

(55) Some Letters by a noble Lord to a young Student in the University, Lond. 1752, p. 43.

(56) Viz. At Archbishop Sheldon's table. Life of our author, p. 78.

(57) Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. B. ii. The Bishop, at his entrance upon the study of Divinity, had been advised to read our author's Works, and afterwards made him a visit at Cambridge, and was much pleased with his discourse. Burnet's Life, p. 675.

(*l*) Birch's Hiſtory of the Royal Society, Vol. I. p. 85.

(*m*) Ibid. Vol. IV. p. 375. See more of this project in Sir Iſaac Newton's article.

(*n*) This was aſſerted by Mr Edm. Chiſhull, in St Paul's Church-yard. Our author's Life, p. 163. Among other admirers was the famous Hobbes, who ſaid, If his own Philoſophy was not true, he knew none that he ſhould ſooner like than More's of Cambridge. Ibid. p. 80.

(*o*) Preface to that work. Mr Wycherley the poet was one of the truſtees for this part of the Will.

(*p*) His Life, &c. p. 60, 61.

propoſed as a candidate by Dr Wilkins and Dr Cudworth, June 4, 1661, and elected Fellow ſoon after (*l*). In the ſame view, when the deſign of a philoſophical meeting of the like kind at Cambridge was projected in 1684, Dr More was engaged to be a member (*m*). His writings were in ſo much vogue, that Mr Chiſhull, an eminent Bookſeller, declared, that for twenty years together, after the return of King Charles the Second, the Myſtery of Godlineſs and Dr More's other Works ruled all the Bookſellers in London (*n*). But the moſt diſtinguiſhed teſtimony of their worth was given by John Cockſhuit, Eſq; of the Inner Temple, who by his laſt Will left three hundred pounds to have three of his principal pieces tranſlated into Latin. Theſe were his Myſtery of Godlineſs, Myſtery of Iniquity, and his Philoſophical Collections (*o*). This legacy induced our author, together with theſe, to put the reſt of his Engliſh works which he thought worth printing into that language; and the whole collection was publiſhed in 1679 in three large volumes in folio. In undertaking the tranſlation himſelf, his deſign was to appropriate Mr Cockſhuit's legacy to the founding of three ſcholarſhips in Chriſt's-college; but an unforeſeen accident deprived that ſociety of the intended benefaction [*Q*]. However, the doctor made up this loſs to the college by other donations in his life-time, and by the rectory of Ingoldſby abovementioned, the perpetuity of which he left to it by his Will (*p*). As ſoon as he had compleated this edition of his Works, it is very probable, that, according to his uſual cuſtom, he forbore writing for ſome time [*R*]; it is certain he never finiſhed any conſiderable piece afterwards. He enjoyed in the general, though chequered with ſome illneſſes, an excellent habit both of body and mind; but in 1686 he was ſeized in the ſummer with a ſlow fever, attended with an intermitting pulſe; and one evening, after ſupper, was taken in the Combination-room very ill, and ſunk into a ſwoon. Yet he was not under any apprehenſions of danger, and as ſoon as he came perfectly to himſelf, he ſaid pleaſantly, *his diſtemper was wind, but he hoped it would not carry him away in a ſtorm.* However, not long after, he fell into a melancholy ſadneſs and lowneſs of ſpirits, and his fever increaſing the ſubſequent ſummer, he began to loſe his ſleep, and was under ſome apprehenſions of being deprived of his ſenſes, which yet he kept to the laſt. His ſtrength wore away gradually, and he went out of life in the ſame eaſy and calm way that he had paſſed always in it; inſomuch, that his nurſe was not ſenſible of the moment of his departure, which happened about four or five o'clock in the morning, on the firſt of September 1687, in the ſeventy-third year of his age. He continued writing to the laſt, and had then under his hands *Medela Mundi*, or a practical treatiſe, which he called in that title, *The Cure of the World.* As to his perſon, he was for ſtature of the middle ſize, inclining to tallneſs. His body was in the general well proportioned, though of a thin habit, and his countenance ſerene and lively. His complexion ſomewhat ruddy in the prime of life; and though it grew rather pale in his latter years, yet it was always clear and ſpirited, and his eye hazle, and vivid as an eagle's. His temper was ſanguine, with a large mixture of melancholy. His picture was twice drawn, and the print of it prefixed to his writings. The firſt of theſe draughts, placed before his theological volume, was not well executed, and had not the true air or ſpirit of his countenance. The ſecond, by Loggan, is more lucky and exact, and contains in a ſufficient meaſure the real viſage of the doctor. The day before he died, his nephew, Gabriel More, being ſent for out of the country, came to him, and notwithſtanding what had paſſed between them, was far from being grateful or eaſy; the doctor was reconciled to him, made him his ſole executor, and left a very large addition of eſtate to him. This gentleman is ſince dead, and at his death left the main of his eſtate, as the doctor once intended to do, to charitable uſes. He buried his uncle decently September 3, 1687, in the chapel of Chriſt's-college (*q*), where he lies interred, together with Mr Mede and Dr Cudworth, the three illuſtrious and contemporary ornaments of that foundation. The doctor was poſſeſſed of an eaſy fortune, and, upon that account, not long before he died, ſaid, there were two things which he repented he had not done; one was, that he had not abſtained from wine, the other, that he had not lived a Fellow-Commoner in the college: notwithſtanding, as to the firſt of theſe, he

had

(*q*) Ibid. p. 214 to 227.

works was not much beſide the mark, that he ſhould be almoſt alone, but they were ſuch as might pleaſe a few melancholy perſons who loved their Creator (58).

(58) His Life, p. 69.

[*Q*] *An unforeſeen accident deprived the ſociety of the benefaction.*] Notwithſtanding the great vogue of our author's writings beforementioned, yet there had been ſo many editions of them ſeparately, and the world was ſo much ſtocked with them, that the Bookſeller would not venture to undertake to print the two firſt volumes of this new edition in Latin, without having two hundred pounds advanced for it; and the remaining hundred was ſpent in defraying the charges of the third (59).

(59) General preface to Vol. I. of this edition.

[*R*] *He forbore writing for ſome time.*] After finiſhing ſome of his writings, he once ſaid pleaſantly enough, *Now, for theſe three months, I will neither think a wiſe thought, nor ſpeak a wiſe word, nor do an ill thing.* He was ſo greatly haraſſed with the toil and drudgery of writing at ſome times, that he reſolved againſt all ſuch undertakings for the future in haſte; and being once deeply engaged, he ſaid, that when he got his hands again out of the fire, he would not very ſuddenly thruſt them in afreſh; and, that as ſoon as he was free from his preſent incumbent buſineſs, his purpoſe was to recoil into *that diſpenſation he was in before he wrote or publiſhed any thing to the world*; in which, ſays he, I very ſparingly ſo much as read any books, *but ſought a more near union with a certain life and ſenſe* ‡, *which I infinitely prefer, before the dryneſs of mere reaſon, or the wantonneſs of the trimmeſt imagination.* In a letter to Dr Worthington, Maſter of Jeſus College, he writes thus: "I am infinitely pleaſed that I find my obligation of writing books cut in pieces in me, and myſelf left free to my more private meditations. I have lived the ſervant of the publick hitherto: it is a great eaſe to me to be manumitted thus, and left to the poliſhing of myſelf, and licking myſelf whole of the wounds I have received in theſe hot ſervices (60)."

‡ This he ſometimes called emphatically the Sixth Senſe. See his Letters to Mr Norris.

(60) His Life, p. 144, 149, 160.

[*A*] *Which*

had once tried the experiment for a year, and found his conſtitution would not ſuffer it; and, as to the latter, his chamber-door was an hoſpital to the needy. He alſo beſtowed ſeveral large and particular charities frequently, and he had given his nephew, whoſe fortune was a long while ſtrait, not only all that time, but even to his death, the profits of a farm that he had of a good value in Lincolnſhire, beſides the 400 pounds left him by Lady Conway already mentioned (*r*). And it is certain in the main, he looked back upon his life with ſo much ſatisfaction, that he ſaid if he was to live it over again, he would do the very ſame things he had done. The writer of his life, who knew him well, has given a ſummary, as he calls it, of his character, in the following terms: ' I do verily ' believe, that never any man that was not more than human, had truer and more exalted ' apprehenſions of the divine nature than he had; deeper and more ſincere paſſions of love ' and of honour towards it; or, what is conſequent upon this, a more triumphant joy ' and ſatisfaction in it: that never any one had a greater and more admiring ſenſe of the ' whole boundleſs and moſt aſtoniſhing creation than he had (*s*); more enjoyment of ' mind again in it, charity and benignity towards it; that never any arrived to higher ' degrees of wiſdom, righteouſneſs, and virtue, take it all together, than he did; lived a ' life of greater or of truer happineſs upon this earth, or had more lively apprehenſions of ' the nature and glories of the life to come: that ſerved the Church of God with greater ' faithfulneſs and zeal in what he did for it (*t*), or wiſhed better to that, or univerſal ' mankind, in all reſpects whatſoever, than he did; or hath left, in fine, greater marks ' of it, or better teſtimonies of all this, behind him in his publick writings. And when ' I have inſtanced in theſe, with his intire faith in, and all the high ſenſe he had of honour and veneration for the perſon and œconomy of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, I know not ' what I ſhould add more to compleat the virtues and perfections of a man (*u*). P

(*r*) Ibid. p. 85, 86, 87.

(*s*) In this joy he ſaid he was ready to kiſs the ſtones in the ſtreet.

(*t*) He was in this reſpect a true ſon of the Church of England.

(*u*) His Life, p. 235, 236.

MORLEY [GEORGE], Biſhop of Worceſter, and afterwards of Wincheſter, in the laſt century, was ſon of Francis Morley, Eſq; by Sarah his wife, ſiſter to Sir John Denham, one of the Barons of the Exchequer, and born in Cheapſide, London, the 27th of February 1597. He loſt his father when ſix years of age, his mother at twelve, and that little patrimony which he was born to, by his father's being engaged for the payment of ſome people's debts. At the age of fourteen he was elected one of the King's ſcholars in Weſtminſter-ſchool, and in the beginning of the year 1615, became a Student of Chriſt-church in Oxford (*a*); where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, December 19th, 1618; and that of Maſter, June 14th, 1621 (*b*). After he had continued in that college ſeven years, in the degree of Maſter, he was invited by Robert Earl of Caernarvar and his lady to be their domeſtick chaplain; and there he lived 'till he was forty three years old, i e. 'till the year 1640, without having or ſeeking any preferment in the Church. After that, he was preſented to the Rectory of Hartfield in Suſſex, which, being a ſine-cure, he exchanged with Dr Richard Steuart, Clerk of the Cloſet to the King, for the Rectory of Mildenhall near Marlborough in Wiltſhire. But before this exchange, King Charles the Firſt, to whom he was Chaplain in Ordinary, had given him a Canonry of Chriſt church, Oxon. in 1641, which was the only preferment he ever deſired, and of which he gave the firſt year's profit to his Majeſty, towards the charge of the war, then begun. About that time, he preached one of the firſt ſolemn ſermons before the Houſe of Commons; but ſo little to their liking, that he was not commanded to print it, as all the other preachers had been. Notwithſtanding which, he was nominated one of the Aſſembly of Divines, being then Doctor in Divinity (which degree he took November 1ſt, 1642.) (*c*) but he never appeared among them: On the contrary, he always remained with the King, and did him what ſervice he could. When his Majeſty was confined at Hampton-court, he employed the doctor to engage the Univerſity of Oxford not to ſubmit to the Parliamentary viſitation: which he managed with great ſucceſs [*A*]. Afterwards, he was appointed by the Univerſity, with other aſſiſtants named by himſelf, to negotiate the execution of the articles agreed upon at the ſurrender of the Oxford-garriſon to the Parliament-forces; wherein he behaved with great addreſs (*d*) [*B*]. In December 1647, he was, by the Committee for reforming the Univerſity, voted out of his Canonry [*C*]. The ſecond of March following, his deprivation was publiſhed and declared; and ſoon after he was actually diſpoſſeſſed by force and violence. March 17th, 1647-8, he was threatened to be taken into cuſtody, for not obeying the orders of the Reforming Committee;

(*a*) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 768.

(*b*) Idem, Faſti, Vol. I. col. 209, 218.

(*c*) Idem, Faſti, Vol. II. col. 29.

(*d*) Wood, Ath. ut ſup. col. 769.

[*A*] *Which he managed with great ſucceſs.*] For the Convocation preſently paſſed an Act for that purpoſe, one only diſſenting; tho' they were then under the power of the enemy, that is, the Parliament-forces (1).

[*B*] *Wherein he behaved with great addreſs.*] For, by proper delays he contrived to gain time; ſo as that the Royaliſts might have opportunities of getting in their rents, and diſpoſing of themſelves; inſtead of ſubmitting to the terms impoſed upon All by the Army (2).

[*C*] *In December, 1647, he was - - - voted out of his Canonry.*] But he was offered, at the ſame time, by one of the leaders in the Houſe of Commons, that he ſhould be permitted to keep all that he had, without being put to ſay or do, or ſubſcribe any thing againſt his conſcience, if he would then but give his word only, that he would not actually appear againſt them and their proceedings (3). This was at firſt hearing a propoſal acceptable enough, but when he began to conſider with himſelf, that Dr Fell, Dr Sanderſon, Dr Hammond, Dr Gardiner, &c. would be gone, and no one left but Dr Wall; he choſe rather to ſuffer in ſuch good company, than tarry with thoſe whom the Parliament ſhould nominate in their room (4).

(1) Wood, Ath. col. 769.

(2) See Wood, ibid.

(3) Wood, ibid.

(4) Walker's Attempt, &c. as above, p. 106.

[*D*] *As*

Committee; and for that, or some other reason, afterwards actually imprisoned (*e*). Some months before, he had been permitted to attend upon the King at Newmarket, as one of his Chaplains (*f*); and he was also one of the Divines that assisted his Majesty at the Treaty of Newport in the isle of Wight (*g*). In March 1648-9, he prepared the brave Lord Capel for death, and accompanied him to the scaffold on Tower hill (*h*). After which, finding no manner of satisfaction in his native country, deprived as he was of all his possessions and of liberty of conscience, he resolved to go to King Charles the Second abroad, and not return home, 'till the Constitution in Church and State were restored (*i*). He therefore left England in 1649, being in the 51st year of his age, and waited upon the King, at the Hague, who received him very graciously; and carried him from thence into France with him, and afterwards to Breda. But the King not being permitted to take his own Divines along with him, when he set out upon his expedition into Scotland, in June 1650; Dr Morley thereupon withdrew to the Hague, and, after a short stay there, went and lived with his friend Dr John Earle, at Antwerp, in the house of Sir Charles Coterel. After they had thus continued about a year together, Sir Charles being invited to be Steward to the Queen of Bohemia, and Dr Earle to attend upon James Duke of York, in France, Dr Morley then removed into the family of the Lady Frances Hyde, wife of Sir Edward Hyde, in the same city of Antwerp. And all the time he remained there, which was about three or four years, he read the service of the Church of England twice every day, catechized once a week, and administred the communion once a month to all the English in that city who would come to it; as he did afterwards at Breda, for four years together in the same family (*k*). But betwixt his going from Antwerp and his coming to Breda, he officiated at the Hague, upwards of two years, as Chaplain to the Queen of Bohemia, without expecting or receiving any reward (*l*). As he had been happy at home in the acquaintance and intimacy of the most valuable persons [*D*], so was he also abroad in that of many learned men [*E*]. When all things were preparing for King Charles the Second's restoration, Dr Morley was sent over, two months before, as a very trusty person, to pave the way for that great event [*F*]. And, upon the King's return, he was not only restored to his Canonry, but also promoted soon after to the Deanry of Christ-church, into which he was installed July 27th, 1660 (*m*). No sooner had he reinstated the members of that college, which had been illegally ejected in 1648, and filled up the other vacant places; but he was nominated to the Bishoprick of Worcester, into which he was elected the 9th of October 1660, confirmed the 23d, and consecrated the 28th of the same month (*n*) [*G*]. In the year 1661, he was one of the principal managers, at the Conference between the Episcopal and Presbyterian Divines [*H*], commissioned under the great seal to review the Liturgy (*o*). Some time after, he was made Dean of his Majesty's royal Chapel: And, upon the death of Dr Duppa, in 1662, translated to the Bishoprick of Winchester; being confirmed therein the 14th of May (*p*); to which see he

(*e*) Walker's Attempt towards an Account of the Sufferings of the Clergy, edit. fol. 1714, Part ii. p. 106.

(*f*) Lord Clarendon's Hist. edit. 1731, 8vo. Vol. V. p. 50.

(*g*) Wood, Ath. as above, col. 769.

(*h*) Lord Clarendon, as above, p. 272.

(*i*) He carried 130*l*. with him, which was his all. See preface to his Treatises, 1682, 4to.

(*k*) Wood, Ath. as above, col. 770. and Bishop Morley's preface to his several Treatises, 1682, 4to.

(*l*) Wood, Ath. as above, col. 769, 770.

(*m*) Kennnet's Register and Chronicle, p. 213. and Survey of the Cathedrals, &c. by Br. Willis, Esq; Vol. II. p. 442.

(*n*) Willis, as above, Vol. I. p. 651.

(*o*) Accompt of all the Proceedings of the Commissioners, &c. printed in 1661, 4to. and R. Baxter's Life, fol.

(*p*) Wood, Ath. as above, col. 770.

[*D*] *As he had been happy at home in the acquaintance and intimacy of the most valuable persons.*] He had been first known to the world as a friend of the Lord Falkland's; which was then enough to raise a man's character (5). And the chief of his other acquaintance, were, Sir Francis Wenman of Oxfordshire, Sir Edward Hyde, afterwards Earl of Clarendon: Dr Henry Hammond; Dr R. Sanderson, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln; Mr W. Chillingworth; Dr Gilbert Sheldon, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury; Dr Earle, since Bishop of Salisbury, &c. (6).

[*E*] *So was he also abroad in that of many learned men.*] Especially, the most famous Samuel Bochart, Claud. Salmasius, Daniel Heinsius, Andrew Rivet, Cornel. Trigland, &c. (7).

[*F*] *Dr Morley was sent over, - - - to pave the way for that great event.*] Chancellor Hyde sent him over, upon the view of things working towards a Restoration, with letters from the King and himself, to the leading Men in this nation. The doctor talked much with the Presbyterians of Moderation in general, but would enter into no particulars: Only he took care to let them know he was a Calvinist; and they had the best opinion of such of the Church of England, as were of that persuasion (8). Part of his errand, was also, to allay the too great heat which some of the Royalists fell into, at that unseasonable juncture; and which they shewed, especially, in uttering threats in their sermons, and upon other occasions, against those who had hitherto had the power of doing hurt, and were not yet so much deprived of it, that they ought to be undervalued (9). But his chief business, was, to confute the report, spread by the disaffected, That King Charles the Second was a Papist, and would bring back Popery with him. This we learn from the doctor himself. 'The King's enemies (says he) gave out, that 'the King, by living so long abroad in Popish coun-'tries, was so corrupted in his Religion, that if he 'were suffered to return, he would bring home Popery 'along with him. So that with this groundless fear I 'found many very considerable and very much interest-'ed persons to be possessed, when I was sent into Eng-'land, about two months before the King's return; 'most of which time I spent in undeceiving all I met 'with, especially the heads and leaders of the Presby-'terian and Independent Parties (who seem'd to be 'most affraid of such a change) by assuring them that 'those Misreports they had heard of the King and his 'Brothers, were nothing else but the malicious Inven-'tions of those, that were either in *fact* or in *consent* the '*Murderers* of their Father, and consequently irrecon-'cilable and implacable Enemies unto his *Children*. 'For (said I) to my certain knowledge, who was al-'most always an eye-witness of their actions, the King 'and both his Brothers did not only by their *Profes-'sion*, but by their *Practice*, declare and testify them-'selves to be true sons of the Church of England (even 'in the midst of its enemies) by coming daily to our 'Prayers, and weekly to our Sermons, and frequently 'to our Communions (10).'—But, the event shewed, that the doctor was mistaken in his judgment of them.

[*G*] *And consecrated the 28th of the same month.*] He was inthronized the 21st of September following, with great solemnity; as the Reader, curious in such things, may see in Bishop Kennett's Register and Chronicle (11).'

[*H*] *He was one of the principal managers, at the Conference between the Episcopal and Presbyterian Divines.*] So Mr Baxter informs us, in these words.—— 'Bishop Morley over-ruled the whole business; and 'did interest himself in it deeplier than the rest, and 'was of a hotter spirit and a readier tongue (12).'— Or, as he expresses it soon after, 'Bishop Morley was 'oft there, but not constantly, and with free and flu-'ent words, with much earnestness, was the chief 'speaker of all the Bishops.'

(5) Burnet's Hist. of his own Time, edit. 1753, 8vo. Vol. I. p. 247.

(6) Wood, Ath. as above, col. 770.

(7) Wood, ibid.

(8) Burnet's Hist. of his own Time, Vol. I. p. 121, edit. 8vo.

(9) Appendix to Barwick's Life, No. 39. p. 515.

(10) Bishop Morley's Letter to the Duchess of York, printed with his other Works.

(11) P. 535, 536.

(12) R. Baxter's Life, fol. P. ii. p. 340.

[*I*] To

he became a great benefactor [*I*]. As he enjoyed great affluence, he spent the remainder of his days in repeated acts of beneficence and charity. Among other instances of it, he gave a hundred pounds a year to Christ-church in Oxford, the place of his education, for the publick use of that college (*q*): And founded, in Pembroke-College in the same university, three scholarships for the isle of Jersey, and two scholarships for Guernsey, of ten pounds *per annum* each (*r*) [*K*]. Having enjoyed an honourable ease and quiet for many years; and by temperance and regular exercise arrived to a good old age of eighty-six years, eight months, and upwards, he died at Farnham-castle, October 29th, 1684, and was buried in Winchester Cathedral. He was a good and pious man (*s*), to which Bishop Burnet adds (*t*), 'of a very exemplary life, but extream passionate, and very obstinate;' however, very honest. 'Before the wars, he was thought a friend to the Puritans;' and tho' the ill usage he received from them, which forced him into exile, soured his temper in some degree, yet, 'after his promotion,' he cannot justly be said, 'to free himself from all suspicion of that kind (*u*):' For, in the general opinion of some (*w*), he was 'a moderate orthodox man.' And Dr Calamy gives several instances, of his remarkable Moderation towards Dissenters (*x*). But waving this; He was a man of unshaken Loyalty; and a faithful son of the Church of England, notwithstanding any discouragements or persecutions. The constitution of his body was excellent. For, in the 74th year of his age, and even after, he was without any remarkable decay, either in his limbs or senses. His usual course then was, to rise about five o'clock in the morning, winter and summer, and to go to bed about eleven at night, and in the coldest mornings never to have a fire, or warm his bed at night. He eat but once in twenty four hours, and never had either gout, stone, strangury, or head-ach, but enjoyed almost a constant health from his infancy; so that he never kept his bed but twice for any sickness (*y*). He was a hard student; however he published but a few things [*L*]. With regard to some of his notions, especially about Predestination, he was a strict Calvinist, and esteemed one of the main patrons of those of that persuasion (*z*).

(*q*) Idem Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. Lib. ii. p. 28.

(*r*) From the Foundation Indenture.

(*s*) Wood, Ath. as above, p. 771, 774.

(*t*) Hist. of his own Time, Vol. I. p. 248.

(*u*) I. e. Of being a friend to them. Which are Bishop Burnet's words, p. 247.

(*w*) See Baxter's Life, P. ii. p. 218.

(*x*) Abridgment of Baxter's Life, Vol. I. p. 171. Vol II. p. 241. Account, p. 344.

(*y*) Wood, Ath. as above, col. 771.

(*z*) Wood, ibid. and Burnet, as above, p. 247.

[*I*] *To which See he became a great benefactor.*] When the King granted him that Bishoprick, he said, 'He [Dr Morley] would never be the richer for it.' And that saying he fully verified. Since, besides his great expences in building and repairing the Episcopal palace at Winchester, he laid out much more than the supplies given him by Parliament, in the Act impowering him to lease out Waltham-Park, and the site of Winchester-house in Southwark. For, he spent eight thousand pounds and upwards, in repairing Farnham-castle: and above four thousand pounds, in purchasing Winchester-house, at Chelsey, to annex to his See. At the same time he hardly purchased any thing for himself, as if he had taken more care to enrich the Poor, and others, than Himself (13).

[*K*] *Of ten pounds per annum each.*] He also gave, at several times, upwards of 1800 *l.* to the church of St Paul's in London (14): And bequeathed in his will one thousand pounds, for the purchasing of fifty pounds a year: out of which he gave twenty pounds *per annum*, for an augmentation to the Vicarage of Farnham in Surrey; twenty pounds *per ann.* for an augmentation of maintenance to the two parish churches within the town of Guilford in Surrey: and the remaining ten pounds to the Vicarage of Horswell, in the same county.

(13) Wood, Ath. as above, col. 770, 771.

(14) See J. Walker, as above, p. 106.

[*L*] *He published but a few things.*] The following is an exact list of them, according to the order of time in which they were published. I. 'A sermon preached at the magnificent Coronation of the most high and mighty Prince, King Charles the Second, at the collegiate Church of St Peter's Westminster, April 23d, 1661. 4to.' Published by his Majesty's special command. In the Dedication to the King, the author says, That he was now past his great climacterical, and this was the first time that ever he appeared in print. II. 'Letter to a Friend in vindication of himself from Mr Baxter's Calumny.' Lond. 1662. 4to. This was occasioned by a book of Mr Baxter's, intituled, *The Mischiefs of Self-ignorance and Benefits of Self-Acquaintance; opened in divers Sermons at St Dunstan's West.* In the dedication of which, to his late parishioners of Kiderminster in Worcestershire, he had given a false and partial account of the late Conference at the Savoy. III. *Epistola apologetica & parænetica ad Theologum quendam Belgam scripta*, written at Breda, June 7th, 1659. Lond. 1663. 4to. reprinted in 1683, under this title, *Epistola ad virum clarissimum D. Cornelium Triglandium, unum ex Pastoribus Hagiensibus, & Principi Auriaco a studiis, conscripta, in qua agitur de Seren. regis Car. II. erga reformatam religionem affectu.* IV. 'The sum of a short Conference betwixt Father Darcey, a Jesuit, and Dr Morley at Brussels, June 23d, 1649.' *stilo Nov.* V. 'An Argument drawn from the Evidence and Certainty of Sense, against the Doctrine of Transubstantiation. VI. Vindication of the Argument drawn from Sense against Transubstantiation, from a pretended Answer to it, by the author of a pamphlet called, *A Treatise of the Nature of Catholic Faith and Heresy.* VII. Answer to Father Cressy's Letter.' Written in 1662. VIII. Sermon before the King at Whitehall, Novem. 5th, 1667. on 1 Cor. xiv. 33. IX. Answer to a Letter written by a Romish Priest, 1676. X. Letter to Anne Duchess of York, some few months before her death, written Jan. 24th, 1670. XI. *Ad clarissimum virum Ianum Ulitium Epistolæ duæ, de invocatione Sanctorum.* Written July 1st, 1659. All the aforesaid pieces, except the 1st and 2d were printed together in 1683, 4to.— XII 'Letter to the Earl of Anglesey, of the means to keep out Popery, and the only effectual expedient to hinder the growth thereof.' Lond 1683. At the end of *A true Account of the whole Proceedings betwixt* James *Duke of* Ormond, *and* Arthur *Earl of* Anglesey. fol. XIII. 'Vindication of himself from divers false, scandalous, and injurious Reflections made upon him by Mr Richard Baxter in several of his writings.' Lond. 1683, 4to. XIV. He made also an Epitaph for King James the First, 1625; which was printed at the end of Archbishop Spotswood's History of the Church of Scotland. XV. And is likewise said, to have been the author of 'A Character of King Charles the Second.' Lond. 1660. in one sheet, 4to (15). C

(15) Wood, Ath. as above, col. 772—774.

MORTON [THOMAS], a learned Divine in the last century [*A*], successively Bishop of Chester, of Lichfield and Coventry, and of Durham; was the sixth of nineteen children, of Mr Richard Morton, mercer and Alderman of York, by Elizabeth Leedale his only wife [*B*] He was born in York, March 20th, 1564 (*a*); and educated first in that city [*C*], and afterwards at Halifax (*b*). In the year 1582, he was sent to St John's-college in Cambridge, and put under the tuition of Mr Antony Higgons, long after Dean of Rippon, and a good benefactor to the college: who, quitting the university for Church-preferments, left Mr Morton under the care of Mr Henry Nelson, afterward Rector of Hougham in Lincolnshire, that lived to see his pupil advanced to the Bishoprick of Durham, and many years after. In the beginning of November 1584, he was elected Scholar of the house, into a place of Constable's foundation, peculiar to his own native county of York; and in 1586, took the Degree of Bachelor of Arts, and that of Master in 1590; having performed all exercises requisite to each degree with great approbation and applause. He continued his studies in the college at his father's charge, above two years after he was Master of Arts: And then, March 17th, 1592, was admitted Fellow into a place of Dr Keyton's foundation, merely on account of his merit, against eight competitors for the place. About the same time he was chosen Logic-Lecturer for the university, which office he discharged with great diligence and ability, as appeared by his lectures fairly written, which were found among his papers after his decease (*c*). In the same year 1592, he was ordained Deacon, and the year following Priest, by Dr Howland Bishop of Peterborough. For about five years after this he continued in the college, prosecuting his private studies, and instructing his pupils. He took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity in 1598; and about the same time obtained the Rectory of Long-Marston, near York (*d*), which was procured him by his father (*e*). But his great parts and worth would not suffer him to lie hid in a country-cure. For, the Earl of Huntingdon, Lord President of the Council of the North, had made him his Chaplain, on account of his dexterity and acuteness in disputing with the Romish Recusants [*D*]. Upon the death of that Earl, he returned again to his privacy at Marston, where he continued not long, before the Lord Sheffield, who succeeded as Lord President, commanded him to hold a publick Conference, before his Lordship and the Council, at the Manor-house in York, with two Romish Recusants then prisoners in the castle; which he performed with great satisfaction to the numerous auditors. In 1602 the plague raging violently at York, he behaved himself with great charity and uncommon courage towards the poor sick and distressed (*f*) [*E*]. The same, or the following year (*g*), Ralph Lord Eure being appointed by Queen Elizabeth Embassador extraordinary to the Emperor of Germany, and the King of Denmark, took him for his Chaplain, together with Mr Richard Crakanthorp [*F*]. Mr Morton, desirous of improving himself by seeing foreign

(*a*) A Summarie Account of the holy Life and happy Death of the Right Rev. Father in God Thomas late Lord Bishop of Duresme, by John Barwick, D. D. Lond. 1660, 4to. p. 57, 58, &c.

(*b*) Barwick, p. 63. and Life of Dr Tho. Morton, Bishop of Duresme, by R. B i. e. Richard Baddiley, Secretary to his Lordship; and finished by J. N. i. e. J. Naylor, his Lordship's Chaplain. York, 1669, 8vo. p. 3, 4, 5.

(*c*) Barwick, p. 64—66. and Life, by R. B. p. 5, 6, 7.

(*d*) Barwick, p. 66.

(*e*) Life by R. B. p. 8.

(*f*) Barwick, p. 67, 68. Life by R. B. p. 16.

(*g*) Life by R. B. p. 11. compared with Barwick, p. 68.

[*A*] *A learned Divine in the last century.*] We are told, that his 'coat of arms and pedigree shew him to 'be of the same original and stock, with that eminent 'prelate and wise statesman John Morton, Bishop of 'Ely and Lord Chancellor of England, afterward 'Archbishop of Canterbury, and Cardinal, in the 'reign of King Henry the Seventh; by whose ma'nagement the two Houses of York and Lancaster 'were united. From whence it may be concluded, 'his ancestors could not be obscure, at least, since this 'Cardinal's time; for, such persons as he seldom left 'their kindred without some considerable preferments.' Undoubtedly he was descended from '*Thomas* and *John* '*Morton*, whom the Cardinal made his *Heirs*, as be'ing *Sons to two of his brothers* (1).' Certain it is, 'that Sir Thomas Morton of Dorsetshire, who reckon'ed his descent from one of them, sought out our *Au'thor*, and acknowledged his kindred, and desired his 'acquaintance, presently after he appeared in print, 'and long before he ascended to any considerable emi'nency in the Church (2).'

[*B*] *By Elizabeth Leedale his only wife.*] She was a Gentlewoman of a very good family, descended from the *Valvasors* by the mother's side: And by whom not only the Valvasors, but the Langdales also, and other Gentlemen of eminent worth in Yorkshire, acknowledged themselves to be of his kindred (3).

[*C*] *And educated first in that city.*] At this place, he had for School-fellows, among others, Sir Thomas Cheke, grandson to the learned Sir John Cheke, tutor to King Edward the Sixth, and the infamous Guy Faux, noted for his dark lanthorn, and the part he acted in the Gun-powder-plot (4).

[*D*] *On account of his dexterity and acuteness in disputing with the Romish Recusants.*] For Queen Elizabeth had given express command to that Earl, to convince the Popish Recusants by arguments rather than suppress them by force; and this she expressed (as his Lordship was wont to say) in the words of the Prophet (5): *Nolo mortem peccatoris.* I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked (6).

(1) Budden Vita Joh. Mortoni Archiep. Cantuar, p. 50.

(2) Barwick, as above, p. 61.

(3) Barwick, p. 63.

(4) Barwick, p. 63. and Life by R. B. p. 3, 4.

(5) Ezek. xxxiii. 11.

(6) Barwick, as above, p. 67.

[*E*] *In 1602, the plague raging at York, he behaved with great charity towards the poor, &c.*] The poorer sort of the infected being turned out of the city, had booths erected for them on Hob-moore, near the city; for whose comfort and relief in that fatal extremity, Mr Morton often repaired to them from Marston to preach unto them, and to minister consolation to their languishing soules; having, withall, provisions of meat carried with him in sacks, to relieve the poorest sort with. But, as often as he went thither, he suffered not any servant to attend him, but himself saddled and unsaddled his horse, and had a private door made through the wall of his study (being the utmost part of the house) for prevention, lest he might bring the contagion with him, and indanger his whole family (7).

[*F*] *Mr Richard Crakanthorp.*] This learned man was born at, or near, Strickland in Westmoreland; entered in Queen's college, Oxon. in the year 1583; and elected Fellow of the same in 1598. After his return from attending the Lord Eure in Germany, he became Chaplain to Dr Thomas Ravis Bishop of London, and to King James the First. The Bishop living but a very little time, could give Mr Crakanthorp no preferment; but by his successor Bishop King, he was collated to the Rectory of Packlesham in Essex; and by Sir John Leveson (whose three sons were educated at Queen's-college) he was presented to the Rectory of Black Notley in the same county; which was all the preferment he ever had (8). He died in 1624. He published three Sermons: And composed several pieces in Logic and Philosophy; as also against the Papists. Namely, 'Justinian the Emperor defended 'against Cardinal Baronius. Lond. 1616, 4to. De'fence of Constantine, with a Treatise of the Pope's 'temporal Monarchy. Lond. 1621, 4to.' *Defensio Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ contra M. Anton. de Dominis Archiep. Spalatensis injurias.* Lond. 1625, 4to; published by Dr Barkham. *Vigilius dormitans*, Rome's See overthrown: Or, a Treatise of the first general Council held at Constantinople, An. 553, under Justinian the

(7) Life by R. B. p. 16, 17. See also Barwick, p. 68.

(8) Newcourt's Repertor. Vol. II. p. 443, 459.

reign countries, readily accepted of the employment. While the Embassador stayed at Bremen, he obtained leave from him, to visit some of the chief cities and universities in Germany; which brought him to the knowledge and acquaintance of several learned men. His stay in those parts was the shorter, because the Embassador's commission determined at the death of the Queen. However, he improved his time so well, partly in furnishing his own library with books at Frankfort and elsewhere, but chiefly in his conversation with learned men, and the observations he made, that he always highly valued that opportunity. At his return, he became domestic Chaplain to Roger Earl of Rutland; which place he liked not only for the sake of the privacy, but also because it brought him so much nearer London than before (*h*). In 1606, he took the Degree of Doctor in Divinity; which brought him into the acquaintance and esteem of Dr John Overall, the Regius Professor at Cambridge. About the same time he was sworn Chaplain in ordinary to King James the First, and by him presented to the Deanery of Gloucester, June 22d, 1607 (*i*), through Archbishop Bancroft's recommendation (*k*). While he was Dean there, the Lord Eure, Lord President of Wales, nominated him one of his Majesty's Counsel for the Marches. In his first journey to Gloucester, he went by Oxford at the Act-time, and was incorporated there Doctor in Divinity July 12th, 1606 (*l*). After he had continued about three years Dean of Gloucester, he was removed to the Deanery of Winchester, into which he was installed June 3d, 1609 (*m*). And Dr Thomas Bilson, then Bishop of Winchester, collated him to the Rectory of Alresford (*n*). About the same time, Dr Sutcliffe Dean of Exeter founding a college at Chelsey, for a certain number of Divines, to be employed in answering the books dispersed by Popish emissaries, our learned Doctor was appointed one of the Fellows (*o*). In 1610, July 21st, Archbishop Mathews gave him a Prebend in the church of York (*p*). The same year, he preached a Sermon before the Convocation at St Paul's, on Matt. v. 13. and was to have been chosen Prolocutor of the Lower House, had he not modestly declined it, to make room for a friend of his. These and the like publick employments bringing him frequently to London, he lodged at the Deanery house of St Paul's, upon the invitation of Dr Overall then Dean of that church: where he became acquainted with the learned Isaac Casaubon, who was entertained and patronized by the same worthy Dean. And at Dr Morton's charge it was, that a monument was afterwards erected to Casaubon's memory, in Westminster-Abbey (*q*). In the beginning of the year 1616, our learned Doctor was nominated Bishop of Chester [*G*], and consecrated July 7th, 1616; having with that bishoprick the Rectory of Stopford in commendam (*r*). He went, as soon as he conveniently could, into his Diocese, where he was received with great respect: and took all proper pains to reduce and satisfy both the Nonconformists [*H*], and the Popish Recusants [*I*], with whom those

(*h*) Barwick, p. 70. and Life by R. B. p. 11—15.

(*i*) Life by R. B. p. 24. Barwick, p. 71. Br. Willis's Survey of the Cathedrals, Vol. I. p. 729.

(*k*) Life by R. B. p. 26.

(*l*) Barwick, p. 71. Life by R. B. p. 26, 27, &c. and Wood Fasti, edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 175.

(*m*) Le Neve Fasti, &c. p.

(*n*) Barwick, p. 72.

(*o*) Life by R. B. p. 36, 37.

(*p*) Willis, as above, p. 145.

(*q*) Barwick, p. 73. and Life by R. B. p. 40, 44.

(*r*) Br. Willis, as above, p. 333. Barwick, p. 84.

the Emperor, in the time of Pope Vigilius. Lond. 1631, fol. He left also several pieces in manuscript (9).

[*G*] *In the beginning of the year 1616, our learned Doctor was nominated Bishop of Chester,*] Dr Barwick says (10), the King nominated him in the year 1615. And insinuates, as if, through an obstacle that arose, and the new Prelate's indifferency, it was a long time before he was consecrated; that is, about a year and a half. But it appears from Dr Brown Willis (11), that Gerrard Massie, who was nominated to that See, died January 16th, 1615, by which he unquestionably means 1615-16, according to our English way of computation. And therefore, there could be but a decent time, not quite half a year, between Bishop Morton's nomination and consecration.

[*H*] *And took all proper pains to reduce and satisfy, both the Nonconformists, &c.*] At his first coming to his Diocese, he found in it great numbers of Nonconformists, whose Perverseness and Obstinacy were extreme. Therefore, his first care, was, to endeavour to reduce them to the Church; wherein he used no less of fatherly Mildness towards them, than strength of Argument against them. For, having cited before him such of the Clergy as were the chief of that party, (whereof the principal ring-leader was one Mr Hynd) he first enquired of them the reason of their Nonconformity; which when he understood to be, *The use of the Surplice, the Cross at Baptism, and the Ring in Marriage*; he was content himself to endeavour their satisfaction, in a publick and solemn Conference with them upon those three points. But their perverseness frustrating his expectation and desires, he published, for the common good, a *Relation* of that Conference, with some additions; intitling it, 'A Defence of the 'Innocency of the three Ceremonies of the Church of 'England, &c.' Lond. 1619, 4to (12).

[*I*] *And the Popish Recusants*] He applied himself also earnestly to curb and restrain them, particularly in one instance; which rendered them very popular, and gained them many proselytes. The case was this: 'It was no small policy in the leaders of the Popish 'party, to keep the people from Church by *dancing* 'and other *recreations*, even in the time of divine service, especially on holy-days, and the Lord's-day in 'the afternoon: By which means they kept the people in ignorance and luke-warmness, and so made 'them the more capable to be wrought upon by their 'emissaries. This gross abuse our Bishop endeavoured 'to redress in his primary visitation.' But as King James the First was returning out of Scotland through Lancashire, in 1617, this matter was represented to him as a very great grievance, by some of his courtiers who were too favourable to the Popish party. His readiness to hear any complaint against what was called a 'publick grievance, encouraged some to so 'much boldness the next Lord's-day after, as even to 'disturb the publick worship and service of God, by 'their piping and dancing within the hearing of all 'those that were at church; whereof the King being 'fully informed by our Bishop, utterly disavowed any 'thoughts or intention of encouraging such prophaneness: and therefore left them that were guilty of it 'to the Bishop's censure; which he inflicted only upon one, that was the ring leader.' There wanted not some still to complain to the King of the Bishop's proceedings herein 'as rigorous and tyrannical; considering that the chief thing they desired was only 'some innocent recreation for servants and other inferiour people on the Lord's-day and holy-days, 'whose laborious callings deprived them of it at all 'other times; and thereupon to sollicit his Majesty 'for some favour therein, and the rather because it 'was the general desire of most of that country. 'Which the King finding to be true upon enquiry, 'and willing to give them satisfaction therein, he consulted with Dr Morton, Bishop of that Diocese, how 'he might satisfy their desires without endangering 'this liberty to be turned into licentiousness. The Bishop hereupon considered of six Limitations or Restrictions, by way of condition, to be imposed upon 'every man that should enjoy the benefit of that liberty:

(9) Wood Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 491.

(10) P. 75, 76.

(11) As above, p. 333.

(12) Barwick, p. 78, 79, 132, 133.

(*s*) Barwick, p. 78—84.

(*t*) Willis, as above, Vol. I. p. 393.

thoſe parts have generally abounded (*s*). On the 6th of March 1618, he was tranſlated to the ſee of Lichfield and Coventry; holding with it the Rectory of Clifton-Camvil in commendam (*t*). About that time, he became acquainted with Antonio de Dominis, Archbiſhop of Spalato, who having renounced Popery was come over, and preferred in England, and uſed all the means he could, to diſſuade that inconſtant Prelate from returning back to Rome. But one of the moſt remarkable occurrences he was concerned in, whilſt he continued in this ſee, was his detecting the impoſture of the Boy of Bilſon [K], of which

'ty; which he preſented to the King in writing the 'next day:' One, and it is thought to be the firſt, being added by another hand. 1. 'That all unlawful 'games ſhould be prohibited on Sundays, as Bear and 'Bull-baiting, interludes, and bowling at all times by 'law prohibited to the meaner ſort of people. 2. 'That all ſuch known Recuſants, either men or women, 'as abſtained from coming to church, or divine ſervice, ſhall be barred from this benefit and liberty; 'they being therefore unworthy of any lawful recreation after the ſaid ſervice, that will not firſt come to 'church and ſerve God. 3. All that were not preſent at church at the ſervice of God before their going to the ſaid recreations, though they conformed in 'religion, were alſo debarred this liberty. 4. All 'ſuch as, in abuſe of this liberty, ſhould uſe theſe exerciſes before the end of all divine ſervices for that 'day, were to be preſented and ſharply puniſhed. 5. 'That every perſon ſhould reſort to his own pariſh 'church, to hear divine ſervice. 6. That each pariſh 'by itſelf ſhould uſe the ſaid recreation after divine 'ſervice. 7. That no offenſive weapons ſhould be 'carried or uſed in the ſaid times of recreation.' Theſe limitations were inſerted in King James's Declaration, Concerning lawful Sports to be uſed: dated May 24th, 16° *regni*.

[*K*] *But one of the moſt remarkable occurrences he was concerned in, whilſt he continued in this See, was his detecting the impoſture of the Boy of Bilſon.*] As this is one of the moſt notable impoſtures that ever was managed at any time, a particular account of it may not therefore be diſagreeable to the reader.—The impoſtor's name was George Perry, or Purie, a boy of fifteen, ſon to a poor man, of a village named Bilſon near Wolverhampton in Staffordſhire; from whence he came to be known by the appellation of *the Boy of Bilſon*. 'He being by nature very dull and uncapable 'of learning, and thereupon very unwilling to go 'to ſchool, was wrought upon by ſome Romiſh 'Prieſts in thoſe parts, to free himſelf from that 'troubleſome taſk of going to ſchool, by counterfeiting himſelf to be poſſeſſed with a Devil; and 'he had the promiſe of a very good reward into 'the bargain, if he would ſuffer himſelf to be diſpoſ'ſeſſed by their Exorciſms (13).' Some Jeſuits accordingly viſited him, prayed by him, and uſed charms and exorciſms to drive the Devil away. But the Boy found ſo much ſweetneſs in the Eaſe and Profit of that kind of Life, that he would not be diſinchanted by them, though they beat and pinched him, and uſed him extremely ill, to make him deſiſt. The boy, in his fits, would rave againſt an old woman dwelling near his father, intimating by ſigns and ghaſtly behaviour, that ſhe had ſent a ſpirit to torment him; and in plain terms (when he was out of his fits) accuſed her to be a Witch, and the author of all his miſery. Whereupon, the woman was firſt examined by the Chancellor of the Dioceſe; and afterwards being indicted for Witchcraft at Stafford-aſſizes, Auguſt 10th, 1620, was condemned to die. Biſhop Morton, who, as Juſtice of Peace was upon the Bench, being fully perſuaded in his own mind that the Boy did but counterfeit; and hearing that ſome Romiſh prieſts had been tampering with him with their exorciſms; finding alſo very little reaſon produced why the witch ſhould uſe the child ſo ill; he was perſuaded, this was ſome juggling trick in the prieſts, for effecting their miraculous ends. Therefore he deſired the Judge to reprieve the Woman 'till the next aſſizes, and he would take the boy home with him, and doubted not before that time to find out the bottom of ſome ſecret contrivance. Accordingly, the boy was carried to Eccleſhall-caſtle, the Biſhop's houſe, where his fits followed him with a great deal of violence: For being put out of his road (having formerly all ſorts of people come to admire him, and now being more carefully looked to) he grew ſullen, and would not eat ſometimes in two or three days; ſo that his belly was almoſt clung to his back; and he had a new ſwelling about his throat, which never appeared before; lay in his bed, ſometimes as if were ſenſeleſs, ſometimes ſtaring with his eyes, and foaming at the mouth, ſometimes ſtriking thoſe that ſtood near him; never ſpoke but in his fits, and then a ſtrange gibberiſh; at other times he only muttered and made ſigns. The Biſhop viſited him often, ſtriving ſometimes to ſoften him with gentleneſs; at other times he handled him roughly, with threatnings, and even blows. And ſome of the people about him thruſt needles into his toes and fingers, betwixt the nails; clapt burning candles to his eye-lids; to divert him when he was in his fits: but he neither winched nor ſtirred. Thus he continued almoſt a quarter of a year: At laſt, his urine grew ſo black, that the Phyſicians thought nature had left her uſual operations. This ſtruck the Biſhop very near, for fear the boy ſhould miſcarry under his hand; therefore he uſed all means poſſible, as well to preſerve him, as to diſcover him: but he reſolved, if his water continued black, to ſift the matter no further. To find out which, he ſet a truſty ſervant to watch him thro' a hole that looked into the chamber upon the bed, which the boy knew not of. The Biſhop going that morning with his family to a lecture, all things were very ſtill in the houſe; and the boy finding all quiet, no noiſe about him, he lifts himſelf up, ſtares, and liſtens, and at length gets out of his bed, and in the ſtraw or mat under it, takes out an inkhorn, and makes water in the chamber-pot through a piece of the cotton in his hand; another little piece of the cotton he puts into his prepuce, covering it with the ſkin, and that was for a reſerve, if he ſhould be forced to make water before company. Thus, having cunningly put himſelf in order, he hides the inkhorn again, and returns to his bed. The man that was appointed to watch, ſeeing all this, diſcovered it to the Biſhop at his coming home; who came to the boy preſently, and aſked him, How he did? He, according to his manner, pointed to his water, looked ghaſtly on it, and muttered out his old howling tone. The Biſhop, that intended now to deal roundly with him, ſaid, Sirrah, you have ink in your bed ſtraw, which you make uſe of to black your water, and your knavery is found out; and calling in his man, he took out the inkhorn from the place where the boy had hid it, and the man juſtified, that he ſaw him make water through the cotton; which (with the Biſhop's threatening to ſend him to the houſe of correction) ſtruck the boy with ſuch a ſudden terror, that he roſe from his bed, fell upon his knees, and humbly beſought the Biſhop to pardon him, and he would diſcover to him the whole truth. And as he put on his cloaths, the Biſhop laid open the grievouſneſs of his ſin, which wrought ſo upon him, that he melted into tears, crying to God for mercy. Then he confeſſed, that a pedlar with a pack on his back met him when he was going to ſchool, and with many enticing words perſuaded him to go to Mr Gifford's houſe, aſſuring him of good entertainment; and by his allurements he went thither with him. There he found four Romiſh prieſts, who gave him money, and many fair words, promiſing him great matters, if he would be conformable to their inſtructions. They were three days teaching him how to demean himſelf, and after he was well tutored, and had practiſed his tricks there privately, then they ſent him home to his father (who thought he had been loſt, and was much troubled for him) to exerciſe them in a more publick way. He came home in a very diſtracted manner, to the amazement of his parents, and in a ſhort time drew much company to viſit him; and his parents being poor, got money from many charitable people, which did encourage him to perſiſt in that way. But when the fame of his being poſſeſſed with an evil ſpirit was ſufficiently ſpread abroad, the prieſts came to diſpoſſeſs him, as is related above.——The Biſhop aſked him, why he accuſed the poor old woman of witch craft? He

(13) Barwick, p. 90.

which some account is given in the note (*u*). On the second of July 1632, our worthy Bishop was translated to the See of Durham (*w*); in which high and profitable station [*L*], he behaved not only with remarkable moderation, justice, and equity [*M*], but also with the most extensive beneficence and charity [*N*]. Among other instances of it, he augmented such small livings as were in his own gift [*O*]; and endeavoured to obtain a competent augmentation for all the other mean Vicarages and Curacies within his Diocese [*P*]: but was hindered by the iniquity of the Times, and the opposition of Impropriators, and

(*u*) Barwick, p. 84—91. Life by R. B. p. 62, 64—75.

(*w*) Br. Willis, as above, p. 249.

He answered, The Priests told him he must lay the cause of his being possessed upon some old woman, and she being known to him, and of a scolding humour, he fixed it on her. Then the Bishop asked him, How he came to fall into his fits a little before the woman appeared in the room, both at her examination and arraignment, his back being towards her? For the first, at Lichfield, he said, he heard some about him mutter, *She is here*; which made him cry out, *She comes! she comes!* And for the second, at Stafford, He heard the people remove, and her chains gingle as she came, which gave him the sign. Lastly, he was asked, How he made his throat swell? And he shewed, it was by thrusting his tongue (being very long) down his throat, which trick he found out himself; the rest were taught him by the Priests. Thus did the Bishop preserve an innocent old woman condemned by the law to dye; discover the abominable forgeries of the Jesuits and Popish Priests; and convert a wicked boy, whom afterwards be bound apprentice to a shoemaker at Bristol, and proved a good man. He was living in the parish of St Martin's in the Fields, London, in the year 1660, as Dr Barwick testifies (14).' The account we have here given, is chiefly delivered in the words of Mr Arthur Wilson (15); who tells us, that he heard this story *from the Bishop's own mouth*, almost thirty years before he inserted it in his Life of King James the First. A full Relation of it had been published at the time by Richard Baddiley, Secretary to the Bishop (16); and it is also mentioned by Dr Francis Hutchinson, in his Historical Essay concerning Witch-craft (17).

(14) As above, p. 91.

(15) Life and Reign of King James I. in Complete History of England, Vol. II. edit. 1706, p. 710, 711.

(16) Anno 1620.

(17) Edit. 1718, 8vo. p. 217, &c.

[*L*] *In which high and profitable station.*] The fine revenues of that bishoprick justly intitle it to the name of a *profitable* station. And how *high* it is, appears sufficiently from the Palatine Rights enjoyed by the Bishop of Durham, upon prescription immemorial. For, the *Teste* of all writs, indictments, &c. is in the Bishop's name. He is perpetual Justice of peace within his territories, as is also his temporal Chancellor. All the officers of the Courts, even the Judges of Assize themselves have still their ancient salaries from him; and all the standing officers of the courts are constituted by his patents. When he comes in person to any of the Courts of judicature, he sits chief in them, those of assize not excepted. All dues, amerciaments, forfeited recognizances in the courts of the Palatinate, deodands, forfeitures either of war or by treason, outlawry and felony, belong to the Bishop; as also Moors, wastes, custody of lunatics and idiots, &c. His jurisdiction extends to the sea-coasts, and waters adjoining to the county Palatine; wherein he has all along had a distinct Admiralty, and held Admiralty-courts; appointing, by his patents, a Vice-Admiral, Register, Marshal, and all other proper officers; and having all the privileges and profits incident thereunto, as royal fishes, wrecks, duties, keys, &c. to the mid-stream that borders upon his county, and on the south side of Tine-bridge, &c (18).

(18) Camden's Britannia, edit. 1722, Vol. II. col. 934.

[*M*] *He behaved not only with remarkable moderation, justice, and equity.*] Dr Barwick gives the following instances of it (19). 1. With regard to his Fines at the renewing of Leases, he never intermeddled in setting them himself, but referred the business to four gentlemen of the neighbourhood to make a moderate composition between him and his tenants. 2. In wrecks he took such a small sum of the person that had suffered them, as was not worthy of the name of a composition; having no other aim in taking any thing, than only to preserve the right to himself and his successors, and assist the distressed person in the preservation and recovery of his goods, from the neighbouring ravenous multitude. 3. In Deodands, where any man had made himself away; though by law the whole estate was confiscated *in detestationem criminis*, to deter others from committing the like horrid offence; yet was he so compassionate, as not to exceed a fourth part of the estate in his composition after the most moderate valuation. 4. For Wardships (which then also belonged to the Bishop of Durham) they were managed with that tenderness of care and moderation within the liberties of this county Palatine, as none of the gentry had ever any cause of wrong done either to their persons or estates during their minority.

(19) Life, as above, p. 93, 94.

[*N*] *With the most extensive beneficence and charity.*] He was extremely bountiful to the Poor of all sorts, where he resided, or by the way as he travelled. At Durham, besides his daily alms to the poor at the Castle-gate, he gave so many gowns of blue cloth to certain poor men, as he had been years Bishop of Durham, with their diet in the hall four days in the week. He maintained several poor scholars at the University. And there seldom came any scholar to him, whether English or Foreigner, whom he did not receive and entertain with free hospitality, and dismiss with a considerable sum of money, proportionable to his parts and merit. To the library at St John's college, he gave books, to the value of four or five hundred pounds; with an intention at last to bestow a hundred pounds a year upon it, while he lived. And out of an old decayed chapel at Bishop's Aukland, he built a fair Grammar-school, endowing the Master with twenty-four pounds a year for ever. Besides other instances of his beneficence and generosity: he forgave to one Mrs Place of Hurworth, whose husband unhappily made away himself, his whole estate, (being forfeited to the Bishop as Count Palatine) which was valued at two thousand pounds, and took only fifty pounds of her, for an acknowledgment of the right of the County Palatine; which he bestowed among his domestic servants. And, in his first visitation, he forgave one Mr Edward Moore three hundred pounds, in which he had been fined for a riot at the assizes before, at Durham.—He never purchased one foot of land (whatever he sold) nor other temporal possession in all his long life, notwithstanding his plentiful incomes; but as his revenues increased, so were they spent in hospitable, charitable, and other Christian uses (20).

(20) Life by R. B. p. 93, 105, 108, 109, 110, 111. finished by J. Naylor, p. 122, 124, 126. Barwick, p. 148, 149.

[*O*] *He augmented such small livings as were in his own gift.*] He had begun that good work even whilst he was Bishop of Lichfield, in abating a good part of his fine to increase the Vicarage of Pitchley in Northamptonshire. And, after he was translated to Durham, he augmented the stipend of the Minister of Bishop-Aukland from sixteen pounds *per annum* to fourscore; and the chapels belonging to it from about six pounds *per annum* to thirty; intending to do the like in some proportion over all the rest of his diocese (21).

(21) Barwick, p. 95, 97.

[*P*] *And endeavoured to obtain a competent augmentation for all the other mean vicarages and curacies within his diocese.*] To lay his foundation the surer, in a work of so great difficulty as well as importance, he asked the opinion of three of the most learned and eminent counsel then in England; namely, the Lord-Keeper Coventry, William Noy, Esq; the King's Attorney-General, and Sir Henry Martin, Judge of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury; and they all unanimously concurred in these four points. 1. That all Abbots, Priors, and other religious persons, who had Rectories or Parsonages of Churches *appropriated* to their several Convents, were bound by law (especially since the time of K. Richard II.) upon every avoidance of the incumbent to present an able Clerk, sufficiently endowed out of the tithes belonging to the said Rectory, to the Bishop of the diocese wherein any such Rectory was, to be instituted and admitted to the cure of souls within the said parish. 2. That in case they did not present such a person so endowed within six months after any vacancy, then the Bishop of the diocese might collate to the said vicarage *jure devoluto post lapsum temporis*, upon any fit person, and endow it with sufficient maintenance, proportionable to the merit of the person and quantity of the tithes. 3. That at the dissolution of Abbies, Priories, and other religious houses, all such *Rectories appropriate* were settled upon the Crown, no otherwise than the said religious persons formerly had and enjoyed them. And therefore, 4. That the Bishops

(x) Barwick, p. 95, &c.
(y) J. Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, &c. Part ii. p. 18. Barwick, p. 103.
(z) See Rushworth, Vol. IV. p. 466. Nalson, Vol. II. p. 794. and Lord Clarendon's Hist. edit. 1731, 8vo. Vol. II. p. 351.
(a) Barwick, p. 104, 105.
(b) Id. p. 107.
(c) Whitelock's Memorials, edit. 1732, p. 141.
(d) Whitelock, p. 206.
(e) Barwick, p. 122.
(f) J. Walker, as above, p. 18.
(g) Barwick, p. 128.
(h) Id. p. 168, and Life by J. Naylor, p. 158.
(i) Barwick, p. 155, 166.
(k) Life by J. Naylor, p. 158.

and dealers in law (x). When this nation came to be involved in publick miseries and troubles, our good Bishop had his share of them. For, (besides an order in 1640, for seizing his rents) once at Westminster, he was near being torn to pieces by the mob (y) [Q]. And December 30th, 1641, he was accused of high treason, and committed to the custody of the Usher of the Black-rod, for joining with eleven of his Brethren in a Protestation against all the proceedings of the Parliament since the 27th of December 1641 (z). Being released, without a tryal, after about four months confinement, he returned to his lodgings in Durham-house in the Strand, attending his devotions and studies, but being much straightened by the sequestration of his revenues (a). On the eighth of April, 1645, he was committed to the custody of the Serjeant at Arms (b); or, according to others (c), to the Tower; for being unwilling to deliver up the Seal of the county-palatine of Durham, and for having baptized a daughter of the Earl of Rutland according to the form in the Common-Prayer-Book. He continued about six months a prisoner, and, upon his release, withdrew again to Durham-house. When his revenues were wholly taken from him by Parliament, they voted him, May 18, 1646, eight hundred pounds a year during his life (d). But the ordinance for that purpose being ineffectual [R], his friends procured him at last one thousand pounds in part; with which he paid his debts, and purchased an annuity of 200 pounds for life. Being turned out of Durham-house by the soldiers, when they came to garrison it, about the end of the year 1648; the Earl and Countess of Rutland invited him to Exeter-house in the Strand, where he became a part of their care and family for some short time. But being loath to live at the charge of others, while he was able to subsist of himself, and thinking the country air might better suit with his declining years than that of the city, he went and lived with Captain Thomas Saunders at Flamstead in Hertfordshire, and afterwards with Thomas Rotherham, Esq; of Luton in Bedfordshire (e). At last going to London, with about 60 pounds (which it seems was then his all), he was overtaken on the road by Sir Christopher Yelverton; who being known to the Bishop, though the Bishop was unknown to him, fell into discourse with him, and asked him, 'Who he was?' The Bishop replied, 'I am that old man 'the Bishop of Durham, notwithstanding all your votes:' for Sir Christopher had too much complied with the times. Whereupon Sir Christopher asked, 'Whither he was 'going?' 'To London,' replied the good old Bishop, 'to live a little while, and then 'dye.' On this, Sir Christopher entered into further discourse with him, and took him home with him to his house at Easton-Mauduit in Northamptonshire; where he became tutor to that son of his, which was afterwards the very learned Sir Henry Yelverton. After some time Sir Christopher dyed, and then Sir Henry, who had the affection of a most tender child for the good Bishop, continued to support him 'till his death (f); which happened the 22d day of September, 1659, in the 95th year of his age, the 44th since his being consecrated a Bishop, and the 28th of his translation to the see of Durham. He was buried September 29, in the chancel of the church of Easton-Mauduit, where a monument was afterwards erected to his memory (g). Bishop Morton, as to his person, was of stature little, and clean limbs; of a strong body, an exquisite constitution; comely countenance, constant and seldom interrupted health (h). Even in his old age, his motion was upright, his walking sprightly, his hearing quick, his voice clear, his body firm and full of moisture; so that no Physician in the world would have judged him to be of half the age he was, if he had only considered the plumpness of his flesh and smoothness of his skin, without looking upon the whiteness of his hair (i). He was of a quick wit, solid judgment, and happy memory (k). And as he was very learned [S], so was he also extremely

(22) Barwick, p. 96, 97.
(23) Barwick, p. 103.
(24) P. 124.
(25) Life by J. N. p. 150, 151.

Bishops authority over churches appropriate was neither taken away, nor any way infringed, either by the Common or Statute Law; but that he may now as lawfully appoint a competent *augmentation* out of the *impropriate tithes*, where the Vicarage is not sufficiently endowed, as any Bishop might formerly have done while Abbies, Priories, and other religious houses were in being. But as Dr Barwick observes, this being such a fatal blow to the Prince of Darkness, was not like to take the wished effect in the middest of this crooked and perverse generation (22).

[Q] *Once at Westminster he was near being torn to pieces by the mob.*] It was some of those tumultuous mobs that were called together, and spirited up, by the leaders in both houses of Parliament. They surrounding therefore the Bishop's coach, some cried, *pull him out of his coach:* others, *nay he is a good man:* others, *but for all that he is a Bishop* And he often declared, he believed he should not have escaped alive, if a leading man among that rabble had not cried out; *let him go and hang himself* (23).

[R] *But the ordinance for that purpose being ineffectual.*] Dr Barwick observes (24), that this sum, voted to Bishop Morton, 'was a far greater proportion 'than to any of his suffering brethren, and yet signified 'very little in the conclusion. For while he was able 'to subsist without it, he never troubled himself with 'looking after it; and at last when his pressing necessities put him upon this hard choice, either to look 'after this, or be burdensome to his friends, making 'choice of the former, he procured a copy of the 'vote: but found it to contain no more than only that 'such a summe should be payed, but no mention either '*by whom* or *whence*. And by that time he could 'procure an explanation of the order to make the 'pension payable out of the revenues of his own 'Bishoprick, all the lands and revenues of it were 'sold or divided among themselves. Only by the importunity of his friends he obtained an order to have '1000l. in part, payed out of their Treasurie at Goldsmiths-hall, with which he payed his debts, and 'purchased to himself an annuity of 200l. *per annum* 'during his life, upon which he subsisted ever since. 'This annuity was granted at first by the lady Saville 'in the minority of her son Sir George, and afterwards 'confirmed by himself when he came of age.'——Indeed, when the sale of Bishops lands was resolved upon by both Houses of Parliament, old Sir Henry Vane came immediately to the Bishop at Durham-house, and advised him to petition in due time for his livelihood to be granted him some other way than by that 800l. *per annum* formerly voted unto him (25). But it is not said what was the issue.

[S] *And as he was very learned.*] He gave sufficient specimens of his learning, in the following books which he published. I. *Apologia Catholica. Pars* I. *De Notis Ecclesiæ.*

extremely ſtudious and diligent [T]. With regard to his moral qualifications; he was a man of exemplary Piety, Temperance, Sobriety [U], and great Hoſpitality [W]. Among other

Eccleſiæ. Lond. 1605. 4to. II. *Apologiæ Catholicæ Pars ſecunda, Judicem Eccleſiæ demonſtrans*. Lond. 1606. 4to. But, between the publication of theſe two parts, he publiſhed, an account of the Gun-powder-treaſon, III. 'An exact Diſcovery of Romiſh Doctrine in the caſe of *Conſpiracy* and *Rebellion*: or, *Romiſh Poſitions* and *Practices*, &c. Lond. 1605. 4°. A nameleſs author having put out, what he called *A Moderate Anſwer* to this; Dr Morton, publiſhed, IV. 'A full ſatisfaction concerning a double Romiſh 'Iniquitie, hainous Rebellion, and more than heathenîſh Æquivocation. Containing three parts. The 'two former belong to the *Reply* upon the *Moderate* '*Anſwer*; the firſt for Confirmation of the *Diſcovery* 'in theſe two points, *Treaſon* and '*Æquivocation*: 'the ſecond is a Juſtification of Proteſtants touching 'the ſame points. The third part is a large Diſcourſe 'confuting the Reaſons and Grounds of other Prieſts, 'both in the caſe of Rebellion and Æquivocation. 'Publiſhed by Authoritie.' Lond. 1606. 4to. R. Parſons, the Jeſuit, under the name of P. R. having undertaken to vindicate the writer of the *Moderate Anſwer*, in a book intituled, *A Treatiſe tending to Mitigation towards Catholic Subjects in England againſt* Tho. Morton. 1607. 4to; our learned author returned a very acute anſwer to him, intituled, V. 'A Preamble unto 'an Incounter with P. R. the author of the deceitful 'Treatiſe of *Mitigation*.' London. 1608. 4to. To this book, and ſome others written by our author, R. Parſons having made a Reply, under the title of *A Sober Reckoning with Mr* Tho. Morton. 1609. 4to. he was anſwered in a book intituled, VI. 'The Encounter againſt Mr *Parſons*.' Lond. 1609. 4to. VII. Our author publiſhed, 'An Anſwer to the ſcandalous 'Exceptions of *Theophilus Higgons*.' Lond. 1609. 4to. VIII. 'A Catholike Appeale for Proteſtants out of 'the Confeſſions of the Romane Doctors, particularly 'anſwering the miſnamed *Catholike Apologie for the* '*Romane Faith out of the Proteſtants*. Manifeſting the 'Antiquitie of our Religion, and ſatisfying all ſcrupulous 'objections, which have been urged againſt it.' Lond. 1610. fol. The *Catholike Apologie*, to which it is an Anſwer, was put out by one Rob. Brerely. Our author was engaged in this work by Archbiſhop Bancroft: and ſome of his quotations were examined by Dr Tho. James, keeper of the Bodleian Library at Oxford. It has never been anſwered. IX. 'A Defence of the Innocencie of the three Ceremonies of 'the Church of England, viz the Surplice, Croſſe after 'Baptiſm, and Kneeling at the receiving of the bleſſed 'Sacrament. Divided into two parts. In the former 'whereof the generall Arguments urged by the 'Nonconformiſts, and in the latter part their particular 'Accuſations againſt theſe three Ceremonies, are ſeverally anſwered and refuted. Publiſhed by authority.' Lond. 1618. 4to. It was attacked by an anonymous writer ſuppoſed to be William Ames; and defended by Dr J. Burges of Sutton Coldfield in Warwickſhire. X. The next thing publiſhed by Biſhop Morton, was, *Cauſa Regia*. Lond. 1620. 4to. written againſt Cardinal Bellarmine's book, *De Officio Principis Chriſtiani*. It was never anſwered. XI. 'The Grand Impoſture 'of the now Church of Rome, concerning this Article 'of their Creed, *The holy Catholick and Apoſtolick* '*Roman Church*.' Lond. 1625. 4to. To this book an Anſwer was publiſhed by a nameleſs author, denoted by the initial letters J. S. under the title of *Anti-Mortonus*; and the Biſhop prepared a Reply, diſpoſed in the following order. Firſt, he propoſed to reprint the book itſelf: Next, after every ſection excepted againſt, the Exceptions of J. S. And then, His own Replies to thoſe Exceptions. But the book thereby grew ſo voluminous, that no bookſeller durſt venture the charge of printing it.— However, a Romiſh author, under the name of an Engliſh Baron, having publiſhed ſome Strictures upon the *Grand Impoſture*, &c. our learned author wrote a little book, intituled, XII. 'A Diſcharge of five imputations of *Mis-allegations* charged 'upon the Biſhop of Dureſme by an Engliſh Baron.' Lond. 1633. 8vo. XIII. 'Of the Inſtitution of the 'Sacrament, &c. by ſome called the Maſſe, &c.' Lond. 1631. fol. which was reprinted with additions in 1635. fol. XIV. *Antidotum adverſus Eccleſiæ Romanæ de Merito ex condigno Venenum*. Cantabr. 1637. 4to.——In the mean time, one C. R. ſuppoſed to be R. Smith, Biſhop of Chalcedon, having publiſhed a Reply to our Author's *Apologia Catholica Pars* I. he vindicated himſelf in a ſmall tract, intituled, XV. *Replica, ſive Refutatio Confutations* C. R. &c. Lond. 1638. 4to. XVI. His next piece was, *Deciſio Controverſiæ in Euchariſtiâ, de Non-coexiſtentiâ corporis Chriſti in diverſis locis*. Cantabr. 1640. 4to. Which was chiefly a latin tranſlation of his book *Of the Inſtitution of the Sacrament*, &c. but with great alterations. XVII. He publiſhed about this time three ſermons; viz. One preached before the King at Newcaſtle, May 5, 1639. upon Romans xiii. 1. Lond. 1639. 4to. XVIII. A Sermon on the Reſurrection, preached at the Spittle in London, April 26, 1641. Lond. 1641. 8vo. XIX. The preſentment of a Schiſmatick; a Sermon preached at St Paul's London, upon 1 Cor. xi. 16. Lond. 1642. 4to. XX. His next book came forth, without his name, or knowledge; being publiſhed by Archbiſhop Uſher, (to whom he had ſent it), with ſome other collections of his own upon the ſame ſubject, intitutled, *Confeſſions and Proofs of Proteſtant Divines*, &c. Oxford. 1644. 4to, being about Epiſcopacy. XXI. The laſt thing he publiſhed was ſtyled, *Ezekiel's Wheels*, &c. Lond. 1653. 8vo. containing Meditations upon God's Povidence.——He left behind him in manuſcript A Treatiſe concerning Epiſcopacy, reviſed and enlarged; being the ſame thing as is mentioned at No. XX.—A Treatiſe concerning Prayer in an unknown Tongue.——A Defence of Infants Baptiſm, againſt Mr Tombes and others.——Many Sermons. And ſeveral other pieces; of which an account may be ſeen in his Life written by Dr Barwick (26),—Among his works we may place, A *Proteſtation* of his, occaſioned by a notorious untruth, in a book printed in 1657, and intituled *A Treatiſe of the Nature of Catholick Faith and Hereſie*; importing, 'That, upon the preſenting of 'a book to the Houſe of Lords againſt the Biſhops; he 'had made a ſpeech againſt that book, in his own and 'all the Biſhops behalf, endeavouring to prove ſucceſ-'ſion from the laſt Catholick Biſhops, who by impoſition of hands ordained the firſt Proteſtant Biſhops at 'the Nags-head in Cheapſide.' The Biſhop therefore proteſted, on July 17, 1658, before a public Notary, That that aſſertion was a moſt notorious untruth, and a groſs ſlander. And the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Clerks of both Houſes, ſigned Atteſtations, certifying, that they never knew any ſuch book preſented to the Houſe of Peers, and conſequently that no ſuch ſpeech could be made by the Biſhop (27).

(26) P. 138, 139, 140.

(27) See Barwick, p. 110, &c.

[T] *So was he alſo extremely ſtudious and diligent.*] 'He lived a very great number of years, and very few 'ever huſbanded their time better, for he was never 'idle with his good will. He was often up at his devotion and ſtudy before four a clock, even after he 'had lived above fourſcore years; and yet very ſeldom 'went to bed 'till after ten, and then had always a 'ſervant to read ſome book to him, 'till ſuch time as 'he fell aſleep: and ſo had he always when he travelled 'in his coach, that his journey might not be too great 'a hindrance to his ſtudy (28).' The ſame account is alſo given more at large by his Secretary R. Baddiley. (29).

(28) Barwick, p. 31.

(29) Life, as above, p. 86, &c.

[U] *He was a man of exemplary Piety, Temperance, Sobriety.*] His favorite Chaplain, Dr Barwick, informs us (30), that 'His converſation was ſuch for piety and 'devotion as well became a Chriſtian and a Biſhop. 'He would often deny himſelf ſome part of that pittance of Time which ſhould have been for his ſleep, 'to riſe up out of his bed and ſpend in Prayer.' Then, as to his Temperance, Mortification, and Sobriety; he never could endure a ſoft, much leſs a downe bed, but either a matreſs, or a ſingle quilt, which was his uſual manner. He lay upon his ſtraw-bed, even when he was above fourſcore years of age; and would not be perſuaded from it 'till cramps and other infirmities compelled him to it. His ſtudy-gown was ſometimes of a coarſe black hairy rugg: and his conſtant diet (when not viſited by ſtrangers) was one meal a day through almoſt the whole courſe of his life; which in his middle age, and before he was Biſhop, was uſually a ſupper; in his declining age, and after he was Biſhop, uſually a dinner, and that but a bare and ſlender one to himſelf, though bountiful, and plentiful to his gueſts.

(30) P. 32, 33.

He

other instances of his service to religion, he converted several persons of learning and distinction from the errors of Popery (*l*) [*X*]. He never was married.

(*l*) Barwick, in his Funeral Sermon, p. 30, 31, 33. and in his Life, p. 148, 157, 163. Life by R. B. and J. N. p. 87, 90, 106.

He very seldom, or never, drank strong drink; and wine most rarely, and that in a very small quantity, as perhaps might warm his mouth, but scarcely his stomach; for his health being constantly good, and his bodily infirmities few or little, his abstemiousness was very great, and this latter a great preserver of the former (31).

[*W*] *And great Hospitality.*] Among other instances of it, he entertained K. Charles I. and his court and (at least the officers of) his army, all at one time in the first expedition towards Scotland; which cost him above 1500 l. in one day (32).

(31) Life by R. B. p. 90, &c. Barwick, p. 33, 157.

(32) Barwick, p. 148.

[*X*] *He converted several persons of learning and distinction from the errors of Popery.*] Particularly, the Lady Cholmely, wife to Sir Henry Cholmely; Mr Redmaine, a Popish Priest, afterwards Vicar, or Curate, of Congleton in Cheshire; Dr Herbert Crofts, afterwards Bishop of Hereford; Mr Theophilus Higgons, a very learned man and a smart writer, some time Rector of Hunton in Kent; Mr Toby Swinburne, educated in the English college at Rome, afterwards Doctor of Laws, of Oxford, a very excellent scholar; Tho. Hulse, Gent. Mr Matthews, and several others (33). C

(33) Barwick, p. 163. Life by R. B. p. 105, 106, &c.

MOUNTAGU [RICHARD], a learned Divine and Philologist, was born about the year 1578, at Dorney in Buckinghamshire, where his father (*a*), Mr Lawrence Mountagu, was then minister [*A*]. He was sent to Eton-school, and being admitted King's scholar, was elected thence to King's-college in Cambridge in 1594, where he became a Fellow according to the ordinary rules of those two foundations. In the university he proceeded regularly to both his degrees in Arts, and entering into Orders, his first preferment was the living of Wotton-Courtney in Somersetshire in the diocese of Wells; in which church he obtained a prebend (*b*). His next promotion was to a fellowship of Eton-college (*c*), where he assisted Sir Henry Saville in preparing his celebrated edition of St Chrysostom's Works (*d*); and, in 1610, he published there in 4to. The two Invectives of Gregory Nazianzen against Julian, with the notes of Nonnus. May 14, 1613, he was inducted into the rectory of Stamford-Rivers in Essex (*e*). Upon the death of Isaac Casaubon, our author having, from his first entrance into the study of Theology, applied himself particularly to Ecclesiastical Antiquity, was requested by the King to write some animadversions upon the Annals of Baronius, which he began to prepare in 1615 [*B*]. He was then Chaplain to his Majesty, and the following year was promoted to the deanery of Hereford (*f*), but resigned it soon after, upon an exchange (*g*) for the archdeaconry of that church; into which he was admitted September 15, 1617. July 5, 1620, he proceeded Bachelor of

(*a*) His grandfather was Rob. Mountagu of Boudney, in the parish of Burnham in the same county. Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 732.

(*b*) Le Neve's Fasti Ecclef. Ang.

(*c*) Perhaps about 1608. See Wood's Fasti, Vol. I. col. 205.

(*d*) That edition was published in 1613.

(*e*) Newcourt's Repertor. Vol. II. p. 547. It was then in the gift of Eton-college, worth 300 pounds per ann. Strafford's State Paperrs, &c. Vol. I.

(*f*) On the 4th of December. Willis's Survey of York, &c. p. 536.

(*g*) With Sylvanus Griffith. Id. ibid. p. 532.

[*A*] *His father was minister.*] His inveterate enemies the Calvinistical puritans insult him (1) with his mean birth and parentage, and pretend that he was a carter's or a ploughman's son, near Oakingham in Berkshire; that he was supported by charity, both at Eton school and King's-college. They assert likewise, that he was chaplain to Dr James Mountague (I suppose when Bishop of Bath and Wells, in 1608) (2), who told him at that time, that he would never do good in the Church. 'Tis certain that Bishop was a warm Calvinist (3). But there seems to be little foundation for this story. This Dr James was brother to Sir Henry Mountague, Lord Chief Justice of the King's bench. A gentleman who is particularly celebrated by our author for his good will to the clergy. 'We should be injurious, says he, unto virtue itself, and I, in my particular, most ungrateful, if I should not, upon so just on occasion (4), honour his desert that in my own cause declared himself so much to commiserate the Church's wrongs by willful and corrupt jurors; and now in place of public judicatory, not once but often in the like case of my neighbours and brethren, hath publickly compassionated their sufferings.' From this beginning he proceeds to expatiate in the highest panegyrical strain, upon the virtues of that noble family, several of whom he particularly records. So that it cannot well be supposed, that if he had ever had so great an obligation to Bishop Mountague as to be his chaplain, he would have omitted all notice of his gratitude in this place.

(1) Epistle of the Orthodox Ministers, &c. Edinb. 1629.

(2) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 732.

(3) Heylin's Observations on the History of King Charles I. published by Hamon L'Estrange, p. 77. edit. 1656.

(4) As the republication of his Diatribe, from the introduction to which this passage is extracted, p 89, 90. edit. 1621, 4to.

[*B*] *Animadversions upon the annals of Baronius.*] These were printed in 1622, under the title of *Analecta Ecclesiasticarum Exercitationum*. In the dedication to King James, he takes notice that he entered upon this undertaking seven years before, upon the death of Isaac Casaubon; that directing the course of his theological studies to the Fathers and Church history, agreeable to his Majesty's injunctions to the universities in 1606, he had made collections of this kind for his own private use, which being known to the King gave occasion to his appointment to this work. As to Casaubon's Exercitations, Mr Mountagu condemns them in general, observes, that the learned author was not sufficiently versed in theology for such a task, the undertaking of which he imputes to his vanity (a common vice of the philologers) and particularly censures the blind devotion, which he every were paid to Joseph Scaliger, as he had done to Selden. The justice of this critic upon Casaubon was approved by others, as Godeau in particular, 'Casaubon, says he (5), who 'was a learned man, ought to have treated Baronius 'with greater civility, who always calls Scaliger 'that divine man, and to have contented himself with 'censuring him in such particulars where he imagined 'him mistaken, without attempting to make him 'looked on every instant, as a man who was totally 'ignorant of all valuable learning, had he engaged in 'so long a course of studies as the other, the world had 'seen whether he would have committed no errors. 'His Exercitations gave rise to others, and just occa-'sion has been found to censure his Censures.' Mr Bayle, from whom we have borrowed this extract, cites the Exercitations of Casaubon as a proof of this remark, that many critics make more faults than they correct (6). How much more candid is Mr Mountagu, who, after the words above cited, proceeds thus to apologize for him in the warmest and most friendly terms: *Sed ea est humanarum rerum infirmitas, nihil & simul inventum extitit & perfectum; In secundis curis suis & limatiore deinceps diligentia eruditissimus vir sine dubio erat illa omnia correcturus quæ vel properanti, vel agenti aliud, aut minus attento ad ipsam rem, vel humanitus quid passo, παρεισδεδυκότα profecto excidebant. Et O si Deus optimus maximus rerum humanarum dispensator æquissimus longiorem ipsi vitæ istius usuram atque usum indulsisset, ut ea quæ jam proposito destinaverat, & erat fortassis in parte meditatus, perducere potuisset ad umbilicum, & numeris omnibus perfecta consummare. Credo equidem nec vana fides; nihil fuisset uspiam per Exercitationum Lectiones, quod vel juste reprehendere Pontificii possent, vel Protestantes in illo desiderare.* Our author had just before spoken of Baronius in the civilest and politest terms, doing full justice to his merit, and whoso looks ever so little into his book will easily acknowledge it. So that Dr Fuller's censure must be taken in the most restrained sense, when he observes, that our author's 'great parts were attended with tartness of writing, 'very sharp the nib of his pen, and much gall mingled 'in his ink, against such as opposed him.' However, continues he, 'such the equability of the sharpness of 'his stile, he was impartial therein; be he ancient or 'modern writer, Papist or Protestant, that stood in his 'way, they should all equally taste thereof (7).'

(5) See the preface to his History of the Church.

(6) Dissertation concerning the project, prefixed to some Essays at the end of his Dictionary.

(7) Fuller's Church History, B. ii. p. 119.

[C] A

of Divinity *. Together with his fellowſhip of Eton, he held by diſpenſation a canonry of Windſor (*b*). In 1621, he preached a ſermon there before the King, upon Pſal. l. 15. which gave occaſion to his writing his treatiſe of *the Invocation of Saints* [*C*]. The ſame year he publiſhed his *Diatribæ upon the firſt part of Mr Selden's Hiſtory of Tythes* [*D*]. This

* It could not be that of Doctor; for, in the preface to his anſwer to the Gagg, he, in 1624, expreſsly declares he was no Doctor of Divinity; and even in the proclamation for his confirmation to Chicheſter, he is ſtiled Bachelor of Divinity. See note [*L*].

(*b*) In the chapel there he preached the theological lecture for eight years ſucceſſively. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 732.

[*C*] *A ſermon which gave occaſion to his treatiſe on the invocation of Saints.*] It ſeems there was preſent at the preaching of this ſermon, *M. Antonio de Dominis*, Archbiſhop of Spalato, who was then Dean of Windſor, having renounced the Romiſh faith, and embraced that of the Church of England. But this gentleman returning afterwards to his firſt faith, took occaſion to charge our author with averring the Romiſh doctrine, and practice of praying to ſaints and angels. 'For that 'he heard with great delight (theſe are his words) one 'of his then canons of Windſor preaching before the 'King's Majeſtie mayntayne, that there was no cauſe 'why every man might not turn himſelf unto his angel 'and ſay, *Holy angel-keeper pray for me*;' of this our author having information by means of Biſhop Williams, Keeper of the Great Seal, thought it neceſſary to clear himſelf of the aſperſion, by publiſhing his full ſentiments upon that point, in a juſt treatiſe upon the ſubject *of the invocation of ſaints*; wherein he obſerves in anſwer to his defamer, who ſays he heard him with great delight, that he neither was nor could be a proper judge thereof, ſince he preached in Engliſh, which indeed he might hear but could not underſtand, except *carptim & ſparſim*, now and then, here and there a word, or half a ſentence. He profeſſes ſolemnly, he ſpoke not the words charged upon him (8), and that he neither did nor does hold the purport of them, *certum & de fide*. The moſt, ſays he, that himſelf [*De Dominis*], who muſt now ſay what they at Rome will have him, heard, is this and no more; *paradventure, or it is probable, quod ſic*. But that which he did hear, and not attend to, was ſpoken in Latin; *Sed de Angelo cuſtode alibi fortaſſis ampliandum*. But notwithſtanding this aſſeveration, and beſides, that the book was read over and both approved and warranted for the preſs by Biſhop Williams, no favourer of Popery, yet we ſhall ſee ſome paſſages brought againſt him afterwards by the Houſe of Commons as favouring Popery. However, he allows that in private diſcourſe he might ſay to the Dean, talking upon this as they did upon many other particulars diſputed of between Proteſtants and Roman Catholicks, that upon the ſuppoſition of Angel-keepers which was an opinion generally received, he ſaw no abſurdity in nature, no incongruity to the analogy of faith, no repugnancy at all unto ſacred ſcripture, much leſs impiety, for any man to ſay *Sancte Angele-cuſtos ora pro me*, which under correction, ſays he, I ſay now, though I did not in my ſermon. He obſerves that this makes nothing to the purpoſe of the Papiſts concerning invocation of either ſaints or angels. The Angel-keeper is not to be remembered upon equal terms with Angels of commiſſion extraordinary; nor turning unto him with *pray for me*, unto imploration of their aid, who have no ſuch commiſſion ordinary as he hath, but are all upon employments extraordinary. Invocation of ſaints is a point of indifference, it being uncertain at leaſt, whether they are, and in what manner they can be, acquainted with our wants Their condition is not to attend us, and they are *removed* far above the reach *of* our call But if I *ſpeak* unto him that is *preſent* with me, and ſtandeth by *me* to help and aſſiſt me, *I* commit no abſurdity *againſt* reaſon nor impiety. *And* this upon ſuppoſal of Angle-keepers, which I urge not as a point of belief or piety, (the caſe itſelf of Angel keepers is not ſo reſolved) but only mention as of congruity, becauſe it is moſt probable there are ſuch keepers. If thus myſelf reſolved to infer *Holy Angel-keeper pray for me*, I ſee no reaſon to be taxed with point of Popery or ſuperſtition, much leſs with abſurdity or impiety (9).'

(8) In the body of the book he declares, not only that he never ſpoke the words, as he knew, but likewiſe had been aſſured his Majeſty could well remember he never did.

(9) Invocation of Saints, p. 95 to 99.

[*D*] *Hiſtory of tythes*] His Majeſty was much pleaſed with this performance, wherein the author, as Mr Wood truly obſerves, had vanquiſhed the then thought matchleſs Selden at his own weapon, and ſhewed himſelf the greater Philologer of the two (10). This appears in diſcovering ſome egregious miſtakes of his antagoniſt, owing to an ignorance hardly pardonable in a ſcholar. We ſhall give one inſtance: In return to Selden's charging the clergy with ignorance, he ſays, 'Would you take it well to be challenged for groſs ignorance in ſome things that a Philologer ſhould not be ignorant of, ſeeing you made greateſt love unto philology, and held her as your chiefeſt miſtreſſe. I will be bold to put you in mind of ſome one thing and rubbe your memory a little. *De Diis Syris*, p. 269. thus you write: Etymologici autem author Πάταρκος κατ' ἀφαίρησιν τȣ̃ α ἀπαταρκος. Ὦρος. Touching which place of the Etymologicon, firſt you profeſs your ignorance *non omnino capimus quid ſibi velit no Dei?* That's marvail that you do not. Fie man for ſhame! Such an Ariſtarchus, and cannot in a peice of plain Greek draw Dun out of the mire. What, even Mr Selden among the ignorants? *non capimus* were for ſome of us, the unlearned clergy. But it ſeems you were aſhamed of that *non capimus*, and therefore ventured to ſay ſomewhat, though that which ſome of the clergy will laugh at you for. Your learned animadverſion marreth all, and better were your *non capimus* ſtill; *neque enim Orus*, ſay you very clerk-like, *magis Patacus dicendus eſt quam alius quivis Deus: for Orus is no more to be called Patacus than any other God*; true indeed, no more than Caſtor and Pollux, if they were tutelares in St Paul's ſhip, or Apollo in Auguſtini Admirali, or *quavis in puppe Deus*. But quid ad Bercham, Orus or Patacus? Is any Philologer or Critic beſide yourſelf, ignorant, that Orus was not intended to be a Patacus by the Etymologiſt; but is the name of that grammarian whom he voucheth for *that* his goodlie doctrine, that Πάταρκος was made of απαταρκος κατ' ἀφαίρεσιν τȣ̃ α, by taking away the firſt letter α. That Orus was a grammarian, myſelf a poor poſtillating Polyanthæan * clergyman can tell, and remember to have read of him in Euſtathius ad Iliad Λ. 'Ἡ δὲ ἰατρίνη ȣ̓κ ἑλληνικὸν παρὰ δὲ τοῖς τεχνικοῖς κεῖται· καὶ ὅτι μὲν Ὦρος τὴν ἑλληνικὴν λέξιν τὴν ἰατρίνην εἶναι φησιν. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ Κοτυαεὺς ἀκρίβειαν λαλῶν, μὴ Ἀττικὴν εἶναι λέγει αὐτήν. The word ἰατρίνη for a midwife is no Greek word, yet it is found amongſt the grammarians. Orus ſaith it is no Greek word at all, but Alexander Cotyaenſis ſpeaketh punctually, and home, and ſays it is not uſed in the Attick dialect.' As a grammarian alſo, is he mentioned by this very author of the Etymologicon, who, if you think upon it adviſedly, neither dreamed of Horus nor Horus Apollo, nor any Egyptian deity for his Patacus.' This is a home ſtroke, nor is the application leſs juſt and a propos, 'if a lazie ignorant clergyman (Mr Selden's epithet for the clergy) may ſometimes be able to pull a great Philologer by the ear. I hope men may be pardoned that out of their own profeſſion be not ſo ſkilful in all points. We ſtudy not the laws civil or municipal. Theſe you would not that we ſhould; leſt we ſhould be acquainted with them than we are, were we not enforced to know them, and feel them againſt our will (11).' However, as the greateſt genii are obſerved ſometimes to fall into ſuch unexpected abſences as this juſt mentioned, our author, to uſe his own words, has dreſſed up another diſh to the Philologer's palate, which he preſented in the following terms. 'It is a critical apophai eton concerning ἀκροθίνιον, in the gloſſary expounded by *ruticilia*, which word is not worth the letters it is written withal, being no word of uſe in the Latin tongue, nor holding any analogy there. You conjecture it ſhould be *ruta cæſa* not much different from the writing of *ruticilia*, ruta & cæſa, or elſe ruta-cæſa are, you ſay, and rightly, things digged up, cut down, and ſevered from the freehold; ſo it appeareth from Feſtus and Cicero in topicis; both choſen words uſed in bargains and ſales of lands. Among the Romans there was always an exception of ſuch things as are cut down and digged up, and ſo ſeparated from the freehold; ſo Ulpian, whom you have placed in your margin; ſo *ruta cæſa* are in a ſort *ſpolia villæ*, and yet may not eaſily, as you ſuppoſe, be rendered in Greek by ἀκροθίνια, which ſometimes, as you alſo have taught us, ſignifieth ſpoils of war. It is a metaphor far fetched that ἀκροθίνια doth at all ſignify ſpoils of war, becauſe no man that ranſacketh a town, but will reſerve the beſt and leave the worſt τὰ ἄκρα τῶν θινῶν (12). Now to derive a metaphor from ſuch a metaphor is no eaſy work in rhetoric, where no more proportion is, than between

(10) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 733.

* Theſe terms of reproach were caſt upon the clergy by Selden.

(11) Preface addreſſed to Selden, p. 37.

(12) He had before ſhewn Selden miſtaken in the interpretation of the ſenſe of this word in the Epiſtle to the Hebrews, ch. vii. 4.

manutiæ

This work was so satisfactory to the King, that Mr Selden was ordered to forbear that dispute (*i*). In 1622, some Romanists having attempted to proselyte one of his parishioners at Stamford-Rivers to that faith; not being able to procure a conference, he sent them three propositions [*E*] in writing, by way of challenge, in defence of the doctrine of the Church of England. In return to these, about 18 months after, receiving a piece with this title, *A Gagg for the New Gospel*, he wrote an answer to it; which being published in 1624 (*k*), some tenets therein advanced [*F*] raised such a flame against him among the Calvinistical

(*i*) See the article of Selden.

(*k*) It was intitled, A Gagg for the New Gospel? No: A New Gagg for an Old Goose, &c.

manutiæ and *ruta cæsa*. What say you rather unto rupicilia? nearer unto ruticilia than your ruta cæsa, ἀκρόθινια may very well be said to be the tops of any rocks by the sea-side, for θὶς θὶν☉ is αἰγίαλ☉ you know in Homer, the antientest author and Jugi pater of all Greek language. Βῆ δ᾽ εἶναι παρὰ θῖνα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης. Rupes are ῥαγάδης, and κρημνώδει τόποι, such as be commonly the high clifts and banks of the sea. Cilia are the eyelids, sic dicta, saith Isidore, quia oculos celant tegentes tota custodia, ὀπωρία saith the gloss, it should be ὑπωπόιο, which word is expounded by the most learned Hesychius amongst other things to be οἱ δηνοί or swellings and risings of the flesh about the eye. So that 'tis no hard metaphor, nor yet matter, these things considered, to render ἀκρόθινια rupicilia, the tops of sea clifts, which hanging over, do shelter and shadow the harbour that is beneath, as the eye lids do the eyes. Thus you having drawn yourself aside, as Scipio, to play at check upon the sea shore, to delight yourself a little in your so much beloved and admired philologic and critic faculty, will not take it ill, I trust, that a Polyanthæan clergyman hath traced your steps, and intervened in these your delights.'

As it is the business of our author's book to answer the three first chapters of Mr Selden's history, he examines every chapter. In the first he shews that the meaning of Abraham's giving Melchizedec tythes of all, in Gen. xiv. 20. is to be understood of all his substance, and not of the spoils only which he had taken in war. 2. He proves that there is no express text that Jacob did actually perform his vow of paying tythe of all his substance Gen. xxviii. 22. though his character is sufficient to ground a belief that he did it. 3. He vindicates the Septuagint version of that noted text Gen. iv. 7. ἐκ ἀν ὀρθῶς προσένεγκεις ὀρθῶς δὲ μὴ διελεὶς ἥμαρτες, ἡσύχαζον. *If thou offer rightly, and divide not rightly, thou hast sinned, hold thy peace.* By which is designed a defect in the *quota pars* of Cain's sacrifice, and consequently a proof of Abel's sacrifice being acceptable by the *quota pars*. Whence he says there was yet a respect had to the quantity. In the 2d chapter, he shews that first-fruits were not by the Jews confined to these only, wheat, barley, figs, grapes, olives, pomegranates, and dates, but extended to honey, and all other fruits in general, and that not in what quantity the owner would, but in a certain defined portion; and here he charges Selden with stealing the notion from Joseph Scaliger. In the 3d chapter he proves that the practice of paying tythes to the Gods among the Heathens was universal, that the original of this practice could never yet be discovered, and thence infers that it took it's root from reason and nature. It is observable, that in this book our author quotes passages from manuscript copies in his own possession, not then extant in print, which confirms what has been said, that he was at a great expence in maintaining scholars beyond seas to procure him manuscripts; but that upon his death his chaplain Millicent turning Jesuit, carried them all away (13).

(13) From the register of King's college in Cambridge.

[*E*] *Three propositions.*] These are, (1.) 'If any 'Papist living can prove unto me, that the present 'Roman Church is either the Catholic Church, or a 'sound member of the Catholic Church, I will subscribe. (2.) If any Papist living can prove unto me, 'that the present Church of England, is not a true 'member of the Catholic Church, I will subscribe. (3.) 'If any Papist can prove to me, that all those points, 'or any one of those points which the Church of 'Rome maintaineth against the Church of England 'were, or was, the perpetual doctrine of the Catholic 'Church, the concluded doctrine of the representative Church in any General Council, or National approved by a General, or the dogmatical resolution 'of any one Father for 500 years after Christ, I will 'subscribe.'

[*F*] *Some tenets therein advanced*] Those relating to Arminianism were what is well known by the name of the five points in the Quinquarticular Controversy. Those touching Popery were, 1. That the Church representative cannot err, p. 45. 2. That the Fathers did not any way fail, nor did darkness possess their clear understandings, chap. viii. p. 113. 3. He calleth the doctrine of the invisibility of the Church, a private opinion, no doctrinal decision of the Protestants. 4. That the Bishop of Rome personally is not Antichrist, nor yet the Bishops of Rome successively are that Antichrist *magnus ille Antichristus*. 5. That a sinner is justified, when he is made just, that is translated from a state of nature to a state of grace, which act is motion, as they speak, between two terms, consisting in forgiveness of sins primarily, and grace infused secondarily, in which doctrine of justification, he accordeth fully with the council of Trent, Sess. vi. Chap. 37, and contradicteth the doctrine of the Church of England in the book of Homilies, sermon of salvation, and all other reformed Churches. 6. He so extends *meritum ex condigno*, that he would make men believe there is no material difference betwixt us and the Papists, in this point. 7. That touching evangelical councils he saith, 'I know no doctrine 'of our English Church against them.' 8. That howsoever, in words he denieth *limbus patrum*. Yet thus he writeth, 'The Patriarchs, Prophets, and Fathers, 'that lived and died before Christ, the scripture 'resolveth they were not there, where now they are, 'in the highest heavens, there where the glorified 'body of Christ is now residing, at the right hand of 'God,' chap. xli. p. 277. 9. Touching images he writeth thus: 'Images have three uses assigned by 'your schools, stay there, go no farther, and we 'charge you not with idolatry. *Institutionem rudium, 'commonefactionem historiæ, & excitationem devotionis,* 'you and we also give unto them, chap. xliii. p. '300, 301. Images, in Gregory's time, were very 'much improved to be books for the simple and ig'norant people; hold you there, and we blame you 'not;' and a little after, 'images are not utterly 'unlawful unto Christians in all manner of religious 'imployment. The pictures of Christ, the blessed 'Virgin, and Saints, may be made, and had in 'houses, and set up in churches. The Protestants 'have them, they despight them not; respect and 'honour may be given unto them. The Protestants 'do it, and use them for helps of piety;' which directly contradicteth the doctrine of the Church of England in the book of Homilies. 10. Of signing our children only in baptisme with the sign of the cross, he speaketh very superstitiously. 'We use signing with 'the sign of the cross, both on the forehead, and 'elsewhere. Caro signatur ut anima muniatur, said 'Tertullian, and so we. Chap. 46. he citeth and 'approveth the testimony of one of them, (v. Atha'nasius de Incarn. verbi, p. 61).' By the sign of the cross of Christ all magic spells are disappointed, witchcraft and sorcery cometh to nothing; all idols are confounded and forsaken. 'He professeth, that 'he knoweth no cause of such distraction and dis'affection betwixt us and the Papists, for the reverent 'use of signing with the sign of the cross.' Chap. viii. p. 60. He saith, 'Joshua prevailed against Amalek 'through the sign of the cross, rather than by the 'sword.' 11. Of the sacrament of the Lord's supper, he writeth very popishly; for first he calleth the supper of the Lord, in express terms, *the sacrament of the altar*, and afterwards more fully. 'But that you 'were bred up, says he, in a faction, otherwise you 'would acknowledge there need be no difference be'twixt the Papists and us in the point of real pre'sence,' p. 253, and again, 'no man denieth a 'change, an alteration, a transmutation, a transele'mentation, as they speak.' 12. Touching confession, 'we require, says he, men to make special confession, 'if they find their consciences troubled with any mat'ter, either when they be sick, or before receiving of 'the Lord's supper,' his words are, in the case of perplexity,

Calvinistical puritans, that two of the most zealous preachers (*l*) in that way at Ipswich drew up several articles, charging him with Popery and Arminianism, in order to present them to the Parliament. But our author having procured a copy of that paper (*m*), with an information of their design, immediately applied to the King for protection; who gave him leave to appeal to himself, and also to print his defence (*n*), if Dr White, Dean of Carlisle, should approve (*o*) his doctrine, as agreeable to that of the Church of England. Under these cautions, his famous treatise, entitled, *Appello Cæsarem* [*G*], or a *Just Appeal from two unjust Informers*, was published in 1625, soon after the accession of King Charles the First to the throne. But the Calvinistical principles being still warmly espoused, his book was taken under examination by the House of Commons, and several proceedings there were held against him in the two first Parliaments of that reign [*H*]. The

(*l*) Mr Ward and Mr Yates. See Appello Cæsarem, passim.

(*m*) Ibid. p. 115.

(*n*) Ibid. in the dedication.

(*o*) Dr White's Approbation is prefixed to it.

plexity, for the quieting of men disturbed in their consciences. 13. He taketh no exception to his adversary for calling it [ordination] the sacrament of holy orders. But denieth our Church to hold any such opinion, as that no inferior grace is given by imposition of hands in the sacrament of holy orders, chap. xxviii. p. 269. 14. Touching the power of the Priest to forgive sins, ' this is the doctrine, faith he, ' of our communion book and the practice of our ' Church accordingly, not only that the Priests have ' power not only to pronounce but to give remission of ' sins, chap. xi. p. 78, 79; and it is confessed, that ' all priests, and none but priests have power to for- ' give sins.'

[*G*] *Appello Cæsarem.*] In this defence he explains himself upon each of the articles charged against him, in such a manner as is consonant to the present received doctrine of the Church of England; unless we except, that as to his private practice of signing with the cross occasionally, he uses it not only as a proper part of devotion, but as attended with extraordinary assistances which himself had experimentally found. 'What ' then, (are his words) if upon divers extremities I ' have found ease and remedy by saying that ejacula- ' tory prayer of our Litany *per crucem*, &c, by thy ' cross—and when I said it, what, if to testify my ' faith, I made the sign of the cross. By thy passion ' good Lord deliver us.' ch. xxvii. p. 280, 281. In the entrance to the second part of the book, he observes (14), That these opinions of his were not the things which offended them, or moved them to repeat their calumnies. ' *Hæc autem est illa Helena*: this is ' that Helen [the cause of all their quarrel]: where- ' as the Puritans were wont to be shrowded under the ' covert of the Church of England, and to vent, pub- ' lish, and tender, their many idle dreams, fancies, and ' fairies, into the world, under pretext of the doctrine ' of our Church, and our opposites of the Romish side ' did accordingly charge our Church with them; Mr ' Mountagu, out of just indignation against that open ' wrong and injury done unto his mother, as he ' doth assuredly hope to the good service of his Maje- ' sty and the Church, hath disbanded them from their ' shelter, taken them off from colluding under the ' Church's protection, and sent them to their own ' home, to shrowd there if they could, and to answer ' for themselves, to make good their own cause by ' and of themselves; and likewise hath asserted the ' Church unto her own true tenets natural and pro- ' per, unto that doctrine which is publickly determined ' and authorized in her authentic records, to the high ' displeasure, no doubt, and distaste, of such a potent ' over-weaning faction as they are. *Hinc*, says he, ' *mihi sola mali labes*; This is the ground of all the ' Popery and Arminianism with which I am char- ' ged.'

(14) Chap. i. p. 114.

[*H*] *Proceedings against him in the two first Parliaments of King Charles the First.*] In the first, he was ordered on the 7th of July, to appear before the House that day sevennight. When being brought to the bar, the Speaker told him, it was the pleasure of the House, that the censure of his book should be postponed for some time, but that in the interim he should be committed to the custody of the Serjeant at Arms: and he was afterwards obliged to give a bond of two thousand pounds for his appearance the next session. Before their dissolution at Oxford, a bill was brought into the House against heresy and false doctrine, and to receive and establish the decrees of the Synod of Dort as part of the doctrine of the Church of England (15). Accordingly, in the ensuing Parliament in 1626, the Committee for religion having made a report on the 18th of April of several of his opinions, which they called erroneous, the following articles were drawn up against him. After a preamble containing the charge in general from his three books, *An Answer to the late Gagg of the Protestants*, *A Treatise of the Invocation of Saints*, and *Appello Cæsarem*, as contrary to the articles of 1562. ' It begins thus: Article 1. Whereas, in the 35th of ' the articles abovementioned, it is declared that the ' second book of Homilies doth contain a godly and ' wholsome doctrine, in the tenth homily of which ' book it is determined that the Church of Rome, as it ' is at present, and hath been for the space of nine ' hundred years and upwards, is so far gone from the ' nature of a true Church, that nothing can be more; ' he the said R. Mountagu in several places of his said ' book, called An Answer to the Gagger, ch. v. p. ' 49. and in his other book called Appello, &c. doth ' advisedly mayntayne and affirm, that the Church of ' Rome is, and ever was a true Church since it was a ' Church. Article 2. Whereas in the said homily it ' is likewise declared, that the Church of Rome is not ' built upon the foundation of the Prophets and Apo- ' stles; and in 28th of the said articles, that transub- ' stantiation overthroweth the nature of a sacrament; ' and in the 25th of the said articles, that five other ' reputed sacraments of the Church of Rome are not ' to be accounted sacraments: yet, contrary, and re- ' pugnant hereunto, he the said Richard Mountagu doth ' mayntayne and affirm in his book aforesaid, called ' the Answer to the Gagg, p. 50. that the Church ' of Rome hath ever remained firm upon the same ' foundation of sacraments and doctrine instituted by ' God. Article 3. Thirdly, in the 19th of the same ' articles, it is further determined, that the Church of ' Rome hath erred not only in their use and manner ' of ceremonies, but also in matter of faith. He, the ' said Richard Mountagu, speaking of those points ' which belong to faith and manners, hope and chari- ' ty, doth in the same book, called the Gagger, p. 14. ' affirme and mayntayne, that none of those are contro- ' verted *inter partes*, meaning the Protestants and the ' Papists; and that notwithstanding, in the 34th arti- ' cle it is resolved, that the sacrifices of Moses, in ' which, as is commonly said, that the Priests did offer ' Christ for the quick and dead, to have remission of ' pain and guilt too, are blasphemous follies and dan- ' gerous deceipts: This being one of the points con- ' troverted between the Church of England and the ' Church of Rome; the said Richard Mountagu, in ' his book called the Gagger, p. 14, doth affirm and ' mayntayne, that the controverted points are of a less ' and inferior allay; of them a man may be ignorant ' without any danger of his salvation; a man may ' resolve, or oppose this, or that, or any, without pe- ' ril of perishing for ever. Article 4. Whereas, in the ' third homily, intituled, Against peril of Idolatry, it ' is declared, that images read no good lesson neither ' of God nor godliness, but all error and wickedness; ' he, the said Richard, in the book aforesaid, called, ' the Answer to the late Gagger, p. 38, doth affirm ' and mayntayne, that images may be used for the in- ' struction of the ignorant, and excitation of devotion. ' Article 5. That in the same it is plainly expressed, ' that the attributing the defence of some countries to ' Saints, is a spoiling God of his honour, and that such ' Saints are but *as Dii Tutelares* of the Gentile idola- ' ters, the said Richard Mountagu, hath, notwith- ' standing, in the book aforementioned, affirmed and ' mayntayned, that saints have not only a memory, ' but a more peculiar charge of their friends, and that ' it may be admitted, that some saints have a peculiar ' patronage, custody, protection, and power, as angels ' also have over certain persons and countries, by espe- ' cial deputation, and that it is no impietie so to be- ' lieve.

(15) See Register of the House of Commons. The bill did not pass by reason of the dissolution of that Parliament. And therefore in his Appeal our author says, Who bound me to defend the decrees of that [Dort] synod. Hath Prince, or Parliament, or Convocation, edict, statute, or canon? I know none, I have heard of none, nor ever shall I hope. Appeal, ch. xi. p. 107.

The divines also publiſhed a great number of anſwers thereto [*I*]. However, he found means

'lieve. Article 6. Whereas, in the 17th of the ſaid 'articles, it is reſolved, that God doth conſtantly de- 'cree, by his counſel, ſecret to us, to deliver from 'hell and damnation, thoſe whom he hath choſen in 'Chriſt out of mankind, and to bring them by Chriſt 'to everlaſting ſalvation. Wherefore, they which be 'indued with ſo excellent benefit of God, be called 'according to God's purpoſe working in due ſeaſon. 'They by grace obey the calling. They be juſtified 'freely, perſevering in good works, and at length, 'by God's mercy, attain to everlaſting felicitie. He, 'the ſaid Richard Mountagu, in the book aforeſaid, 'called the Appeal, p. 30, doth affirme and mayn- 'tayne, that men juſtified may fall away and depart 'from that ſtate which once they had, they may riſe 'again and become new men poſſibly, but not cer- 'tainly nor neceſſarily; and the better to countenance 'this his opinion, he hath, in the ſaid book, wilfully 'added, falſified, and changed divers words of the 'tenth of the articles aforementioned, and divers other 'words, both in the book of Homilies, and in the book 'of Common-Prayer; and all the ſame places ſo miſ- 'recited and changed he doth alledge in his ſaid 'book, called the Appeal, p 29, 31, 32, and 35; en- 'deavouring thereby, to lay a moſt wicked and mali- 'cious ſlander upon the Church of England, as if it 'did herein differ from the reformed Church of Ireland, 'and thoſe beyond the ſeas; and did conſent to thoſe 'pernicious errors, which are commonly called Armi 'nianiſme, and which the late famous Princeſſe Queen 'Elizabeth, and King James of happie memorie, did 'ſo piouſly and diligently labour to ſuppreſs. Item, 'That the ſaid Richard Mountagu, contrary to his duty 'and allegiance, hath endeavoured to raiſe great fac- 'tions and diviſions in the common weale, by caſting 'the odious and ſcandalous name of Puritans upon 'ſuch of his Majeſty's loving ſubjects as conform them- 'ſelves to the doctrine and ceremonies of the Church 'of England under that name, laying upon them di- 'vers falſe and malicious imputations, ſo to bring them 'into diſtaſte and diſpleaſure with his moſt excellent 'Majeſty, and into reproach and ignominie with the 'reſt of the people, to the great danger of ſedition 'and diſturbance in the ſtate if it be not timely pre- 'vented. Item, The ſcope and end of the ſaid 'Richard Mountagu in the books aforementioned, is to 'give encouragement to Popery, and to withdraw his 'Majeſty's ſubjects from the true religion eſtabliſhed, 'to the Roman ſuperſtition; and conſequently, to be 'reconciled to the ſee of Rome. All which, he la- 'boureth, by ſubtle and cunning wayes; whereby 'God's true religion hath been much ſcandalized; 'and theſe miſchiefs introduced, which the wiſdom of 'many laws hath endeavoured to prevent, to the great 'peril and hazard of our ſovereign Lord the King, 'and of all his dominions and loving ſubjects. Laſtly, 'that the aforeſaid Richard Mountagu hath, in the 'aforeſaid book called the Appeal, divers paſſages diſ- 'honourable to the late King his Majeſty's father, of 'famous memorie; full of bitterneſs, rayling, and in- 'jurious to ſeveral other perſons; diſgraceful and con- 'temptuous to many worthy Divines, both of this 'Church of England, and other reformed Churches 'beyond the ſeas; impious and profane in ſcoffing at 'preaching, meditating, conferring, pulpits, lectures, 'bibles, and all ſhew of religion: all which do aggra- 'vate his former offences, as having proceeded from 'malicious and envenomed hate againſt the peace of 'this Church, and ſinceritie of the reformed religion 'publickly profeſſed, and by law eſtabliſhed in this 'kingdom.

'All which offences being to the high diſhonour of 'Almighty God, and of moſt miſchievous effect and 'conſequence againſt the good of his Church and com- 'mon weale of England, and of all his Majeſty's 'realms and dominions. The Commons aſſembled in 'Parliament do hereby pray, that the ſaid Richard 'Mountagu may be puniſhed according to his deme- 'rits, in that exemplary manner as may deter others 'from attempting ſo preſumptuouſly to diſturb the 'peace of Church and State, and that the books afore- 'ſaid may be ſuppreſſed and burnt.'

[*I*] *Several anſwers.*] Theſe were Dr Sutcliffe, Dean of Exeter; Dr Good and Dr Featly, Chaplains to Archbiſhop Abbot; Mr Burton, Mr Yates, Mr Wotton, Mr Rouſe, Provoſt of Eton, and Mr William Prynne*; but eſpecially Dr George Carleton, Biſhop of Chicheſter. This learned author having been one of the Engliſh Divines who aſſiſted at the Synod of Dort, thought it neceſſary to defend himſelf from ſome charges laid againſt him for his conduct therein. For inſtance, our author, in p. 30, of his Appeal, had ſaid, the Synod of Dort was foreign to us, and but partial. 'I ſee, ſays he, no reaſon why any of the 'Divines of our Church ſhould take any offence at my 'diſſenting, who had no authority as I know of, to 'conclude me, more than I do at them from differing 'from me in their judgments, *quiſque abundet in ſenſu* '*ſuo*, let every man fully enjoy his own opinion.' But afterwards he obſerves, that 'the diſcipline of our 'Church in that and other Dutch Synods is held un- 'lawful;' for which he cites Harm. on the Belgic Synods, cap 13, canon 8. '*What ends*, continues he, '*men had in that Synod I know not, nor am curious to* '*enquire; how things were carried, I as little under-* '*ſtand or care. Whether any or all ſubſcribed abſolute-* '*ly or with proteſtation, I cannot tell; let them look to* '*it, and anſwer for it, whom it doth concern. This I* '*am ſure, John Diodati, Miniſter and Profeſſor of the* '*church of Geneva, and employed unto that Synod, but* '*lately with me at Eton, profeſſed there his own opi-* '*nion, in ſome points, contrary to the concluſions at* '*Dort.*' Again, p. 42, he ſays, 'Thoſe claſſical pro- 'jects, conſiſtorial practices, conventual deſigns, and 'prophetical ſpeculations of the zealous brethren in 'this land [viz. Holland] do γυμνῆ τῆ κεφαλῆ aim 'at anarchy and confuſion, dangerous indeed to Prince 'and People.' In anſwer to this, Dr Carleton clears himſelf † from being a claſſical Puritan, and takes occaſion from our author's having called them the dangerous opinions of the Netherlands; to declare in their behalf, that touching the point of their diſcipline, he could witneſs that their Miniſters were weary of it, and would gladly be freed if they could.—And 'ſomewhat I can ſay, proceeds the Biſhop, of mine own 'knowledge, for I had conference with divers of the beſt 'learned in that Synod: I told them, that the cauſe of 'all their troubles was this, that they had not Biſhops 'among them, who by their authority might repreſs 'turbulent ſpirits, that broached novelties. Their an- 'ſwer was, that they did much honour and reverence 'the good order and diſcipline of the Church of Eng- 'land, and with all their hearts would be glad to have 'it eſtabliſhed amongſt them, but that could not be 'hoped for in their ſtate. Their hope was, that ſee- 'ing they could not have what they deſired, God 'would be merciful to them, if they did what they 'could. This was their anſwer, which I think is 'enough to excuſe them, that they do not openly aim 'at anarchy and popular confuſion. The truth is, 'they groan under the burden, and would be eaſed if 'they could. This is well known to the reſt of my 'aſſociates there, who have alſo conferred privately 'with divers of the moſt eminent and learned among 'them, p. 198 to 200.' In conſequence of this, there was publiſhed the ſame year, 1626, a ſecond edition of the Biſhop's book, with a piece annexed, intituled, A joint Atteſtation, avowing, that the Diſcipline of the Church of England was not impeached by the Synod of Dort (16). Wherein it is acknowledged, which indeed had been inſinuated by our author, that they entered no proteſtation againſt the diſcipline of the Dutch Church, which they endeavour to excuſe; alledging, That when the Belgic confeſſion of 1550, was recommended for their eſtabliſhment, and came under examination before the Synod, a proteſtation was made by the Preſident, that nothing but the doctrinal points were to be ſubjected to their conſideration and ſuffrages, and all the articles concerning diſcipline were accordingly ſuppreſſed in the reading of the Confeſſion to the Synod. 2. That they were ſent thither to endeavour the peace of that Church, by expreſſing their judgments in the points there already controverted. That they had no inſtructions from his Majeſty to meddle with the diſcipline, beſides, there was no hope or poſſibility of prevailing in that part. 3. That in giving their ſuffrages concerning the doctrine comprized in the Confeſſion, they added an expreſs exception againſt the ſuppreſſed articles, with ſome touch alſo of argument upon them, to which exception not one word was anſwered

* Dr Fuller gives the following account of theſe anſwers: Dr Sutcliffe is ſaid to have chid moſt heartily, Mr Rouſe moſt honeſtly, Mr Burton wrote plainly, Biſhop Carleton very piouſly, Mr Yates learnedly, and Mr Wotton moſt ſolidly.

† His piece is intitled, An Examination of thoſe Things, wherein the author of the late Appeale holdeth the doctrines of the Pelagians and Arminians to be the doctrines of the Church of England.

(16) It is ſigned Georgius Ciceſtrienſis, Epiſc. Johannes Sariſburienſis Epiſc. Gualterus Bacanquel, Decan. Roff. Sam. Ward, Reg. Prof. Theolog. in Acad. Cantab. & Coll. Sydney Præfect. Tho. Goad, Sacræ Theolog. Doctor.

means to defeat the attempts of all his opponents [K]; and, upon the death of one of them, Dr George Carleton, Bishop of Chichester, in 1628, he was nominated by his Majesty to that see. In which he was confirmed (though not without an extraordinary opposition) [L] on Friday August 22d, that year (p), and consecrated the Sunday following.

(p) See the proceedings against him in Bow-church, in a piece intituled, Antimontacutium, edit. Edinb. 1629. He was elected on the 24th of July, for which, and the time of his consecration, see Le Neve's Fasti, p. 59.

answered by any of the synodiques, or strangers, or Provincials. 4. That the course there taken for the manner of delivering their judgments was not (as in the five questions controverted) by subscription, but only by vocal suffrage, which gave no opportunity of putting in a written protestation; after which they proceed in these words: Peradventure some hot spirits would not have rested in a formal recorded protestation neither, but would have charged the Churches to blot those articles out of their confession, and forthwith to reform their government, otherwise not have yielded approbation to any article of doctrine as there comprized, but renounced the Synod, and shaken off from his feet the dust of Dort, saying, *I have nothing to do with your conclusions, I have no part or portion in them; what ends you have, how things are carried, I cannot tell, nor care.* But here the question naturally occurs, What reason was there given for so different a manner of proceeding in this part of the Belgic Confession from that of the five controverted articles? did not the reason for it appear evidently the next year, when the acts of the Synod were published in print? wherein, among other particulars, the Belgic Confession is at large set down in thirty-seven articles, i. e. with the three article concerning the discipline received in those Churches. Is not this a sufficient warrant for our author's remark, That the Synod of Dort, in some points condemneth, upon the bye, even the discipline of the Church of England (17). Does it not thereby appear that that distressed Church, in the midst of her distractions about matters of doctrine, was so wily in her interests, as to make a sinister use of her neighbour's honest assistance and dulness of apprehension. Was Mr Mountagu the only one, who, upon view of the Synodical acts, judged the presumption in law was against them? and that a purgation was necessary to clear them herein, appears from their attestation, that the manner of examining and judging of the Belgic Confession is not set down in the printed acts, so particularly as they could have wished, and would have provided for, if they had been acquainted with any intent of their publication; and why do they call upon Mr Mountagu to retract what he had written, but upon the justice of what his censure remarks. The imputation had of late been farther by the bye grated on, and they had been upbraided in the audience of divers personages of note, whose opinion they had great cause to respect. As to John Diodati, Dr Carleton says, that all the English Divines that were at Dort, believe it to be untrue, and give this reason for it, because they hold Diodati for an honest man; and to put this matter, continues he, out of doubt, Diodati himself hath written to a learned and reverend Bishop of our Church, protesting that he never spake any thing as the author of the Appeal imposeth upon him, touching the Confession of the Synod (18). But Diodati's character is not so unexceptionable as these Divines judged. Cooke the Sollicitor, in passing sentence against King Charles the First, declared, that Diodati of Geneva told him, he heard the King say, *That Christ in the Gospel commands us to forgive our enemies, but not our friends*; which yet Diodati afterwards denied (19). To conclude, our author's Appeal was translated into Latin, and sent beyond sea, where it was condemned by the reformed Churches of Geneva and France, and the ecclesiastical states of Germany and the Netherlands: and in the Church of Scotland, his books, we are told, were had in so much hatred, that they were held fit only to stop mustard pots (20).

(17) The three Bishops, in their letter to the Duke of Bucks, cited in the next remark, write thus: 'Our hope is, that the Church of England will be well advised, and more than once over, before she admit a foreign synod, especially of such a Church as condemneth her discipline and manner of government, to say no more.'

(18) Examination, &c. p. 230.

(19) Scrivener's Canons of Divinity, in the entrance, fol. 3. Lond. 1674, fol.

(20) See a piece intituled Anti-montacutium: or, An Appeal or Remonstrance of the Orthodox Ministers of the Church of England, against R. M. clerke, lately made Bishop of Chichester, p. 3 and 33. Edinb. 1629, 4to.

[K] *He got the better of all his enemies.*] The King was displeased with the first proceedings of the Parliament against him, and to procure his Majesty's farther favour, he applied to the Duke of Buckingham in the following letter:

'May it please your Grace,

'Your Highness vouchsafed at Windsor to let me 'understand that his Majesty, my gracious master and 'soveraign, had taken me off from that trouble and 'vexation, which by some men's procurement I was 'put unto, in the House of Commons. They, as I 'understand, think not so. But intend to proceed 'against me so far as they can, as having returned his 'Majesty no other answer, but that I was freed from 'imprisonment. It is true, that besides twenty pounds, 'which the Serjeant had of me, by exaction for fees, 'they bound me unto him in a bond of 2000 *l.* to ap'pear before them the next sessions. I beseech your 'Grace, that as you have been pleased to tye me unto 'your excellent not only self, but also most honour'able sister, in that bond of obligation, as never was 'poor scholar to such worthies; so you would be 'pleased to let his Majesty understand the case, that 'by your means I may be absolutely discharged, with 'the deliverie of my bond from them, whom I never 'offended, who under correction, have nothing to do 'with me (21); and as his Majesty's servant be left 'unto himself, especially for that which was authoriz'ed by himself, and commanded by his father my late 'master of ever blessed memory. If his Majesty will 'be pleased to call for their accusations against me, if 'I don't really and thoroughly answer whatsoever is 'or can be imputed to me out of my books. I will no 'further desire favour and protection of his Majestie, 'and your gracious self, but be willingly left unto my 'enemies. I must crave pardon for presuming thus to 'trouble your Grace, the rather, because thro' a griev'ous affliction of the colic and stone, I am not able 'personally to attend your Grace, whom according 'unto my most bounden dutie, I dailie recommend 'unto the Almightie, being more obliged unto your 'noble self than ever to any one. So remaining

'Most humbly at your Grace's service,

Petworth,
29 July. 'Ri. Mountagu.'

(21) The three Bishops, in the letter mentioned below, assert, that the Church never submitted to any other Judge but the Kings and the Convocation; neither, indeed, say they, can she, though she would.

This was seconded by another letter to the Duke from Laud, then Bishop of St Davids, and the Bishops of Oxford and Rochester; dated August 2d, 1625: wherein they declare Mountagu's doctrine to be that of the Church of England They observe, that his Majesty had already taken the business into his own care, and referred it in a right course to Church consideration, concluding thus: 'These things considered, 'we have little to say for Mr Montagu's person, only 'thus much we know, he is a very good scholar, and 'a right honest man, a man every way able to do God, 'his Majestie, and the Church of England good ser'vice. We fear he may receive great discouragement, 'and, which is far worse, we have some cause to doubt 'this may breed a great backwardness in able men to 'write in defence of the Church of England against 'either home or foreign adversaries, if they shall see 'him sink in fortune, reputation, or health, upon his 'book's occasion (22).'

(22) Both these letters are printed in the Cabala.

[L] *Though not without some difficulty.*] Having sued out his *Conge d'elire*, proclamation was made in August as usual, at the church of Bow, eight days before the consecration. In the mean time, one William Jones a Stationer, took counsel, and got objections drawn by an Advocate in the Arches, which objections were extracted out of the aforenamed articles, exhibited against our author in Parliament. Upon Friday, the 22d day of August, when the elect Bishop came to Bow church to be confirmed, proclamation being again read by the Beadle of the Arches three times, in these words: All manner of persons, that can, or will, object against the person of the worshipful Richard Mountagu, Bachelor of Divinity, and Parson of Petworth, elected Lord Bishop of Chichester, the form of his election, or the party elected, let them now speak and object in due forme of law, and they shall be heard, otherwise they shall be precluded. Hereupon, Jones (23) said, with an audible voice, three times, I object against him, and here are my objections in due form of law, and so presented his objections to Dr Ryves, the substituted judge for the business, who taking the paper, seemed to read it over, and then delivered it to the Bishop elect, who seemed also to read it silently, when returning the paper,

(23) Col[illegible], one Mr Humphries joined with Jones in the Exceptions. Eccles. Hist. Part II. B. ix. p. 745.

lowing at Croydon. He was allowed to hold the rectory of Petworth, of which he had been possessed some years (*q*), in commendam (*r*); and having obtained a special pardon from his Majesty [*M*], he applied himself closely to his favourite study of Church Antiquities, and first published his *Originum Ecclesiasticarum Apparatus* at Oxford, 1635; which was followed in 1636, by his *Originum Ecclesiasticarum, tomus primus*. In 1638, upon the promotion of Dr Matthew Wren to Ely, our author was translated to Norwich (*s*). He came to this see with the ill effects of a quartan ague, with which he had been afflicted above a year and a half; and under this disorder he still continued his studies, and, in 1640, published his *Originum Ecclesiasticarum, pars posterior* [*N*]: but the ague put an end to his life April 13th the following year. His body was interred in the choir of the cathedral of Norwich, where is this inscription on his grave-stone, *Depositum Montacutii Episcopi* (*t*). After his death was published a posthumous piece, in 1642, fol. intitled, *The Acts and Monuments of the Church before Christ incarnate*, with a dedication to Jesus Christ in Latin, written by himself; and, in 1651, came out another piece of his, intitled, *Versio & Notæ in Photii Epistolas*. The character of his genius is evidently seen in his Works. His admirable learning was confessed by his enemies (*u*), but his fondness for the Fathers led him (as might be expected) into several, and some even (as now appear) childish, mistakes (*w*). What he chiefly deserves to be remembred for is, the great hand which he had in rooting up the Dort doctrine upon the Quinquarticular controversy out of the Church of England; which, as Heylin observes (*x*), neither Laud, Howson, nor Corbet, could bring to pass, none of them being able to break through those difficulties which opposed, 'till Mountagu took the work in hand; who being well backed, and having the ice somewhat broke before him, waded with confidence and courage through the midst of those waters (*y*).

(*q*) Probably from 1624 or 1625 at furthest. In his Diatribe he speaks of Stamford-Rivers as his only parish; and his letter to the Duke of Bucks in rem. [*K*], shews he had Petworth in 1625. He was succeeded at Stamford-Rivers by the famous Dr Roger Manwaring. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1141.'

(*r*) See the proclamation for his confirmation in rem. [*L*], where he is called Parson of Petworth.

(*s*) He was elected May 4 that year. Le Neve's Fasti, p. 212. and Wood, ubi supra.

(*t*) Wood, ubi supra. He was succeeded in Chichester and Petworth rectory by Dr Bryan Duppa. Id. Vol. II. col. 270.

(*u*) See Selden de Dis Syris, p. 362.

(*w*) A glaring instance thereof is what he relates of the Sibyls, in the third chapter of his Acts and monuments.

(*x*) History of Archbishop Laud, p. 126.

(*y*) These are the three Bishops, who jointly wrote in favour of our author to the Duke of Bucks. See rem. [*K*].

paper, the Judge called one Dr Sammes of the Arches, advising what to do, who told him, he would incur a *præmunire*, if he did not proceed. Whereupon he gave Jones the objector an answer to this effect. My friend, you have given here objections against this my Lord elect of Chichester, but your objections are not in due form of law, because they have not a Doctor of the Arches's hand to them, neither have you an Advocate to plead your objections (24): Therefore, nevertheless, by virtue of this his Majesty's commission, under the great seal (which he took in his hand and turned) I will proceed to confirm him, and so did. After which, the new confirmed Bishop said to this effect; That he himself had subscribed to the book of articles and the book of Homilies, and all other books of conformitie to the Church of England, and that if any whosoever could publickly or privately confute those his books, he would be the first man that should cause those his books to be burnt. To which the Judge answered, You have well said, my Lord; and he also said, that the objections were nothing but the blattering of a tradesman (25), who was too busy to meddle with such high mysteries of Divinity, but indeed it was the disease of the times for mechanical tradesmen so to do. This account is not contradicted by the Register of Canterbury, who mentions no particulars in the exceptions, but that Dr Ryves, the substitute for the Vicar general, declined to take any notice of them, concluding Jones among the contumacious, *quod nullo modo legitime comparuit, nec aliquid in hac parte juxta juris exigentiam diceret, exciperet, vel opponeret*. As cases of this kind very rarely occur, we thought proper to insert so much of the process for the satisfaction of the curious in these matters (26). It is remarked by the author of *Antimontacutium*, 'That after his Lordship's consecration, the following Sunday, at Croydon, while he was at dinner with the Archbishop, news was brought to his Grace, that the Duke of Buckingham was stabbed at Portsmouth the Saturday before, which, as he was Mountagu's potent patron, did, for the time, help to marr his writings (27).'

[*M*] *His Majesty's pardon.*] The form of this pardon was like those given at a coronation, only there were inserted some particulars for the pardoning of all errors heretofore committed, either in speaking, writing, or publishing; whereby he might hereafter be questioned. This account we have from Dr Fuller, who tells us (28) also, that our new Bishop thought of addressing his Majesty for this pardon upon Jones's attempt against his confirmation.

[*N*] *The Origines.*] The late Dr Waterland writing of the sacrificial part of the Eucharist, observes, that our Bishop, in the second tome of his Origines, p. 301 and 234, understood the whole action or memorial service to be a true and real sacrifice, as he was a great admirer of antiquity, he had no regard to the new definitions, but referred his antagonists to St Austin for correction and better instruction (29). However, it must be owned that he did not always use that way of speaking of this sacrifice, for in his Appeal, lib. xxix. where he defends his expression in calling the Lord's Supper the sacrament of the altar, he declares it a spiritual one, a sacrifice, not propitiatory, not an external, visible, true, and proper sacrifice, but only representative, commemorative, and figurative sacrifice (30); and says, as to his professed regard to antiquity, I have used the phrase of altar for the communion table, according to the manner of antiquity, and am like sometimes to use it still. P

(24) Dr Fuller says, that Jones answered, he could not get any Proctor to prefer his objections, and so was under a necessity of doing it *ore tenus*. Church History, B. ii. p. 132.

(25) In the preamble to the objections he is called *Literatus Stationarius Londinensis*.

(26) The whole is contained in Antimontacutium, &c.

(27) Ibid.

(28) Church Hist. ubi supra.

(29) Waterland of the Sacrament.

(30) Compare his Diatribe, p. 143, 144. where he takes in our self sacrifice, calling it the sacrifice of Christ's mystical body. Ibid. p. 358.

MOYLE [Walter], a polite writer in the XVIIth century, was son of Sir Walter Moyle, Knt. and born in 1672, at Bake, the seat of the family, near Loo in Cornwall. His disposition and talents for classical learning were early discovered by the great proficiency which he made at school, whence he was removed by his father first to Oxford, and afterwards to the Temple, in the usual course of a gentleman's education; and that was the use he made of the opportunities given him by it; for, whatever might be his father's intentions, he declined the drudgery, as he called it, of the Law lucrative (*a*). His easy fortune allowed him to pursue the natural bent of his genius; he therefore continued his application to the study of polite literature with great vigour and equal success, so that he quickly became acquainted with Mr Congreve, Wycherley, and others of the first characters in this branch of learning (*b*); and among these was particularly distinguished by the vivacity of his wit, and a ripeness of judgment above his years. Such a genius could not lie long without producing some proper fruits. A design being set on foot about the year 1695, to publish Lucian's Works, translated into English by several hands, Mr Moyle furnished a version of four discourses of that delicately difficult author (*c*), which

(*a*) Some Account of Mr Moyle and his Writings, prefixed to his Works published by himself, p. 3. Lond. 1727, 8vo.

(*b*) Ibid. p. 5. and Letters to and from Mr Moyle, p. 211, & seqq.

(*c*) They are printed among his Works. Ibid. p. 81, & seqq.

which were both correct and finely spirited [*A*]. But some time before this it seems he had taken a disgust to the Clergy (*d*). Their zeal was not warm enough in his opinion for the exigency of the juncture after the Revolution; and, as he always spoke very freely both of things and persons, whenever he thought the interest of his country nearly concerned, so he took this early occasion of letting the whole Order feel the tartness of his satire on that account [*B*]. The same year he obtained a seat in Parliament for the borough of Saltash in Cornwall (*e*); and, while he sat in the House of Commons, he constantly acted an honourable and disinterested part, but he had naturally no turn to business. Reading and study were his delight; and he had already advanced so far in this course, and was *so intent upon it, that he never had any relish for this new station [C]; and he seems to have avoided a second election [D]. Not long after this, Dr Charles d'Avenant* being engaged in writing his piece upon the trade and revenues of England, observed, that a translation of Xenophon's *Discourse upon improving the Revenues of the State of Athens*, prefixed to his performance, would greatly recommend it to the publick; in this view he applied to our author (*f*), who readily yielded to his friend's request [*E*], and the whole was published in 1697. He had for some years past fallen much into the conversation of Mr Trenchard, whose sentiments upon publick affairs agreeing with his own, there grew a kind of intimacy between them, and Mr Moyle became a fellow-writer with that gentleman in the argument against a standing army [*F*]. In the prosecution of the same design, to excite in his countrymen a spirit of liberty, he published next year *An Essay on the Lacedemonian Government* [*G*], which he addressed to his friend Anthony Hammond, Esq; In

(*d*) He imbibe[d] this disgust, b[y] conversing wit[h] some gentleme[n] at the Grecian coffee house ne[ar] the Middle-Temple. His Life, p. 5.

(*e*) Willis's Noti[tia] Parliamenta[ria], Vol. II, p. 80.

(*f*) His Life, p. 6.

[*A*] *Translation of four discourses of Lucian, &c.*] These translations did not appear in print 'till 1710, which year, the two first volumes of this undertaking were published. But Mr Moyle's performance is mentioned with a few others, in the Life of Lucian prefixed to the first volume, which we are assured was written by Mr Dryden in 1695, and the following year (1).

(1) See the dedication to the first volume, and the preface to the second.

[*B*] *The Clergy felt the tartness of his satire.*] It is introduced into the argument to Lucian on sacrifices, and is indeed a very picquant piece of raillery, in the manner and spirit of that author, as follows: 'This discourse, says he, is a general bold spirited satire upon all the heathen superstition; their gods, temples, altars, sacrifices, and the whole system of the Pagan worship. It is writ with an air and spirit peculiar to the happy genius of Lucian, and I have this only exception to it, that he seems to assign a wrong original of sacrifices, and to mistake folly and delusion in the people for design and knavery in the Priests. I am glad, for the honour of my religion, that the Pagan Priests are the reverse of ours, and that a satire upon them, is a panegyric upon the Clergy of our Church, whose unshaken firmness to their principles, zeal for the religion and liberty of their country, and a thousand other qualities, may justly secure them from all the groundless cavils of our modern sceptics, whose opinions no good man can allow, and no wise man will profess (2).'

(2) Works of Mr Moyle published by himself, p. 81, 82. edit. 1727, 8vo.

[*C*] *He had no relish for this station.*] Mr Hammond tells us, that in Parliament he attended particularly to such motions as tended to improve trade both foreign and domestic, the employment of the poor, and the manning of the navy. Upon this last article he proposed to have a competent number of seamen exempted, as well as members of Parliament, from personal arrests ‡, which seems to betray more zeal than knowledge for his country's service.

‡ Account of Mr Moyle and his Writings, p. 28 to 31.

[*D*] *He seems to have avoided a second election.*] Mr Hammond tells us indeed, that he came into Parliament some time after 1698; intimating, that he had not sat there before, both which are apparently mistakes. The truth is, he never was ambitious of this honour. While he was candidate for Saltash, his companions in town were entertaining themselves at the expence of a stupid Sussex Squire, who being fond of plays and poems, came up to town, as he said, to see the poets of the age, and was by some of them introduced among the Wits of Will's Coffee-house in Covent Garden, where they admitted him under the form of a poetical consecration, as a member of their society, by the nickname of John Abassus. Mr Congreve sent a humorous description of the ceremony to our author, who was so much delighted with it, that having in answer observed, that since the dubbing of Don Quixote, and the coronation of Petrarch in the Capitol, there had not been so great a solemnity as the consecration of John Abassus, &c. he expresses himself thus: 'Wycherley was in his kingdom, and for my part, I would rather have sat there, than in the House of Commons *.'

* Works of W. Moyle published by himself, p. 224, 225.

[*E*] *He readily yielded to his friend's request.*] This is intimated by Dr d'Avenant, who likewise assures his readers, that Xenophon has suffered nothing in this version, and it must be allowed, that the graceful ease of the original is clearly discerned in the copy (3). But there were several other reasons, besides the desire of obliging his friend, which concurred to excite Mr Moyle to this performance. First, Xenophon is the only ancient author now extant upon this subject. In the next place, that admirable maxim, that the true wealth and greatness of a nation consists in the numbers of people well employed, is every where inculcated throughout the whole course of the treatise. Lastly, he had here an opportunity of shewing the world a genius, which could not look into a subject without improving it. Diogenes Laërtius had placed Xenophon's death in the first year of the 105th Olympiad. This Mr Moyle shews to be a mistake, from an observation upon some passages in this treatise. Where it appears, that the Athenians had then concluded a peace with the islands, after the *bellum sociale*, which ended in the second year of the 106th Olympiad; whence it follows, that this discourse was written in the third year of that Olympiad, and consequently Xenophon's death could not happen sooner. To confirm this observation, our author takes notice, that it agrees with several other marks of Xenophon's age, particularly, with his being a young man at the expedition into Asia (4); a fact which has been since clearly proved by Mr Forster (5).

(3) Discourse upon the Trade and Revenues of England, p. 34, 35. Lond. 1697, 8vo.

(4) Letter to Dr Davenant prefixed, and Observations subjoined to the translation.

(5) In a dissertation prefixed to that treatise, translated into English by Mr Spelman.

[*F*] *In the argument against a standing army.*] It is well known, that the reasoning in this piece was the established test of patriotism for several years after. Our author's pen is particularly discovered in the dedication, which is addressed to the courtiers. The reader will find the application to be very warm, but the height of the distemper at that time, in his opinion, required such: the extravagant notion of a *Jus Divinum* and unlimited passive obedience must unavoidably end in slavery. 'Tis true, these principles are happily now no more; but do we not derive that happiness in some measure from Mr Moyle? is it not owing to the extirpation of these tenets, that we see at present such a standing army actually kept up, as is necessary for securing our property from the invasion of a common enemy, without endangering our liberties by an invasion from ourselves.

[*G*] *An Essay on the Lacedæmonian Government.*] In this piece our author observes, that the boundaries of prerogative and liberty were not then sufficiently settled with us. This he lays upon the Clergy, 'who, says he, for a great number of years have contributed to perplex the nation, and muddle the brains of the people about our English constitution. However, I do as freely own, continues he, they did their duty very well upon the Revolution; and whatever their theories were, they did at this crisis act rightly *per viam facti*, as the Civilians term it (6).' Thus he, with his usual ironical tartness; which would have lost it's true liquorish flavour, and have become palled and vapid by a mixture of candour, such as, That since the Clergy are allowed to act rightly, the fair inference is, that they did so in consequence of their real principles;

(6) Essay on the Lacedemonian Government, p. 62, 63. edit. 1727.

(g) Ibid. p. 21.

In reality, the cause of liberty lay much at his heart (g), and engaged him further in a close application to the study of the Roman history, which, in the year 1699, produced *An Essay upon the Constitution of that Government* [H]. In 1705, we find him employed in an enquiry into the age of the Philopatris, a dialogue commonly attributed to Lucian (h). In which he convinced Mr Dodwell, that Lucian was not, as he had asserted, the author of that discourse [I]. In the pursuit of this enquiry, he has likewise adjusted the true age of that witty sophist, which before was uncertain (i). In this last enquiry, he had occasion to look into the life of the Roman Emperor, Marcus Antoninus; and this led him into the examination of the miracle of the thundering legion, which happened in that Emperor's reign. He attacks the truth of the miracle [K], and has given such arguments for his opinion, as have not been hitherto sufficiently answered [L]; and that the Emperor continued to persecute the Christians after this event, as he had done before, is generally acknowledged to be proved by him beyond all reasonable contradiction [M]. However, in the prosecution of this subject, it must not be denied, that he has advanced some opinions which are not well grounded [N]; but these are such as do not affect the main question.

(h) Moyle's Posthumous Works, Vol. I. p. 285 to 364. edit. 1726, 8vo.

(i) By some notes of time observed in his Works, he fixed the 40th year of Lucian to the 164th year of Christ, and the 4th of Marcus Antoninus.

ples; the true state and spirit whereof, our author might not improbably misapprehend.

[H] *An Essay on the Constitution of that Government.*] Having sufficiently feasted his ill humour against the Clergy, on account of their state-principles, he proceeds in this essay, to attack their Church-principles. The institution of Numa furnished the opportunity, and he makes use of it to declare his opinion against multiplying articles of faith, and narrowing the bottom of religion, by clogging it with creeds and catechisms. In this temper he intimates his opinion in favour of an universal toleration of all sects and denominations of religion whatsoever; observing that this principle in the Roman Commonwealth, was that above all others, which fitted Numa's system to the chief design of the Government (7)

(7) Essay upon the Roman Government, p. 19. edit. 1726.

[I] *The Philopatris, &c.*] This enquiry is published under the following title, *A Dissertation upon the age of Philopatris; a Dialogue commonly attributed to Lucian: In several Letters to Mr* K———. The Dialogue is of singular use in searching into the antiquities of the Christian Church. The author, a Pagan, gives an account of some doctrines and usages of the third century, with a view of exposing them. Mr Moyle looks on it as a discourse infinitely below the spirit, the wit, and the politeness of Lucian,' having, he says, all the marks of a barbarous age, and not one good quality to recommend it; being made up of the two worst ingredients that can enter into the composition of any man or book, dulness and prophaneness. He calls Mr Dodwell's lectures a loose rhapsody of crude paradoxes, and precarious reasonings. It appears from these letters of our author, that he intended to publish a large discourse, or dissertation, settling the age of Lucian, distinguishing between his genuine and counterfeit works, and fixing the chronology of all of them which have any notes of time to determine them (13) But this he did not compleat †, though he was employed in digesting the materials in January 1706-7, and thought of composing it in April, after which he designed to have the manuscript perused by Dr Bentley, and to dedicate it to him (14). This is an evidence of his great opinion of that critic; but we have yet a stronger than this, in the conclusion of a letter to Dr William Musgrave, to whom he writes thus, 'I have subscribed to Dr Bentley's Greek testament, as I suppose you have done; and I hope you will encourage all your friends to contribute to so noble a work (15).'

(13) Letter 3. in Dissertation, p. 300.

† See the dedication to Vol. I.

(14) Letter 7. p. 364.

(15) Posthumous Works, Vol. I. p. 282. See an account of this noble work in the articles of Dr Bentley and Dr Conyers Middleton.

[K] *He attacks the truth of the miracle, &c.*] In this argument Mr Moyle has undoubtedly put the issue of the cause upon a right footing, and given the true test for deciding the improbability of the miracle, viz. that the event does not exceed the powers of natural causes. There are, he observes, but two circumstances, which have the least pretence to pass for supernatural. viz. That only the Quadi suffered by the storm, and that the fire was not extinguished by the rain. The first of which he proves to be a natural event, by many parallel instances; particularly that of the defeat of Brennus's army at Delphi, and from the examples we have every day of single men struck dead with lightning, in the midst of a crowd unhurt thereby. And as to the 2d he both shews, that the authority from the relator of it deserves very little credit on this head, and granting the truth of the fact, he proves it, however, to be agreeable to the common effect of lightning. For this he cites Seneca (16), who, speaking of lightning says, when the fire is stronger than the moisture, it predominates; which he illustrates by several parallel phænomena, after which he proceeds thus: but the instance I chiefly depend on is a very extraordinary one, full to the purpose, which fell out in the compass of our own memory, attested beyond all contradiction, and first published by Dr Plot, in the Philos. Trans. (17). 'Tis the relation of a clap of thunder, which broke on an English ship in America, and brought some sulphureous matter along with it, which burnt in the stern of the ship, and could not be quenched by water, nor any thing else, 'till the matter itself was spent.

(16) His words are, *Ubi valentior ignis [fulminum] quam humor est, vincit.* Nat. quæst. II, 26.

(17) No. clvii.

[L] *His arguments have not hitherto been sufficiently answered*] An answer was attempted by Mr Woolston and Mr Whiston. The first of these gentlemen grounds the probability of the miracle upon the importance of the occasion (18), the strength of which argument has been since examined by Dr Conyers Middleton: And Mr Whiston lays great stress upon the authority of the apostolical constitutions; in which opinion he stands single (19).

(18) His piece is intitled, A Defence of the Miracle of the Thundering Legion, &c. Lond. 1720, 8vo.

(19) In a Defence of the Thundering Legion, the same year, 8vo.

[M] *The Emperor continued to persecute the Christians, &c.*] This is proved from the authority of Theophilus ad Autolychum, and the Alexandrian chronicle; to which our author adds a passage from Marcus Antoninus himself in his own book, where that Emperor, says the Christians, ran head-long upon death, with a brutal obstinacy (20). This he shews was wrote after the pretended miracle, and evidently implies there was then a persecution on foot against the Christians.

(20) Lib. II. cap. iii.

[N] *Some opinions not well grounded*] Speaking of the Christian martyrs, he says, there is good reason to infer from the acts of Ignatius, and his epistle to the Romans, that he himself, the most celebrated martyr, since the days of the apostles, was a volunteer (21). This hasty and severe charge against Ignatius is invalidated by Dr Jortin, who, however, upon the question whether there were any Christian soldiers in the Roman army when this martyr suffered, refers to these letters of Mr Moyle; whose arguments in behalf of the negative, says he, are very strong (22).

(21) Letters concerning the Thundering Legion, p. 373. Posthumous Works, Vol. II.

(22) Remarks on Eccles. Hist. Vol. I. p. 63, & seq.

Another opinion which seems to be crudely advanced by our author, is the truth of the miracle of the fiery eruption at Jerusalem, in the time of Julian the apostate. In which case the varacity of God almighty, he says, was concerned in order to the accomplishment of the prophecies to interpose and prevent the re-establishment of the Jewish nation (23), whereas that end was fully answered by the death of Julian, presently after this attempt made by him, for the purpose of their re-establishment. Another reason, in defence of this miracle, is brought by Mr Moyle's antagonist, which indeed may be called his own, since it is adopted by him, and acknowledged to be better than his own. It is this, that the miracle was wrought to convince Julian that Christ was a true prophet, by making him the very instrument of establishing that prophecy, which he endeavoured by his projects to overturn. The prophecy here understood is this, that not one stone of the temple should be left upon another (24), but it has been since sufficiently proved, that this prophecy was fulfilled in the destruction of the temple by Titus (25).

(23) Letters concerning the Thundering Legion, ubi supra, p. 101, 102.

(24) Ibid. p. 134.

(25) Jortin's Remarks, &c. p. 87.

Upon the subject of miracles in general, Mr Moyle has this remark: when the truth of our religion had been confirmed by so many signal miracles, which were never disowned by the heathens themselves,

question. While our author was writing on this subject, he engaged likewise in a literary correspondence with Dr William Musgrave, Physician at Exeter; wherein he furnished that learned Antiquary with several curious particulars, on the subject of his treatise, entituled *Belgium Britannicum*, which are gratefully acknowledged by the doctor. This correspondence began in 1709, and continued as long as the life of Mr Moyle [*O*], whose letters are a conspicuous instance of his penetrating genius and active curiosity [*P*]: for which one single enquiry was far from being sufficient; indeed, so far from it, that no sooner did the first volume of Dr Prideaux's Connection of the Old and New Testament make it's appearance in publick, but Mr Moyle's eyes were upon it. The novelty of the subject, as well as the character of the writer, engaged his particular attention. The Dean was also his relation. He therefore took the liberty to communicate some mistakes which he had observed in the work, for which he had the thanks of that learned and ingenuous author. These letters passed in the year 1716, and it was owing to Mr Moyle, that the work appears at present with fewer faults than it would otherwise have done [*Q*]. Mr Moyle's talents were not confined within the bounds of these studies only; he carried his researches into the regions of Natural Philosophy, and we find him enriching Dr Tancred Robinson's cabinet with some curious birds, as well as Dr Sherard's with some rare and uncommon plants (*k*). He had a strong relish and inclination for these things, and would have made a greater progress in improving our knowledge of them, had not the ill state of his health obliged him to abandon these studies, and apply himself chiefly to such as he could follow within-doors, as Criticism, Philology, &c. without meddling with any part of Natural History, except the history of birds, that are either natives of England or passengers. Of these he waited for a hard winter or two to compleat his collections, after which he intended to draw up his observations upon them, and communicate them to the Royal Society [*R*], in the view of having them printed in their Philosophical Transactions (*l*); but was prevented by his death, which happened June 9, 1721, in the fiftieth year of his age (*m*). Dying without issue, he was succeeded in his estate by his brother Joseph Moyle of Southampton, by whose direction his Posthumous Works were printed (*n*).

(*k*) See his letters to these two virtuosos at the end of the first volume of his Posthumous Works.

(*l*) Ibid. p. 414.

(*m*) See the print prefixed to the first volume of his Posthumous Works.

(*n*) See the dedication.

selves, it quickly triumphed over all opposition, and spread with a wonderful progress over all parts of the Roman empire. When Christians had gained such footing in the world, the work was half done, and the rest might be safely trusted to the preaching of our ministers, and the sufferings of our martyrs: and the ends of miracles being fully accomplished, 'twas high time for miracles themselves to cease (26). This opinion has been embraced and confirmed since by Dr Middleton (27). In short, almost every thing that can be alledged either for or against ecclesiastical miracles, may be found in the course of these letters, and whoever compares what is here advanced with what Dr Warburton has urged, particularly in his *Defence of the miracle of the fiery eruption at Jerusalem* (28), must observe that he was greatly obliged to Mr Moyle.

(26) Letters concerning the Thundering Legion, p. 100, 101.

(27) In his introduction to A Free Enquiry, &c.

(28) Published in 1750.

[*O*] *His correspondence with Dr Musgrave continued 'till his death.*] Though this correspondence was chiefly on the subject of Antiquities, yet the extraordinary spirit which was raised throughout the nation by Dr Sacheverell could not be passed in silence. An account of it was sent by the doctor to Mr Moyle, who returns him ' hearty thanks for his excellent description ' of the epidemic madness,' as he calls it, ' of the ' nation, which says he, is not to be matched in the ' history of any age or people. Lucian, I remember, ' begins his rules for writing history, with a pleasant ' story of the Abderitæ, who he says were so sensibly ' affected at the acting of Euripides's Andromeda, that ' in a few days they lost all their wits, and ran raving ' about the streets, and crying out

' Σὺ δ' ὦ Θεῶν τύραννε, καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἔρως.

In English:

' The temple of the Lord, the Church, the Church *.

* This is not a translation of the Greek, but an imitation.

' It looks as if SACHEVERELL's farce by the help of ' H—— and S——†, had had the same effect on ' us, as that tragedy had on the people of Abdera, who ' you know were in days of yore as famous for their ' politics and good sense, as the people of England ' are at present. However, there is this difference, ' the frenzy of Abdera vanished with the first frost, ' ours, it seems, is to last for two years, and from ' thence to the end of the next session of Parliament; ' and I'm afraid will never be thoroughly cured, but ' by opening the jugular vein of some persons where ' the infection began (29).' These last words shew the madness was more epidemic than our author meant by that expression.

† Harley and St John.

(29) Letter 8, dated June 22, 1713, p. 205, 206. in Moyle's Posthumous Works, Vol. I.

[*P*] *These letters are an instance of his genius and curiosity.*] Among these letters there is an extract of one from Mr Edward Llwyd, containing an account of a Cornish antiquity, called *dance mien*, as follows: ' *Dance mien* seems to have been so called by the common people, on no other account than that they [the stones] are placed in a circular order, and so make an area for dancing. For near Lanyke such another circle is called *mien an dacons*, which signifies the dancing stones, or the stones at the dance. Two such circles in Denbighshire are called *kerig Drydion*, or Druid stones; and in some places in the Highlands of Scotland they are called temples and chapels: whence I conjecture they were places of sacrifice, and other religious rites, in the times of Paganism, seeing the Druids were our antient heathen priests ‡. Q. Whether the number of boroughs about these stones be not a further proof. This supposition of Mr Llwyd, if right (as I believe, says our author), will account for Stonehenge, &c. (30).' Accordingly we find it applied and confirmed by Dr Stukeley's account of Stonehenge.

‡ See Camden's Britannia, in the additional notes on Pembrokeshire and Denbighshire.

(30) Letter 12, p. 239, 240. in Moyle's Posthumous Works, Vol. I.

[*Q*] *Appears with fewer faults than it would otherwise have done.*] For instance, in the Connection‖, &c. The Dean says that Octavianus's posterity never enjoyed the Empire, which mistake is corrected by Mr Moyle, as follows: Agrippina, the daughter of Julia, Augustus's daughter, was the mother of Caligula, the emperor, and of Agrippina the mother of the emperor Nero: so that Caligula was the great-grandson of Augustus, and Nero his great-great-grandson (31).

‖ Part ii. B. VIII. p. 588, 8vo. edition.

[*R*] *He intended to present his collection of birds to the Royal Society.*] His design was to rectify some mistakes in Mr Ray's History of English birds, especially that gross one about the Cornish ganet; he tells Dr Sherard he had seen several of them, and had one very well prepared, which was brought him alive, and that he could assure him the ganet is the same with the Soland goose.

(31) Remarks upon Dr Prideaux's Connection, p. 76. in Moyle's Posthumous Works, Vol. II.

MUSGRAVE [William], a learned Physician and Antiquary, was born, about the year 1657 (*a*), at Charlton-Musgrave in Somersetshire, but descended from the brave family of that name in Westmorland [*A*]. In 1675, he became a Probationer-Fellow of New-College in Oxford (*b*); unquestionably from Wykeham's school near Winchester. He took the degree of Bachelor of Laws June 14, 1682 (*c*): and then entring on the Physic line, and distinguishing himself by his knowledge in his profession and in Natural History, was elected Fellow of the Royal Society; as also Secretary to that learned Society, in November 1684. In that quality, he continued and published the Philosophical Transactions, from No. 167. to No. 178. inclusive (*d*). And several curious observations, that occurred to him in the course of his profession, he caused to be inserted, at different times, in that valuable collection [*B*]. December 8, 1685, he took the degree of Bachelor of Physic; that of Doctor July 6, 1689 (*e*): and was admitted Fellow of the College of Physicians in London. In the year 1691, he went and settled in the city of Exeter (*f*); where he exercised his profession a long time with great reputation and success. Being a man of very extensive learning, he composed, at his leisure hours, several curious and valuable works [*C*], particularly his *Belgium Britannicum* [*D*], of which an account is given below. This learned author dyed December 23, 1721 (*g*).

(*a*) This is evident from A. Wood's account, who tells us that our author was aged eighteen in 1675. Athen. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 995.

(*b*) Wood, Ath. ibid.

(*c*) Idem, Fasti, Vol. II. col. 219.

(*d*) Idem, Ath. ut supra.

(*e*) Idem, Fasti, Vol. II. col. 226, 234.

(*f*) Wood, Ath. as above.

(*g*) See Historical R , ister for 1722, in the Ch onol. Diary, p. 5.

[*A*] *But descended from the brave family of that name in Westmoreland.*] The name of *Musgrave* is one of those, that have been taken from offices, and civil or military honours: and is of the like original as Landtgraff, Markgraff, Burggraff, &c. among the Germans. And indeed, this name and Markgraff (now turned into Marquis) are probably the same. The signification of both, is *Dux Limitaneus*; and antiently *Musgrave*, or *Mosgrave*, was all one as in our later language, a Lord Warden of the Marches. Of this family, Thomas Musgrave, in the time of Edward III. was summoned to Parliament among the Barons: their seat was Heartly-castle (1).——As for the Musgraves of the county of Somerset; *John Musgrave*, of Charlton, was, by virtue of the estate he had in Wiltshire, Sheriff of that county, in the second year of King Richard III. from whose second son *John* (the eldest dying without issue male) are descended all of this surname, in Somersetshire and Devonshire: the chief of whom at present is Musgrave, of Nettlecomb in the county of Somerset (2).

[*B*] *Several curious observations* ——— *he caused to be inserted* ——— *in the Philosophical Transactions.*] We meet with these several pieces of his, in that valuable collection. 1. 'An account of the cutting out 'of the *Cæcum* of a Bitch (3).' By which experiment he found, that creatures can live without that intestine. 2. A bed of Glands observed in the stomach of a Jack, August 19, 1684 (4). 3. A Letter to Dr Martyn Lyster; wherein he endeavours to prove, that the Lacteals convey Liquors that are not white (5). 4. An experiment, shewing what is the chief use of Respiration (6). This experiment proves, that Respiration promotes the passage of the blood through the lungs; and in bodies full of vigorous blood, it is, on this account, of perpetual necessity. This acceleration of the blood in that passage, seems to be the principal use of Respiration; no other is of such consequence to life. 5. Warm water injected into the *thorax* of a bitch, June 21, 1683 (7). 6. Account of a periodical Palsy (8). 7. Of a piece of Saxon Antiquity found at Athelney, in Somersetshire; being King Ælfred the Great's Amulet (9). 8. An Argument for the use of Laryngotomy: i. e. the cutting of a new passage in the throat for breath, when a person is in most imminent danger of suffocation (10). 9 A Polypus in a Dog, near the spleen (11). 10. Account of an extraordinary periodical Hæmorrhage in the the Thumb (12). 11. Experiments concerning powdered blue passing the Lacteal Vessels: occasioned by some Reflexions in the *New Theory of continual Fevers* (13). See above No. 3. 12. An account of *Hydatides* voided by stool (14). 13. An account of a stone voided by stool; which had obstructed the *Ductus communis Bilarius* (15).

[*C*] *He composed, at his leisure hours, several curious and valuable works.*] The following is the most exact account of them we could get; and, as near, as possible, according to the order of time in which they were published. I. *De Arthritide Symptomaticâ Dissertatio. Auctore Guilhelmo Musgrave, M. D. Coll. Med. Lond. & R. S. Socio.* Exon. 1703, 8vo. i. e. A Dissertation concerning the regular Gout. II. *De Arthritide Anomalâ sive Internâ Dissertatio*, &c. Exon. 1707. 8vo. i. e. A Dissertation concerning the irregular or inward Gout. Of these two books he gave an account in the Philosophical Transactions, in two letters intituled, *Epistola D. Guilhelmi Musgrave, S. R. S. in qua Ratio redditur Libri nuper editi, cui titulus De Arthritide Symptomaticâ*, &c. (16). *Epistola, in qua Ratio redditur Libri nuper editi, cui titulus De Arthritide Anomalâ*, &c. (17). III. *Julij Vitalis Epitaphium; cum Notis criticis Explicationeque V. C. Hen. Dodwelli, & commentario Guil. Musgrave.* Iscæ Dunmon. 1711. 8vo. A commentary, on an Epitaph for Julius Vitalis, a Roman soldier of the XXth legion, and member of the corporation of Armourers; found A. D 1708, near Bath: which Epitaph runs thus: 'Iulius. Vitalis. Fabriciensis. 'Leg. xx. v. v. Stipendiorum ix. Anlor. xxix. 'Natione Belga. Ex Collegio Fabrice. Elatus. 'H. S. E.' Walter Moyle, Esq; passes the following great compliment upon our learned author's commentary upon that Epitaph.——'The Republick of 'Letters is highly obliged to you, for preserving and 'explaining so noble a monument of antiquity. As 'for your commentary upon the inscription, since you 'are pleased to ask my opinion, I must tell you, without flattery, that 'tis in all respects, a very masterly 'performance. The compass and application of so 'much reading, the force and strength of your arguments, with the purity and politeness of your style, 'will be for ever admired by all good judges. I have 'read it over several times, not only with the kindness 'of a friend, but the ill nature of a critick; and after 'the nicest enquiry can find no room left for any 'thing but praise and admiration (18).' IV. *De Legionibus Epistola, ad virum clarissimum doctissimumque, Hans Sloane, M. D.* &c. *data a Guil Musgrave*, 'A Letter to Sir Hans Sloane, concerning the Roman 'legions.' V. *De Aquilis Romanis Epistola Guil. Musgrave M. D. & utriusque Societ. Reg. Socii, ad virum clarissimum Gisb. Cuperum, consulem Daventriensem*, 1713, 8vo. 'A Letter to Gisbert Cuper Consul 'of Daventer, concerning the Roman eagles.' Cuper affirmed, that the Roman eagles were of massy gold, or silver. Dr Musgrave maintained, on the contrary, they were only plated over. Mr Moyle confirms this last opinion by several arguments (19). V. *Inscriptio Tarraconensis: Cum commentario Guil. Musgrave M. D. Coll. Med. & Societ. Reg. Lond. Socii.* 'A 'commentary upon an inscription at Tarragona' VI. *Guilhelmi Musgrave Reg. Societ. utriusque Socii* Geta Britannicus. *Accedit Domus Severianæ Synopsis Chronologica: & de Icuncula quondam M Regis Ælfredi Dissertatio.* 8vo. Iscæ Dunm. 1715. i. e. 'Observations upon a fragment of an equestrian stone-statue, 'found near Bath; which the Doctor believes to have 'been set up in honour of *Geta*, after his arrival in 'Britain. Together with a chronological synopsis of 'the family of Severus: and a dissertation upon 'King Ælfred's Amulet abovementioned' Walter Moyle, Esq; thanks our learned author for a present of this book, in the following words:——'I give you 'my hearty thanks for your book, which did not 'come to my hands 'till some weeks after your letter. 'I have read it with a great deal of profit and delight, 'and if I was so much pleased with the rough draught '(20), you may easily guess how I was charmed with 'the last finishings of so noble a design. We are all

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(1) Camden's Britannia, edit. 1722, Vol. II. col. 988, 989.

(2) Idem, Vol. I. col. 77.

(3) No. 151. p. 324.

(4) No. 162. p. 699.

(5) No. 166. p. 812.

(6) No. 240. p. 178.

(7) No. 240. p. 181.

(8) No. 242. p. 257.

(9) No. 247. p. 441.

(10) No. 258. p. 398.

(11) No. 266. p. 690.

(12) No. 272. p. 864.

(13) No. 275. p. 996.

(14) No. 291. p. 797.

(15) No. 306. p. 2233.

(16) Philosophical Transactions, No. 291. p. 1597.

(17) Ibid. No. 310. p. 2435.

(18) The Posthumous Works of Walter Moyle, Esq; edit. 1726, 8vo. Vol. I. p. 192.

(19) See the same volume, p. 210, 212, 213, &c.

(20) Mr Moyle perused it in MS. and sent several curious remarks upon it to the author. See the same volume, p. 223—230.

'very much obliged to you for devoting of your 'thoughts and labours to the publick service of the 'Republick of letters.'

[*D*] *Particularly his* Belgium Britannicum.] That is, An account of that part of South-Britain, which was anciently inhabited by a people called *Belgæ*; and now comprehends Hamshire, Wiltshire, and Somersetshire. The title of the book is, '*Belgium* '*Britannicum*, in quo illius Limites, Fluvii, Urbes, 'Viæ militares, Populus, Lingua, Dii, Monumenta, 'aliaque permulta clarius & uberius exponuntur, 'Auctore Guilh. Musgrave, Belga, Reg. Societ. utri-'usque Socio. Præfixa est Dissertatio, De Britannia 'quondam pene insula.' Iscæ Dunmon. 1719. 8vo. It is divided into nineteen chapters: treating, 1. Of the bounds of Belgium. 2. Of its rivers. 3. Divisions. 4. Towns. 5. Of Bath. 6. Of the Roman monuments at Bath. 7. Of the military ways in Belgium. 8. Of the Islands adjacent to Belgium. 9. Of its Inhabitants. 10. Of their language. 11. Of their Gods. 12. Concerning nineteen *Penates*, or houshold-Gods, dug up by a gardiner at the Devises, in 1714. 13. Of the merchandizing of the Belgæ. 14 Of Camalet, and other summer-stations of the Romans in Belgium. 15. Of the color of the Belgæ, and of their painting themselves. 16. Concerning a Trophy of the Emperor Claudius, and two of his medals. 17. Concerning urns, a jar, and other things found in Belgium. 18. Of a stone-coffin, and a sepulchral monument. 19. Concerning a bust of Andromache found at Bath. To the whole is prefixed a Dissertation, wherein the Doctor endeavours to prove, that Britain was formerly a *peninsula*, and joined to France about Calais. The whole is adorned and illustrated with xiii plates, curiously ingraved. Under chap. ix. he shews, that the first inhabitants of Britain came from Gaul. And under chap. x. that their language was the Runic. Under chap. xiii. that the things they dealt in, were, Cattle, Tin, Lead, Iron, Slaves, Dogs, Pearls, Lime, Jeat, Baskets, Salt, &c. Walter Moyle, Esq; gives a very advantageous character of this book, in a letter to the learned author. ——'Your book (says he) which I long waited for, 'is at last come to hand I have read it over with a 'world of pleasure, and dare venture to pronounce it 'every way worthy of the great reputation of the 'author. *Not only your own country, but all the* '*commonwealth of letters are obliged to your learned* '*labours on this subject, by which you have preserved* '*from oblivion so many valuable monuments of* '*Antiquity* (21).'

(21) The Works of Walter Moyle, Esq; p. 255. of Vol. I. aforesaid.

N.

NAILER, or NAYLER [James], a man notorious, in the last century, for the singularity of his opinions and his enthusiasm, and as remarkable for the severity of his punishment under the powers then prevailing. He was the son of a Husbandman of some estate, and born in the parish of Ardesley near Wakefield in Yorkshire, about the year 1616. His education went no further than English. About the age of twenty-two he married, and removed into Wakefield parish, where he continued 'till the wars broke out in 1641. Then he went into the Parliament's army, and was a soldier eight or nine years, first under the Lord Fairfax, and afterwards Quarter-Master under General Lambert; 'till, disabled by sicknes in Scotland, he returned home about the year 1649 (*a*). Hitherto he had professed himself a Presbyterian and an Independent, but in 1651 he joined himself to the persons pretending to new lights, called afterwards Quakers; being converted at Wakefield by George Fox (*b*) [*A*]. As he was a man of good natural parts, and a strong imagination, he soon commenced Preacher; and, in the opinion of his followers, acquitted himself well both in word and writing among his friends. Towards the end of the year 1654, or beginning of 1655, he came to London, and found there a meeting, which had been gathered by Edward Burrough and Francis Howgil. He presently distinguished himself amongst them, so that many, admiring his gifts, began to esteem him much above his brethren, which occasioned differences and uneasiness in the society. And this ran so high, that some forward and inconsiderate women, followers of Nayler, assumed the boldness to dispute openly with Howgil and Burrough in their preaching, and thus to disturb their meetings. These reproving the womens indiscretion, they complained so loudly and passionately to Nayler, that we are told 'it smote him down into so much sorrow and sadness, that he was much dejected 'in spirit, or disconsolate: fear and doubting then entered into him, so that he came to 'be clouded in his understanding, bewildered and at a loss in his judgment, and estranged 'from his best friends, because they did not approve his conduct; insomuch that he 'began to give ear to the flattering praises of some whimsical people, which he ought to 'have abhorred, and reproved them for (*c*).' In 1656, we find him in Devonshire, whither he was undoubtedly carried by a zeal for propagating his opinions. He said in his examination (*d*), that he was at 'Lawson (*e*) to see the brethren.' However, he was committed to Exeter-goal, where letters were sent to him from his female admirers and others [*B*], conceived in a very extravagant strain; and some women arrived to that height of

(*a*) Will. Sewel's History of the Quakers, 2d edit. 1725, fol. p. 134. with Whiting's notes. And The grand Impostor examined, or Life, Tryal, &c. of J. Nayler, Lond. 1656, 4to. p. 17.

(*b*) Sewel, p. 42.

(*c*) Sewel, as above, p. 135.

(*d*) Life, Tryal, &c. of Nayler, as above, by John Deacon, p. 17.

(*e*) Probably Launston in Cornwall; or Launsdon in Somersetshire.

[*A*] *Being converted at Wakefield by George Fox.*] This fanciful and enthusiastic account is given of his conversion. 'In the beginning of the year 1652, 'as he was in the field at plough, meditating on 'the things of God, he heard a voice, bidding him 'go out from his kindred, and from his father's house; 'and had a promise given with it, that the Lord 'would be with him; whereupon he did exceedingly 'rejoyce that he had heard the voice of God, whom 'he had professed from a child, and endeavoured 'to serve: and when he went home he made pre'paration to go; but not being obedient, the wrath 'of God was upon him, so that he was made a wonder 'and 'twas thought he would have died. Afterwards 'being made willing, and going out with a friend, 'not thinking then of a journey, he was commanded 'to go into the West, not knowing what he was to do 'there, but when he came, he had given him what 'to declare; and so he continued, not knowing one day 'what he was to do the next; and the promise of 'God, that he would be with him, he found made 'good to him every day (1).'——All of a piece with the rest of his life, equally wonderful and incredible!

(1) G. Fox's Journal. Collection of J. N's writings.

[*B*] *Where letters were sent to him from his female admirers, and others.*] Those letters were found upon him, and his attendants, when they were apprehended and searched at Bristol; and being published at the time, were as follows: 'I N. In the pure feare and 'power of God, my Soule salutes thee, *Thou ever'lasting son of righteousnesse and Prince of peace*; 'oh how my Soule travelleth to see this day; which 'Abraham did and was glad, and so shall all that are 'of faithful Abraham: O suffer me to speake what 'the Lord hath moved. There is one temptation 'neere, the like unto the first, and is like the wisdome 'of God, but it is not, and therefore it must be de'stroyed. Oh it defileth and hateth the innocent; 'I beseech thee wait, my Soule travelleth to see a pure 'Image brought forth, and the enemy strive to de'stroy it, that he may keep me alwaies sorrowing, 'and ever seeking, and never satisfied, nor never re'joycing: But he in whom I have believed will shortly 'tread Satan under our feet, and then shalt thou and 'thine return to Zion with everlasting rejoycings and 'praises. But 'till then better is the house of mourn'ing then rejoycing, for he that was made a perfect 'example

of folly, that, in the prison at Exeter, they kneeled before him, and kissed his feet (*f*). After his release he intended to return to London; but, taking Bristol in his way, as he rode through Glastonbury and Wells, his frantick attendants strewed their garments in the way (*g*). And when they came, on the 24th of October, to Bedminster, about a mile from Bristol, they marched in this mock procession. One man walked before with his hat on; another young man, with his hat off, led Nailer's horse: when they came to the suburbs of Bristol, some women spread scarfs and handkerchiefs in his way; and two other women went on each side of his horse: and all knee-deep in the dirt, it being very rainy and foul weather; singing, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth; Hosanna in the highest; Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Israel (*h*). In this manner they entered Bristol, to the amazement of some, and the diversion of others. But the magistrates not thinking it proper to let such a mockery, such an awkward imitation of our Saviour's entering Jerusalem, go unpunished, apprehended and committed him to prison, with six of his associates [*C*]; after having examined them [*D*]. Soon after, he and his followers were sent up to London, to be dealt with by Parliament, as should be thought proper. Having been examined by a committee of the House (*i*), which made their report on the 5th

(*f*) Ibid. p. 6, &c. and Sewel, p. 135.

(*g*) Sathan inthron'd in his Chair of Pestilence, or Quakerism in its exaltation. Being a true Narrative of the manner of James Nailer (that eminent Quaker's) entrance into the City of Bristoll the 24. day of October, 1656, &c. by Ra. Farmer. Lond. 1657, 4to. p. 3.

(*h*) Ra. Farmer, ibid. p. 1, 2, 3. Life and Tryal of Nayler, p. 1, 2, 3. and Sewel, p. 136.

(*i*) Sewel, p. 136.

'example, when he had fasted the appointed time of his 'father, was tempted to eate, and to shew a miracle, 'to prove himselfe to be the Sonne of God: But man 'lives not by bread, said he, and now no more by 'that wisdom shall he live on which he hath long fed 'as on bread, and as his food hath been so must his 'fast be, and then at the end temptation, to as low 'a thing as a stone, that if it were possible the humility 'and the miracles would deceive the elect, innocent, 'and righteous branch of holiness. But be his wils 'never so many, the time comes he shall leave thee, 'for he is faithfull, who hath promised he will not 'leave the Throne of David without a man to sit 'upon thereon, which shall judge the poore with 'righteousnesse, and the world with equity. This 'shall shortly come to passe, and then shall the vision 'speak and not lie. O let innocency be thy beloved, 'and righteousnesse thy Spouse, that thy fathers lambs 'may rejoice in thy pure and cleare unspotted image 'of holinesse and purity, which my Soul believeth 'I shall see, and so in the faith rest. I am in patience, 'wait, and the power will preserve from subtilty, 'though under never so zealous a pretence of innocent 'wisdom it be, yet shall the Lord not suffer his holy 'one to see corruption, nor his Soule to lie in Hell, 'but will cause the mountain to melt at his presence, 'and the little hills to bring him peace; O I am ready 'to fear as a servant, and to obey as a child. If I 'have spoken words too high, love hath constrained 'me, which is as strong as death, and with the same 'spirit cover them as they are spoken with, and then 'shall the spirit of David be witnessed, who refused 'not words though from his servants mouth; if they 'were in the fear, I am his servant, and he my master, 'whom I love and fear, and trust I shall do unto the 'end.

From London, 16 day of the 7th month. Hannah Stranger.

'O thou fairest of ten thousand, thou onely begotten Son of God, how my heart panteth after 'thee; O stay me with flagons, and comfort me with 'wine. My well beloved thou art like a roe or young 'hart upon the mountains of spices, where thy beloved Spouse hath long been calling thee to come 'away, but hath been lately heard of thee. Now it 'lies something upon me that thou mindst to see her, 'for the spirit and power of God is with her; and 'there is given to her much of excellent and innocent 'wisdome arissen and arising in her, which will make 'all the honest-hearted to praise the Lord alone, and 'no more set up self. And therefore let not my Lord 'and Master have any jealousie again of her, for she 'is highly beloved of the Lord, and that shall all see 'who come to know the Lord. And now he doth 'blesse them that blesse his, and curse them that curse 'his: for this hath the Lord shewed me, That her 'portion is exceeding large in the Lord; and as her 'sorrow hath been much, so shall her joy be much 'more, which rejoyceth my heart, to see her walke 'so valiantly and faithfully in the work of the Lord, 'in this time of so great tryals as hath been laid upon 'her especially. And I am

Hannah Stanger.

'Postcript. Remember my dear love to thy Master. 'Thy name is no more to be called *James* but *Jesus*

'The 17th of 8th month. * John Stranger (2).'

* This John was husband to Hannah Stranger.

In another letter to him, from one Jane Woodcock, we find these odd expressions. 'O Thou beloved of 'the Lord *the Prophet of the most high God*, whom 'the Lord brought to this great city, for to judge and 'try the cause of his Israel, faithful and just hast thou 'carried thyself in it, for thou becomest weak to the 'weak, and tender to the broken-hearted.

And in another letter from one Richard Fairman, is this: 'Brother, In the life which is immortal 'dearly beloved, who are counted worthy to be made 'partaker of the everlasting riches, I am filled with 'joy and rejoycing, when I behold thee in the eternal 'unity, where I doe imbrace thee in the everlasting 'arms of love. O thou dear and precious servant of 'the Lord, how doth my soul love. I am overcome 'with that love that is as strong as death. O my 'soul is melting within me, when I beheld thy beauty 'and innocency, dear and precious son of Zion, *whose 'Mother is a Virgin, and whose birth is immortal* (3).'

(2) Life and Tryal of Nayler, &c. as above, p. 6, &c. and Sathan inthron'd, &c. as above, p. 6, 7, 8.

(3) Sathan inthron'd, &c. as above, p. 4, 5.

[*C*] *With six of his associates.*] Namely, Martha Simonds, wife of Thomas Simonds, of London, bookbinder, and sister of Giles Calvert; Hannah Stranger, wife of John Stranger, of London, combmaker; Dorcas Erbury, widow of William Erbury, once a Minister; Timothy Wedlock, of Devonshire; and Dennis Hollister, and Henry Row, of Bristol (4).

(4) Ibid. p. 3. and Life and Tryal of J. Nayler, p. 3.

[*D*] *After having examined them.*] The examination of James Nayler was as follows: 'Being asked his 'name, or whether he was not called James Naylor, 'he replied: The men of this world call me James 'Naylor. *Q.* Art not thou the man that rid on horseback into Bristol, a woman leading thy horse, and 'others singing before thee, *Holy, holy, holy, Hosannah*, &c. *A.* I did ride into a town, but what its 'name was I know not, and by the Spirit a woman 'was commanded to hold my horses bridle; and 'some there were that cast down cloathes, and sang 'praises to the Lord, such songs as the Lord put into 'their hearts; and its like it might be the song of 'Holy, holy, holy, &c. *Q.* Whether or no didst 'thou reprove those women? *A.* Nay, but I bad 'them take heed that they sang nothing but what they 'were moved to of the Lord. *Q.* Dost thou own this 'letter (shewing him a letter) which Hannah Strange 'sent unto thee? *A.* Yea, I do own that letter. *Q.* 'Art thou, according to that letter, the fairest of ten 'thousand? *A.* As to the visible I deny any such 'attribute to be due unto me; but if as to that which 'the Father has begotten in me, I shall own it. *Q.* 'Art thou the only Son of God? *A.* I am the Son 'of God, but I have many brethren. *Q.* Have any 'called thee by the name of Jesus? *A.* Not as unto 'the visible, but as Jesus, the Christ that is in me. '*Q.* Dost thou own the name of the King of Israel? '*A.* Not as a creature, but if they give it Christ 'within I own it, and have a kingdom but not of this 'world, my kingdome is of another world, of which 'thou wast not. *Q.* Whether or no art thou the 'Prophet of the most high? *A.* Thou hast said, I 'am a Prophet. *Q.* Dost thou own that attribute, 'the Judge of Israel? *A.* The Judge is but one, and 'is

(a) 'It was thought by many, that he was too fiercely proſecuted by ſome rigid men,' ſays Mr Whitelock, Memorials, edit. 1732, p. 654.

5th of December; he was, the next day, ſent for and heard at the bar of the Houſe (b). On the 8th they reſolved, 'That James Naylor is guilty of horrid blaſphemy, and that 'he

' is witneſſed in me, and is the Chriſt, there muſt not ' be any joyned with him: if they ſpeak of the Spirit ' in me, I own it only as God is manifeſt in the fleſh, ' according as God dwelleth in me, and judgeth there ' himſelf. Q. By whom were you ſent? A. By him ' who hath ſent the ſpirit of his Son in me to try, not ' as to carnal matters, but belonging to the kingdome ' of God, by the indwelling of the Father and the ' Son, by judge of all Spirits to be guided by none. ' Q. Is not the written word of God the guide? A. ' The written word declares of it, and what is not ' according to that is not true. Q. Whether art thou ' more ſent than others, or whether others be not ſent ' in that meaſure? A. As to that I have nothing at ' preſent given me of my Father to anſwer. Q. Was ' your birth mortal or immortal? A. Not according ' to the natural birth, but according to the ſpiritual ' birth, born of the immortal ſeed. Q. Wert thou ever ' called the Lambe of God? A. I look not back to ' things behind, but there might be ſome ſuch thing in ' the letter; I am a lamb, and have ſought it long ' before I could witneſſe it. Q. Who the mother, or ' whether or no is ſhe a virgin? A. Nay, according ' to the natural birth. Q. Who is thy mother accor- ' ding to thy ſpriritual birth? A. No carnall creature. ' Q. Who then? A. —— To this he refuſed to an- ' ſwer. Q. Is the hope of Iſrael in thee? A. The ' hope is in Chriſt, and as Chriſt is in me ſo far the ' hope of Iſrael ſtands; Chriſt is in me the hope of ' glory. Q. What more hope is there in thee than ' in others? A. None can know but them of Iſrael, ' and Iſrael muſt give an account. Q. Art thou the ' everlaſting Son of God? A. Where God is manifeſt ' in the fleſh, there is the everlaſting Son, and I do ' witneſs God in the fleſh; I am the Son of God, ' and the Son of God is but one. Q. Art thou the ' Prince of Peace? A. The Prince of everlaſting ' Peace is begotten in me. Q. Why doſt thou not ' reprove thoſe that give thee theſe attributes? A. I ' have ſaid nothing unto them but ſuch things are ' written. Q. Is thy name Jeſus? A. —— *Here he was ſilent.* Q. For what ſpace of time haſt thou ' been ſo called? A. —— *And here.* Q. Is there ' no other Jeſus beſides thee? A. *Theſe queſtions he forbore either to confirm, or to contradict them.* Q. ' Art thou the everlaſting Son of God, the King of ' righteouſneſs? A. I am, and the everlaſting righ- ' teouſneſs is wrought in me, if ye were acquainted ' with the Father, ye would alſo be acquainted with ' me. Q. Did any kiſſe thy feet? A. It might be ' they did, but I minded them not. Q. When thou ' waſt called the King of Iſrael, didſt thou not anſwer, ' Thou ſayeſt it? A. Yea. Q. How doſt thou provide ' for a livelyhood? A. As do the lillies without care, ' being maintained by my father. Q. Who doſt thou ' call thy Father? A. He whom thou calleſt God. ' Q. What buſineſſe hadſt thou at Briſtoll or that way? ' A. I was guided and directed by my father. Q. ' Why waſt thou called a Judge to try cauſe of Iſrael? ' A. —— *Here he anſwered nothing.* Q. Are any ' of theſe ſayings blaſphemy or not? A. What is ' received of the Lord is truth. Q. Whoſe letter ' was that which was writ to thee, ſigned T. S.? A. ' It was ſent to me to Exeter gaol by one the world ' calls Tho. Symonds. Q. Didſt thou not ſay, if ye ' had known me, ye had known the father? A. Yea, ' for the father is my life. Q. Where wert thou ' born? A. At Anderſlow in Yorkſhire. Q. Where ' lives thy wife? A. She whom thou calleſt my wife, ' lives in Wakefield. Q. Why doſt thou not live with ' her? A. I did till I was called to the army. Q. ' Under whoſe command didſt thou ſerve in the army? ' A. Firſt, under him they call Lord Fairfax. Q. ' Who then? A. Afterwards, under that man called ' Col. Lambert: and then I went into Scotland, where ' I was a Quartermaſter, and returned ſick to my ' earthly habitation, and was called into the North. ' Q. What wentſt thou for to Exeter? A. I was to ' Lawſon to ſee the brethren. Q. What eſtate haſt ' thou? A. I take no care for that. Q. Doth God ' in an extraordinary manner ſuſtain thee, without any ' corporal food? A. Man doth not live by bread ' alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the ' mouth of the Father: the ſame life is mine that is ' in the Father; but not in the ſame meaſure. Q. ' How art thou cloathed? A. I know not. Q. ' Doſt thou live without bread? A. As long as my ' heavenly Father will: I have taſted of that bread, ' of which he that eateth ſhall never die. Q. How ' long haſt thou lived without any corporal ſuſtenance, ' having perfect health? A. Some fifteen or ſixteen ' days, ſuſtained without any other food except the ' word of God. Q. Was Dorcas Erbury dead two ' days in Exeter? and didſt thou raiſe her? A. I ' can do nothing of myſelf: the Scripture beareth ' witneſs to the power in me which is everlaſting; it ' is the ſame power we read of in the Scripture. ' The Lord hath made me a ſign of his coming; and ' that honour that belongeth to Chriſt Jeſus, in whom ' I am revealed, may be given to him, as when ' on earth at Jeruſalem, according to the meaſure. ' Q. Art thou the unſpotted Lamb of God, that ' taketh away the ſins of the world? Were I not a ' lamb, wolves would not ſeek to devour me. Q. ' Art thou not guilty of horrid blaſphemy, by thy ' own words? A. Who made thee a Judge over ' them? Q. Wherefore cameſt thou in ſuch an un- ' uſual poſture, as, two women leading thy horſe; ' others ſinging *Holy, holy,* &c. with another before ' thee bare-headed, knee-deep in the high-way mud, ' when thou mightſt have gone in the cauſey; and ' at ſuch a time, that it raining, thy companions re- ' ceived the rain at their necks and vented it at their ' hoſe and breeches? A. It tended to my Father's ' praiſe and glory; and I ought not to ſlight any thing ' which the ſpirit of the Lord moves. Q. Doſt ' thou think the ſpirit of the Lord moved or com- ' manded them? A. Yea. Q. Whom meant they ' by Holy, holy, holy, &c.? A. Let them anſwer ' for themſelves; they are at age. Q. Did not ſome ' ſpread their cloathes on the ground before thee, ' when thou ridſt thorow Glaſtenbury and Wells? A. ' I think they did. Q. Wherefore didſt thou call ' Martha Simonds, Mother, as George Fox affirms? ' A. George Fox is a lyer, and a fire brand of hell; ' for neither I, nor any with me, called her ſo. Q. ' Thou haſt a wife at this time? A. A woman I ' have, whom by the world is called my wife; and ' ſome children I have, which according to the fleſh ' are mine. Q. Thoſe books which thou haſt writ, ' wilt thou maintain them, and affirm what is therein? ' A. Yea, with my deareſt blood.'

Martha Simonds her Examination.

She confeſſeth, ſhe knew James Nayler formerly; for he is now no more James Nayler, but refined to a more excellent ſubſtance: and ſo ſhe ſaith ſhe came with him from Briſtol to Exeter.

' Q. What made thee lead his horſe into Briſtol, ' and ſing Holy, holy, holy, &c. and to ſpread thy ' garments before him? A. I was forced thereto by ' the power of the Lord. Q. He is ſtiled in Hannah ' Stranger's letter, the faireſt of ten thouſand, the ' hope of Iſrael, and the onely begotten ſon of God; ' doſt thou ſo eſteem him? A. That James Nayler ' of whom thou ſpeakeſt is buried in me, and he hath ' promiſed to come again. Q. Doſt thou like of that ' Attribute as given to him? A. I cannot tell, I ' judge them not. Q. Whether didſt thou kneel be- ' fore him? A. What I did, was in obedience to a ' power above. Q. Doſt thou own him to be the ' Prince of Peace? A. He is a perfect man; and ' he that is a perfect man, is the Prince of Peace. Q. ' Haſt thou a huſband? A. I have a man which thou ' calleſt my huſband. Q. What made thee to leave ' him, and to follow James Nayler in ſuch a manner? ' A. It is our life to praiſe the Lord, and the Lord ' my ſtrength (who filled heaven and earth) is manifeſt ' in James Nayler. Q. Oughteſt thou to worſhip ' James Nayler, as thou didſt upon thy knees? A. ' Yea, I ought ſo to do. Q. Why oughteſt thou ſo ' to do. A. He is the Son of righteouſneſs; and the ' new Man within him is the everlaſting Son of righ- ' teouſneſs; and James Nayler will be Jeſus, when ' the new life is born in him. Q. By what name ' calleſt

(l) Whitelock, ibid.

'he is a grand impostor, and a great seducer of the people (l).' From that time, the business being debated both forenoons and afternoons [E], not without opposition, was proposed the twelfth time, on the 16th of December. The next day, after a long debate, the Parliament came to this resolution, That James Naylor should stand in the pillory, both in the Palace-Yard, Westminster, and at the Old Exchange; be whipt from the former of those places to the latter; and at this last, his tongue should be bored through with a hot iron, and he should be stigmatized in the forehead with the letter B. for Blasphemer: That he should also be sent to Bristol, and publickly whipt there: and then be brought back to London, and committed to Bridewell (m) [F]. Several persons of different

(m) Sewel, p. 136, 137. Mr Kimber justly observes, that it would have been better to send him to Bedlam, which was the properest place for him. Life of Oliver Cromwell, 3d edit. 1731, 8vo, p. 361.

'callest thou him? *A.* Lord. *Q.* Why dost thou 'call him Lord? *A.* Because he is Prince of Peace, 'and Lord of Righteousness. *Q.* What reason canst 'thou shew for calling him King of Israel? *A.* He 'is so anointed. *Q.* Who hath anoynted him? *A.* 'A Prophet. *Q.* What Prophet was that? *A.* I will 'not tell thee. *Q.* Thou confessest that thou didst 'spread thy cloaths. *A.* Yea I did. *Q.* Tell me, 'Doth that Spirit of Jesus, which thou sayest is in 'Nayler, make him a sufficient Jesus to others? *A.* 'I tell thee, there is a seed born in him, which above 'all men I shall (and every one ought to) honour. '*Q.* Is he King of Israel, as thy husband saith? *A.* 'If he saith so, thy testimony is double.'

Hanna Stranger her Examination.

She saith, she came from Bristol to Exeter with James Nayler; and that she flang her handkerchief before him, because commanded so of the Lord; and that she sung Holy, &c. and that the Lord is risen in him.

'*Q.* Wherefore didst thou sing before James Nayler? *A.* I must not be mute when I am commanded 'of the Lord. *Q.* Wherefore didst thou sing to him? '*A.* My conscience tells me, I have not offended any 'law. *Q.* Was that letter thine? and didst thou 'spread thy garments before him? *A.* Yea, and my 'blood will maintain it. *Q.* Dost thou own him for 'the Prince of Peace? *A.* Yea, he is so. *Q.* What 'dost thou call his name? *A.* It hath been said 'already, I have told of his name. *Q.* Dost thou 'not know it to be blasphemy to give him such and 'such attributes? *A.* If I have offended any law, '&c. *Q.* Didst thou send him that letter wherein he 'was called the Son of God? *A.* Yea, I do own the 'whole letter. *Q.* Didst thou call him Jesus? *A.* '—— She would not answer. *Q.* Didst thou kiss his 'feet? *A.* Yea.'

Thomas Stranger, in his Examination, owned the postscript of the letter in which he called James Nayler *Jesus*; and confessed, He called James Nayler *Jesus*, Saying, he was thereto moved of the Lord. But could not be got to answer to any more questions.

Timothy Wedlock his Examination.

'*Q.* Dost thou own James Nayler to be the onely 'Son of God? *A.* I do own him to be the Son of 'God. *Q.* Wherefore didst thou and the rest sing 'before him, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Israel? '*A.* I do own the Songs of Sion. *Q.* Thou wilt go 'through a great rain bare-headed, why then wilt 'thou not be uncovered to a Magistrate? *A.* What I 'did, was as the Lord commanded. *Q.* What is 'your opinion concerning Religion? *A.* I own no 'opinions, nor any judgements. *Q.* Wherefore didst 'thou honour him in Towns, and not elsewhere? '*A.* We did as well in Commons; but in both as the 'Spirit of the Lord directed us. *Q.* Wherefore didst 'thou kneel before him? *A.* The truth.'

The Examination of Dorcas Erbury, Widow of William Erbury once a Minister.

'*Q.* Where dost thou live? *A.* With Margaret 'Thomas. *Q.* Wherefore didst thou Sing, Holy, &c. '*A.* I did not at that time; but those that sang did 'it in discharging of their duty. *Q.* Dost thou own 'him that rode on horse-back, to be the holy one of 'Israel? *A.* Yea, I do; and with my blood will 'seal it. *Q.* And dost thou own him for the Son of 'God. *A.* He is the onely begotten Son of God. *Q.* 'Wherefore didst thou pull off his stockings, and lay 'thy cloaths beneath his feet? *A.* He is worthy of 'it; for he is the holy Lord of Israel. *Q.* Knowest 'thou no other Jesus, the onely begotten Son of God. '*A.* I know no other Saviour. *Q.* Dost thou believe 'in James Nayler? *A.* Yea, in him whom thou callest so, I do. *Q.* By what name dost thou use to 'call him? *A.* The Son of God: but I am to serve 'him, and to call him Lord and Master. *Q.* Jesus 'was crucified; but this man you call the Son of God, 'is alive. *A.* He hath shook off his carnal body. '*Q.* Why, what body hath he then? *A.* Say not 'the Scriptures, Thy natural body I will change, and 'it shall be spiritual. *Q.* Hath a Spirit flesh and 'bones? *A.* His flesh and bones are new. *Q.* Christ 'raised those that had been dead: So did not he. '*A.* He raised me. *Q.* In what manner? *A.* He 'laid his hand on my head, after I had been dead 'two days, and said, *Dorcas arise*: and I arose, and 'live as thou seest. *Q.* Where did he this? *A.* At 'the goal in Exceter. *Q.* What witness hast thou 'for this? *A.* My mother, who was present. *Q.* 'His power being so much, wherefore opened he not 'the prison-doors, and escaped. *A.* The doors shall 'open, when the Lord's work is done. *Q.* What 'Apostles hath he? *A.* They are scattered; but 'some are here. *Q.* Jesus Christ doth sit at the right 'hand of the Father, where the world shall be judged 'by him. *A.* He whom thou callest Nayler, shall sit 'at the right hand of the Father, and shall judge the 'world with equity (5).'

(5) Life, Tryal, &c. of Nayler, as above, p. 5–35.

[E] *From that time the business being debated both forenoons and afternoons*, &c.] How much time that business took up in the House, appears from two letters of Secretary Thurloe, dated Dec. 9, and Dec. 16, 1656, wherein are these words—— 'These 4 or 5 last 'dayes have bene wholly taken up about James Naylor the Quaker, who hath had a charge of blasphe'my exhibited against him; and upon heareinge mat'ter of fact, he is voted guiltye of blasphemie; and 'the consideration now is (which I beleeve may be 'determined this eveninge) what punishment shall be 'inflicted. Many are of opinion, that he ought to 'be put to death (6).——The parlament hath done 'nothinge theis 10 dayes, but dispute, wheither James 'Naylor the Quaker shall be put to death for blas'phemy. They are much devided in their opinions. 'It's possible that they may come to conclusion this 'day. It's probable, that his life may be spared.' In the postscript to this second letter, of the 16th, he adds, 'The parlament came this day to a voet in 'Naylor's buissines, viz. that he should have his 'tongue bored, a brand set on his forehead, set in the 'pillory, and whipt, and imprisoned for life. The 'question for his life was lost by 14 voices (7).'

(6) State Papers of J. Thurloe, Vol. V. p. 694.

(7) Ibid. p. 708, 709.

[F] *And then be brought back to London, and committed to Bridewell.*] The whole of his Sentence was as follows. 'That James Naylor be set on the pillory, in the Palace-yard Westminster, during the Space of two hours, on Thursday next; and be whipt by the hangman through the streets from Westminster to the Old Exchange, and there likewise be set on the pillory, with his head in the pillory, for the Space of two hours, between the hours of eleven and one on Saturday next: in each place wearing a Paper, containing an inscription of his crimes. And that, at the Old Exchange, his Tongue be bored through with a hot iron; and that he be there also stigmatized in the forehead with the letter B. And that he be afterwards sent to Bristol, and be conveyed into and through the said city on horse-back, with his face backward; and there also publickly whipt the next market-day after he comes thither. And that from thence he be committed to prison in Bridewell London, and there restrained from the Society of all people, and there to labour hard 'till he shall be released by Parliament. And, during that time, be debarred the use of pen, ink,

rent perſwaſions preſented petitions to the Parliament in his behalf; but it was reſolved not to read them, 'till after the paſſing of the ſentence. The 18th of December, he ſuffered the firſt part of his puniſhment, which was inflicted with great rigour [G]. The other part of the ſentence ſhould have been executed two days after; namely, boring his tongue and branding his forehead; but he was brought ſo low by his cruel whipping, that, upon repeated applications to the Parliament, his further puniſhment was reſpited for one weeek. During that interval, ſeveral perſons of all perſwaſions looking upon him rather as a mad-man, than guilty of wilful blaſphemy, petitioned the Parliament, and Cromwell twice, to have the reſt of his puniſhment quite remitted. But that, as it is ſaid, was obſtructed by ſome of the Protector's chaplains, who went and conferred with Nayler. The further part of his ſentence was therefore executed the 27th of December (n). After which, being ſent to Briſtol, he was conveyed through that city on horſeback, with his face backward, and publickly whipt [H]. Then being remanded to London, he was committed to Bridewell, according to the reſt of his ſentence. Being by his ſufferings brought to his ſenſes, and to ſome degree of humility, he writ a letter to the magiſtrates of Briſtol, wherein he diſapproved and repented of his former behaviour in that city. And, during the time of his confinement in Bridewell, which was about two years, he came to a true ſorrow for his follies and offences. Having alſo, notwithſtanding his ſentence, got the uſe of pen, ink, and paper, he wrote ſeveral ſmall books, wherein he retracted and condemned his paſt errors (o) [I]. He compoſed likewiſe ſome other pieces, which thoſe who are curious in ſuch things may ſee in W. Sewel's Hiſtory of the Quakers (p). During his extravagant flights, theſe people had diſowned him: but, after his repentance, they took back the loſt ſheep into their ſociety (q). About the latter end of October, 1660, he ſet out from London towards the North, with an intention of going home to his wife and children at Wakefield in Yorkſhire. Some miles beyond Huntingdon he was taken ill; being, as it is ſaid, robbed by the way and left bound. Whether he received any perſonal injury, is not certainly known, but being found in a field by a countryman towards evening, he was carried to a friend's houſe, at Holm near King's-Ripton in Huntingdonſhire, where he ſoon after expired in November 1660 (r). Such was the end of this deluded Enthuſiaſt, who rendered himſelf as miſerable as poſſible, without doing any real ſervice to mankind: for, of how little uſe and value is any thing he pretended to teach and reveal, let every perſon of common ſenſe judge and declare. From him we learn, that the moſt plentiful ſource of error and deluſion, and a principle the moſt miſchievous of any in its conſequences, is a ſpirit of Enthuſiaſm, ſpurred on by Ambition and Pride. This blind and ungovernable guide has, at different times, led an incredible number of perſons of weak judgment and a ſtrong imagination, through a maze of ſuch ſtrange and unaccountable follies, as, one would imagine, could never have entered into the thoughts of a creature endowed with Reaſon: ſuch follies, as have rendered the perſons

(n) Sewel, p. 138, 139.

(o) Sewel, p. 140, 141.

(p) See p. 142—154.

(q) Sewel, p. 149.

(r) Sewel, p. 154, 155.

ink, and paper; and ſhall have no relief but what he earns by his daily labour (8).'

(8) Sewel, as above, p. 136.

[G] *The 18th of December, he ſuffered the firſt part of his puniſhment, which was inflicted with great rigour.*] After having ſtood full two hours with his head in the pillory, he was ſtript, and whipt at a Cart's tail from Palace-yard to the Old Exchange, and received three hundred and ten laſhes. The Executioner would have given him one more, as he confeſſed to the Sheriff, (there being 311 kennels) but his foot ſlipping, the ſtroke fell upon his own hand, which hurt him much. One, who waſhed his wounds (9), ſaid, 'There was not the Space of a man's nail free from ſtripes and blood, from his Shoulders near to his waiſte, his right arm ſorely ſtrip'd, his hands much hurt with cords, that they bled and were ſwell'd: The blood and wounds of his back did very little appear at firſt ſight, by reaſon of abundance of dirt that covered them, 'till it was waſhed off'——Nay his puniſhment was ſo ſevere, that ſome judged his ſentence would have been more mild if it had been preſent death (10).

(9) R. Travers, his Certificate to the Parliament.

(10) Sewel, p. 137, 138.

[H] *After which, being ſent to Briſtol——he was publickly whipt.*] Here he was whipt, from the middle of Thomas's ſtreet over the bridge, up High-ſtreet to the middle of Broad-ſtreet. Which puniſhment, we are told, he bore with wonderful patience, as he had done the former (11).

(11) Sewel, p. 140. note.

[I] *He wrote ſeveral ſmall Books, wherein he retracted and condemned his paſt errors.*] In one of them he ſpeaks thus—— 'Condemned for ever be all thoſe falſe worſhips, with which any have idolized my perſon, in the night of my Temptation, when the Power of Darkneſs was above all; their caſting of their cloaths in the way, their bowings and ſingings, and all the reſt of thoſe wild actions, which did any ways tend to diſhonour the Lord, or draw the minds of any from the meaſure of Chriſt Jeſus in themſelves, to look at fleſh which is as graſs, or to aſcribe That to the viſible which belongs to Chriſt Jeſus: all that I condemn, by which the pure name of the Lord hath been any ways blaſphemed through me, in the time of Temptation, or the Spirits of any people grieved:——And alſo that Letter which was ſent me to Exeter by J. Stranger when I was in priſon, with theſe words; *Thy name ſhall be no more James Naylor, but Jeſus:* This I judge to be written from the imaginations, and a fear ſtruck me when I firſt ſaw it, and ſo I put it in my pocket cloſe, not intending any ſhould ſee it; which they finding on me ſpread it abroad, which the ſimplicity of my heart never own'd. So this I deny alſo, that the name of Chriſt Jeſus was received inſtead of James Nayler, or aſcribed to him ——And all thoſe ranting wild Spirits, which then gathered about me in that time of Darkneſs, and all their wild Actions and wicked words againſt the honour of God, and his pure Spirit and people, I deny that bad Spirit, the power, and the works thereof; and as far as I gave advantage, through want of judgment, for that evil Spirit in any to ariſe, I take ſhame to myſelf juſtly. ——And that report, as tho' I had raiſed Dorcas Erbury from the dead carnally, this I deny alſo, and condemn that teſtimony to be out of the truth; though that Power that quickens the dead I deny not, which is the word of eternal Life (12).'

(12) Sewel, p. 141, 142.

The Pieces ſaid to have been written by J Nayler, were, 1. Exhortation to the Rulers, the Preachers, and the Lawyers, 1653. 2. Milk for Babes and Meat for ſtrong Men. A Feaſt of fat Things. Wine well refined on the Lees, &c. Being the Breathings of the Spirit through his Servant James Nayler, written by him in the time of the confinement of his outward man in priſon. Lond. 1661, 4to 3. J. Nayler's Salutation to the Seed of God, 1656, 8vo. 4 Anſwer to Blome's Fanatick Hiſtory.——A Collection of his Books, Epiſtles, and Papers, was printed in 1716, 8vo.

[A] Known

persons possessed with them extremely troublesome, a plague to the world, as well as to themselves; and their actions have been a disgrace to human nature, and a scandal to the Christian name. It behoves therefore every honest and rational person, to watch against so troublesome an enemy, and to take particular care not to give so disagreeable a guest any admittance into his bosom; not only for his own sake, but also for the benefit of the society to which he belongs. C

NELSON [ROBERT], generally distinguished by the appellation of the Pious Mr Nelson, was born June 22, 1656, in the city of London, where his father was a considerable Turkey-Merchant, but did not live long to enjoy the happiness of this son, whom at his death he left an infant of two years old, with a handsome fortune, committing him to the care of his mother Delicia (*a*), and her brother Sir Gabriel Roberts. This gentleman, who was also a Turkey-Merchant of eminence, soon became extremely fond of his ward and nephew, who in a few years discovered an excellent understanding, enlivened with a sprightly genius; which being set and seen in the figure of a person exceedingly beautiful, was still made more engaging by the singular sweetness of his temper. At a proper age he was put to St Paul's school; but, after some time passed there, was taken home out of fondness by his mother; who, being seated at Dryfield (*b*) near Cirencester in Gloucestershire, procured the learned Mr George Bull, then Rector of Suddington, with the vicarage of St Peter annexed, in that neighbourhood, to instruct him in her own house; where this part of his education being finished, he was removed to the university, and admitted a Fellow-Commoner of Trinity-college in Cambridge (*c*). All those endearing qualities which disclosed themselves early in his youth, ripened, by an unbroken regular opening, into the most amiable character in his manhood. From being the hopes and darling of his family, he became the delight and boast of all the thinking and sober part of the world. As business or other occasions frequently called him to London, it was not long before he came to be known to Dr Tillotson [*A*], with whom his guardian uncle, Sir Gabriel Roberts, was intimately acquainted. A congenial worth in Mr Nelson presently obtained him a principal place in the friendship of a Divine, so distinguished by his piety and benevolence; and the union between them was dissolved only by the death of the Archbishop. Our author was chosen Fellow of the Royal Society Apr. 1, 1680 *, and having laid a proper foundation at home for making the best advantage of travelling abroad, set out for Paris [*B*] in Dec. following. Whilst he was there, Mr Henry Saville

(*a*) She had brought Mr Nelson three sons, John, this Robert, and Gabriel; but our author was left an only child at his father's death. Knight's Life of Dr Colet, p. 420.

(*b*) Extracts of several letters between our author and Dr Tillotson, in the Life of the latter by Dr Birch, 2d edit. 1752, 8vo.

(*c*) Memoirs of Kettlewell's Life, p. 169. prefixed to his Works, in two vols, fol. edit. 1718.

* Birch's History of the Royal Society, Vol. IV. p. 32. He was proposed for a candidate by Mr Lane, March 25. preceding. Ibid. p. 29.

[*A*] *Known to Dr Tillotson.*] This acquaintance probably commenced some time before the year 1680, when Mr Nelson was only twenty-four years of age. For in that year it was grown to a good degree of intimacy, as appears by the freedom which our author took in acquainting the Dean with the censures passed upon his sermon on Josh. xiv. 15. preached before King Charles II. and printed soon after by his Majesty's command. It seems the Dean had received from this, or some other friend, a piece intituled, *Short Animadversions* upon that sermon; and in his answer, dated July 27, 1680, he writes, that those animadversions did not seem to him very considerable: 'However, adds he, I am sorry any thing of mine 'should make so much talk and noise (1).' Soon after the former letter Mr Nelson wrote another to the Dean, on occasion of the death-bed repentance of Wilmot, Earl of Rochester; wherein he gave such an account of that remarkable event, as the Dean thought very well worth the publick view, as is seen by his answer of August 2, which begins thus, 'Could I 'have found any thing in myself to have justified your 'kind opinion of me, I might have taken the opportunity to have let a copy of your letter slip abroad, 'under pretence of publishing my Lord of Rochester's 'repentance (2).' In a few days after Mr Nelson wrote again to the Dean, recommending Mr Richard Kidder, afterwards Bishop of Bath and Wells, and the celebrated author of the Demonstration of the Messias, for the Rectory of Barnes in Surry; to which the Dean returned the following answer, August 15, 'I know 'not, says he, how Mr Griffyth came to understand 'me so well, but he made a very right judgment when 'he pitched upon you, as of all men most likely, to 'command me in any thing you should desire; and no 'man should have been more glad to have gratified so 'worthy a person as Mr Kidder; but the truth is, I 'was preingaged for Dr Burton, and have written to 'Dr Stillingfleet our Dean, in his behalf. I had a 'letter likewise from Sir Gabriel Roberts for Mr Kidder, whom I should have been glad to have been 'able to oblige, but I wrote to him, that I was preingaged (3).' In October we find Mr Nelson wrote again to the Dean, to acquaint him with a rumour that had spread itself to his disparagement on account of some alterations lately made in his cathedral; containing as it should seem, some insinuations of the Dean's dislike of the usual ornaments in churches. 'And now, replies he, it is time to be sensible of the 'kind concernment you are pleased to express for me 'in your letter. Your conjecture is very right, we 'only took down the sun over the screen behind the 'Communion-table, which was done with so little 'noise, that several days passed before it was taken 'notice of to be removed, and nothing done besides, 'not so much as the table stirred out of it's place (4).' It is observable, that shortly after this letter Dr Hickes was presented for idolatry, in bowing as he went up to the Communion-table, over which there happened to be placed the figure of an angel representing the Resurrection (5). As this prosecution made a great noise when it was commenced, so no doubt much talk must have preceded it, which was probably the reason of the order to pull down this image of the sun, not only to take away thereby all occasion for the like complaint at Canterbury, but also to remove the foundation for a plea, from the example of bowing to the sun in his church, which he might be apprehensive Dr Hickes would be apt to make in his own defence.

[*B*] *Set out for Paris.*] It appears by a letter of Dr Tillotson to him after his arrival there, that in his passage cross the water he had met with a storm at sea, in which the marchants ships in the Downs were cast away; that afterwards in the road to Paris he had seen the remarkable comet which appeared at that time, and that he sent the Dean a description of it; probably assisted therein by his fellow-traveller Dr Halley (6). Mr Nelson had, according to his innate modesty and good sense, begged the Dean's advice and directions in his future travels; and the Dean answers in such a manner as shews the highest regard for him: 'If, says he, I were able, yet I need not to advise 'you in any thing, so well am I assured of your virtue and good conduct. I pray for you continually, 'that God would preserve you and return you safe, 'and the same to us, and give you all the advantages 'you expected, and will I am sure endeavour to make 'by your travels. I never know how to part from 'you,

(1) Birch's Life of Tillotson, p. 67. 2d edit. 1753.

(2) Ibid. p. 69, 70.

(3) Ibid. p. 75.

(4) Ibid. p. 77.

(5) A Narrative of a strange and sudden Apparition of an Archangel at the Old Bailey, on Monday March 7, 1680, &c. By an eye-witness of the said apparition. Printed in the year 1680-1, in one sheet, fol.

(6) Birch's Life of Tillotson, p. 79. See Dr Halley's article.

Saville (*d*), Envoy from King Charles the Second, made a proposal to him of purchasing a place in the English Court; and promising his assistance therein, Mr Nelson entertained some thoughts of closing with it, but presently dropped that design in obedience to his mother [*C*]. He left Paris in May, and having made what is usually called the grand tour (*e*), returned through the same city [*D*] home, in the beginning of August, 1682. During his travels, he had fallen into the acquaintance of Lady Theophila Lucy, widow of Sir Kingsmill Lucy of Broxburne in Hertfordshire, Bart. and second daughter of George Earl of Berkley; who discovering a strong passion for him, kindled a mutual flame in his breast, he gave way to love, and a marriage was concluded between them soon after their arrival in England (*f*) [*E*]. He had not been long married to this lady, when

(*d*) He was brother of Lord Viscount Halifax, and had been himself sworn Vice-Chamberlain of the King's Houshold in December 1680.

(*e*) Dr Birch seems to intimate as if his tour was confined to France; but we have already observed, that Dr Halley left him at Rome in 1681, and it is not improbable, that he made some stay in that city, and there fell into the acquaintance of his lady, who had been proselyted to the Romish religion there. Life of Tillotson, p. 91 and 120. and Dr Halley's article.

(*f*) Life of Tillotson, where last cited.

'you, but my business calls me off (7).' Our author continued his correspondence with the Dean in an unreserved freedom, acquainting him with every occurrence he met with abroad worthy notice; which the Dean repaid with an account of the state of affairs at home, especially with regard to the Church. The following extract is worth notice, both as it lets us see, in some measure, how much the French interested themselves in our concerns, and Tillotson's real sentiments with regard to the Comprehension. In a letter dated from London, March 7, 1680-1, having thanked Mr Nelson for his two letters, and his account of the occurrences in France: 'Among which, says he, nothing pleased me better than the condescension of the great Cardinal in honouring your St Bartholomew's-fair with so secular a kind of presence and demeanour:' He proceeds thus, 'I hope our affairs are not in so deplorable a condition as they are reported at Paris. It may yet come to our turn to talk of our neighbours with as much pity, though perhaps with less pleasure; most of our elections for the next Parliament (8) are over, and almost without any drinking or expence, which is great news; and generally the same persons are chosen again' He then takes notice, that there was little progress made the preceding Parliament towards a reconciliation with the Dissenters. 'Two bills, says he, were brought into the House of Commons for that purpose, the one called a Bill of Indulgence to mitigate the severity of the laws towards those, who could not come into the national Constitution; the other of Union, by which the New Subscriptions were to be taken away, and the Ceremonies left indifferent. I never saw the bills, but this was the substance of them; which so far as I can learn, pleased neither side; the Bishops thought this too much, and the Dissenters too little: I have no great hopes of any good issue of this matter, 'till the minds of men become more calm (9).'

(7) Birch, p. 81.

(8) That which met at Oxford the 20th instant.

(9) Ibid. p. 81, 82.

[*C*] *In obedience to his mother.*] Mr Saville was at this time in England, whence he had probably wrote on this affair to Mr Nelson, who had communicated it to his constant friend and correspondent the Dean of Canterbury; whereupon the Dean, April 23, 1681, wrote the following answer, 'But now to the main business to which I find your uncle [Sir Gabriel Roberts] so absolutely averse, that he did not think your mother should be acquainted with it. It is well if you escape chiding from him. As for myself, than whom no person in the world can wish you better, since you are pleased to repose that kind confidence in me, as to ask my advice, I will faithfully give it. In the present uncertainty of things, I would not have you venture so considerable a sum, as those places go at; and unless somebody grows better, which I hope God will grant, the temptations to which a man must be exposed in that station are like to be so violent, as would set the firmest virtue hard, even my friends, of whom I have so good an opinion. Your mother hath but just mastered the trouble of your absence, which I understand by your aunt Hanger was for a great while very grievous to her, and therefore you will, I am sure, be very tender of giving any new occasion. I will wait upon Mr Saville, and make the best acknowledgments I can of his great civilities and favours to you, and let him know how your friends stand affected in this matter, to whose judgment and determination you have referred it (10).' By the Dean's letter, which is upon the same subject and directed to Mr Nelson, then at Saumur, it appears that he had yielded to the inclinations of his friends. It is dated from London, June 2, 1681, and runs thus: 'I wish your good opinion of my judgment were as well grounded, as that of my sincere friendship and affection for you most certainly is. Your mother is perfectly well satisfied, as I told her she had great reason, since you referred yourself to the advice and judgment of your friends, by which I assured her you would most certainly govern your resolution. I should be glad to see England so happy as that the Court may be a fit place for you to live in. I waited on the Ambassador, and made the best acknowledgments I could of his great favours and civilities to you; but I told him, your friends had no mind to it, especially as things now are, and I know you would do nothing against their inclination; with which he was well satisfied, declaring the very great kindness and esteem he had for you, and for your friend Mr Halley, in which I did not contradict him (11).' The other contents of this letter shew, that Mr Nelson had discoursed about the affair of the Comprehension with Mr Claude, minister of the French Protestant Church at Charenton, near Paris, and one of the ablest managers of the controversy against that of Rome, which his age produced, who had communicated to him his resolution not to meddle in the disputes then on foot betwixt the Church of England and the Nonconformists*. That minister had written a letter to Mr Baxter, in which he wished the Bishops would shew the Dissenters more favour; but tells him withal, that he could not see how they could be acquitted of Schism. The Dean observes shrewdly enough, that the Dissenters would hardly print this letter (12).

(10) Ibid. p. 84.

(11) P. 85, 86.

* He had been consulted on both sides in the disputes about the Comprehension. See Stillingfleet's Unreasonableness of Separation, p. 427. and Ouvres Posthumes de Monf. Claude, Tom V. p. 204, &c.

(12) Tillotson's Life, p. 84, 85.

[*D*] *He returned through the same city.*] On his second arrival at this capital, he gave Dean Tillotson an account of Mr Arnald's book, before the Dean had seen it, intituled, *Apologie pour les Catholiques*, wherein that author, attempting to remove the imputation of a seditious spirit from the professors of the Romish Church, and to transfer it upon the Protestants, undertakes to demonstrate the whole Popish plot in England, to be the mere invention of Titus Oates (13): and 'tis certain a great part of it evidently appeared afterwards to be nothing else.

(13) P. 90.

[*E*] *Soon after his arrival in England*] Immediately after his landing he went to pay his compliments to his mother, at Dryfield, whither the Dean addressed a letter to him, expressing great sollicitude to hear of his safe arrival there. This letter is dated August 18, 1682, two days after that most grievous affliction had befallen Lady Theophila Lucy, and the whole family of the Earl of Berkley, by the seduction of his Lordship's fifth daughter, Lady Henrietta, then eighteen years of age, the flower of youth and beauty; when Ford, Lord Grey of Werke, who had married Lady Mary, the Earl's fourth daughter, found means to convey her away from Durdens near Epsom in Surrey, the 20th of August, 1682; Mr Nelson must needs have had a great share in this calamity, considering his nature in general, and particular situation at this time. Though we have no evidence of it but that of his being at the pains to write out a copy of Tillotson's letter to the unfortunate young lady on this occasion (14). His Lordship, to secure the use of her to himself, linked her in a marriage with a dependant of his, one Mr Turner, who claimed her as his wife, when she was demanded by her father, after the trial of Lord Grey for seducing her, on the 23d of November following, when a verdict was given against his Lordship; whom she afterwards, with her husband, accompanied into Holland, when he fled thither in June 1683, on the detection of the Rye-house Plot (15). We have no account of the sequel of

(14) There is a transcript of this letter. Ibid. p. 92, 93.

(15) See the Tryal of Ford Lord Grey, &c. in the State Tryals.

when she openly professed herself a Roman-Catholick [*F*]. He was greatly concerned at this (which was to him an) unexpected change, and left no proper means untried, either by himself or friends, which were the ablest Divines in England (*g*) (though all proved ineffectual) (*h*) to reinstate her. In 1686, she entered the lists in the famous Popish controversy, in defence of that religion (*i*); and, in 1687, he engaged in the same controversy on the Protestant side, in a piece intituled, *Transubstantiation contrary to Scripture: or, The Protestants Answer to the Seekers request*, 4to. However, this alteration in Lady Theophila Nelson's sentiments, interessing as it was, made no alteration in the tenderness of her husband's affections towards her (*k*); and, as she laboured under an ill state of health, he accompanied her for the recovery of it to Aix la Chapelle (*l*). Having attended her there for some time, he made a trip to England in the latter end of the year 1688; but the uncertain state of the publick affairs soon determined him to return to France (*m*): whence, taking his lady (*n*) along with him, he proceeded to travel over Italy. He was much caressed in these travels by several persons of the highest rank (*o*); and, while he resided at Florence, he kept a correspondence with the Earl of Melfort, Ambassador from King James the Second to the Pope after the Revolution, as appears from his Lordship's letters to him, from May to December, 1690, extant in his own copy-book of his letters, written during his embassy (*p*). From Italy Mr Nelson taking his course through Germany, passed from the Hague [*G*], where he resided in the house of his brother-in-law the Lord Dursley, Envoy-Extraordinary to the States-General (*q*), into England. He came home in the latter end of the year 1691, entirely dissatisfied with the new change in the Government, having determined not to transfer his allegiance from King James. As he resided in or near London (*r*), a perfect agreement in religious and political sentiments presently brought him acquainted with the Reverend Mr John Kettlewell; but this new character, and the connections attending it, had no influence to separate him from his old friends; they became such, by their distinguished learning, goodness, piety, and charity, and the same ties kept them still united. Archbishop Tillotson expired in his arms in the latter end of 1694 [*H*], and Mr Kettlewell left him his sole executor and trustee on his death,

(*g*) Dr Tillotson and Dr Hickes. See rem. [*F*].

(*h*) She d'ed a Papist in 1705. Ibid.

(*i*) She is supposed to be the author of a discourse printed that year in 4to. intituled, A Discourse concerning a Judge of Controversy in matters of Religion, shewing the necessity of such a Judge.

(*k*) *Ad extremum vitæ terminum summo amore fovit, morte divulsam superstes plurimum desideravit.* Nelson's epitaph.

(*l*) So his monument. *Aquisgranum.*

(*m*) Knight's Life of Dean Colet, p. 420.

(*n*) And her son and daughter by her former husband. Tillotson's Life, p. 252.

(*o*) Kettlewell's Life, ubi supra.

(*p*) Three volumes in folio of these were bought at Paris in 1744, by Mr Barbutt, late Secretary to the Post office, and were lately in the possession of Philip-Carteret Webb, Esq; Birch's Life of Tillotson, p. 258. note (*w*).

(*q*) Id. ibid. in the text.

(*r*) Several of his letters are dated from Blackheath.

of the history of his unhappy sister-in-law, whose disgrace drove her into an obscure retirement, while her name was prostituted by one of the most licentious writers of her own sex, in that collection of letters pretended to have passed between her and her gallant, during the course of her criminal amour (16). As to Mr Nelson, how sensibly soever this misfortune might touch him, yet he met with another not long after, which touched him much nearer, as will be seen in the following remark.

[*F*] *Professed herself a Papist.*] She kept this a secret from Mr Nelson 'till he had married her, though she had been reconciled to that Church a considerable time before. The change being effected by Cardinal Philip Howard (17), at Rome. She was no sooner proselyted herself than her zeal (as might be expected), prompted her to draw her daughter, by her first husband, into the newly embraced religion. She likewise engaged with her pen in the Popish controversy then on foot, in defence of the grand fundamental of Popery, the Infallibility of the Roman Pontiff. We may form some idea of the extreme grief this was to her spouse, from the conclusion of a long letter which Dean Tillotson wrote to her on this occasion, to the following purport: That he did not doubt but that her Ladyship was as much wearied in reading so long a letter, as himself was in writing it, and that she might imagine his time lay heavy upon his hands; but the truth was, that every thing which related to Mr Nelson, lay so near his heart, that he could not say less upon such an occasion. However, this address did not avail any thing, nor yet the endeavours of Mr Nelson, who was well instructed in this cause, and whose influence must have been much greater, and who among other means used for his lady's sake, wrote a letter to an English Priest of the Roman Communion at Rome, printed in page 328. of several letters which passed between Dr George Hickes and a Popish Priest, which collection was published on this lady's account (18). But she continued in the communion of that Church 'till her death, which happened in 1705 (19). She was undoubtedly a person of fine sense and understanding; Dr Tillotson laments her case, particularly on that account, and even seems not to be absolutely free from all apprehension of the influence she might have upon her husband, in this important point. In a letter written after the Revolution to him, when he was at Florence, in his second travels abroad, touching upon the seduction of his lady and her daughter, he prays that God would preserve Mr Nelson, and her son Sir Berkley Lucy, in the truth; and so I do, continues he, for those that are fallen from it, that God would grant them repentance, to the acknowledgment of it. I pity poor Miss, who is more innocently seduced, but my lady much more, considering the degree of her understanding, and the difference of the two religions. The Archbishop afterwards seems to have taken an opportnnity of talking to Miss. In a letter to Mr Nelson, still at Florence, and wrote in June 1691, he expresses himself thus: Since this calamity (so he calls the archbishopric) befel me. I have not yet had time to deliver Sir Berkley's letter to his sister, which I intended to do at the first leisure. I am loth to visit her at Mr Knox's, and it is less fit now. I think to send for her to Mr Beale's, and there to talk with her (20).

[*G*] *From the Hague.*] While he was here, being fixed in his opinion of not complying with the Revolution, he consulted his friend the Archbishop upon the practice of those Nonjurors, who frequented the churches, and yet did not join in the prayers for their Majesties; to which his Grace returned the following answer, in a letter dated December 15, 1691. 'As 'to the case you put, I wonder men should be divided 'in opinion about it. I think it plain, that no man 'can joyn in prayers, in which there is any petition, 'which he is verily persuaded is sinful; I cannot en'dure a trick any where, much less in religion (21).' This was also Mr Kettlewell's opinion (22); and Mr Nelson was determined thereby at this time, though afterwards he changed his opinion, and differed from them both, as appears by his answer to this query, 'Whether a man may hold communion with, and joyn 'in all parts of public worship, such a church as 'uses unlawful prayers, without guilt or dissimulation? 'Answer, If by joyning in all parts of public worship, 'be meant the actual joyning in those prayers that are 'unlawful, no person can lawfully do it. For he can no 'more lawfully say Amen to what he desires not or de'tests, than he can say Amen to that which is no article 'of his faith, and which he looks upon as false. But if 'by joyning in the public prayers be meant only hold'ing communion with such a church, I think he law'fully may.' The reasons of which he assigns at large (23).

[*H*] *Tillotson expired in his arms.*] The author cited above tells us, that Mr Nelson had attended the Archbishop the two last nights of his illness. Nor did his kindness to that friend end with his life. It was continued afterwards to his widow; in a letter to Lord Sommers he writes thus:

'My

(16) Letters between Lord Grey, &c.

(17) He had been raised to the Purple by Pope Clement X. in May 1675. He was grandson of Thomas Earl of Arundel, collector of the Arundelian marbles, &c.

(18) It came out in 1705, 8vo. a little before Lady Theophila's death.

(19) Birch, p. 120, 121.

(20) Ibid. p. 252.

(21) Ibid. p. 259.

(22) Life of Kettlewell, p. 351 and 357. prefixed to his Works, in two vols, fol. 1718.

(23) Appendix to Dr Marshal's *Defence of our Constitution, &c. Lond. 1717, 8vo.*

(s) Kettlewell's Life, ubi supra.

(t) See his article.

death, which happened in the beginning of the subsequent year (s). In pursuance to this trust, he published soon after the Posthumous Works of that worthy divine (t), with a preface, wherein the author's character is attempted. This friend had likewise prevailed with Mr Nelson to take up his pen in the service of piety and devotion [I], as being likely to do more good when coming from a lay-gentleman. And in that view he published his *Companion for the Festivals and Fasts of the Church of England, with Collects and Prayers for each Solemnity*, in 1704, 8vo. This was followed by *The Great Duty of frequenting the Christian Sacrifice* [K], in 1707, 8vo. and *The Practice of True Devotion, in relation to the End, as well as the Means, of Religion, with an Office for the Holy Communion*, in 1708, 8vo. At the same time he engaged zealously in every publick scheme for advancing the honour and interest, as well as for propagating the faith and promoting the practice, of true Christianity, not only at home [L] but abroad: as the Society for the propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts; that for reformation of manners at home; several proposals for

'My Lord,

'I took the liberty to put Mr Chancellor of the Exchequer * in mind of that favourable answer you procured from the King in reference to Mrs Tillotson's affairs, in hopes that he would lay some proposals before his Majesty, for his royal approbation, in order to satisfy the necessity of Mrs Tillotson's circumstances, and that they might be dispatched before the King's departure; since, as I apprehend, matters of this nature suffer extremely by delay, and meet with the best success, when the sense of their fitness makes the deepest impression. The distance I live from town, and the aversion I have to be troublesome to great men, makes me ignorant of what progress Mr Chancellor has made, though I must own he expressed great zeal to the memory of the Archbishop, and professed much readiness and inclination to serve Mrs Tillotson.

* Charles Montague, afterwards Earl of Halifax. See his article.

'Your Lordship's generous procedure emboldens me to sollicit the continuance of your favour, being confident, that your Lordship will receive a great deal of pleasure from seeing that finished, which your Lordship's great goodness has given a birth to. And if Mr Montague wants any incitement besides your Lordship's example, your Lordship's constant owning Mrs Tillotson's cause will be an argument too powerful to be resisted. I have all the respect imaginable for your Lordship's post and character; but I must profess 'tis the experience of your Lordship's personal merit, which creates the profoundest respect of

'My Lord,

'Your Lordship's most obedient,

'and most humble Servant,

'Nelson (24).'

(24) Birch, p. 348, 349.

The warmth and heartiness of this address is almost inimitable; no wonder it had the desired effect, which was an augmentation of the widow's pension from 400 l. to 600 l. per annum.

[I] *In the service of piety and devotion.*] Mr Francis Lee, the compiler of Mr Kettlewell's life, assures us, that it was the zeal of that clergyman for the honour of religion, that first recommended him to Mr Nelson's friendship, and that it presently grew up into so unreserved a confidence, that each asked the other's advice in every thing of moment they set about, unbosoming themselves in the most interessing passages of their lives. That, for instance, Nelson did very much encourage Kettlewell to proceed in that soft and gentle manner wherein he excelled, in managing the matters in controversy; and that from the hints given by him, of the usefulness of such a certain design (then mentioned) which was very familiar to Nelson, it is not to be doubted but that he was animated by that gentleman to begin and prosecute some things for a public good, which otherwise would not have seen the light. On the other hand, Kettlewell was, to the utmost of his power, serviceable to Mr Nelson in whatever he could propose to him: but more particularly in stirring him up to exert himself generously for God, and to write for the honour of religion, which he thought might do much more good, as coming from a lay-gentleman than it would from a professed clergyman. And it is, indeed, to Kettlewell that we chiefly owe his first setting about his *Companion for the Festivals, &c.* as I remember, says Mr Lee, to have heard from his own mouth, as also the putting it into that method in which it appears; and in the manner of publishing it he told me, that he followed Kettlewell's directions altogether: and, continues this writer, were it for nothing else but what this learned and religious gentleman did in the service of the Church, for the public acts and methods of charity, which he recommended to him, Mr Kettlewell's memory ought to be for ever precious to the Church of England, for the sake of Mr Nelson, had he even not left so much as one page of his own writing behind him to be known by. And the compiling of his friend's life is wholly due to Mr Nelson, from whose hands I received the materials a little before his last sickness (25).

(25) Kettlewell's Life, p. 94.

[K] *The Christian Sacrifice.*] In the preface he dedeclares, that the substance of this piece was contained in the chapter of the vigils, in his *Companion for the Festivals, &c.* But in great deference to the concurring judgments of some worthy divines and laymen of his acquaintance, it now appeared in another dress, with some enlargements The aquaintance here mentioned, were apparently Dr Hickes and his followers. That learned divine, in 1697, had declared his opinion in favour of the doctrine of a material sacrifice, in the symbols of the Eucharist (26), and published his opinion this same year 1707 (27). This doctrine was embraced and asserted by Mr Nelson, in the treatise now under consideration, where we find him expresly declaring, 'that he had taken particular care in it, to shew this institution was not only ordained to put us in mind of those great benefits which our Saviour procured for us by his death (for what man that reflects upon his Christianity can easily forget them), but that it was also established as a sacred rite, to supplicate God the Father, by the merits of our Saviour's passion, presenting to him the symbols of his body and blood, that thereby he may become favourable and propitious to us. This sense, continues he, is agreeable to the Scriptures, as understood by those who lived nearest to the times of the Apostles, and has been evidently proved so by the learned, judicious, and pious, Mr Mede (28).' This last mentioned divine was the chief patron of the doctrine of a material sacrifice amongst the Protestants, which he started in the year 1635 (29), and it subsisted barely 'till the Restoration, and afterwards slept as it were for thirty or forty years; 'till it was revived by Dr Hickes (30) in 1697, and further urged in 1707; and after him was warmly and strenuously laboured by Mr Johnson, of Cranbrooke, in Kent (31), another of Mr Nelson's acquaintance (32).

(26) Hickes's Two Discourses, &c. p. 51, &c. 61. printed in 1732.

(27) Christian Priesthood, p. 74. edit. 2.

(28) Christian Sacrifice, p. 6, 7, 8, 9. 16th edit. in 1736.

(29) Mede's Christian Sacrifice, among his Works, edit. 1648, fol.

(30) The Christian Sacrifice explained, &c. by Dr Waterland, p 37 and 42. edit. 1738, 8vo.

(31) See his Unbloody Sacrifice, part i. p. 5. edit. 1714, 8vo.

(32) See several letters of our author to Johnson, in the preface to The Primitive Communicant, &c. published by Dr Brett in 1748, 8vo.

[L] *The practice of religion at home.*] When some of the members of the society for Reformation of Manners were complained of, as proceeding too strictly to put the laws in execution against profaneness and immorality, he defended the sincerity of their zeal; observing that he knew by experience the great expences they had been at in prosecuting constables particularly, who refused to do their duty in this respect. However, partly by the prevailing iniquity of the times, and partly by the extreme nicety that was to be observed in carrying this design into execution, it dwindled, and at length was discontinued. In his preface to *the Companion to the Festivals, &c.* our author has defended these societies from the aspersions that had then (in 1703) been cast upon them, where it appears, that he means only such as professed themselves of the Church of England, and frequented the public service of it.

[M] He

for building, repairing, or endowing, churches; particularly to all charity-schools; and, at his death, he left his whole estate to that charity. He had hitherto adhered to the communion of the deprived Bishops; but, upon the death of Dr William Lloyd, Bishop of Norwich, in the close of the year 1709 (u), he returned to the publick service of the established Church [M]. It was not long after this, that he undertook to give an account of

(u) His Lordship died Jan. 1. that year.

[M] *He returned to the public service of the established Church.*] It has been already observed in the course of these memoirs, that he was determined in this point by Bishop Ken (33), in the end of the year 1709, as mentioned above. And in consequence thereof having had some conferences with Dr Hickes upon the point, he wrote to that divine, on Thursday before Easter, April 1710, that he found himself under an obligation of changing his practice, and that he thought he ought not to neglect those advantages which attended the approaching festival. However, he thought it proper to acquaint him with his resolution, that if he had any thing further to offer he [Nelson] might consider it before Easter, and though he differed from him in this point, yet no body could have a greater value and esteem for him. The Dean's answer, dated Good Friday, is in these words: 'You may 'remember I came to you this day sevennight in the 'morning, to tell you that on Wednesday before, a 'friend of mine came to let me know, you had de- 'clared your resolution of going to church, and that 'it would be a reflection upon me, if I did not do 'something to prevent it, if I possibly could. Upon 'this, I told you, I had begun the Thursday morning 'following, to put something in writing for your 'consideration, but that I was interrupted by a long 'visit, and discouraged to proceed, because I had 'heard you had declared your resolution of leaving 'our communion for the other, and given a real proof 'by asking benediction of one of their Bishops, which 'you did not deny, nor ask me to go on; but, on the 'contrary, came to me the day following, in the 'evening, to pray me not to give myself any further 'trouble in writing upon your account, because you 'thought we had talked all we could say upon that 'subject; to which I replied, we had, I thought, 'talked but little, and seldom together of it, and 'however, that talk was at best but talk, and had not 'the advantages of writing. This, and what I often 'heard since of your declaring your resolution with all 'frankness in other places, made me think no more 'of my papers 'till yesterday, when I resolved, by 'God's assistance, to finish them, because they may 'be of use to me in confirming other persons, who are 'undetermined: but, upon reflection of what I have 'to write, I fear it will take up some time, with all 'my infirmities, to finish it, indeed more than at first 'I thought it would. However, when it is finished, 'and fit to be read, I will impart it to you, if you 'can prevail with yourself in the mean time to for- 'bear going to the public; though if it should have 'no effect upon you, after declaring yourself so often 'under an obligation of changing your practice, it 'would occasion such insulting reflections upon me, by 'many as you know are usually made in such cases, 'upon successless endeavours to convince. Such, at 'all times, has been my behaviour towards you, since 'I had the honour of your acquaintance, and so much 'experience have I had of your candour, that I doubt 'not in the least of your continuing your esteem for 'me, of which I have had so many proofs. And I do 'assure you, that your change shall never alter or di- 'minish that respect and honour for you, of which 'I have given the world public testimonies.' On the same day Mr Nelson returned an answer, and assured the Dean 'he had some difficulty to satisfy himself in a point which was not supported by his accurate judgment, and if he could have resigned himself implicitly to the determination of another, the great deference he had for him would quickly have influenced his choice. He tells him, the frequent conversations he had with him upon the subject, and the perusal of papers, which he knew had passed through his hands, together with several particulars discoursed over with him by Mr Cherry, made him think it not necessary to trouble him upon this occasion, and he is confident none but the person who came to the Dean, would have thought it any reflection upon him, if he had not given himself any further trouble. But when the Dean had declared, he had put pen to paper, in order to convince him the schism was not at an end, he thought the respect which will always be paid by him obliged him, notwithstanding the convictions of his mind, not to change his practice 'till the Dean had finished his thoughts, which he hoped he would have concluded this week. He declares he should be sorry to draw any reflections upon the Dean by his conduct, and let him determine which way soever, his much superior sense ought not to suffer, though many too frequently insult upon such occasions. 'Therefore, adds he, as 'you know the state of my mind at present, I desire 'you to judge, whether or no I should defer going to 'the publick. If you require it, I will wait 'till you 'have finished your papers, though I must own to you 'that the reasons of those who have already complied 'appear to me so convincing, that except you desire 'the contrary, I should think myself obliged to 'change my practice sooner.——The latter end of 'your letter gives me great satisfaction, for any cold- 'ness in your friendship which have been a load upon 'my mind, which would have oppressed me very 'much.—I am sure it is a great instance of your good- 'ness, that you have given me so many public and 'private testimonies of your favour; and it will be 'still a further proof of it, that the difference between 'us creates no diminution in your kindness, which I 'shall always endeavour to cultivate to the best of my 'power; and I shall reckon it, as a happy circum- 'stance of my life to be able to say of you, as some 'great man did of his friend: *Ita dissensi ab illo, ut 'in disjunctione sententiæ conjuncti tamen amicitia ma- 'neremus.*' The next day, Easter-Eve, April 8, the Dean replied as follows:

(33) See his article, rem. [O].

'Honoured Sir,

'As you know I cannot in conscience advise you to 'go to church, or in the least approve your going 'thither; so considering the declarations I know you 'have made in several places, and I doubt not in several 'others of which I have not heard, to go thither, I 'think I should be justly censured for great impru- 'dence by my friends, and for great confidence, and self- 'sufficiency by our enemies, should I take upon me, 'after so signal manifestations of your resolution, by 'which you have raised the expectations of the other 'communion, to require or desire you to defer the 'putting of it in practice, when there are so little hopes 'of convincing you, who are so far gone towards the 'other side, and even ready to enter into the church, 'that were there no more than the expressions of your 'own letters, they are enough to make me think you 'are too much fixed to be reduced by any thing I can 'write, and if you were so far gone from us to any 'other communion I should think the same. I believe, 'Sir, you would judge so of me, were you in my con- 'dition, and I in your's; and therefore prudence 'obliges me in this, as in my former letter, to leave 'you wholly to the liberty of your own judgment, 'especially considering, that should I desire you to for- 'bear going to church to-morrow, where I have 'reason to presume, you are expected, it would oc- 'casion the expectants to enquire, why you did not 'come, and oblige you to tell the reason, which being 'known, would soon become town-talk, and raise the 'expectations both of friends and enemies; and at last 'when you went thither, extremely expose me, and 'our communion, and bring upon us in the condition 'and crisis we are, and are like to continue in, all the 'indignation, scorn, and derision of the world, which 'you, I am sure, who understand the times so well, 'can better imagine, than I can express: I wish, Sir, 'you had written the letter, which you wrote to me 'on Thursday in the evening, a month or six weeks 'ago, before you were so much determined, and 'had made yourself expected at the other side, then 'the controversy might have been managed with more 'privacy between us, and without those great incon- 'veniences and mighty prejudices, to which I believe 'you cannot but think, it would now expose your 'most faithful, &c. (34).' The next day Mr Nelson went

(34) A letter written for the use of a gentleman, R. Nelson, Esq; in the Constitution of the Catholic Church, and the Nature and Consequences of Schism, &c. by G. Hickes, 1716, 8vo.

of the life and writings of Bishop Bull [*N*]. The plan he had laid for this work (in composing which he omitted nothing that his gratitude could suggest, spared no pains to embalm his learned and pious tutor's memory) led him to take notice of some passages in Dr Samuel Clarke's Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity [O]. The Life of the Bishop was published in 1713 (*w*), and the following year he was the editor of *The Scripture Doctrine of the most Holy and Undivided Trinity, vindicated from the Misrepresentations of Dr Clarke* (*x*). To which he prefixed *A Letter written by himself to that Reverend Divine* [*P*], with whom

(*w*) The whole title is, The Life of Dr George Bull, late Lord Bishop of St David's, with the History of those Controversies in which he was engaged, and an Abstract of those Fundamental Doctrines which he maintained and defended in the Latin tongue. Lond. 1713, 8vo.

(x) The supposed author of this piece was Mr (afterwards Dr) Knight, and Vicar of St Sepulchre's, London, who was not then in Orders. See Mr Nelson's letter prefixed.

went to church; and for this reason it is apparent the author never designed this letter for his view, although having begun it by way of letter to him, he still continued it in the same address. These two worthy men, notwithstanding this difference of sentiments, constantly maintained the strictest friendship, which was never interrupted but by Mr Nelson's death; an evidence whereof will appear in the ensuing remark.

[*N*] *The life of Bishop Bull*] The proposal was made to him by Mr Robert Bull, the Bishop's son, and he thought himself obliged to comply with it on several accounts. He had maintained a long and intimate friendship with his Lordship, which gave him an opportunity of being acquainted with his solid and substantial worth; he had frequently sat at his feet, as he was a preacher, and as often felt the force of those distinguishing talents, which enabled him to shine in the pulpit; but, above all, he had preserved a grateful remembrance of those advantages which he had received from him in his education (35). In speaking of the fifth discourse at the end of the Bishop's posthumous sermons †, he tells us, 'that considering the extreme nicety of the subject [viz. the state of man before the Fall] he did not chuse to rely upon his own judgment, and therefore applied to Dr Hickes, whom he stiles his learned and worthy friend. That great master, adds he, of Ecclesiastical Antiquity, and the most considerable reviver of Primitive Theology that hath appeared in our time, he then makes the doctor a fine compliment upon his skill in the northern languages. But, continues he, he excelleth in his own profession, having built his study of Divinity upon the the holy scriptures, and the Primitive Fathers of the Church, as the best expositors of those sacred writings; and hath thereby created such a regard to antiquity in the generation of young divines now rising among us, that we may hope to see the next age preserved from the infection of those Latitudinarian principles which have too much prevailed in this. His readiness to communicate his knowledge, draweth an application to him from men of the greatest figure for their talents, and renders his friendship a true and valuable blessing. But, above all, the solid and substantial piety of his conduct, maketh his example a constant instruction to those who live within the reach of it (36).' From this passage it is insinuated, that the doctor was now become so much Mr Nelson's favourite writer, as to be influenced by him into that profound silence (as 'tis called) with respect to his old friend Archbishop Tillotson in all his writings (37). 'Tis true Mr Nelson had, as we have seen, not long before professed, that if any body could influence him in matters of conscience it would be Dr Hickes; but he observes at the same time, that such an influence was what he could not be governed by, and accordingly the very instance then attempted in vain by the doctor demonstrates the truth of that assertion; why then is not conviction from reason and argument alone, allowed to have it's just effect in producing an agreement, as it had in a disagreement with Dr Hickes and other Nonjurors. In the same spirit we find it recorded, that Dr Tillotson procured a prebend of Gloucester for Mr [afterwards Bishop] Bull, upon the single authority of Mr Wood with this censure, 'Mr Nelson in his life of Bishop Bull * mentions nothing of the Dean of Canterbury's endeavours in obtaining that prebend (38). 'Tis true he attributes this promotion to Dr Sharpe, next to Mr Bull's own extraordinary merit (39). Here Mr Wood's authority in a general treatise is preferred to Mr Nelson's in a particular one upon the subject. The truth is too apparent, Mr Nelson's piety was at least not inferior to that of Dr Tillotson, and his Church principles being very different from those of that divine, was it not thought necessary to blemish them with the charge of prejudice? in order to make him a proper victim to the Archbishop's supposed superior strength of understanding.'

(35) Preface to Bishop Bull's Life.

† These were publishdd by Mr Nelson, under the title of Important Points of Primitive Christianity maintained and defended, &c. in 3 vols, 8vo.

(36) Nelson's Life of Bishop Bull, p. 512, 513, 514.

(37) Birch's Life of Tillotson, p. 69.

* P. 276—280.

(38) Birch, p. 53. and note (*m*).

(39) Life of Bishop Bull, p. 278, & seq. See Bishop Bull's article in this Work.

[O] *Some passages in Dr Clarke's Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity.*] Dr Clarke's treatise came out this very year 1712. While Mr Nelson was engaged in this work, that learned and ingenious writer, in regard to Bishop Bull's celebrated name, had cited him in defence of his own opinion, concerning the Trinity, which being thought by Mr Nelson to be very injurious to the Bishop's memory, he animadverted upon it as follows: 'The ingenious and learned Dr Clarke hath, in his Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity, printed this year, no less than thirty citations out of this very treatise [Defensio Fidei Nicenæ, &c] and almost all of them are represented in a very different view from that which our author certainly had in writing those passages, as are also the citations out of the Fathers themselves, which Dr Clarke here met with, and hath accommodated to his own purpose, and that frequently without so much as the least notice taken of the explication and answers given them by our author. He then proceeds to vindicate Dr Bull's opinion, from the charge brought against it by some, of being agreeable to that of Dr Clarke, by a representation of each, and continues thus: one would indeed be almost tempted to believe that Bishop Bull had, from the many passages that this learned doctor hath picked up out of him, with much art, in order to support his own scheme, been altogether of his mind; or that at least his manner of writing must have been very perplexed without any connexion or consistence of principles, and as holding forth frequently a double meaning. But that this is no part of his character, the very passages appealed to by the very doctor himself to exemplify how naturally truth can prevail, as he will have it, by it's own native evidence, are more than sufficient to prove; for which reason I have drawn up a list of them, that the equal and impartial examiner may be fully informed of the matter *. Upon the whole, he concludes, that Bishop Bull never asserted the subordination of the Son, so as to deny that supremacy which belongs to the Son as well as his Father. That this was his own opinion there can be no doubt. For, says he, certain it is that Dr Clarke, who had so ample a collection of testimonies concerning the Trinity before him, in this treatise [of Bishop Bull's] as well as in Petavius, hath not made that use of these, as this indefatigable and judicious collector did; or which might have been expected from a person of so great a character in the Church and learned world as Dr Clarke. However, he allows that the doctor ingenuously acknowledgeth, that he does not cite places out of these authors, or them who have written since the Council of Nice, so much to shew what was the opinion of the writers themselves, as to shew how naturally truth sometimes prevails by it's own native clearness and evidence, even against the strongest and most settled prejudices. He likewise asserts, that though Dr Clarke asserts the greatest part of the Fathers before and at the Council of Nice were really of that opinion, which he endeavours to set forth in his propositions, which makes the second part of his pretended scripture doctrine; yet he owns, nevertheless, they do not always speak very clearly and consistently. By which I suppose he meaneth, that they do not always plainly support his scheme. This charge however, says he, I do not find laid by him against our author' (40).

* They are accordingly so drawn out.

(40) Life of Bishop Bull, p. 322, & seq.

[*P*] *A letter to Dr Clarke.*] In this letter he takes notice that he had, with the Doctor, been animadverted upon by a very zealous and learned divine of our Church, for not coming up [in his life of Bishop Bull] to his measures of orthodoxy, and censured for that very part of his good Bishop's life, 'In which you, 'says he, are more particularly concerned; as if I 'there shewed myself too favourable to you, and 'your doctrine, and made too near approaches to'wards Arianism.' That the Doctor had, however, declared to him in a private conversation, with great candour and ingenuity, that he had, in his opinion, discharged the part of an historian [as was his duty] faithfully: since it was not in his province as such, to debate those scholastical and critical points, in which some

whom he had had a private conference before upon the ſubject. From this time the diſtemper under which he had long laboured, an aſthma and dropſy in the breaſt, increaſing to a dangerous degree, being heightened, as is thought, by the extraordinary application he uſed in writing the Life of Biſhop Bull, it was not long before he retired to Kenſington, where it put a period to his life on the 16th of January, 1714-15, at the age of fifty-nine years. He died in the houſe of his couſin Mrs Wolf, daughter of Sir Gabriel Roberts, (y) Knight's Life of Dr Colet, ubi ſupra.
then a widow *(y)*. His body was carried to the chapel (now a parochial church) of Ormond-

ſome great maſters of controverſy have loſt themſelves; and that he never thought it would have been expected by any, that in an hiſtory he ſhould have entered into the detail of the abſtruſeſt queſtions, or have diſcuſſed the various acceptations of ſuch terms, as he had occaſion to uſe after great men, who had taken them in the ſame ſenſe before him. That notwithſtanding this challenge he had no thoughts of appearing any more in this controverſy, nor to adventure the loſing himſelf in the *τὰ βάθη τοῦ Θεοῦ*. That he had been induced to lend his name to the preſent treatiſe, merely to ſupply that condition which was required in this controverſy by the Doctor, and which the author could not be prevailed with to do [to whoſe opinion however, Nelſon clearly enough intimates his concurrence]. He declares his approbation of the Doctor's method in going to the fountain head, the Scriptures, for ſettling this important point; but obſerves, the ſenſe he puts upon them is not conſiſtent with the received doctrine and worſhip of the Church of England, and conſequently not agreeable to Scriptures as delivered down to us by our firſt Reformers, that is, in the ſenſe which the Catholic Fathers and Primitive Biſhops have thence collected; and therefore he hopes the Doctor will not proceed in a method of interpreting Scripture, which threatens the overturning of foundations both ſacred and civil. '*If*, continues he, *the Judges and* '*others learned in the law, ſhall follow the ſame me-* '*thod of interpreting the laws of the land, and ac-* '*commodating the civil oaths and engagements as you* '*have taken in interpreting and accommodating the* '*ſenſe of the Church, in her moſt authentic forms and* '*declarations before God and man, and of the venera-* '*ble Fathers of the Catholic Church; there are many* '*of this opinion, that every thing might eaſily be leap-* '*ed over, and that no eſtabliſhment could be ſo ſtrong* '*as to laſt long; which being conſidered, it is pre-* '*ſumed, that you cannot take it amiſs, if this be a* '*little further enquired into, for the ſake of what is* '*ſo dear to yourſelf. For who knows whereabouts his* '*religion, liberty, or property may be, if ſuch a lati-* '*tude of interpretation be defenſible, as is avouched in* '*your third part openly, and is therefore ſuſpected in* '*your firſt and ſecond. This will deſerve to be ſet to* '*rights.*' Conformably to this laſt hint, Dr Clarke, who had ſubſcribed the Articles, &c. with this reſerve, ſo far as agreeable to the word of God, meaning thereby (as he declares himſelf) his own ſenſe of that word, being convinced this was not the ſenſe of the Church that required *that* ſubſcription as a teſt, declined all ſubſcription afterwards. He wrote an anſwer to Mr Nelſon and the anonymous author, in which he highly extols Mr Nelſon's courteſy and candour, very becoming his own character and that of a perſon of ſo much real worth, as he always acknowledged to be in Mr Nelſon; and this gentleman having mentioned Dr Wells's letter to Dr Clarke, in the then preſent controverſy, as a piece thought by many not unworthy his conſideration, the Doctor accordingly did write an anſwer to thoſe remarks. In the laſt of theſe Dr Wells had ſignified the neceſſity there was of removing Dr Clarke out of the Church, declaring withal, that in ſubſcribing the Articles he had managed it ſo, that it would be very difficult to deprive him of his preferment: To this Dr Clarke replied, that there would be no difficulty at all to turn, or keep, him out of ſuch a Church as was governed by a ſpirit of perſecution. Mr Nelſon had ſuggeſted his diſlike of this part of Dr Wells's performance, declaring, that if indeed he had, according to the weight and dignity of the ſubject, conſidered it throughout as carefully as he was able (which are Dr Clarke's words); there was no ſufficient reaſon, in his opinion, for any learned perſon who might think him miſtaken, to treat him angrily, and in the ſpirit of Popery; whereupon Dr Clarke cloſes this anſwer to Dr Wells in theſe words, I will conclude the whole with ſetting before you, as in a glaſs, a lively and exact picture of the different ſpirits of men, in the words of a perſon as heartily zealous for the authority and traditions of the Church as any learned Proteſtant in Chriſtendom. It is the ingenious Robert Nelſon, Eſq; in his life of the Right Reverend Biſhop Bull, who ſpeaking upon that Biſhop's explication of the Doctrine of Juſtification, which is now as univerſally received and followed, as it was then contrary to the general opinion of Divines. Now, ſays Mr Nelſon, as the method of our author was always to ſeek truth at the fountain head, whatever reſpect he might have for our firſt Reformers, and ſome other great Divines, both foreigners and natives, he could by no means take up with their authority, though never ſo pompouſly ſet off, but was for going directly to the very originals, and for conſulting the moſt ancient and unexceptionable witneſſes where any difference might happen to ariſe concerning them. Accordingly he betook himſelf, in the very firſt place, to the Holy Scriptures, and here he prudently beginneth with that which is obvious and plain, rather than that
which is ambiguous and obſcure (41). Yet notwith- (41) Bull's Life, p. 104.
ſtanding all this caution of his, in the treating of this point that had been rendered ſo abſtruſe, more by the laborious diſputations of Divines, than by the nature of the thing itſelf, or of the revelation concerning it; there was preſently no ſmall alarm, both in the Church and out of it, from Mr Bull's performance, as if the Church of England, and the whole Proteſtant Religion were by it in danger. For his departure herein from the private opinion of ſome Doctors, though in obedience to her rule, was by ſeveral interpreted no leſs
than a departure from the Faith by her delivered (42). (42) P. 97.
Hence there aroſe in the Church no ſmall contention,
which is not to be wondered at (43). Some publick- (43) P. 98, 99.
ly triumphed over him for underſtanding St Paul no better, and for not attending enough to the doctrine
of his own Church (44). Others, as if he were not (44) P. 225.
to be held for an Heretick only, but an Hereſiarch
too (45). That Mr Bull's explication was properly (45) P. 211.
heretical in the Reformed Churches (46). Some- (46) P. 214.
ſtirred up ſeveral of the Biſhops to make uſe of their Apoſtolical authority, &c. committed to them (47).
Some there were more violent, &c. as if the Faith (47) P. 109.
was undermined and overturned (48). Some there
were more wiſe, &c. not to determine without the (48) P. 166.
help of the cleareſt light (49): Some were the moſt
zealous to oppoſe—by their urged antiquity (50). (49) P. 98.
There could have been no difficulty concerning—had
their account of what the Catholick Church taught, (50) P. 102.
been propoſed with the truth (51). Some not allow-
ing themſelves time in the queſtion they undertook (51) P. 123.
to defend (52), ſet themſelves to defend it by the
Body of Divinity (53). But he [Bull] affirming the (52) P. 146.
conſent of the Catholick Church (54); yet with
much ingenuity confeſſes, that as matters were (53) P. 172.
come, &c. this is an obſervation that is very juſt—
Nay, did I know a better excuſe for—good and learn- (54) P. 335.
ed men to do them right (55). The deſign of theſe
extracts appeared viſibly enough, without an expreſs (55) P. 233.
application. Dr Clarke evidently intended to repreſent Biſhop Bull's caſe, with reſpect to the doctrine of Juſtification, as a perfect image of his own, in regard to his doctrine of the Trinity; which he often declared would one day become as clearly the doctrine of the Church of England, as Biſhop Bull's doctrine of Juſtification then was, upon the maxim *magna eſt veritas & prevalebit*. How far that propheſy may be fulfilled is an event yet hidden in the womb of time; it is certain theſe citations manifeſt the great regard he had for Mr Nelſon, of which he gave ſtill a further proof. Dr Wells returned an anſwer to this letter, to which Dr Clarke made no direct reply, but in reſpect to Mr Nelſon, who ſeemed to eſpouſe Dr Wells as a friend, he acquainted him with the cauſe of it in a piece addreſſed to him, and the anonymous author publiſhed by him, which he declares to be the rudeneſs of the
ſtile and manner of that Doctor (56). (56) P. 213.

mond-ftreet, on the 6th of February following, where his funeral-fermon was preached by Dr John Marfhall, LL.D. wherein his character for learning, piety, charity, and humanity, is fully reprefented (z). After which the corpfe was conveyed to the new burying-ground in Lambs-Conduit-fields (aa); where a monument was afterwards erected to his memory, with an epitaph in Latin, written by the elegant pen of Dr George Smalridge, Bifhop of Briftol. Our author publifhed fome other pieces befides thofe already mentioned, a lift of which is inferted below [Q].

(z) It was printed foon after.

(aa) He was the firft perfon buried in this cœmetary, and it was done to reconcile others to the place, who had taken an unfurmountable prejudice againft it; but it produced the defired effect.

[Q] *A lift of which is inferted below.*] Thefe are (1) *A Letter on Church Government, in anfwer to a Pamphlet intituled,* The Principles of the Proteftant Reformation. Lond. 1705. (2) *An Addrefs to Perfons of Quality and Eftate,* to which is added an Appendix of fome original Papers, 1715, 8vo. (3) *The whole Duty of a Chriftian, by way of Queftion and Anfwer*; defigned for the Ufe of the Charity-Schools in and about London. He likewife publifhed Thomas à Kempis's Chriftian Exercife: The Archbifhop of Cambray's Paftoral Letter; with fome pofthumous pieces of Bifhop Bull; and feveral letters written to himfelf, which fhew how much he was known and refpected by Princes, Minifters of State, Noblemen, and Gentlemen of character both at home and abroad, in the parts where he travelled. P

NEWTON [Sir ISAAC] was defcended of an ancient family (a), which had it's origin at Newton in Lancafhire; but removing thence, was afterwards feated at Weftby in Lincolnfhire, and, about the year 1370, becoming poffeffed of the manor of Woolftrope in the fame county, fixed it's refidence upon that demefne. Here this prodigy of mathematical learning was born, upon Chriftmas-day 1642. His father dying, left him lord of that manor while he was yet a child, and a few years after his mother engaged in a fecond marriage; however, being a woman of good fenfe and of an ancient family herfelf of the name of Afcough (b), fhe did not neglect to take a becoming care of her fon's education; and, at twelve years of age, put him to the free-fchool at Grantham in the fame county. It was her defign not to breed him a fcholar; therefore, after he had been at fchool fome years, he was taken home, that (being deprived as he was of his father) he might betimes get an infight into his own affairs, and be able the fooner to manage them himfelf. But upon trial, the youth fhewed fo little difpofition to turn his thoughts that way, and at the fame time ftuck fo clofe to his book, that his mother concluded it beft to let him purfue the bent of his own inclinations. For that purpofe fhe fent him back to Grantham, whence, at eighteen years of age, he removed to Cambridge, where he was admitted into Trinity-college in 1660 (c). We have taken notice in another place (d), that the ftudy of the Mathematicks had been introduced into the univerfity in the beginning of this century. From that period the elements of Geometry and Algebra became generally one branch of a tutor's lectures to his pupils; but particularly Mr Newton, at his admiffion, found Mr (afterwards Dr) Barrow, the moft eminent Mathematician of the time, Fellow of his college: Mr Lucas alfo dying fhortly after, left by his Will the appointment for founding his mathematical lecture, which was fettled in 1663, and Mr Barrow (e) chofen the firft Profeffor. Our author, therefore, in turning his thoughts to the Mathematicks, feems to have done no more than fall in, as well with his own particular fituation, as with the general tafte of that time; but then it is univerfally confeffed, he did it with a genius that was fuperior to all that ever went before him in any time, Archimedes only excepted. For a beginning he took up Euclid's Elements, he run his eye over the book, and at fight was mafter of every propofition in it (f). This done, the youthful vigour of his underftanding would not fuffer him to ftay and fit down, in order to contemplate the fingular excellence in that author's elegant manner of demonftrating, whereby the whole feries and connection of the truths advanced is continually kept in view up to their firft principles. This neglect, however, he was fenfible of in his riper age; but his ingenuity in confeffing an error, which otherwife no body could have furmized, and that too after he was grown equally full of years and honour, by fetting out in another way, was in him only a flender inftance of a moft amiable fimplicity of difpofition. It was not 'till the latter part of his life, that Dr Pemberton (g) became known to him, and then 'He fpoke 'even with regret of this miftake at the beginning of his mathematical ftudies, in applying 'himfelf to the works of Des Cartes and other Algebraic writers, before he had confidered 'the Elements of Euclid with that attention which fo excellent a writer deferves.' After all, if this was a fault in him, it was a fault that actually gave birth to all thofe vaft improvements which he afterwards made in thefe fciences. The truth is, when he came to the college, Des Cartes was all the vogue. That eminent Mathematician and Philofopher had greatly extended the bounds of Algebra, in the way of expreffing geometrical lines (h) by algebraical equations, and thereby introduced a new method of treating Geometry. Our author ftruck into this new analytical way, and prefently faw to the end of the fartheft advances made by Des Cartes; but having founded the depth of that author's underftanding, without feeling the extenfive power of his own, he proceeded to read thofe pieces of Dr Wallis [A] which were then printed, and particularly his *Arithmetica Infinitorum.*

(a) Sir John Newton, Bart. fprung from a younger branch of this family.

(b) Her maiden name was Hannah Afcough.

(c) See our author's Eloge by Mr Fontenelle.

(d) In the Life of Mr William Oughtred.

(e) See his Life, in the Lives of the Profeffors of Grefham College, by Mr John Ward, p. 161. edit. Lond. 1740, fol.

(f) Fontenelle, ubi fupra.

(g) See the preface to his View of Sir Ifaac Newton's Philofophy, edit. Lond. 1728, 4to.

(h) See his Geometry by Schooten, Leyden, 1649, 4to.

[A] *He proceeded to read thofe pieces of Dr Wallis.*] From fome original papers, now in the hands of the Earl of Macclesfield, it appears, that our author had read Oughtred's Clavis and Des Cartes's Geometry in the beginning of the year 1663, having then likewife borrowed Dr Wallis's Works; and it is feen by an account of his expences the fame year, that about Chriftmas, when he became twenty-one years of age, he bought Des Cartes's Geometry, together with Schooten's Mifcellanies.

[B] He

Infinitorum. Here our author first found that matter which set his boundless invention to work. In this ingenious performance, the celebrated author had carried the mensuration of curve-lined figures to a pitch which had not as yet been exceeded. Amongst others, he had squared, or given the areas of a series of curves expressed in the way of Des Cartes, by algebraic equations, proceeding in a certain geometrical progression, whereby it easily appeared, as he shews, that, if between each of these areas another could be found, so that, the terms of the aggregate series after such intepolation should be to each other, continually in the same scale of proportion, then the first of the interpoled areas would give the quadrature of the circle. But, how to perform this interpolation, was to him an insuperable difficulty, here, therefore, he was forced to put a stop to his researches, at this period. In the winter, between the years 1664 and 1665, Mr Newton *(i)* took up the subject, and though scarcely twenty-two years old presently passed the bounds that nature had set to his great præcursor [*B*], and from this beginning, by an amazing sagacity, joined

(i) See his original papers mentioned in note (*a*).

[*B*] *He passed the bounds that nature had set to his great præcursor.*] At the request of Mr Leibnitz in 1676, our author gave an account of the particular manner of his finding out the interpolation of Dr Wallis's series (1). In *Arithmetica Infinitorum*, prop. 118, 121, the author had given a series of curves, in which the base or common axis being x, and the ordinates $\overline{1-xx}^{\,\frac{0}{2}}$. $\overline{1-xx}^{\,\frac{1}{2}}$. $\overline{1-xx}^{\,\frac{2}{2}}$. $\overline{1-xx}^{\,\frac{3}{2}}$. $\overline{1-xx}^{\,\frac{4}{2}}$. $\overline{1-xx}^{\,\frac{5}{2}}$. &c. he observed, that if the areas of the alternate curves, which are $\frac{1}{1}x$, $\frac{1}{1}x - \frac{1}{3}x^3$, $\frac{1}{1}x - \frac{2}{3}x^3 + \frac{1}{5}x^5$, $\frac{1}{1}x - \frac{3}{3}x^3 + \frac{3}{5}x^5 - \frac{1}{7}x^7$, could be interpoled, we should have the areas of the intermediate curves, the first of which $\overline{1-xx}^{\,\frac{1}{2}}$ is the circle. Considering how to perform this, Mr Newton remarked, that in every area the first term was x, and that the second terms, $\frac{0}{3}x^3$, $\frac{1}{3}x^3$, $\frac{2}{3}x^3$, $\frac{3}{3}x^3$, &c. were in an arithmetical progression, and therefore that the two first terms of the series to be interpoled must be $x\frac{\frac{1}{2}x^3}{3}$, $x - \frac{\frac{3}{2}x^3}{3}$, $x - \frac{\frac{5}{2}x^3}{3}$, &c, Then to interpole the rest he observed, that the denominators, 1, 3, 5, 7, &c. were in arithmetical progression; so that it only remained to investigate the numeral co-efficients of the numerators. But these, in the alternate given areas, appeared to be the figures which constitute the powers of the number 11. viz. 11^0. 11^1. 11^2. 11^3. 11^4. that is, in the first 1; in the second 1, 1; in the third 1, 2, 1; in the fourth 1, 3, 3, 1; in the fifth 1, 4, 6, 4, 1; &c. He therefore considered how the rest of the figures in these series might be derived from the two first, and found, that putting m for the second figure, the rest would be produced by the continual multiplication of the terms of this series; $\frac{m-0}{1} \times \frac{m-1}{2} \times \frac{m-2}{3} \times \frac{m-3}{4} \times \frac{m-4}{5}$ &c. For instance, let (the second term) $m = 4$; then, $4 \times \frac{m-1}{2}$ or 6, will be the third term; and $6 \times \frac{m-2}{3}$ or 4, will be the fourth term; and $4 \times \frac{m-3}{4}$ or 1, will be the fifth term; and $1 \times \frac{m-4}{5}$ or 0, will be the sixth term, where the series in this case terminates. This done, he applied the rule for interpoling these series; and as for the circle the second term was already found to be $\frac{\frac{1}{2}x^3}{3}$, he put $m = \frac{1}{2}$; and the terms came out $\frac{1}{2} \times \frac{\frac{1}{2}-1}{2}$ or $-\frac{1}{8}$; $-\frac{1}{8} \times \frac{\frac{1}{2}-2}{3}$ or $+\frac{1}{16}$; $+\frac{1}{16} \times \frac{\frac{1}{2}-3}{4}$ or $-\frac{5}{128}$ and so on in infinitum. Whence he discovered the area of the circular segment which was sought, to be $x - \frac{\frac{1}{2}x^3}{3} - \frac{\frac{1}{8}x^5}{5} - \frac{\frac{1}{16}x^7}{7} - \frac{\frac{5}{128}x^9}{9}$ &c. By the like process he interpoled the areas of the other curves in the given series, as also the area of the hyperbola and the rest of the alternate curves in this series, $\overline{1+xx}^{\,\frac{0}{2}}$, $\overline{1+xx}^{\,\frac{1}{2}}$, $\overline{1+xx}^{\,\frac{2}{2}}$, $\overline{1+xx}^{\,\frac{3}{2}}$, &c. and pursuing this method, he found that the area of the circular sector, whose sign is x, the radius being unity, might be expressed by this series, $x - \frac{1}{6}x^3 - \frac{1}{40}x^5 - \frac{1}{112}x^7 - \frac{1}{1152}x^9$, &c. And hence, from no other consideration, than that the arc has the same proportion to it's sector, as the whole quadrant has to an arc of 90 degrees, he readily derived the series $x + \frac{1}{6}x^3 + \frac{3}{40}x^5 \frac{5}{112}x^7 + \frac{35}{1152}x^9$ &c. for the length of the arc whose sign is x. At the same time (in the winter between 1664 and 1665) and in the same manner, he found the series $x - \frac{1}{2}x^2 + \frac{1}{3}x^3 - \frac{1}{4}x^4 + \frac{1}{5}x^5 - \frac{1}{6}x^6$ &c. to be the hyperbolic area in the rectangular hyperbola intercepted between the curve, it's asymptote, and two ordinates whose diameter is x parallel to the other asymptote. But now having got thus far, he began to consider, that the terms $\overline{1-xx}^{\,\frac{0}{2}}$, $\overline{1-xx}^{\,\frac{2}{2}}$, $\overline{1-xx}^{\,\frac{4}{2}}$, $\overline{1-xx}^{\,\frac{6}{2}}$, &c. that is 1, $1 - xx$, $1 - 2xx + x^4$, $1 - 3xx + 3x^4 - x^6$, &c. might be interpoled in the same manner as the areas generated by them; and to this nothing more was requisite, than to omit the denominators, 1, 3, 5, 7, &c. in the terms expressing the areas; that is, the co-efficients of the terms of the quantity to be interpoled $\overline{1-xx}^{\,\frac{1}{2}}$, or $\overline{1-xx}^{\,\frac{3}{2}}$, or in general $\overline{1-xx}^{\,m}$, would arise from the continual multiplication of the terms of this series, $m \times \frac{m-1}{2} \times \frac{m-2}{3} \times \frac{m-3}{4}$ &c. Thus, for instance, $\overline{1-xx}^{\,\frac{1}{2}}$ would be $1 - \frac{1}{2}x^2 - \frac{1}{8}x^4 - \frac{1}{16}x^6$, &c. And $\overline{1-xx}^{\,\frac{3}{2}}$ would be $= 1 - \frac{3}{2}x^2 + \frac{3}{8}x^4 - \frac{1}{16}x^6$ &c. and $\overline{1-xx}^{\,\frac{1}{3}}$ would be $= 1 - \frac{1}{3}xx - \frac{1}{9}x^4 - \frac{5}{81}x^6$ &c. or in general, $\overline{a+x}^{\,m} = a^m + ma^{m-1}x + \frac{ma}{1} \times \frac{m-1}{2}a^{m-2}x^2 \times \frac{m}{1} \times \frac{m-1}{2} \times \frac{m-2}{3}a^{m-3}x^3$, &c. Where the letters are used for any quantities taken together, with the signs + or − affecting them, that is, $\overline{a+x}^{\,m}$ signifies $+\overline{\pm a \pm x}^{\,+\pm m}$ and the index m may also be any number whole or fracted, or surd, affirmative or negative. This he soon improved into

(1) Commercium Epistolicum D. Johan Collins, &c. printed at Lond. 1712, 4to. No. LV.

joined to the moſt intenſe application, carried the doctrine of infinite ſeries in leſs than two years time almoſt to perfection. But this could be completed only by the help of the method of Fluxions, which was invented by him, in the ſpring of the year 1665, and took it's riſe from a circumſtance not much unlike that which gave birth to the former. Mr Fermat had, about the year 1630, hit upon a way of determining the *maxima* and *minima*, by a method of the ſame kind with that of Fluxions [*C*]; he had likewiſe drawn tangents to curves, in ſome of the leſs difficult caſes. An inſtance of this method is given by Andrew à Schooten, in his commentary on Des Cartes's Geometry, printed in 1649. Mr Newton reading that author (*k*), in 1663 [*D*], took notice of this method, and remarked that it was confined to ſimple rational quantities only. Therefore, having now, by purſuing the method of interpolation, found out his famous binomial theorem, and made it general, by the happy thought of uſing indefinite indices, or exponents of powers *; he obſerved, the rule for drawing tangents, which he had ſeen in Schooten, thereby became univerſal, and might be extended by this means to quantities involved either in fractions or ſurds (and with the ſame eaſe too) as to rational powers or roots: after this he preſently perceived the way of applying the ſame rule to find the degree of curvature in curves at any given point; and being now ſenſible, that this rule, by the help of his indefinite indices, would ſerve for finding the proportion of indeterminate quantities of any kind, he thought of laying a foundation ſuitable to the large extent of it. To this end, he conſidered, that mathematical quantity might, very agreeably to nature, and even daily experience, be conceived as generated by local motion, either uniform or continually accelerated, and that either in one unvarying proportion, or changing in any given rule of variation. To reduce ſo general a principle into a proper form for calculation, he obſerves, firſt

(*k*) See the note [*A*].

* By this means the operations of multiplication, diviſion, and extraction of roots, were reduced to one common way of conſidering them; whence the bounds of analyſis were much extended, and a foundation laid for it's becoming univerſal.

into a general rule, for reducing any power of a binomial into an approximating or converging ſeries by the following theorem. $\overline{P+PQ}^{\frac{m}{n}} = P^{\frac{m}{n}} + \frac{m}{n}AQ + \frac{m-n}{2n}BQ + \frac{m\,3\,n}{4n}CQ + \frac{m-3n}{6n}DQ +$ &c. Here $P+PQ$ expreſſes the quantity, whoſe root, or any power, or root of any power, is ſought. P expreſſes the firſt term of the quantity, Q the reſt of the terms divided by the firſt, $\frac{m}{n}$ the numeral index of the power $P+PQ$, whether an integer or a fraction, affirmative or negative. For $\sqrt{a}$, $\sqrt{a^3}$, writing $a^{\frac{1}{2}}$ $a^{\frac{3}{2}}$; for $\frac{1}{a}$, $\frac{1}{aa}$, writing a^{-1}, a^{-2}; for $\frac{aa}{\sqrt{c.a^3+bbx}}$, writing $aa \times \overline{a^3+bbx}^{-\frac{1}{3}}$. And thus the general reduction of radical quantities into infinite ſeries, that is the binomial theorem, was found out by interpolation, before he knew the extraction of roots; but the firſt once known, the latter did not long remain undiſcovered. For, in order to prove the truth of theſe operations, he multiplied $1 - \frac{1}{2}x^2 - \frac{1}{8}x^4 - \frac{1}{16}x^6$ into itſelf, and the product appeared $1 - xx$, the reſt of the terms in infinitum vaniſhing by the continuation of the ſeries: and thus $1 - \frac{1}{3}xx - \frac{1}{9}x^4 - \frac{1}{81}x^6$ drawn twice into itſelf, produced alſo $1 - xx$. This unavoidably led him to try, whether theſe ſeries, which now appeared to be the roots of the quantity $1 - xx$, could not be extracted from it by the rules of common arithmetic, and the trial anſwered his expectation. After he ſaw this, he dropped the way of interpoling ſeries, and made uſe of extractions as the more genuine foundation. In the mean time, the reduction by diviſion was not unknown to him, being a matter of much leſs difficulty. Hence he went on, and, in the ſpring of the ſame year 1665, found the reſolution of affected equations in ſpecies. By the way of interpolation, the quadrature of all curves became known, whoſe ordinates being given, are the powers of binomials affected with indices, whole, fracted, or ſurd, affirmative or negative. And, by the reſolution of equations, he diſcovered, è converſo, the length of the ordinates or ſegments of the axes, or any other right lines whatſoever, from the areas or arcs of curves being given. In the ſummer of 1665, being obliged to retire from Cambridge on account of the plague, he went to Boothby in Lincolnſhire, where he computed the area of the hyperbola by the forementioned ſeries to two and fifty figures. This appears by his original papers found after his death; for he was himſelf aſhamed to own that he had indulged his fancy ſo fruitleſsly. Theſe are his words (2): *Pudet dicere ad quot figurarum loca has computationes otioſus eo tempore produxi. Nam tunc ſane nimis delectabar inventis hiſce.*

(2) See his ſecond letter to Mr Leibnitz in 1676, ubi ſupra.

[*C*] *Mr Fermat had hit upon a method of the ſame kind with that of Fluxions.*] His method was firſt publiſhed by Herigon in his *Curſus Mathematicus* in 1631. It was thus: In any equation involving two unknown quantities, ſuppoſe x and y, to find when either of them, ſuppoſe y, is greateſt or leaſt, Mr Fermat puts the letter (not cypher) o for the indefinitely ſmall difference of the two values of the other quantity x, and putting $x + o$ for x has a new equation, and by reducing theſe two equations, and making the difference o decreaſe and vaniſh, finds the greateſt or leaſt quantity. Archimedes, by the proportion of the increaſe of lines, drew tangents to ſpirals; and his method was here applied by Mr Fermat, to the newly-invented way of expreſſing curve lines by algebraic equations.

[*D*] *Mr Newton reading that author in* 1663.] His manner of ſtudying, as is ſeen by his books (3), was to make notes upon the books as he read them, and very conſiderable improvements are found in theſe notes, upon the ſubjects which the authors that he read at this time treat of. In the 59th propoſition of the *Arithmetica Infinitorum*, Dr Wallis, by collecting ſeveral particulars into a table of caſes, had ſhewn, that if the abſciſſa of any curvilinear figure be called x, let m and n be numbers, and the ordinates erected at right angles be $x^{\frac{m}{n}}$; then the area of the figure ſhall be $\frac{n}{m+n}x^{\frac{m+n}{n}}$.

(3) Some of theſe are in the ſame hands with his original papers, ubi ſupra; and the reſt, which made the greateſt part of his library, were purchaſed by the late Mr Huggens of St Martin's-Lane, London, whoſe ſon was a little while ago poſſeſſed of them.

Mr Newton, in the ſummer of the year 1665, conſidering this propoſition, luckily thought of uſing m and n indefinitely for any quantity *; and in this way having reduced all the caſes into one, expreſſed by a power with an indefinite index, he ſaw that Mr Fermat's way of determining the maxima and minima might be applied to it. This, therefore, he preſently extended into his method of Moments, and by that method demonſtrated that propoſition at once, which Dr Wallis had been able to prove only by Induction. This is the firſt rule in his Analyſis of Fluxions, which with his Infinite Series, before the end of the year 1666, and when he was not yet four and twenty years old, he extended ſo univerſally, that in all mathematical enquiries whatſoever, ſuppoſing their determinations to be poſſible, the ſeries either ſtopt at a certain point, or at leaſt their ſums were given by ſtated rules: but if the abſolute determinations were impoſſible, they could yet be infinitely approximated; which Monſieur de Fontenelle obſerves, is the happieſt and moſt refined method of ſupplying the defects of human knowledge, that man's imagination could poſſibly invent.

* Dr Wallis had introduced indefinite indices, but did not apply them to explicate or demonſtrate his theorem; the reaſon of which ſee in his article.

[*E*] *Had*

first of all, that as hereby quantities became greater or less, according to the greater or lesser velocities of the motion with which they were generated, hence the whole business consisted in determining the proportion of these velocities. But the consideration of different degrees of velocity necessarily involved that of time, and absolutely depended upon it. Therefore, he compared the motions of all other quantities with that of time; and from the flowing of time, and the moments thereof, he gave the name of flowing quantities to all quantities which increase in time, and that of Fluxions to the velocities of their increase, and that of moments to their parts generated in moments of time; observing then, that time flowed uniformly, he represented it by some other quantity, which was considered as flowing uniformly (for instance, in determining the areas of curve-lined figures, he represented it generally by equal parts of the abscissa, and it's Fluxion by an unit), and considering the moments of time, or of it's exponent, as equal to one another, such moments he commonly represented by the letter *o* drawn into an unit. The other flowing quantities he represented by the ordinate, in computing the quadrature of curves, or generally, by the final letters of the alphabet, x, y, z; their Fluxions by the same letters in a different form, or else distinguished by points over them, $\dot{x}$, $\ddot{y}$, $\dddot{z}$, &c. and their moments he expressed by their Fluxions, drawn into a moment of time $\dot{x}o$: But did not confine his method to the use of these, or any particular symbols of Fluxions. Every thing being thus prepared, he reduced the whole inquiry to this general problem: *From a given equation, involving any number whatever of fluents, to find the Fluxions, and vice versa.* This problem he immediately applied to all the subjects which the Mathematicians of that time were busied in searching into, and pushing through every difficulty as it arose, he presently brought it to that perfection, especially in the quadrature of curves, (the subject which first set him to work) that in any proposed equation whatever, expressing the nature of a curve, he could tell whether such curve were possible to be squared or no, and then, if possible, could actually give the square, either in finite terms, that is, accurately if that could be done, or else by continual approximation in an infinite series, and this, in less than a quarter of an hour *(l)*. In all these inquiries he knew not which it was to be repulsed, his sagacity always carrying him through every opposing difficulty, up to the end which he aimed at, rested within those limits only, which he himself judged proper to put to such kind of speculations. But, he had now laid in a sufficient stock of these materials, which he knew how to enlarge too if there should be occasion for it, and he could not think of throwing away his time upon meer abstracted speculations, how entertaining soever they might be *(m)*. Accordingly he now turned his thoughts to a subject of more immediate use. Des Cartes in his Dioptrics (the best *(n)* of his performances in Philosophy) taking up with the commonly received opinion, that light was homogeneous; had upon this principle first discovered the laws of refraction, and demonstrated, that the perfecting of telescopes depended on finding out a way of making the glasses in elliptic, parabolic, or hyperbolic figures: The best mathematical wits were now at work *(o)* upon this subject; particularly Mr (afterwards Sir Christopher) Wren had, about this time *(p)*, made considerable advances towards completing this so useful an invention, as it was then thought to be. Mr Newton, therefore, no sooner got back to the college, than he applied himself, in 1666, to the grinding of optic glasses of other figures than spherical, having no distrust as yet of the homogeneous nature of light; but not hitting presently upon any thing in this attempt which succeeded to his mind, he procured a glass prism, in order to try the celebrated phænomena of colours, not long before discovered by Grimaldi. He was much pleased at first with viewing the vivid brightness of the colours produced by this experiment; but after a while, applying himself to consider them in a philosophical way, with that circumspection which was natural to him, he became immediately surprized to see them in an oblong form, which, according to the received rule of refractions, ought to have been circular. Yet at first he thought the irregularity might possibly be no more than accidental; but this was a question he could not leave without further satisfaction: he therefore presently invented an infallible method of deciding it, and this produced his New Theory of Light and Colours *(q)*. However, the theory alone, unexpected and surprising as the discovery was, did not satisfy him; he rather considered the proper use that might be made for improving telescopes, which was his first design. To this end, having now discovered light not to be homogeneal, but an heterogeneous mixture of differently refrangible rays, he computed the errors arising from this different refrangibility, and finding them to exceed some hundreds of times those occasioned by the circular figure of the glasses, he laid aside his glass-works, and took reflections into consideration. He now understood, that optical instruments might be brought to any degree of perfection imaginable, provided a reflecting substance could be found, which would polish as finely as glass, and reflect as much light as glass transmits, and the art of giving it a parabolic figure be also attained. But these seemed to him very great difficulties, nay, he almost thought them insuperable, when he farther considered, that every irregularity in a reflecting superficies, makes the rays stray five or six times more from their due course, than the like irregularities in a refracting one. Amidst these thoughts, he was forced from Cambridge by the plague; and it was more than two years before he made any farther progress therein *(r)*. However, he was far from passing away the hours in a negligence of thought in the country: on the contrary, it was here at this time, that he first started the hint that gave rise to the system of the world,

(l) See his Analysis per Series, &c. published under the title of the Method of Fluxions, &c. by Mr John Colson, in 1736, 4to.

(m) In his first letter to Mr Leibnitz, dated June 13, 1676, he excuses himself for not writing more fully in these words.—Parcius scribo quod hæ, speculationes diu mihi fastidio esse cœperunt. Commercium Epistolicum, No. L.

(n) Dr Halley assures us, that Des Cartes was the first that discovered the laws of refraction, and brought Dioptrics to a science. See Wotton's Reflections upon ancient and modern Learning, cap. xxiv. p. 601. 3d edit. Lond. 8vo.

(o) As Hevelius, Huygens, and Baratin. See Phil. Transf. No. 6. p. 98. and No. 7. p. 119.

(p) See the History of the Royal Society by Dr Tho. Spratt, Lond. 1667, p. 313.

(q) Phil. Transf. No. 80.

(r) Ibid. No. 81.

world, which is the main ſubject of his *Principia*. The conſideration of accelerated motion in the method of Fluxions abovementioned, which he was ſtill improving, unavoidably led his thoughts to the ſubject of Gravity, the effect of which is an inſtance of that motion in nature. And now (*s*), as he ſat in a garden alone in the country, he very naturally fell into ſome reflections on the power of this principle; That, as this power is not found ſenſibly diminiſhed at the remoteſt diſtance from the center of the earth to which we can riſe, neither at the tops of the loftieſt buildings, nor on the ſummits of the higheſt mountains, it appeared to him reaſonable to conclude, that this power muſt extend much farther than was uſually thought. Why not as high as the moon? ſaid he to himſelf; and if ſo, her motion muſt be influenced by it; perhaps ſhe is retained in her orbit thereby; However, though the power of gravity is not ſenſibly weakened in the little change of diſtance at which we can place ourſelves from the center of the earth; yet it is very poſſible, that, as high as the moon, this power may differ much in ſtrength from what it is here. To make an eſtimate what might be the degree of this diminution, he conſidered with himſelf, that if the moon be retained in her orbit by the force of gravity, no doubt the primary planets are carried round the ſun by the like power: and, by comparing the periods of the ſeveral planets with their diſtances from the ſun, he found, that if any power like gravity held them in their courſes, it's ſtrength muſt decreaſe in the duplicate proportion of the increaſe of diſtance. This he concluded, by ſuppoſing them to move in perfect circles concentrical to the ſun, from which the orbits of the greateſt part of them do not much differ. Suppoſing, therefore, the power of gravity, when extended to the moon, to decreaſe in the ſame manner, he computed whether that force would be ſufficient to keep the moon in her orbit. In this computation, being abſent from books, he took the common eſtimate, in uſe among Geographers and our ſeamen before Norwood had meaſured the earth, that 60 Engliſh miles complete one degree of latitude; but, as this is a very faulty ſuppoſition, each degree containing about 69 ½ of our Engliſh miles, his computation upon it did not make the power of gravity, decreaſing in a duplicate proportion to the diſtance, anſwerable to the power which retained the moon in her orbit; whence he concluded, that ſome other cauſe (*t*) muſt at leaſt join with the action of the power of gravity on the moon. For this reaſon, he laid aſide for that time any farther thoughts upon the matter. An eaſineſs ſo reſigned, as to give up a favourite opinion, founded upon the beſt aſtronomical obſervations of the whole planetary ſyſtem, is an illuſtrious proof of a temper exactly fitted for philoſophical enquiries. Mr Voltaire (*u*) relates it as an anecdote of particular uſe in the hiſtory of the human mind, as it ſhews at once, both how great an exactneſs is neceſſary in theſe ſciences, and likewiſe how diſintereſted Mr Newton was in his ſearch after truth. It is, indeed, a little ſurpriſing, that he ſhould not then be acquainted with Norwood's menſuration, which was made in 1635; and ſeems to be more ſo ſtill, that he did not inform himſelf when he returned to Cambridge, which he did ſhortly after, and, in the following year 1667, was choſen Fellow of his college, and took the degree of Maſter of Arts the ſame year, having proceeded Bachelor of Arts three years before. But at this time he apparently thought it not poſſible, that the old reckoning could be ſo groſsly wide of the truth as it really is; and he was remarkably clear of that vanity, which in other eminent inventors is uſeful, in making them forward to puſh the exerciſe of their inventive faculty. In reality, his thoughts were now engaged upon his newly-projected teleſcope by reflection; which being a very uſeful invention, he was moſt deſirous to complete. And, in 1668, having conſidered what Mr James Gregory propoſed in his *Optica Promota*, concerning ſuch a teleſcope, with a hole in the midſt of the object-metal to tranſmit the light to an eye-glaſs placed behind it, he thought the diſadvantages would be ſo great, that he reſolved, before he put any thing into practice, to alter Mr Gregory's deſign, and place the eye-glaſs at the ſide of the tube, rather than in the middle; he then made a ſmall inſtrument, with an object-metal ſpherically concave: but this was only a rude eſſay; the chief defect lay in the want of a good poliſh for the metal. This, therefore, he ſet himſelf to find out, when Dr Barrow reſigning the mathematical chair at Cambridge to him on the 8th of November, 1669 (*w*), the buſineſs of that profeſſorſhip interrupted his attention to the teleſcope for a while. In the mean time, an unexpected occaſion drew from our author a diſcovery of the vaſt improvements he had made in Geometry by the help of his new analyſis. Lord Viſcount Brouncker, the year before, had publiſhed a quadrature of the hyperbola in an infinite ſeries [*E*], which, by the help of Dr Wallis's diviſion, was ſoon after demonſtrated by Mr Nicholas Mercator, in his *Logarithmotechnica* in 1668. This being the firſt appearance of a ſeries of this ſort, drawn from the particular nature of the curve expreſſed in an abſtracted algebraical equation, and that in a manner very new, the book preſently came into the hands of

(*s*) Preface to a View of Sir Iſ. Newton's Philoſophy, by Henry Pemberton, M. D. edit. Lond. 1728, 4to.

(*t*) Mr Whiſton ſays, that upon this diſappointment Sir Iſaac told him in the year 1694, he ſuſpected that this power was partly that of gravity, and partly that of Carteſius's vortices. Whiſton's Memoirs of himſelf, p. 33. 2d edit. 1753.

(*u*) Elemens de la Philoſophie de Newton, mis a la porteé de tout le monde. Paris, 1738, 8vo.

(*w*) Ward's Lives of the Greſham Profeſſors, p. 161. edit. 1740, fol.

[*E*] *Had publiſhed a quadrature of the hyperbola in an infinite ſeries.*] Lord Brouncker's ſeries was this. $\frac{1}{1 \times 2} + \frac{1}{3 \times 4} + \frac{1}{5 \times 6} + \frac{1}{7 \times 8} + \frac{1}{9 \times 10}$ &c. It was publiſhed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, of April, this year. Dr Wallis publiſhed his Opus Arithmeticum, in 1657, where chap. xxxiii. prop. 68. the fraction $\frac{a}{1 - r}$ is reduced by perpetual diviſion into this ſeries $a + ar + ar^2 + ar^3 + ar^4$, &c. and the quadrature given of every part of the quotient. Mr Mercator only ſhewed how Lord Brouncker's ſeries might be found by this diviſion, and ſquared by this quadrature; and though he lived ſixteen years afterwards, yet he never made any further progreſs in the ſubject of Quadratures (4).

(4) Recenſio libri, qui inſcriptus eſt, Commercium Epiſtolicum, p. 3. edit. 1722, 8vo. See more of this in Dr Wallis's article.

[*F*] *In*

of Dr Barrow, then at Trinity-college (*x*): who having, upon another occasion (*y*), been informed some time before by Mr Newton, that he had a general method of drawing tangents, communicated this invention of Mercator's to that fellow-collegian: upon sight of which, our author brought him those papers of his own, that contained his *Analysis per æquationes numero terminorum infinitas*. The doctor perusing it, stood amazed at the prodigious performance, and immediately acquainted his friend Mr Collins with it; at whose request he afterwards obtained leave of Mr Newton to send him the papers. Mr Collins taking a copy before he returned the treasure, thence got the means of dispersing other transcripts to all the most eminent of his mathematical acquaintance (*z*). But, notwithstanding this, it was not 'till a great many years afterwards, that the full extent to which our author had carried the invention came to be well understood. Mr Fontenelle observes, it was natural to expect, that Mr Newton, upon seeing Mercator's book, would have been forward to open his treasure, and thereby secure to himself the glory of being the first discoverer (*a a*). But this was not his way of thinking. On the contrary, we know from his own mouth, that he thought Mercator had entirely discovered his secret, or that others would, before he was of a proper age for writing (*b b*) [to the publick]. The empty name of barely doing what nobody else could do, he looked upon as a child's bauble; his views were much higher and more noble; he thought to build his fame upon a more substantial foundation. These speculative inventions, therefore, however ingenious, were kept by him, as necessary tools and implements in his intended researches into the works of nature; there he knew they would be of use to him, and he knew too how to use them there to advantage; and in these views only it was, that he set any particular value upon them. Nay, he was now actually making this use of them, in discovering the properties and unravelling the subtle actions of light [*F*]. As his thoughts had been for some time chiefly employed upon Optics, he made his discoveries in that science the subject of his lectures, for the three first years after he was appointed Mathematical Professor. He had not finished these lectures, when he was chosen Fellow of the Royal Society in January 1671-2 (*cc*); and having now brought his Theory of Light and Colours to a great degree of perfection, he communicated it to that Society first to have their judgment upon it [*G*], and it was afterwards published in their Transactions of February 19, 1672. But, notwithstanding all this precaution which was taken in preparing it for publick view; yet it was so absolutely new and unsuspected, and totally subversive of all mens settled opinions in this matter; such a nice degree of accuracy and exactness was necessary in making the experiments upon which it was founded, and the reasoning also upon those experiments was so very subtle and penetrating, that it no sooner went abroad into the world, than it found opposers in all quarters wherever it appeared. Our author was thus unexpectedly drawn into various disputes about it, which being for the most part occasioned,

(*x*) Commercium Epistolicum, No. I.

(*y*) Viz. Preparing his optical lectures for the press. Our author hinting to this occasion, says, in a letter to Mr Collins, 'Memini me ex occasione aliquando narrâsse D. Barrow, tunc temporis Lectionibus Opticis occupato, instructum me esse hujusmodi methodo tangentes ducendi.' Com. Epist. No. XXVII.

(*z*) Viz. to Mr James Gregory in Scotland, Mr Bertet at Paris, Borelli in Italy, Mr Strode in England, and Mr Oldenburg; which last communicated it also to Mr Slusius at Liege. Ibid. No. XIII, XIX, XX, XXI, XXII, XXIV, XXVII, XXXIV, XXXIX.

(*a a*) In our author's Eloge.

(*b b*) Commerc. Epist. No. LVI.

(*c c*) Birch's History of the Royal Society, Vol. III. He was proposed by Dr Seth Ward, and being informed of it, he expressed a due sense of that honour, and hoped it would be further conferred upon him by his election into that Society. 'And if so, says he, I shall endeavour to testify my gratitude, by communicating what my poor and solitary endeavours can effect towards promoting your philosophical designs.' Appendix to Gregory's Catoptrics, No. V.

[*F*] *In discovering the properties and actions of light.*] He began to read his lectures in Optics this year. In the last section of these lectures he treats of rays as refracted by curve surfaces. Here is delivered a very elegant way of finding the principal focus of any number of spherical lenses, which is of great use in telescopes. Next is shewn how to do the same for lenses formed into other figures than spherical ones, by means of the radius of the curvature at the vertices of the curve figures. Then he shews the method of computing the errors of optical glasses, and afterwards, how to determine in spherical figures the focus that belongs to every particular ray; the same is likewise shewn for any other figure whatsoever, by the help of the radius of the curvature. For the finding of which radius at any point of a curve, he refers to his Analysis per Series, &c. He proceeds to describe the figures which shall so refract the incident rays, that they may meet in any given focus; and then sets down two propositions necessary for determining the rainbow. In the conclusion of the twelfth proposition, in the third section, he proves, that in rays of every sort refracted at the same point of a plane surface, the locus of the centers of their radiations is the vulgar cissoid.—He had, some time before the reading of these lectures, communicated some of these inventions to Dr Barrow, who inserted them in his Lectiones Opticæ; in the preface to which, he distinguished our author with a peculiar commendation. *D. Isaacus Newtonus, collega noster, peregregiæ vir indolis ac insignis peritiæ, exemplar revisit, aliqua corrigenda monens, sed & de suo nonnulla penu suggerens, quæ nostris alicubi cum laude innexa cernes* (5).

[*G*] *He communicated it to the Royal Society to have their judgment upon it*] The reason of this conduct is fully declared, in the following letter of his to Mr Oldenburg (6).

'SIR, Trinity college, Feb. 10, 1671-2.

It was an esteem of the Royal Society for most candid and able judges in philosophical matters encouraged me to present them with that discourse of Light and Colours, which since they have so favourably accepted of, I do earnestly desire you to return them my cordiall thanks. I before thought it a great favour to be made a member of that honorable body; but I am now more sensible of the advantage. For beleive me, Sir, I do not only esteem it a duty to concurre with them in the promotion of real knowledge, but a great priviledge that instead of exposing discourses to a prejudiced and censorious multitude (by which means many truths have been baffled and lost) I may with freedom apply my self to so judicious and impartiall an assembly.

As to the printing of that letter I am satisfied in their judgment, or else I should have thought it too straight and narrow for public view. I design'd it only to those that know how to improve upon hints of things; and therefore to shun tediousness, omitted many such remarques and experiments as might be collected by considering the assigned laws of refractions; some of which I believe, with the generality of men, would yet be almost as taking as any I described. But yet since the Royal Society have thought it fit to appear publicly, I leave it to their pleasure: and perhaps to supply the aforesaid defects I may send you some more of the experiments to second it, (if it be so thought fit) in the ensuing Transactions.

I have no more but to offer my acknowledgments of your kindnesses in particular, and my thanks for the pains you are pleased to undertake in printing that letter.

SIR,

I am

Your faithful servant,

I. Newton.'

(5) The imprimatur for publishing Dr Barrow's lectures is dated March 22, 1668-9, though they were not published 'till 1672.

(6) See Original Papers, ubi sup.

[*H*] *Was*

ſioned, either by too much haſtineſs in trying his experiments, or elſe by reaſoning wrong upon them, were very grievous to him [*H*]. He had ſpent eight years in repeating the experiments

[*H*] *Was unexpectedly drawn into various diſputes which were very diſagreeable to him.*] In a letter to Mr Collins, dated May 25th, 1672, our author expreſſes himſelf thus: 'I take much ſatisfaction in being a member of that honorable body the Royal Society, and could be glad of doing any thing which might deſerve it; which makes me a little troubled to find my ſelf cut ſhort of that freedom of communication which I hoped to enjoy, but cannot any longer without giving offence to ſome perſons whom I have ever reſpected. But 'tis no matter, ſince it was not for my own ſake or advantage that I ſhould have uſed that freedome.' The objections were tranſmitted to the Royal Society, and printed in their Tranſactions, No. 84. for June 1672, as were alſo our author's anſwers, which laſt are in the following papers, viz. In No. 83. for May 1672, is Mr Newton's obſervations upon ſome experiments propoſed by Mr de Berce in his relation to his Theory of Light. In No. 84. for June 1672, is Mr Newton's anſwer to the animadverſions made upon his Theory of Light, by Ignatius Gaſton Pardies. In No. 85. for July, is a ſet of queries propounded by Mr Newton to be determined by experiments poſitively and directly concluding his new doctrine of Light and Colours, together with his anſwer to P. Pardies's ſecond letter. In No. 88. for November the ſame year, is his anſwer to ſome conſiderations [by Mr Hooke] upon his doctrine of Light and Colours In No. 96. for July 1673, is his anſwer to ſome conſiderations of Mr Huygens upon his doctrine of Light and Colours, and farther explanation of the ſame. In No. 97. for October the ſame year, is his letter in anſwer to Mr Huygens concerning the number of colours, and the neceſſity of mixing them all for the production of white: with ſome other remarks. In No. 110. is his anſwer to Mr Linus's letter animadverting on his Theory of Light and Colours. In No. 121. for January 1675-6, is his conſiderations on Mr Linus's letter concerning the New Theory of Light and Colours, together with an extract of a letter by Mr Newton, dated January 10, 1675, upon the ſame ſubject. In No. 123, for March 1676, is a particular anſwer of Mr Newton to Mr Linus's letter about an experiment relating to his new doctrine of Light and Colours. In No. 128. for September 1676, is his anſwer to the exceptions made againſt his Theory of Light and Colours.

(7) Ibid. The following letters (7) written by our author to Mr Oldenburg, S. R. S. contain ſeveral other curious particulars relating to this diſpute.

'SIR, Cambridge, Feb. 20, 71.

I received yours, Feb. 17. and having conſidered Mr Hook's obſervations on my diſcours, am glad that ſo acute an objector hath ſaid nothing that can enervate any part of it. For I am ſtill of the ſame judgment, and doubt not but upon ſeverer examination it will be found as certain a truth as I have aſſerted it. You ſhall very ſuddenly have my anſwer.

In Mr Huygens letter there are ſeveral handſome and ingenious remarks. And what he ſays concerning grinding parabolicall conoids by geometrical rules, I do with him deſpair of; but I doubt not, but that the thing may be in ſome meaſure accompliſhed by mechanical deviſes. This is all at preſent from

Your faithful ſervant,

I. Newton.'

'SIR, Stoake, July 6, 1672.

In the inquiry which in yours of June 25th, you propound in theſe words: *whether a phyſicall point in a glaſs, may not by the diverſity of the pores and angles in it, cauſe in the rays falling thereon, ſuch really different, tho' ſeemingly equall refractions, that thence may proceed thoſe ſeverall diſtinct colours, which in my doctrine are eſteemed to proceed from the aggregate of the rays of light?* I know not what to underſtand by *really different though ſeemingly equal refractions*, for if you meane thoſe different refractions from whence I denominate light unequally refrangible, their differences are ſo great that they are far from being ſeemingly equall. And I apprehend not what other differences you ſhould meane (if there be any other) ſince there is ſo conſtant and ſtrict an analogy between theſe and the ſeveral ſpecies of colours. However, ſince you ſuppoſe theſe unequal refractions to proceed from the diverſity of pores and angles in the glaſs, they muſt be comprehended under the contingent irregularities which I have already diſproved in my anſwer to Mr Hooke, and P. Pardies. And farther, if colours were originated from refractions, as is ſuppoſed in your enquiry, then all colours would be changeable by refractions, contrary to what I find by experience. From either of theſe two heads, your inquiry is determined negatively, which if you think requiſite I ſhall farther explain hereafter.

In the mean time, give me leave to inſinuate that I cannot think it effectual for determining truth, to examin the ſeveral ways by which phænomena may be explained, unleſs where there can be a perfect enumeration for all thoſe ways. You know the proper method of enquiring after the properties of things, is to deduce them from experiments. And I told you that the theory which I propounded was evinced to me, *not by inferring 'tis thus, becauſe not otherwiſe, but by deriving it from experiments concluding poſitively and directly.* The way therefore to examin it, is by conſidering whether the experiments, which I propound, do prove thoſe points of the theory, to which they are applied, or by proſecuting other experiments, which the theory may ſuggeſt for it's examination. And this I would have done in a due method; the laws of refraction being thoroughly enquired into and determined, before the nature of colours be taken into conſideration. It may not be amiſs to proceed according to the nature of theſe queries, the deciſion of which I could wiſh to be ſtated, and the events declared by thoſe that may have the curioſity to examin them.

1. Whether rays, that are alike incident on the ſame medium, have unequall refractions, and how great are the inequalities of their refractions at any incidence.

2. What is the law according to which each ray is more or leſs refracted? whether it be that the ſame ray is ever refracted according to the ſame *ratio* of the ſines of incidence and refraction; and divers rays according to divers ratio's? or that the refraction of each ray is greater or leſs without any certain rule? that is, whether each ray have a certain degree of refrangibility, according to which it's refraction is performed, or is refracted without that regularity?

3. Whether rays which are indued with particular degrees of refrangibility, when they are by any means ſeparated, have particular colours conſtantly belonging to them; viz. the leaſt refrangible, ſcarlet; the moſt refrangible, deep violet; the middle; ſea-green, and others, other colours, and on the contrary.

4. Whether the colour of any ſort of rays apart may be changed by refraction.

5. Whether colours coaleſcing do really change one another to produce a new colour, or produce it by mixing only?

6. Whether a due mixture of rays indued with all variety of colours produces light perfectly like that of the ſun, and which hath all the ſame properties, and exhibits the ſame phænomena?

7. Whether there be any other colours produced by refractions, than ſuch as ought to reſult from the colours belonging to the diverſly refrangible rays, by their being ſeparated or mixed by that refraction?

To determin by experiments theſe and ſuch like queries, which involve the propounded theory, ſeems the moſt proper and direct way to a concluſion. And therefore I could wiſh all objections were ſuſpended, taken from hypotheſes or any other heads than theſe two; of ſhewing the inſufficiency of experiments to determin theſe queries, or prove any other parts of my theory, by aſſigning the flaws and defects in my concluſions drawn from them; or of producing other experiments which directly contradict me if any ſuch may ſeem to occur. For if the experiments which I urge be defective, it cannot be difficult to ſhew the defects; but if valid, then by proving the theory, they muſt render all other objections invalid.

In the margin of my anſwer to Mr Hook, I noted the contents of it in twelve particulars, which when I came to number them in the copy, I found thirteen; ſo

experiments which ascertained the truth of the fact, and now thought to oblige the world, by disclosing one of the most hidden secrets of nature; and there was room to expect the benefaction

so that there is either a marginal note omitted, or else slipt over without it's number prefixt. If the last hath happened, you may prefix it's number, and alter the number of those that follow. But if the first I will supply the note, when I return to Cambridge, where my papers are, because there may possibly be occasion of referring to that discourse hereafter.

SIR,

I am

Your humble servant,

I. Newton.'

'P. S. Yours, dated June the 20th, I doubt I shall not receive 'till my return to Cambridge. I desire you would suspend the impression of P. Pardies second letter. If you write to me before July the 14th, pray direct your letter to me at Mrs Arundell's house in Stoake park, in Northamptonshire, and assigne it to be left with the Postmaster of Towcester to be sent thither.'

'SIR, Stoake, July 13, 1672.

I am glad you are pleased to accept my answer to to your inquiry, together with the following discourse about the properest method of examining the truth of my proposals; which you may print when you think fit. And so you may P. Pardies second letter with my answer thereto, since you desire it, and have intimated to him in this month of July. I intended to suspend it for a while, thinking it would be more convenient to print together what shall be said of this subject, especially since there are some other papers at Cambridge to be added to them. But if what hath passed be inserted in the Transactions to entertain them at present, that are in expectation of farther information about these matters, they may be hereafter reprinted by themselves, if it shall be hereafter fit.

I hope you have before this time received my thoughts upon Mr Huygens two particulars, which therefore I shall not repeat.'

N. B. The rest of this letter relates to his reflecting telescope, which we shall give, therefore, in it's proper place.

'SIR, Cambridge, Sept. 21, 1672.

The letter which you directed to Stoake in answer to mine from thence, I received not; but your last, wherein you repeated the contents of that, I received and am troubled, that I have answered it no sooner; especially, since I was obliged to thank you for the Transactions of July, and more particularly for your elegant translation of my letter, published in them, and for the trouble you was pleased to take upon you in inquiring of Mr Cock about his telescope.

To comply with your intimation about communicating experiments, proper for determining the queries, which that letter contained, I drew up a series of such experiments in design to reduce the theory of colours to propositions, and prove each proposition from one or more of these experiments, by the assistance of common notions set down in the form of definitions and axioms, in imitation of the method by which Mathematicians are wont to prove their doctrines. And that occasioned my suspension of an answer, in hopes my next should have contained the same designe. But, before it was finished, falling upon some other business, of which I have my hands full, I was obliged to lay it aside, and now know not when I shall take it again into consideration. However, if the answer to Mr Hook's considerations will conduce to the determination of any of those quæres (as in some particulars I think it will) you may if you think fit publish it; to which end I desire you to mitigate any expressions that seem harsh, that it's publication, as you intimated, may be done to common satisfaction. And though I intend at present nothing farther for the publick, yet if to any of your private acquaintance, that endeavour to satisfy themselves by an experimental determination of these quæres, experiments sufficient to determin them all occur not, upon your intimation of the particulars which they stick at, I shall for your sake do my endeavour, as much as I can, in short, to supply what they desire.

I have not yet perused those two books you mention, but by your description of the first in the Transactions, it seems to contain a doctrine most highly probable; and in the latter I expect to meet with many things as improbable. And than that particular which you mention, I know not what can be more difficult.

I am sorry for the miscarriage of your aforesaid letter, and blame myself for my postcript, suspecting that may have occasioned in yours, what you would not have fall into other hands than those of

Your humble servant,

Newton.'

The first part of the letter from which the following extract is taken, relates to the dispute with Mr Hook, which see in remark [*M*] of his article. The conclusion respects No. 121. of the Philosophical Transactions, and runs thus:

'By Mr Gascoign's letter one might suspect that Mr Linus tried the experiment some other way than I did, and therefore I shall expect, 'till his friends have tried it, according to my late directions, in which trial it may possibly be a farther guidance to them, to acquaint them that the prism cast from it several images. One is that oblong one of the colours, which I mean, and this is made by two refractions only. Another there is, made by two refractions and an intervening reflexion, and this is round and colourless, if the angles of the prism be exactly equall; but if the angles at the reflecting base be not equal, it will be coloured, and that so much the more, by how much unequaller the angles are, but not much unround unless the angles be very unequall. A third image there is made by one single reflexion; and this always round and colourless. The only danger is in mistaking the second for the first: But they are distinguishable not only by the length and lively colours of the first, but by it's different motion too; for whilst the prism is continually turned the same way about it's axis, the second and third move swiftly, and go always on, the same way, 'till they disappear; but the first moves slow and grows continually slower 'till it be stationary and then turns back again, and goes back faster and faster, 'till it vanish in the place where it began to appear. If without darkning their room they hold the prism at their window in the sun's open light in such a posture, that it's axis be perpendicular to the sun-beams, and then turn the prism about it's axis, they cannot miss of seeing the first image; which having found, they may double up a paper once or twice, and make a round hole in the middle about half or three-quarters of an inch broad, and hold the paper immediately before the prism, that the sun may shine on the prism through that hole; and the prism being stayed and held steddy in that posture which makes the image stationary, if the image then fall directly on a opposite wall or on a sheet of paper placed at the wall, suppose fifteen or sixteen foot from the prism or further off, they will see that image in such an oblong figure as I have described, with the red at one end, the violet at the other, and a blueish green in the middle; and if they obscure the room as much as they can, by drawing curtains or otherwise, it will make the colours the more conspicuous.

This direction I have set down, that nobody, into whose hands a prism shall happen, may find difficulty or trouble in trying it, but when Mr Linus's friends have tried it thus, they may proceed to repeat it in a dark room with a less hole made in their window shut. And then I shall desire that they send you a full and clear description how they tried it, expressing the length, breadth, and angles of the prism, it's position to the includent rays and to the window shut, the bigness of the hole in that shut through which the sun shined on the prism, what side of the prism the sun shined on, and at what side the light comes out of it again, the distance of the prism from the opposite paper or wall, on which the refracted light was cast perpendicularly, and the length, breadth, and figure of

benefaction would be received with all imaginable gratitude: but, steeped as they were in error, the discovery seems to have been construed into a reproach of their ignorance; and they suffered for it. By this specimen, the great inventor clearly saw what would be the consequence of giving the rest of his Theory, where he knew there must appear so many yet more amazingly severe truths. For this reason he laid up his optical lectures, after he had prepared them for the press with a design to publish them. And as he had referred for the demonstrations of some things therein, to his *Analysis per æquationes numero terminorum infinitas*, his intention was, the lectures should be accompanied with it: for which purpose he had revised and enlarged it, and cast it into a better form; he had likewise illustrated it with a great variety of examples, and set the whole method of Fluxions entirely in a new light. However, he had not completed his whole design, before the decree against publication was passed; for he had thought of adding the manner of resolving such problems as could not be reduced to quadratures, which he never completed [*I*]. In this conduct our author evidently acted against his own fame; but

of the space there illuminated by that light, and the situation of each colour within that figure. And if they please to illustrate the description with a scheme or two, it will make the business plainer. By this means, if there be any difference in our way of experimenting, I shall be the better enabled to discern it, and give them notice where the failure is, and how to rectify it. I should be glad too, if they would favour me with a description of the experiment, as it hath been hitherto tried by Mr Linus, that I may have an opportunity to consider what there is in that, which makes against me. And because Mr Gascoign seems to suspect, that my directions sent Mr Linus differ from what I have printed, I desire also that he would signify wherein he thinks they differ so as to need reconciling: fuller they are; but not different, nor any other than I have followed above these seven years. As for my supicion, that Mr Linus might possibly rely on old experiments, his quoting Sir Kenelme Digby for a bystander, might have made any other stranger to his way as well as me suspect it; but I wonder most at Mr Gascoign's insinuation, as if I influenced the press in what concerns Mr Linus and me. You know, Sir, I never spake nor hinted a syllable to you concerning printing or not printing any thing of Mr Linus, nor so much as knew of the printing his first letter, 'till it was out in the Transactions. When you sent it to me, I out of a great desire to avoid controversies (which as you know I had entertained long before) wrote back to you, that I had no mind to meddle with it. But as I was ready to seal that letter, I added a postscript to this purpose; that seeing Mr Linus was designinge something about light for the press, to prevent publishing his mistake, you might if you thought fit signifie to him (but not from me) that the experiment was tried otherwise than he suggested, and that in such and such respects, which I there named. And the substance of this postscript was that you published at the end of his first letter, on which Mr Gascoign here animadverts, but was so far from being designed for the press by me, that the first sight of it, together with his letter in the Transactions, made me say to one, that I wished they had been supprest, for I doubted the printing of them would make Mr Linus unquiet, and so in the end create me trouble. As for his second letter which you shewed me at London, I returned it again to you, so soon as I had read it, and never saw it since, persisting in my desire to avoid the controversy. And at my returning it, you moved me for an answer with this argument, that if I waved it, Mr Linus was like to make the more stir; to which I replied, that the business being about matter of fact was not proper to be decided by writings, but by trying it before competent witnesses. Whereupon, at your motion, I told you what was requisite, and by your procurement preparations were accordingly made for it's trial, at the next assembly of the Royal Society, as I understood by Mr Hook. But the day proved cloudy, and before another assembly I returned to Cambridge, and from that time never enquired after, nor regarded, the matter farther 'till you sent me Mr Linus's third letter. This is the history of Mr Linus's business, so far as I know't; which I have set down, that his friends may see he has not been dealt with obliquely, as they seem to apprehend. All I think that they can object to you is, that you were at a stand, because you could not ingage me in the controversy, and to me, that I had no mind to be engaged; a liberty every body has a right to, and may gladly make use of, sometimes at least, and especially if he want leisure, or meet with prejudice or groundless insinuations. But I hope to find none of this in Mr Gascoign. The handsom genius of his present letter makes me hope it for the future. In the mean time I desire, with him, that you would publish Mr Linus's letters, as soon as you can conveniently, to prevent further misapprehensions.

SIR,

I am

Your obliged humble servant

Is. Newton.'

'Pray, Sir, let not my papers go out of your hands, 'till you hear from me about registring them. In printing my former letter to Mr Linus, you may leave out what I mention of Mr Hill and Mr Hook, or at least put letters for their names; for I beleive they had rather not be mentioned.'

'SIR,

I received both yours and thank you for your care in disposing those things between me and Mr Linus. I suppose his friends cannot blame you at all for printing his first letter, it being written I beleive for that end and they never complaining of the printing of that, but of the not printing that which followed, which I take myself to have been, *per accidens*, the occasion of, by refusing to answer him. And though I think I may truly say I was very little concerned about it, yet I must look upon it, as the result of your kindness to me that you was unwilling to print it without an answer.'———dated January 25, 1675-6 (10).

(10) See Original Letters, ubi supra.

[*I*] *Which he never completed.*] In a letter to Mr John Collins, dated Cambridge, May 25, 1672, Mr Newton writes thus. 'Your kindness to me in profering to promote the edition of my lectures which Dr Barrow told you of, I reckon among the greatest, considering the multitude of business in which you are involved. But I have now determined otherwise of them, finding already by that little use I have made of the press, that I shall not enjoy my former serene liberty 'till I have done with it; which I hope will be so soon as I have made good what is already extant on my account. Yet I may possibly complete the discourse of resolving problems by infinite series, *of which I wrote the better half the last Christmass*, with intention that it should accompany my lectures; but it proves larger than I expected, and is not yet finished.'

In another letter to the same gentleman, dated Stoake, July 13, 1672, our author says, 'I think I told you that I had altered my resolution of printing my Dioptric lectures. And for the exercise about Infinite Series I am not yet resolved, not knowing when I shall proceed to finish it.'.

In the following letter he writes also to the same effect to Mr Collins.

'SIR, *Cambridge, Sept.* 5, 1676.

I received the packet you sent, and return you the manuscript papers with my thanks for them, and for Mr Freuill's book.

In your paper about Mr Gregory, I have presumed to race out two things, as you will perceive; the first, because, though about five years ago I wrote a discourse, in which I explained the doctrine of Infinite Equations,

but that motive had little weight with him, when thrown in the ballance against the sweet enjoyment of an unruffled serenity of thought, a blessing which he valued above all the glory that Mathematics or Philosophy could heap upon him. In the account which he gave himself some years after of these proceedings, he says, 'I blamed my own imprudence, for parting with so substantial a blessing as my quiet, to run after a shadow (*dd*).' Yet these disputes, vexatious as they were, did not hinder him from going on to finish his reflecting telescope, the most immediately useful part of his Optics; and, observing that there was no absolute necessity for the parabolic figure of the glasses, since, if metals could be ground truly spherical, they would bear as great apertures as men would be able to give a polish to, he completed another instrument of this kind; which answering the purpose so well, as, though it was only six inches long, yet he had seen with it Jupiter distinctly round, as also his four satellites, and Venus horned, he sent it to the Royal Society at their request, together with a description of it, which was afterwards published in the Philosophical Transactions for March 28, 1672, No. 81. There are likewise, in the two immediately subsequent numbers, several further observations and particulars relating to this new invention, communicated by him in the view of seconding the design of the Society, to recommend it to some skilful artists for further improvement with respect to the two particulars which were still wanting, a proper composition of metal, and a good polish [*K*]. The same year, 1672, he published at Cambridge in 8vo. *Bernardi*

(*dd*) His words are, [Disputationes] effecerunt ut me arguerem imprudentiæ quod umbram captando eatenus perdiderim quietem meam, rem prorsus substantialem. Com. Epist. No. LVII.

Equations, yet I have not hitherto read it, but keep it by me; the last, because in my general method, mentioned in your fourth section, I have occasion to make use of no other way of extracting the roots of affected Equations, than that you are already acquainted with.

If you should have occasion to see Dr Pell, or (if he be not at London) to write to him at any time, pray present my service to him, and let him know, that I know not how far Mr Gregory has improved the method of Infinite Series; yet so far as I know any thing of it, I account it of no great advantage for resolving affected Equations (11) in numbers. Some use it may have sometimes this way, but I neither invented it, nor recommend it much for this end, but for extending Algebra to such sort of problems, as the common ways of computing extend not to. And therefore his method of resolving Equations interfering so little with mine, I could wish (even though they interfered much more) that he would not stay the publishing of mine, as I perceive by one of the papers you sent me he does, for I would not be an instrument of hindering the Publick so long, from enjoying a thing so valuable.

(11) See Commercium Epistolicum, No. XLVII. Ibid. No. XXXVI.

As for the paper I sent about Infinite Series, I know not whether it will be proper to print it; I leave it to your discretion. In my apprehension it may do as well to suppress it; but, if you think otherwise, I desire you would give me notice before it go to the Press, because of altering an expression or two. Mr Baker's patience, as well as his skill, I admire; his method, I see, is to find first, *X*, the sum of the four quantities, and then the quantities severally, which I think is the method you were suggesting to me at London. The other problem, I think, I told you required no art, but much calculation to resolve it, and therefore I have never thought of it since I saw you. There is nothing requisite to the solution but this; to find two equations expressing the nature of the two curve lines, supposing their bases coincident, and their ordinates parallel; and putting the same letter, suppose *X*, for the bases in both equations, and another letter, suppose *Y*, for the ordinates to exterminate one of those letters; for the resulting equation will give you the resulting valor of the other letter; which valors limit all the intersection points of the two curves.

I doubt I shall put you to too much trouble to transcribe Mr Leibnitz's letter (12), if it be so long; and therefore I shall desire you only to send me a general account of it, with such passages as you think may concern me, if there be any thing that concerns me.

(12) Ibid. No. LI.

SIR,

I am,

Your humble servant,

If. Newton.

[*K*] *Wanting a proper composition of metal, and a good polish.*] The pains that our author took in this point, is a remarkable instance of that indefatigable industry, which contributed greatly in raising him so high above the common level of his fellow mortals. In two letters upon this subject, he writes to the following effect.

1. 'That for a fit metalline substance, he would give this caution; that whilst men seek for a white, hard, and durable composition, they resolve not upon such an one as is full of small pores, only discoverable by a miscroscope; for though such an one may, to appearance, take a good polish, yet the edges of those small pores will wear away faster in the polishing, than the other parts of the metal; and so, however, the metal seem polite, yet it shall not reflect with such an accurate regularity as it ought to do. Thus, tin-glass mixed with ordinary bell-metal, makes it more white, and apt to reflect a greater quantity of light; but withal it's fumes raised in the fusion, like so many aërial bubbles, fill the metal full of those microscopical pores. But white arsenic both blanches the metal, and leaves it solid, without any such pores, especially if the fusion hath not been too violent. What the stellate regulus of Mars, which I have sometimes used, or other such like substance will do, deserves particular examination. To this he adds this further intimation. That putty, or other such like powder, with which it is polished, by the sharp angles of it's particles fretteth the metal, if it be not very fine, and fills it full of such small holes as he speaks of; wherefore care must be taken of that, before judgment be given, whether the metal throughout the body of it be porous or not.

2. 'Not having tried, as he saith, many proportions of the arsenic and metal, he does not affirm what is absolutely best; but thinks there may conveniently be used any quantity of arsenic, equalling in weight, between the sixth and eighth part of the copper; a greater proportion making the metal brittle. The way which he used was this: He first melted the copper alone, then put in the arsenic, which being melted, he stirred them a little together, bewaring in the mean time not to draw in breath near the pernicious fumes. After this he put in tin; and again, so soon as that was melted (which was very suddenly) he stirred them well together, and immediately poured them off. He says not whether by letting them stand longer on the fire, after the tin was melted, a higher degree of fusion would leave the metal porous; but that he thought that way he proceeded to be safest. He adds, that in *that* metal which he sent to London, there was no arsenic, but a small proportion of silver, as he remembers, one shilling in three ounces of metal. But he thought withal, that the silver did as much harm in making the metal soft, and so less fit to be polished, as good in rendering it white and luminous. At another time, he mixed arsenic one ounce, copper six ounces, and tin two ounces; and this an acquaintance of his had, as he intimates, polished better than he did the other (13).' These particulars were communicated to the Society, March 26, 1672, and on the 30th of that month, in answer to some objections that had been made by an ingenious French Philosopher, he

(13) Gregory's Catoptrics, appendix, p. 219, 220, 221.

Bernardi Varenii Geographia Generalis, in qua Affectiones Generales Telluris explicantur aucta & illustrata ab Is. Newton (ee). About this time he had likewise some thoughts of publishing Kinckhuysen's Algebra, but afterwards dropped that design [*L*]. In 1675, Mr Hooke laying

(ee) It was reprinted there in 1687, 8vo. and since with large additions, chiefly from Sir Isaac's writings, by Dr James Jurin.

he writes, 'That it was not improbable, but that 'there might be new ways of polishing found out, 'which would far excel those that are in use. I am 'very sensible, says he, that metal reflects less light 'than glass transmits.——But, as I have found some 'metalline substances to be more strongly reflective, 'and to polish better, and be freer from tarnishing 'than others, so I hope there may, in time, be found 'out some substance much freer from these inconve- 'niencies, than any yet known (14).'

(14) Ibid. p. 231.

After the second telescope of his making had been sent up to the Society, they gave Mr Cox, an Optic-glass-grinder, orders to make one after the same manner of contrivance, four foot long, which was executed: in the interim, being informed of it, he wrote to Mr Oldenburg, as follows, 'You will gratify me 'much, by acquainting me with the particular dimen- 'sions, fashion, and successe of the four foot tube, 'which I presume Mr Cox, by this time, hath finish- 'ed. And to inform myself of the advantages of the 'steely matter made use of; you will much oblige me 'if you can procure me a fragment of it. I suppose 'it is made by melting steel with a little antimony, 'perhaps, without separating the sulphureous from 'the metalline part of that mixture; and so, though 'it may be very hard and capable of a good polish, 'yet I suspect whether it be so strongly reflective as a 'mixture of other metal. I make this enquiry, be- 'cause, if I should attempt any thing further in the fa- 'bric of the telescope, I would first inform myself of 'the most advantageous materials. On which account 'also, you will further oblige me, if you can enquire 'whether Mr Cox, or any other artificer, will under- 'take to prepare the metals, glass, tube, and frame, 'of a four foot telescope, and at what rates he will 'do it, so that there may remain nothing for me to 'do, but to polish the metals; a gross account of this 'will at present suffice, until I send you a particular 'one of the fabric of the instrument, if I resolve up- 'on it (15).' But it is probable he dropt this design, as his conjecture concerning the metal of Cox's instrument proved true, so that neither Cox nor the Society were pleased with it, nor even with the polish of it; whereupon a trial was proposed to be made with the *Lapis Osmandinus*, a black stone that comes from mount Hecla in Iceland, and other materials, &c. (16). Yet it should seem they did not succeed, nor any other; since it is certain the invention lay dormant, 'till Mr Hadley made his Newtonian Telescope in 1723. The instrument, as constructed at present, is too well known to stand in need of a description, but this differing somewhat from that sent to the Royal Society by Sir Isaac, we shall for the satisfaction of the curious, give his own description of it. The instrument was composed of two metalline speculums; the one concave, instead of an object-glass, the other plane; and also of a small plano convex eye-glass. The structure is thus. The tube is open at the end which respects the object; the other end is close, where the said concave is laid; near the open end is a flat oval speculum, made as small as may be, the less to obstruct the entrance of the rays of light, and inclined towards the upper part of the tube, where is a little hole, furnished with the said eye-glass; so that the rays coming from the object, do first fall on the concave placed at the bottom of the tube, and are thence reflected toward the other end of it, where they meet with the flat speculum, obliquely posited, by the reflection of which they are directed to the little plano-convex glass, and so to the spectator's eye, who looking downwards, sees the object which the telescope is turned to (17).

(15) Collection of Original Letters, ubi supra.

(16) Gregory's Catoptrics, appendix, p. 232.

(17) Ibid. p. 216.

[*L*] *But afterward dropt that design.*] In the letter to Mr Collins of May 25, 1672, cited in the foregoing note, Mr Newton writes thus.

'SIR,

This day fortnight I received your letter, accompanied with part of the remains of Mr Horrox's two tracts of Honorato Fabri, and four or five copies of a Synopsis of Mr Kersey's Algebra. For these, and Dr Wallis's Mechanics, together with many other civilities, I must acknowledge your obligingnesse and affection to me, and shall be ever ready to testify as much. Nor is your mathematical intelligence less gratefull, for I am very glad that Dr Barrow's book is abroad; and that the world will enjoy the writings of the excellent Astronomers Mr Horrox and Hevelius, and those compleat Mathematicians Monsieur Huygens and Slusius. ——*The book here in the press is Varenius his Geography, for which I have described schemes; and I suppose it will be finished about six weeks hence. The additions to Kinckhuysen's Algebra* (18), *I have long since augmented with what I intended, and particularly with a discourse concerning Invention, or the way of bringing Problems to an Equation* (19)*: and these are at your command. If you have not determined any thing about them, I may possibly hereafter review them, and print them with the discourse concerning Infinite Series.*—— The copies of the Synopsis of Mr Kersie's Algebra, I have communicated to our Mathematicians, but meet not with any subscriptions. However, to encourage the undertaking, I shall subscribe for one, and hope ere long to send you another or two.

(18) Ibid. No. XXII, XXIII.

(19) These were published afterwards in his Arithmetica Universalis.

For my tardinesse in returning you this answer, I have no excuse, but that I staid four or five days in hopes to send you some of those subscriptions, and being intent upon the duty of this term, the time slipt on faster than I was aware of. But I promise myself by your so much testified friendship, that you will pardon it, and believe that I think myself really,

Your most obliged debtor,

I. Newton.'

In the following letter of July 13, 1672. cited also in the above note [*K*], Kinckhuysen's Algebra is mentioned again, among other curious particulars. '*I will enquire of some of our Booksellers whether they will purchase Mr Pitts his copy of Kinckhuysen, and if not, I will send it you; in the mean time, I would know whether Mr Pitts thinks it would be more advantageous to print the author without alteration, or to insert those notes which you formerly saw, that I may accordingly send them with the copy, or detain them.*

Mr Gregory's problem of finding the solidity of the second segment (20) of a sphere, and yours of finding the surfaces of inclined round solids, may be solved divers ways by Infinite Series, as I find by considering them in generall. But, I foresee, the calculations are intricate and unpleasant, which has made me neglect them, not thinking them worth transmitting to you.

(20) Comm. Epist. No. XXI, XXXVI.

If I ever applied Gunter's Sector to the resolving of affected Equations, it hath now slipt out of my memory. Possibly it might be Gunter's Line, which being set upon three or four several rulers, is of ready use for finding the two or three first figures of any affected Equation. But there is no difficulty in the invention. And if it be the same which you meane, you may command it.

The way of resolving Equations of five or six dimensions, by a locus linearis (21), was, I believe, by the intersection of that and a Conic Section, something after the manner that Des Cartes hath done it; but more conveniently, in my opinion, because the same locus linearis once described, will serve for the resolving of all Equations of those dimensions. And, as I remember, the calculations, to that intent, are shorter and less intricate.

(21) Philosophical Transactions, No. 159. for May 1684. See also our author's Arithmetica Universalis.

I am at present in Northamptonshire, whither your letter was sent to me from Cambridge; but hope, within eight or nine days, to be at Cambridge to receive what you may send thither, if you shall have occasion to write to,

Your humble,

And much obliged servant,

Newton.'

There are three more of Kersie's books of Algebra desired in Cambridge, for which, at present, you may subscribe my name.'

In

laying claim to some of his inventions in his New Theory of Light and Colours, he asserted his right thereto with a becoming spirit [*M*]. And the year following, at the request of Mr Leibnitz, he wrote two letters to be communicated to him, wherein he explained his invention of infinite series, and took notice how far he had improved it by his method of fluxions, which, however, he still concealed; which he did at this time by a transposition of the letters into an alphabetical order, that make up the two fundamental problems of it. This was done, that he might be at liberty to alter his method in some things, in case any body else should find it out (*ff*). In the winter between 1676 and 1677, he found the grand proposition, that, by a centripetal force reciprocally as the square of the distance, a planet must revolve in an ellipsis about the center of force placed in the lower focus of the ellipsis, and with a radius drawn to that center describe areas proportional to the times (*gg*). In 1680, he made several astronomical observations upon the comet that then appeared, which, for some considerable time, he took not to be one and the same, but two different comets, against the suspicion of Mr Flamstead [*N*]. However,

(*ff*) Comm. Epist. No. LXIV.

(*gg*) See Original Letters, as before cited.

In the third letter to Mr Collins, of Sept. 5, 1676. in note [*K*], above quoted, our author acquaints that gentleman, that he had now changed his mind with regard to Kinckhuysen, in these words. *I have nothing in the press, only Kinckhuysen's Algebra I would have got printed here, to satisfy the expectations of some friends in London; but our press cannot do it. This, I suppose, is the book Dr Lloyd means; it is now in the hands of a Bookseller here to get it printed; but if it do come out I shall add nothing to it.*

[*M*] *He asserted his right with spirit.*] This spirit shews itself in the letters he wrote to Mr Oldenburg, on the occasion which may be seen in Mr Hook's article (22); but there is one passage worth taking particular notice of here, it is in the second letter, dated January 10. 1675-6, where our author observes, that he had told Mr Hook, the spring before, of the reflecting power of the æthereal superficies. This may serve to fix the time, nearly when, that most surprizing discovery was first made. It is certain that he knew nothing of it in the spring of the year 1673, as appears from the letters which passed betwixt him and Mr James Gregory, about their different construction of the reflecting telescope; the latter confessing he was convinced by Sir Isaac's arguments, that oblique reflection caused more light than the direct; declared, however, he was not fully persuaded that it was more regular 'I conceive, says he, that the 'rudelie polished metall in an oblique position, causeth 'the image appear more distinct, because the obliquetie hideth the concavities, so that no rays come 'to the eyes but from the tops of the little tubercula, 'which ar certeinlie best polished; the other rayes 'which confused the image, being keeped away. But 'if the plate be exactlie polished (I speak here as to 'sense), the position must be so oblique, before the 'insensible concavities can be hide, that the plane sall 'almost turn to the sight in a line.' To this our author returned the following answer. 'That a well 'polished plate reflects at the obliquity of 45 degrees 'more truly than direct ones, seems to me very certain; for the flat tubercula, or shallow vallies, such 'as may be the remains of scratches almost worn out, 'will cause the least errors, in the obliquest rays, 'which fall on all sides the hill, excepting on the 'middle of the foreside and backside of it; that is, 'where the hill inclines directly towards, or directly 'from the ray; for if the ray fall on that section of 'the hill, it's error is, in all obliquities, just double 'to the hill's declivity; but if it fall on any other part 'of the hill, it's error is less than double, if it be an 'oblique ray, and that so much the less, by how 'much the ray is oblique; but if it be a direct ray, 'it's error is just double to the declivity, and therefore 'greater in that case (23).' This letter is dated April 9. 1673. and is a plain proof that our Philosopher supposed, according to the received opinion at this time, that the reflection was caused by the rays striking immediately upon the surface of bodies.

(22) Rem. [*M*].

(23) Gregory's Elements of Catoptrics, &c. in the appendix, No. VII. and VIII. edit. 1735, 8vo.

[*N*] *He made several astronomical observations upon the comet, which he took to be two comets, against the opinion of Mr Flamstead.*] In a letter for Mr Crompton to be sent to Mr Flamstead, our author writes as follows.—'I am farther suspicious, that 'the comets of November and December, which Mr 'Flamstead accounts one and the same comet, were 'two different ones; and I find Cassini, in a copy of 'a letter of his which Mr Ellis shewed me, is of my 'mind. If they were but one comet, it's motion was 'thrice accelerated and retarded. From November '18th to November 21st, it moved after the rate of 'almost 6 degrees a day; from November 23d to December 5th, after the rate of but 36 minutes a day; 'from December 6th to December 19th, after the 'rate of about 3 ½ degrees a day; from December '24th to December 26th, after the rate of almost 4 ½ 'degrees a day; from which time the motion decreased continually. This frequent increase and decrease of motion is too paradoxical to be admitted 'in one and the same comet, without some proof that 'there was but one: besides, it is very irregular, for 'after the 20th day of November, when the comet 'was in it's first position, as Mr Flamstead notes, and 'moved after the rate of about 6 degrees a day, that 'it's motion should suddenly decrease so much as that 'from November the 23d to December 5th, to move 'but 7 ¼ degrees, and consequently in the middle 'part of that time (suppose at November 29th or '30th), to move at the rate of less than ½ a degree a 'day, and this while the comet is going towards the 'sun, and so has it's real motion continually accelerated, is very odd, and makes me question Father 'Gallet's observations, on which the supposition of 'but one comet leans. And then that the motion 'should as suddenly increase, so as from December '6th to December 12th, that is, in six days to move a 'sign and a half, and consequently in the middle of 'that time (suppose at December 9th), to move after 'the rate of 9 or 10 degrees a day at least, and this 'when the comet was gone much farther from us, is 'more odd than the former; not to mention the extravagant deviation from a great circle, and cutting 'the Ecliptic twice. There is one thing which increases this difficulty, Mr Flamstead, December 10th, 'observed the tail of the comet to point between the 'shoulder and tail of Aquila, draw a line from thence 'to the sun, and produce backwards the way, which 'the comet described afterwards, 'till it cut this line, 'and the intersection point will very nearly be the 'place of the comet December 10th; this point is 'scarce six degrees from the place of it December '12th, but about 40 degrees from the place of the 'comet observed by Father Gallet, December 6th, 'horâ 18. that is, December 7th, at 6 o'clock in the 'morning; so that, if these comets were the same, it 'moved but 7 ¼ degrees from November 23d to December 5th, that is, in 12 days; and then in it's recess from the earth, advanced it's motion on a sudden, so as to move 40 degrees from December 7th 'in the morning, to December 10th at night, that is, 'in three days and an half; and again, on a sudden, 'in coming towards the earth, abated it's motion so 'as to move but 6 degrees or less, from December '10th to December 12th. The good agreement between Mr Flamstead's and the Parisian observations, 'proves them both sufficiently accurate; but I know 'not what to think of Father Gallet's. A scholar of 'our college, with some others, saw the comet in 'November; about the middle of December one of 'our Fellows sent for him, examined him about it, 'and he described to him, that it passed by Spica Virginis, towards the sun. About a month since I sent 'for him, and upon a strict examination he told me, 'that on Tuesday, November 16th, he saw the comet at 4 o'clock in the morning, two degrees above 'Spica, with a long tail extending to the Lyon's tail; 'the tail of a silver white colour, more white than 'the tail of the comet in December. I asked him if 'it

However, the consequences of the theory of centripetal and centrifugal forces being the subject of much enquiry about this time, he received a letter from Mr Hook, explaining what

it were directly over Spica, he said it declined a little towards one side, and but a little; and to the best of his remembrance it declined eastward. I asked him if it was not above two degrees from Spica, and if he was sure the star by it was Spica; he said the star was such a noted one, that he could not be mistaken in it; and for the distance it was hard by the star, so that he reckoned it but about two degrees from it, though he would not be positive but that it might be 4 or 5 degrees from it, a degree or two being easily mistaken in judging by the eye; but it was hard by Spica, and it's tail was long, and reached to the bright star in the Lyon's tail. He said farther, that four days after, on Saturday, November 20th, he saw it again, a little before sun rise, advanced a good way from Spica towards the sun. It's tail was not now visible, except a few rays which went almost towards Spica. Nor did any stars but Spica appear, so that he could not say what fixed stars it was near, nor what it's place was, only he thought it was not far from the Ecliptic; taking a little perspective out of his pocket, he viewed it, and saw it not like another star, but like a little round cloud. I was the more scrupulous in examining this scholar, because I know not what to make of these things, they not agreeing to the comet of December. And when he saw me at a puzzle, he was concerned, and added, that there were divers other scholars who saw it with him. Now how to reconcile the former part of this relation with Father Gallet, I know not, unless either he, or the scholar, have mistaken a day or two. And yet they will not agree; for by the position of the tail in the scholar's first observation one may conclude, that the comet was then on the north side of the Ecliptic, and crossed not the Ecliptic 'till after the 20th degree of Libra; whereas Father Gallet makes it cross in the 8th degree. Further, one of our fellows, Dr Babington, between the 20th and 27th of November, and to the best of his memory, about the 22d or 23d day, at five a-clock in the morning, or between five and six, saw the tail of the comet shoot over King's college chapel, from east to west; it was a frosty morning, and a very clear and starry sky; the head of the comet he saw not; the tail ran from one end of the chapel to the other, just above the chapel rising a little higher at the west end than at the east. By considering the place where he stood, the chapel there appears about 20 degrees long, and stands almost full south, declining a little to the west. So that the tail shot a good way beyond the Meridian westward, suppose 12 or 16 degrees at least, and was 20 degrees long, besides that part of the tail which ran from the east end of the chapel to the head of the comet, which seems to have been between 20 and 30 degrees more. The chapel there appears about 7 or 8 degrees high, and consequently the tail shooting just over the chapel, as he described it to me, could not be above 10 or 12 degrees high where it cut the Meridian, nor above 14 or 16, or at most 18 degrees high, at the west end; whence it may be gathered, that it shot on through the beak of Corvus, close under the cup, to some degrees beyond the cup, or thereabouts; and consequently, that the head (which was either under the Horizon, or so near it, that the Doctor could not see it for buildings), was advanced considerably farther in southern latitude than Father Gallet makes it at any time; and so probably within a few days after, this might go so far southward as to be seen by us no more. At least it may hence be suspected, that Gallet's last observations make the south latitude something too little; perhaps, if enquiry be hereafter made of those which come from beyond the Line, something further may be learned of this comet. And if Mr Flamstead examine Cuthbeard, and others, who saw it in November, he may, perhaps, gather something from them. One circumstance there is for evincing two comets, *that* in November had a brighter head than the other, as the scholar aforesaid told me; and this circumstance evinces, that it was easily seen November 29th, when day-break was so far advanced, that neither the tail, nor any stars, but those of the first magnitude, could be seen. Mr Flamstead ingeniously gives a reason why comets usually verge from south to north, but I suspect the phænomenon. Those which go southward are seldom discovered 'till they be ready to cross the Ecliptic, and then turning their tail downwards are obscured by the thick air near the Horizon, so as to be little seen afterwards; which makes them rarely noted by the vulgar, or recorded by the Ancients, who set down only the more famous ones. Since comets have been more strictly looked after, there have as many gone southward as northward. For of the nine comets which appeared in the years 1647, 1652, 1661, 1664, 1665, 1666, 1667, 1680, five, if I mistake not, went southward, namely, those of the years 1647, 1665, 1666, 1667, and the former of the year 1680; and, I think, I may add a sixth one of those two, which, anno 1652, were seen in the West-Indies, whereof but one was seen in our parts. So then more comets have of late gone southward than northward, and yet these appeared so little to us, that had they been in former ages, scarce any but that of 1665 would have been recorded. Mr Flamstead gives an ingenious guess at the reason of the comet's atmosphere, by supposing the comet covered over with water, and consequently more vapours raised than in our planets; but our earth is half covered over with water, and so is the moon in a manner, and were they covered all over, their atmospheres therefore would not be more than doubled; whereas the comet's atmosphere is some hundreds, not to say thousands, of times greater in proportion to the body. And the atmosphere being so vast, it is most probable that near the body of the comet it is thicker and grosser than ours in the most foggy misty days we have; and consequently, that the sun never shines distinctly through it, nor we distinguish the more and less lucid parts of the body through it. For if the atmosphere was so thick that the limb of the body could not be seen through it distinctly, much less could the fainter and smaller lineaments of land and sea, which even in our planets (Jupiter, Mars, Venus, &c.), whose atmospheres are fine and thin, and limbs appear distinct, is scarce discernable. This is the sum of what I can think of, to object which, I presume Mr Flamstead will not be dispeased with, it being an advantage for any man to have a prospect of what objections lie against him before he divulge his thoughts, that so he may frame and propound them in the best manner; besides these things, which seem obnoxious to some objections, there are some other parts of his theory, which I easily approve, and think it will be hard to object against, as that the tail of the comet is a thin vapour; that it rises from the atmosphere about the head; that the action of the sun's light conduces to raise it; that it shines not by it's own light, but only by reflexion of the sun's light; and that the atmosphere about the head shines also by the sun's light, though not altogether by it. But I am too tedious. I would gladly know, whether on December 12, when Mr Flamstead first espied the head of the comet, he could see it so near the sun with his naked eyes, or only through glasses, and to a star of what magnitude he thinks it might then be compared. Also, whether he allowed for refraction in computing it's place at that time; also, what stars the middle of the tail passed through, and was directed towards, upon the 10th, 11th, 12th, 15th, and 21st days, for I did not then mind it. I am told the tail on the 12th day, went to the bill of Cygnus; on the 15th to the *Ancon Alæ Austrinæ Cygni*, but Mr Flamstead can inform me better. I would gladly know what day also he saw the comet with little glympses of light sparks, and whether he saw it so any more, before or after, and what variations he observed in the body, as to it's light and dark parts. Cysalus and Hevelius describe great and perpetual variations, but I had rather rely on Mr Flamstead's authority. I would enquire also, whether the said lucid points in the body were also over the head, or only in that hemisphere towards the sun; and whether he could perceive that hemisphere towards the sun any more lucid than the opposite hemisphere; and what he thinks

what must be the line described by a falling body, supposed to be moved circularly by the diurnal motion of the earth, and perpendicularly by the power of gravity; wherein he shewed,

'thinks of Hevelius's observations of the phenomena of the head. But I fear I shall be troublesome. On Friday last I saw the comet near the western of the two stars, in the left foot of Perseus; and last night I saw it again It passes in a line about half a degree to the north side of the two stars, and Saturday was got over against the western of them.—I noted it's position to the telescopical stars, but have not yet determined the position of the stars, one among another, and so cannot yet be accurate in describing it's place. But by this gross description Mr Flamstead will easily find it, if he have not yet seen it since the last moon; but it is now grown so faint, that to see it well, he must give his glass a large aperture. After another clear night or two he may command the observations I have made since the last full moon, together with those I shall further make, to compare with his own if he please. In the beginning of January the whole coma of the comet seemed to me to be about 12′ or 15′ broad; but I could not observe the diameter of the body, or nut, in the center of the coma, if Mr Flamstead observed it, the communication would be grateful. But chiefly, I would beg of him a description (in words) of the position of the tail to the fixt stars, December 10th, 11th, 12th, 15th, and 21st; for by a thought which came into my mind to day, I hope there may be something gathered from that. I have been too tedious, and shall add no more, but my thanks to Mr Flamstead for the kind communication of his philosophical notions.

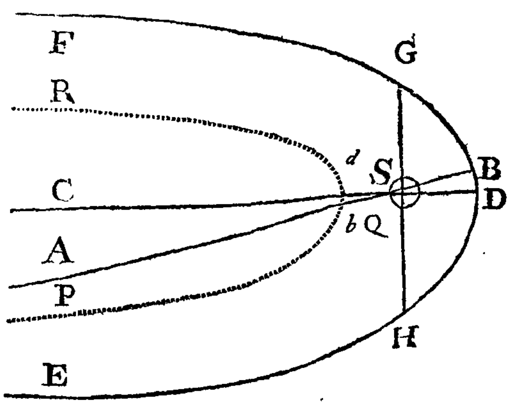
Cambridge, Feb 28. 1680. Is. Newton.'

The following letter was likewise wrote upon the same occasion, and is a further confirmation of what is asserted in the text.

To Mr Flamstead.

SIR, Trinity College, April 16, 1681.

'It is now almost three weeks since, upon my return from a journey, I received yours. By some indisposition, and other impediments, I have deferred answering you longer than I intended. For I was desirous to return you quicker thanks for your kind communications. The compliments you are pleased, out of extreme kindness, to give me, might better have suited with yourself from me; nor do I think it suits with me to judge of an hypothesis after your thoughts upon it. I only propounded objections for you yourself (if you had not thought on them before) to judge farther of it by, which therefore being designed only for your use, I forbear to urge farther, and shall only speak to the question of two comets. The mistake about the date in Pere Gallet's observations, was in the copy I received of them. In the title it was writ stylo veteri; and accordingly the observations, all but the two last, were altered from the new style to the old one, and put November 17, 18, 21, 24, 25, December 6, 7. and the like alteration from the new to the old style had the French observations under them. I perceive that the scholar, in his observation on the transit of the comet by Spica, was mistaken in the time, he recollected it only by circumstances, and, it seems, told me November 16th for November 19th. In your argument from the elongations, if you estimate the motion of the comet not in the Ecliptic, but in the line of it's proper motion (as I think should be done), you will find some difference between November and December, but that is not material, the apparent celerity depending on the earth's distance from the comet at those times, and so whether equal or unequal being but accidental. You seem to think the way of the comet wider than in your scheme, and so do I; for I apprehend the comet in Mr Halley's and your first observations, December 8, 10, 11, and 12, to have been remoter from us than the sun, and about January 2. to have been as far from the sun as the earth was, and it's heliocentric place then to have been Gemini 9 degr. with north latitude 19 or 20 degr or thereabouts. But you are afraid the long tail will not admit the comet's passing beyond the sun: I apprehend nothing from thence; for I am told the tail extended beyond the sphere of Mars during the whole appearance of the comet, and so was long enough to appear in the beginning of December, as along as it did. Nor was the apparent length of it, at that time, any way enormous, but consonant to the law it observed all December; for the tail all that month (and by my observation some time in January) ended at a great circle which cut the Ecliptic in Sagittarius 19 ½ degrees, at an angle of about 52 degrees. Now if the December comet was beyond the sun in the beginning of December, the comets of November and December could hardly be the same for this reason. Let E D F represent the line of the comet moved in; S the sun; C D the axis of that line passing through the sun; D it's vertex, or perihelion of the comet; and A B the plane of the Ecliptic crossed by the axis in S. By contemplating the figure, you will perceive the vertex or perihelion D, was on the



south side the Ecliptic; and consequently since the comet crost the Ecliptic about the third, or at latest the fourth of December, it was in D a little before that time, viz. above half a day before, for the angle D S B was about 6 or 8 degrees at least, but in conjunction with the sun it was December 9. So then in passing from D to conjunction, there were scarce less than six days spent. But in the hypothesis the point D was opposite to the earth about December 7, and consequently December 9, was so near to opposition, that is, to conjunction with the sun, that the comet in passing thence to conjunction could not have spent many hours. Again, drawing G S H perpendicular to C D, G S being equal to S H should have had as much latitude in H as in G. In passing from conjunction to G it must have spent much more time than in passing from D to conjunction, and consequently, could not have been in G before the 12th day, if so soon; and so in G had 8 or 9 degrees north latitude at least. But in H by the Roman observations, as they are adapted to the hypothesis, could not have above a degree south latitude. If the comet turned short of the sun, suppose in the line P Q R, the difficulties are thereby something diminished, but I think not taken off. The point *d*, or vertex of the figure described by the comet, was in conjunction with the sun December 7, the comet in conjunction December 9; therefore the comet's conjunction happened on that side *d* towards *b*. The comet was in *b* (like the point where it crost the Ecliptic) December 3, or 4, therefore it spent five or six days in passing from *b* to a point between *b* and *d*, which space, by the hypothesis, is yet so little that the comet could not spend many hours in passing it. And I think too, the south latitude, though it could not be so great as the north, yet it ought to have been greater than the Roman observations, November 26 and 27, make it. But whatever there be in these difficulties, this sways most with me, that to make the comets of November and December one, is to make that one paradoxical. Did it go in such a bent line, other comets would do the like, and yet no such thing was ever observed in them, but rather the contrary.

shewed, that it would not be a spiral line, but an eccentrical elliptoid, supposing no resistance in the medium; but, in case of resistance, it would be an eccentric ellipti-spiral, which, after many revolutions, would rest in the center at last; and that the fall of the body would not be directly east, but to the south-east, and more to the south than the east (*b b*). This letter put Mr Newton upon enquiring what was the real figure in which such a body moved; and this enquiry gave occasion to his resuming his former thoughts concerning the moon (*i i*). And Picart having not long before, viz. in 1679, measured a degree of the earth, by using his measures the moon appeared to be retained in her orbit purely by the power of gravity, and consequently that this power decreases in the duplicate proportion of the distance, as he had formerly conjectured. Upon this principle he found the line described by a falling body to be an ellipsis, the center of the earth being one focus; and finding by this means, that the primary planets really moved in such orbits as Kepler had guessed, he had the satisfaction to see, that this enquiry, which he had undertaken at first out of meer curiosity, could be applied to the greatest purposes. Hereupon, he drew up near a dozen propositions relating to the motion of the primary planets about the sun, which were communicated to the Royal Society in the latter end of the year 1683 (*k k*). The best mathematical wits were engaged upon this subject; and, among others, Mr Halley, in 1683-4, having proved the duplicate proportion in general from Kepler's sesquialterate ratio, found himself, as well as the rest, not able to carry the demonstration through all the particulars. Thus baffled, he applied first to Sir Christopher Wren and Mr Hook; but meeting with no satisfaction from them, restless as he was to push if possible this pursuit, as well as all others, in which he heartily engaged to a degree of perfection, he took a journey in August to Cambridge, in order to consult Mr Newton. Our author presently informed him, that he had absolutely completed the much desired demonstration; and Mr Halley receiving it from him in November, made him

(*b b*) In a letter to Dr Halley, dated July 27, 1686, Sir Isaac acknowledges he learnt this from Mr Hook, and says it was the only thing he did learn, upon the combination of these two motions, from him. Original Letters.

(*i i*) Preface to Dr Pemberton's View of Sir Isaac Newton's Philosophy.

(*k k*) Com. Epist. No. LXXI.

'The comets of 1665, 1667, and others, which moved towards the sun, or some of them at least, had they twisted about the sun, and not proceeding on forward, gone away behind him, they would have been seen again coming from him. The many which have been seen advancing from the sun, or some of them at least, would have been seen in the former part of their course advancing towards him, had that former part been performed not in the line of the latter part, shooting on backwards towards the regions beyond the sun, but twisting about him towards any hand. Those which were seen both before and after their perihelions, as the comets of 1472, 1556, 1580, and 1664, would not, as they did, have begun in one part of the heavens and ended in the opposite part, going through almost a semi-circle, with motion first slow, then swift, then slow again, as if done in a right line, had it been done in such a line as the hypothesis puts. Let but the comet of 1664 be considered, where the observations were made by accurate men. This was seen long before it's perihelion, and long after, and all the while moved (by the consent of the best Astronomers) in a line almost strait; so near was the line to a strait one, that Monsieur Azout, on supposition that it was an arch of a great circle about the Dog-star (as Cassini guessed, and Azout was willing should be believed), or rather a strait one (as (24) the obviousness of the hypothesis, easiness of the calculation, and number of observations on which it was founded, makes me suspect), did from these observations predict the motion to the end, without very considerable error. But you ask why the comet of November staid so long in the same southern latitude, if it turned not back? I am not satisfied that it did so. I fear it would be hard to warrant any of the observations of that comet to less than a degree; and why then might it not have, in the time of the Canterbury observation, between one and two degrees north latitude, and afterwards crossing the Ecliptic about the beginning of the Roman observations, as Gallet makes it, and from thence advancing continually southward, arrive to between one and two degrees of south latitude, at the end of the Roman. Your observation of December 12, by your last correction, is become much more agreeable to the phænomenon of the tail, than before, and yet I fear is not altogether right. I suspect (if you are sure there was no error committed in taking it's distance from Venus) that Venus had some minutes more longitude than in your reckoning. In your observations last sent, the comet of January 10, is put in Taurus 20 degrees, 42′; in a former copy in Taurus 20 degrees, 49′ ½. That of Taurus 20 degrees, 49′ ½, seems to correspond best with your other observations. The Parisian observations compared with your's seem to have too much longitude, namely, December 29, by about 6′; January 4 and 6, by about 3′ or 4′; January 8, by 7′ or 8′; January 13, by 12′. The greatest difference being in January 13, it may, perhaps, be worth your while to examine your own observations of that day before you publish it. I made an observation about that time, which, though inferior in accurateness to either of your's, yet may possibly give some light into the difference between you. Namely, January 11, I observed at ½ an hour past 7, that the comet, the first of the 3 stars in the mouth of the North Fish, noted δ by Bayerus, and the bright star in the north horn of Taurus, were in a right line; and so were the comet, and the bright stars in the shoulder and head of Andromeda. At half an hour past eight, the said star, in the mouth of the fish, was distant about 12′ ½, or 13′ from the comet; and that distance subtended an equicrural rectangular triangle, whose equal sides comprehending the right-angle, were the line which the comet described by it's motion, and a perpendicular let fall from the said star in the Fish's mouth on that line; whence the sides of the triangle were about 9′, as I also judged by observation. At 9 a-clock the comet and said star, in the Fish's mouth, had equal altitude. At half an hour past ten, a perpendicular let fall from the star on the line described by the comet, fell on the comet; whence the comet was then in it's least distance from the star, which distance by observation was about 9′. These distances I measured, only by viewing the comet and star, through a three foot perspective which magnified much, and comparing their distance to the whole space the perspective took in (for at that time I had no better way), though afterwards when the comet grew dimmer, I fitted a 7 foot tube, with a screw compass, by which I traced it 'till March the 9th. If the place of the said star in the Fish's mouth, were accurately known (as it may be a month or two hence), the place of the comet, in the time of these observations, would readily be given. And I think, in the observation, I erred not in a minute, at most not 2′; but whether it be worth the while for adjusting that little difference between you and the Frenchmen, to observe the place of the star, I know not. Sir, with my repeated thanks to you for your kind communications,

I rest,

Your most affectionate friend and servant,

Is. Newton (25).'

(24) Mr Newton's theory of the comets entirely overthrows the vortices of Cartesius, who was himself so sensible of the consequence that must arise from any such theory, that he places the comets without the verge of the solar system.

(25) Original Letters, ubi sup.

him a second visit at Cambridge, where he got his consent with some difficulty to have it entred in the register books of the Royal Society [O]. After which, by Mr Halley's importunity, and the request of that Society, our author was prevailed with to finish the work. The third book being only a corollary of some propositions in the first, was then drawn up by him in the popular way, with a design to publish it in that form with the other two (ll). But the manuscript being presented with a dedication to the Royal Society, in April 1686, Mr Hooke very injuriously insisted upon his having demonstrated Kepler's problem before our author [P]; whereupon, rather than be involved again in controversy, he determined to

(ll) Preface to the Principia, first edition. This popular piece was published after our author's death, under this title, The System of the World. Lond. 1727, 4to.

[O] *His demonstration was entered in the register books of the Royal Society.*] The reason of Sir Isaac's unwillingness to have it registered seems to be, that he had not yet finished his whole design, as appears from the following passage in a letter from him to Mr Aston, then Secretary, dated at Cambridge, Feb. 23, 1684-5, where he writes thus: 'I thank you for entering in 'your register my notions about motion; I designed 'them for you before now, but the examining several 'things has taken a greater part of my time than I 'expected, and a great deal of it to no purpose: and 'now I am to go into Lincolnshire for a month or six 'weeks, afterwards I intend to finish it as soon as I 'can conveniently.'

In this letter our author mentions a design of erecting a philosophical society at Cambridge, which had been pushed forward by Mr Paget *, when he was last there, with whom himself had concurred, and engaged Dr [Henry] More to be of the society; and that others were spoken to partly by him, and partly by Mr Charles Montague †. 'But that, adds he, which 'chiefly dashed the business, was the want of persons 'willing to try experiments; he, whom we chiefly 'relied on, refusing to concern himself in that kind. 'And more, continues he, what to add further about 'this business I know not, but only this, that I should 'be very ready to concur with any persons for promoting such a design, so far as I can do it without 'engaging the loss of my own time in those things '(26).' It must be observed also, that part of this time was taken up in reading private lectures in Mathematics, to a select company of students, in his own chamber (27).

* Master of the Mathematical school at Christ's hospital, London.

† Afterwards Earl of Halifax.

(26) Birch's History of the Royal Society, Vol. IV. p. 370.

(27) Life of Mr Henry Wharton, prefixed to the first volume of his Sermons.

[P] *The manuscript being sent to the Royal Society, Mr Hooke insisted on his having demonstrated Kepler's problem before our author.*] We have the following particulars of this affair, at a meeting of the Royal Society, April 28, 1686, Sir John Hoskyns being desired to take the chair. 'Dr Vincent presented to the Society a manuscript treatise, intituled, *Philosophiæ Naturalis Principia Mathematica*, and dedicated to the Society by Mr Isaac Newton, wherein he gives a mathematical demonstration of the Copernican hypothesis, as proposed by Kepler, and makes out all the phænomena of the celestial motions, by the only supposition of a gravitation towards the center of the sun, decreasing as the squares of the distances therefrom reciprocally. It was ordered that a letter of thanks be written to Mr Newton, and that the printing of his book be referred to the consideration of the council; and that in the mean time the book be put into the hands of Mr Halley, to make a report thereof to the council (28).' In pursuance to this order, at another meeting, May 19, Sir Joseph Williamson, Vice-President, in the chair, it was ordered that Mr Newton's *Philosophiæ Naturalis Principia Mathematica*, be printed forthwith, in quarto, in a fair letter; and that a letter be written to him to signify the Society's resolution, and to desire his opinion as to the print, volume, cuts, &c. Accordingly Mr Halley wrote to him, on the 22d of May, the following letter:

(28) Birch's History of the Royal Society, Vol. IV. p. 479, 480.

S I R,

'Your incomparable treatise, intituled, *Philosophiæ 'Naturalis Principia Mathematica*, was, by Dr Vincent, presented to the Royal Society on the 28th 'past, and they were so very sensible of the great honour you have done them by your dedication, that 'they immediately ordered you their most hearty 'thanks, and that the council should be summoned 'to consider about the printing thereof. But by reason 'of the President's attendance upon the King ||, and 'the absence of our Vice-Presidents, whom the good 'weather has drawn out of town, there has not since 'been any authentic council to resolve what to do in 'the matter, so that on Wednesday last, the society 'in their meeting, judging that so excellent a work 'ought not to have it's publication any longer delayed, resolved to print it at their own charge, in a 'large quarto, and a fair letter; and that this their 'resolution should be signified to you, and your opinion thereon be desired, that so it might be gone 'about with all speed. I am intrusted to look after 'the printing of it, and will take care that it shall be 'performed as well as possible ‡; only I would first 'have your directions in what you shall think necessary for the embellishing thereof, and particularly, 'whether you think it not better, that the schemes 'should be enlarged, which is the opinion of some 'here; but what you signify as your desire, shall be 'punctually observed.

|| Sir Joseph Williamson was then Secretary of State. See general histories of England.

‡ Accordingly he was so intent upon it, that he had not leisure to publish the Philosophical Transactions regularly in due time; which, being made a handle of by his enemies, prevented the augmentation of his salary, as had been proposed at his election into the place of Assistant Secretary. Ibid. under the years 1686, 1687.

'There is one thing more that I ought to inform 'you of, viz. that Mr Hooke has some pretensions 'upon the invention of the rule of the decrease of 'gravity being reciprocally as the squares of the 'distances from the center. He says, you had the 'notion from him, though he owns the demonstration 'of the curves generated thereby, to be wholly your 'own. How much of this is so, you know best; as 'likewise what you have to do in this matter. Only 'Mr Hooke seems to expect you should make some 'mention of him in the preface, which it is possible 'you may see reason to prefix. I must beg your 'pardon, that it is I that send you this ungrateful 'account; but I thought it my duty to let you know 'it, that so you might act accordingly, being in 'myself fully satisfied, that nothing but the greatest 'candour imaginable is to be expected from a 'person, who has of all men the least need to borrow 'reputation.

'I am, &c. (29).'

(29) Ibid. p. 484.

This injury was warmly resented by Mr Newton, who, in answer to it, gave an account of what passed, in the letters between him and Mr Hooke; and having expressed his satisfaction in Mr Halley's care and proposals about printing his book, the latter in return sent him a proof of the letter and paper intended for it. To which our author, in a letter dated from Cambridge, June 20, 1686, having sufficiently exposed the vanity of Mr Hooke's pretensions (30) he concludes in these terms: 'The proof you sent me 'I like very well, I designed the whole to consist of 'three books; the second was finished last summer, 'being short, and only wants transcribing, and drawing the cuts fairly. Some new propositions I have 'since thought on, which I can as well let alone. 'The third wants the theory of comets. In autumn 'last, I spent two months in calculations to no purpose 'for want of a good method, which made me afterwards return to the first book, and enlarge it with 'diverse propositions, some relating to comets, others 'to other things, found out last winter. The third 'I now design to suppress. Philosophy is such an 'impertinently litigious lady, that a man had as good 'be ingaged in law-suits, as have to do with her. 'I found it so formerly, and now I am no sooner 'come near her again, but she gives me warning. 'The two first books, without the third, will not 'beare so well the title of *Philosophiæ Naturalis 'Principia Mathematica*; and, therefore, I had 'altered it to this, *De Motu Corporum, libri duo*. 'But, upon second thoughts, I retain the former title. ''Twill help the sale of the book, which I ought 'not to diminish, now 'tis yours. The *articles* are with 'the largest to be called by *that* name, if you please 'you may change the word to *sections*, though it be 'not material. In the first page, I struck out 'the

(30) See Mr Hooke's article, remark [Q].

to suppress the third book, 'till his friends prevailed upon him to alter that resolution. However, he was now convinced, that it would be best not to let it go abroad without strict demonstration. The book was put to the press by the Society soon after Midsummer 1686, under the care of Mr Halley, then Assistant-Secretary; and it came out about Midsummer 1687, under the title of *Philosophiæ Naturalis Principia Mathematica.* From hence it appears, that this treatise, full of such a variety of profound inventions, was composed from scarce any other materials than the few propositions beforementioned [Q] in the

'the words *uti posthac docebitur*, as referring to the 'third book; which is all at present, from,

Your affectionate friend,

Cambridge, June 20, 1686. and humble servant,

If Newton.

To this Mr Halley returned an answer, June 29, which begins thus:

'SIR,

'I am heartily sorry that in this matter, wherein all 'mankind ought to acknowledge their obligation to 'you, you should meet with any thing that should 'give you disquiet; or that any disgust should make 'you think of desisting in your pretensions to a lady, 'whose favours you have so much reason to boast of. ''Tis not she, but your rivals envying your happiness, 'that endeavour to disturb your quiet enjoyment; 'which when you consider, I hope, you will see 'cause to alter your resolution, of suppressing your 'third book, there being nothing which you can 'have compiled therein, which the learned world 'will not be concerned to have concealed. Those 'gentlemen of the Society, to whom I have com-'municated it, are very much troubled at it, and 'that this unlucky business should have happened to 'give you trouble, having a just sentiment of the 'author thereof.' He then proceeds to give some convincing proofs, that Mr Hooke was not before him in the demonstration, as he pretended, and that some of Mr Hooke's particular friends had even quarrelled with him for giving this disturbance by those pretensions, and that all were of opinion Mr Newton ought to be considered as the first inventor (31). 'What application he [Hooke] has made in 'private, continues Mr Halley, I know not; but 'I am sure that the Society have a very great satis-'faction, in the honour you do them, by the dedi-'cation of so worthy a treatise. Sir, I must now 'again beg you, not to let your resentments run so 'high, as to deprive us of your third book, wherein 'the applications of your mathematical doctrine to 'the theory of comets, and several curious experi-'ments, which, as I guess by what you write, ought 'to compose it, will undoubtedly render it acceptable 'to those, who will call themselves Philosophers with-'out Mathematics, which are much the greater num-'ber. Now you approve of the character and paper, 'I will push on the edition vigorously. I have some-'times had thoughts of having the cutts neatly done in 'wood, so as to stand in the page with the demon-'strations. It will be more convenient, and not 'much more charge. If it please you to have it so, 'I will try how well it can be done; otherwise I will 'have them in somewhat a larger size, than those you 'have sent up.

'I am,

'SIR,

'Your most affectionate humble servant,

'E. Halley (32).'

(31) Id. ibid.

(32) Original Letters, ubi sup.

Our author yielded to these earnest sollicitations at length, and his second book being sent to the Society, accompanied with a letter from him, was read, March 2, 1686-7. The third book was also produced and presented to the Society, April 6, following. It contained, say these minutes, the whole system of celestial motions, as well of the secondary as primary planets, with the theory of comets; which he illustrates by the example of the great comet of 1680-1, proving *that*, which appeared in the morning, in the month of November preceding, to have been the same comet, that was observed in December and January in the evening (33).

(33) Birch's History of the Royal Society, p. 527, 529, 530.

[Q] *Was composed from scarce any other materials than the few propositions aforementioned.*] We have already seen, in the preceding remark, from a letter of Mr Newton to Mr Halley, that the theory of comets was not completed 'till the beginning of the year 1686, and the following letters must needs be acceptable, as they contain several particulars relating to the investigation of that theory.

'To Mr Flamstead.

Trinity college, Cambridge, Sept. 19, 1685.

SIR,

I have been a great while indebted to you many thanks for your communications, and particularly for your last, about Saturn; but imagining I should have occasion to trouble you again, I deferred, that I might not cumber you with more letters than were necessary. I have not yet computed the orbit of a comet, but am now going about it, and taking that of 1680 into consideration, it seems very probable that those of November and December were the same comet. But I am at a loss in the observations you sent me of a Canterbury artificer made on Friday morning, November 11, the comet being then in Virgo 12, with 2 degrees north latitude. But November 11. fell on Thursday, and in Cassini's treatise of this comet the day of the month is November 13. If you have the day noted down, I beg the favour you would assure me which it is. I have a transcript of your observations, but comparing them with Cassini's edition of them, I find some difference. Thus, December 21, in my transcript, the time of the observation is 6h. 31′; in one of your letters, dated January 3, which I have by me 'tis 4h. 30′; and in Cassini's edition 5h. 0′. December 24, in my transcript, the longitude Pisces 13°. 10′, the latitude 28°. 10′.; in Cassini's edition the longitude Pisces 13°. 10′, the latitude 28°. 12′. December 30, in my transcript, the time of it 8h. 4′. the longitude Pisces 17°. 39′, the latitude 28°. 12′; in Cassini's edition the time is 8h. 30′, the longitude Pisces 17°. 51 ¼, the latitude 28°. 14′. I have therefore sent you a copy of my transcript of your observations, begging the favour that you would correct it by your originals, and then return it to me again. And if you think any of them more exact than others, pray do me the favour to set a mark at those. I would also gladly know, whether the time you set down in these observations be the equated time, or only the true time by the sun's course. My calculation of the orbit will depend only on three observations; and if I can get three at convenient distances exact to a minute or less, I hope the orbit will answer exactly enough, not only to the observations of December, January, February, and March, but also to those of November, before the comet was conjoyned with the sun. I observe, that in the French observations, by neglecting to allow for the motion between the times of the two observations, from whence the comet's place is calculated, there is sometimes an error of two or three minutes created. I perceive by your tide-tables you have been curious upon that subject, which makes me hope that you can tell me how much the perpendicular rise and fall of the spring tides, about the solstices, is greater than the like rise or fall of the neap or quarter tides, at the same time of the year; and also how much the one is greater than the other, at the equinoxes. I beg the favour also, that you would set the longitudes and latitudes to the stars in the other inclosed paper, and also the distances to the stars on the other side the same paper, as many of them as you have ready by you; and note the times your longitudes are adjusted to. Pray add also the places and distances of the three stars in the mouth of Equuleus, called by Bayerus γ and δ, whereof γ is a double one.

the ſpace of eighteen months (*mm*). The ſecond edition, with great additions and improvements by the author, was printed at Cambridge in 1713, 4to. under the direction of

(*mm*) The firſt draught of it was read in his publick lectures in the ſchools at Cambridge.

one. Sir, I give you a great deal of trouble preſuming upon your goodneſs, and begging your pardon for my preſumption. If it ſhall ever lie in my power to ſerve you as much, pray, command me, and I ſhall be glad of the occaſion.

I am

Your obliged, and humble ſervant,

Iſaac Newton.

To Mr Iſaac Newton.

S I R, The Obſervatory, Sept. 25, 1685.

Yours of the 19th inſtant came to hand on Tueſday laſt. I am very glad to find by it, that you have the motions of comets under conſideration. Hitherto, we have only groped out the lines of their motion. If they may be reduced to a theory, it will be very welcome news to us. As for the Canterbury obſervation, it is a very coarſe one; I diſcourſed with the perſon that made it, but found him a very ignorant well willer; yet, I believe his obſervations as good as thoſe of Cellio, made at Rome, which, if I forget not, I ſent you, I have here, included, given you part of a letter, I received from him concerning it, whereby you will find the time, November 12th, at 5 hours *mane*, which is the 11th, 17 hours *p. m.* which clears the buſineſs But for the place and latitude it was got by ſetting of the diſtances on the globe. You may ſee by one, whether the ſet diſtances give that place: by my ſmall globe the latitude ſeems ſomething bigger, near 3 degrees north. I have a German tract of Zimmerman's, wherein he gives the place of the comet, obſerved November 22d, 18h. 17′. in virgo, 7¼ degr., of latitude ſouth 2½ degr.; and Nov. 23d, 18h. 5′., in Scorpius 11¾ degr.; with 3¼ gr. latitude alſo ſouth. He eſteems this the ſame we ſaw in December, occidental; and theſe notes of his differ not more than a degree or two from Cellio's. When the comet appeared in December Mr Halley was at Paris; and to render his converſation more acceptable to our friends in their obſervatory, I ſent my obſervations of it, with it's places deduced from them as I obſerved them. The calculations were uſually made the next morning, after the obſervation. When I had loſt the comet, in the following March, coming to examine the obſervations over again, I found the times had been misſtated, ſometimes a minute or two, but not often more, and that the effects of refraction ought to have been conſidered in ſome places where I had neglected them. I therefore repeated every calculation allowing for refractions, and thence made the following table of it's places and latitudes, with which you will not wonder to find ſome few minutes different from the former I ſent you, or what I imparted to Mr Halley and to Mr Caſſini, printed from my letters to him. I have not examined any of the French obſervations to compare them with my own. The radius of their inſtruments wherewith their diſtances were taken, was not half mine, and for want of convenient contrivances they are difficult to manage, as both Mr Halley and Mr Molyneux, who have ſeen them, inform me; ſo that I eſteem them better than any beſides publiſhed; yet I have no great opinion of them; for towards the the latter end of it's appearance, the comet was very difficultly obſervable, in the teleſcopes on my ſextant that are ſeven foot long; much more muſt it be in theirs, that are ſcarce three. I have not yet attempted to rectify the places of the fixed ſtars, by reaſon that I am not furniſhed with ſo good an inſtrument as I deſire, for obſerving their true diſtances from the pole. I have long been kept in hopes of an allowance for one; at laſt, being tired with expectation, I made an arch of 135 degrees; near ſeven foot radius, for this purpoſe, at my own expence. It coſt me near twenty pounds; but for want of ſubſtance and workmanſhip, which I could not allow, it anſwers not my expectation ſo fully, or well, as I deſired; ſo that next ſpring I am reſolved to make another of the ſame dimenſions, in which my dear bought experience has ſhewn me how the faults of this may be amended. Nevertheleſs, when the comet appeared, I rectified ſo many ſtars as I had made uſe of in my obſervations, by my own meaſures taken with the ſextant, which I am confident are much better than the Tychonic. Theſe I give you here, if you have abſolute occaſion for more about a fortnight hence, I ſhall be at leaſure to calculate them. At preſent, I am preparing for a journey to my parſonage, about twenty-two miles from hence, where I ſhall ſtay about ten days. I hope to be at home again by Tueſday fortnight, I find but few of the diſtances, you deſire, in my books of obſervations. One of my aſſiſtants is ill, the other having been but a little time with me is not very expert: I expect my firſt here to morrow, or Sunday night, and then I ſhall meaſure thoſe you want, which will be ſoon done, becauſe they all lie very conveniently in the evenings. If I have clear weather you may expect them before I go into the country about Tueſday or Thurſday next. I eſteem the places of the comet in my catalogue all equally exact. I employed the ſame care in taking all the diſtances; and the calculations were all twice repeated. In the firſt obſervation, November 12, the comet was about 7⅓ degrees high; in which altitude ſome perſons may think the refractions variable; but I don't think the alteration eaſily ſenſible; for though I have had very different refractions in the horizon, yet when the ſun was three degrees high, I always found the refraction fourteen minutes, not ſenſibly more or leſs; and if it be conſtant here, much more at twice the height. I have not minded the French obſervations, nor conſidered, whether they had allowed for the motion of the comet betwixt two obſervations. I took a courſe that always provided for that allowance. For, after I had meaſured it's diſtance from any two ſtars, I always repeated it from the firſt, and afterwards calculating it's place to the time of the middle obſervation, by the help of two extremes, found it's true diſtance from the firſt ſtar at that time; not omitting ſuch allowance for refraction as I ſaw reaſonable. I ſhall give you one nights notes of it, whereby you will eaſily apprehend what care and circumſpection I uſed in my proceſs.

′		°	′	″
1681. Jan. 5 ☿ 6h 15	Lucida ♈tis ab Algamb. Pegaſi — —	28.	2.	50
10 ☽ 5. 44	Cometæ caput a lucida ♈tis — — —	18.	14.	5
48	— — — — — — — — rep.	18.	14.	25
54⅓	——— ab extr. A'æ Pegaſi — — —	18.	47.	45
57	— — — — — — — — rep.	18.	47.	55
6. 01	——— a Lucida ♈tis iterum — — —	18.	13.	25
4⅓	— — — — — — — — rep.	18.	14.	15
	Et pro parallaxis inveſtigatione			
6. 12	Cometæ caput ab Andromedæ ♌ — —	3.	6.	45
16⅓	— — — — — — — — rep.	3.	7.	10
8. 45⅔	— — — — — — — — iter.	3.	18.	5
54	— — — — — — — denique	3.	18.	5

From theſe obſervations, I ſtate the true diſtance of the comet at 5h. 54′. (the middle time betwixt the extreme obſervations) from the wing of Pegaſus 18°. 48′. 00″. allowing 20″ for the contraction of that diſtance by refraction, and from the bright ſtar of Aries, at that time 18°. 13′. 40″. whence I find it's place, as in tablet it is given. I may add, that conſidering the diſtances obſerved from the ſtar ♌ in Andromeda, and comparing their difference in 2h. 42″. (interlapſed between the firſt and laſt of them) with the comet's true motion in the ſame time, it is evident the parallaxis was very ſmall, if not inſenſible. I am ſorry

of Mr Roger Cotes, Professor of Astronomy and Experimental Philosophy in that university; who prefixed a preface, giving an account of the Philosophy contained in the book, especially

sorry I cannot give you a regular answer as concerning our tides. Though I was at the pains to attend a 100 high waters, yet I could never satisfy myself when the floods were highest, and the ebbs lowest, of all the year. Only, I am confident, it was not in the equinoctial months, but rather in October and February, in which unsettled months the great freshes caused by the rains, and the raging winds at sea, will raise the floods much above the ordinary pitch. Sometimes, we have had two floods in twelve hours, and the tides, after they have ebbed two or three feet will flow again. This commonly happens when we have violent storms, and ill weather at sea. The least floods happen when it is pinch water, a little before two o'clock; the highest spring-tides betwixt four and five. I suspect some irregularity in the tides, as they happen by night or day; but my habitation is so remote from the water, I cannot conveniently observe them. 'Tis, therefore, only a supicion, which may be corrected when I can observe them more conveniently.

To Mr Flamstead.

I have your two letters, and return you my hearty thanks. Your observations of the comet being so exact, will save me a great deal of pains. I shall have no need to give you farther trouble at present, but after a while, I believe I may have occasion to beg your farther assistance. My question about the flux and reflux of the sea, was concerning the quantity, not the time; viz. how much the afflux or perpendicular ascent of the water is greater at the new and full moon than at the quarters, about the time of the solstices, when the spring-tides are least; and also how much the one is greater than the other, about the time of the equinoxes, when the spring-tides are greatest. But, I fear this being no part of your design, you have not observed it.

SIR,

I am

Trinity-college,
Octob. 14, 1685.

Your most obliged

and humble servant,

If. Newton.

To Mr Flamstead.

SIR,

I thank you heartily for your information about those things I desired. In my observations about the comet, I was only careful of the proportions of the distances, from small stars to those between the stars. Afterwards, I believe, I made some mistake in the reduction to minutes and seconds; for the observations in many cross distances filled one another well. Your information about the Satellites of Jupiter gives me very much satisfaction. The orbit of Saturn is defined by Kepler too little for the sesquialterate proportion. This planet, so often as he is in conjunction with Jupiter, ought (by reason of Jupiter's action upon him) to run beyond his orbit about one or two of the sun's ~~semidiameters~~ or a little more, and almost all the rest of his motion to run as much, or more within it; perhaps that might be the ground of Kepler's defining it too little. But I would gladly know, if you ever observed Saturn to err considerably from Kepler's tables about the time of his conjunction with Jupiter. The greatest error, I conceive, should be either the year before conjunction, when Saturn is 3 or 4 signs from the sun *in consequentia*, or the year after, when Saturn is as far from the sun *in antecedentia*. You seem to insinuate, as if Saturn had not yet any more Satellites than one discovered by Hugenius. I should be glad to know if it be so. And one more favour I would beg, that if you have any observation of the greatest elongations of any of the Satellites of Jupiter from his center (chiefly that of the outmost Satellite), in degrees and minutes, you would communicate it to me, with the time of the observation *. For I would gladly know the proportion of the orbits of the Satellites to that of Jupiter as exactly as I can. And if you have any such observation of the greatest elongation of the Satellite of Jupiter, I would also beg the favour of that.

Trin. Coll. Decemb. 30 †, 1680.
A good new year to you.

SIR,

I am,

Your most obliged friend to serve you,

If. Newton.'

* Mr Flamstead notes in the margin these words; Sent him here on the elongations of all, and diameters which he has employed in his *Principia*.

† Mr Flamstead says it should be 1686 or 1685.

To Mr Flamstead.

SIR,

' Whilst I was concerned that you should be so long without the sight of those papers, I received a letter from Mr Pagit, by which I understood he has been laid up sick of an ague. I am writing to him to transmit the papers to you as soon as he has a convenient opportunity. In my last I made an allowance for the distance of Jupiter and Saturn one from another, diminishing their virtue in a duplicate proportion of the distance. But yet I spake there but at random, not knowing their virtues 'till I had your numbers for Jupiter, by which I understand his virtue is less than I supposed. But, I am still at a loss for Saturn. I have not at all minded Astronomy for some years, 'till on this occasion, which makes me more to seek. I cannot meet with Huygens's book of Saturn. Mercator, and another or two which I have consulted, leave me as wise as I was. I find Saturn's ring is, to his body, in breadth, as 9 to 4; and Huygens makes the ring in Saturn's nearest distance 68″ long at most, that is, in his mean distance from the sun about 1′. But it is the dimension of the orbit of the Satelles about him that I want. Now I am upon this subject, I would gladly know the bottom of it, before I publish my papers. I believe you can tell me what Huygenius's measures are, or, if there have been any other since assigned more equally. For by Huygenius's large measures of Jupiter, I suspect he may have assigned the apparent diameter of the ring of Saturn too large. Your information about the error of Kepler's tables for Jupiter and Saturn, has eased me of several scruples. I was apt to suspect there might be some cause or other unknown to me, which might disturb the sesquialtera proportion; for the influences of the planets seemed not great enough, though I imagined Jupiter's influence greater than your numbers determine it. It would add to my satisfaction, if you would be pleased to let me know the long diameters of the orbits of Jupiter and Saturn, assigned by yourself and Mr Halley in your new tables, that I may see how the sesquialtera proportion fills the heavens, together with another small proportion which must be allowed for. I thank you for the places of the comet from the French observations, to the days you mentioned. I do intend to determine the lines described by the comets of 1664 and 1680, according to the principles of motion observed by the Planets, and should be glad of your help as to those places of the latter, if I shall not give you too much trouble.

SIR,

I am,

Your most obliged friend to serve you,

I. Newton ‖.'

‖ This letter wants a date, but Mr Flamstead notes, that it was witten about 1685, or Jan. 1685-6.

To Mr Flamstead.

SIR,

' Your kind salutation of me by Mr Phillips is an addition to the several testimonies you have given me of your good will, and I cannot forbear to acknowledge it with thanks. He tells me, he apprehended by some of your discourses, that you had seen two of Cassini's new planets about Saturn. Hugenius, with a

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especially with regard to the famed vortices of Des Cartes, which, though irrefragably refuted herein, still had their abettors. The last edition, with still further improvements by the author, was published at London in 4to. under the care of Henry Pemberton, M. D. *. This book, in which our author has built a new system of Natural Philosophy upon the most sublime Geometry, did not meet at first with all the applause it deserved, and was one day to receive (*nn*). Two reasons concurred in producing this effect: Des Cartes had then got full possession of the world [*R*]; his Philosophy was, indeed, the creature of a fine imagination (*oo*), gaily dressed in a tempting metaphorical stile (*pp*); he had given her likewise some of Nature's true features, and painted the rest to a seeming of Nature's likeness with a smiling countenance; besides, whatever she said was very easily understood, and thus she yielded herself up, without any great difficulty, to her votaries. Upon these accounts, people in general even took unkindly an attempt to awake them out of so pleasing a dream. On the other hand, Mr Newton had, with an unparallelled penetration, pursued Nature up to her most secret abodes, and was intent to demonstrate her residence to others, rather than anxious to point out the way by which he arrived at it himself. He finished his piece in that elegant conciseness, which had justly gained the Ancients an universal esteem. Indeed, the consequences flow with such rapidity from the principles, that the reader is often left to supply a long chain to connect them; therefore it required some time before the world could understand it: the best mathematicians were obliged to study it with care before they could be masters of it, and those of a lower rank durst not venture upon it, 'till encouraged by the testimonies of the most learned. But, at last, when it's worth came to be sufficiently known, the approbation which had been so slowly gained became universal, and nothing was to be heard from all quarters but one general shout of admiration (*qq*). 'Does Mr Newton eat, or drink, or sleep, like 'other men, says the Marquis de l'Hôpital, one of the greatest Mathematicians of the age, 'to the English who visited him; I represent him to myself as a celestial genius, entirely 'disengaged from matter (*rr*).' The general subject of the *Principia* is the doctrine of motion, which is the most considerable of all others for establishing the first principles of Philosophy by geometrical demonstrations. The undertaking was begun by Des Cartes; but, taking up with gross experiments (*ss*) without examination, he derived his conclusions too hastily: Mr Newton both saw the mistake, and at the same time how extremely difficult it would be to avoid it; but he had the resolution to make the attempt, and he alone had strength to complete the execution. To this end, by experiments made with the most accurate exactness, and observed with the nicest circumspection and sagacity, he first discovers what are the real phænomena of motion arising from the natural powers of gravity, elasticity, the resistance of fluids, and the like; whence he rises, by the help of his own sublime Geometry † [*S*], to investigate the true forces of these powers in nature, and

* This was reprinted with large notes in 4 vols 4to. at Paris.

(*nn*) Fontenelle's Elogium.

(*oo*) He never believed it himself. Vid. Rapin Reflex. p. 423.

(*pp*) Mr Voltaire says, Nature had almost made him a Poet. Letters concerning the English Nation, Letter 14.

(*qq*) M. de Fontenelle's Eloge.

(*rr*) Des Maizeaux's preface, p. 12. to his Recueil de diverses pieces sur la Philosophie, la Religion Naturelle, l'Histoire, les Mathematiques, &c. par Mess. Leibnitz, Clarke, Newton, & autres auteurs celebres, edit Amsterdam, 1720.

(*ss*) Such, for instance, as the common trials of balls striking one another at tennis and billiards, and these too he never examined, but took them upon the common notion. See his Principia Philosophiæ, Elziv. 1644, 4to.

† Founded on the doctrine of prime and ultimate ratioes, first introduced by him, and for that reason is called *The Newtonian Geometry*.

60 foot glass, could see none of them. Mr Halley (who was lately here), I find still suspicious of them, notwithstanding what Cassini has lately published of two more. I was glad to hear two of them confirmed by your observation. There is another thing said to be observed of Jupiter by Cassini long since, namely, that his diameter from pole to pole is shorter than from east to west. If this were certain, it would conduce much to the stating the reason of the precession of the Equinox. But, I shall trouble you no further, than to assure you that,

Cambridge, Sept. 3, 1686. I am,

Your affectionate humble servant,

If. Newton (34).'

(34) Original Letters, &c.

[*R*] *Des Cartes had then got full possession of the world.*] Dr Barrow, in his Opuscula (35), observes, that Des Cartes was undoubtedly a very good and ingenious man, and a real Philosopher; and one who seems to have brought those assistances to that part of Philosophy which relates to matter and motion, which perhaps no other had done, that is, a great skill in Mathematicks; a mind habituated both by nature and custom to profound meditation; a judgment exempt from all prejudices and popular errors, and furnished with a considerable number of certain and select experiments; a great deal of leisure; entirely disengaged by his own choice from the reading of useless books, and the avocations of life; with an incomparable acuteness of wit; and an excellent talent of thinking clearly and distinctly, and expressing his thoughts with the utmost perspicuity.

(35) P. 56.

[*S*] *By the help of his own sublime Geometry.*] In the second lemma of the second book our author lays down the principles of Fluxions, which he demonstrates in the synthetical manner. And Mr Leibnitz having not long before * published the Elements of the *Calculus Differentialis*, at the end of which are the following words. *Et hæc quidem initia sunt Geometriæ cujusdam sublimioris ad difficillima ac pulcherrima quæque etiam mixtæ matheseos problemata pertingentis, quæ sine calculo differentiali aut simili non temere quisquam pari facilitate tractabit.* Mr Newton added to that lemma the following scholium. *In literis quæ mihi cum Geometra peritissimo G. G. Leibnitio annis abhinc decem intercedebant, cum significaram me esse compotem methodi determinandi maximas & minimas, ducendi tangentes, & similia peragendi; quæ in terminis surdis æque ac in rationalibus procederet; & literis transpositis hanc sententiam involventibus* [data æquatione quotcunque fluentes quantitates involvente Fluxiones invenire & vice versa], *eandem celarem: rescripsit vir clarissimus se quoque in ejusmodi methodum incidisse, & methodum suam communicabat, à meâ vix abludentem præterquam in verborum & notarum formalis. Utriusque fundamentum continetur in hoc lemmate.* By this passage our author lets the world understand, that in the letters which he wrote to Mr Leibnitz 10 years before (36), that is, June 13, and October 24th, 1676, he had informed him of his method, before Leibnitz had mentioned his own, which he did not do 'till eight months after, viz. June 21, 1677. Here then our author expresses clearly his right to that invention, and the modest stile in which it is drawn up makes it so much more remarkable (37). To this sublime Geometry is to be ascribed the peculiar elegance of those speculations in this book, where he treats of pendulums as moved by a gravitation acting in the law, which he shews to belong to the earth, below it's surface, performing in this kind of gravitation where the force is proportional to the distance from the center; what Mr Huygens had before done in the common supposition of it's being uniform and acting in parallel lines. Huygens, at the end of his treatise *de la Pasanteur*, p. 169, & seq. informs us, that he had carried his speculations on the first of these suppositions, of the resistance in fluids being proportionable to the velocities

* Viz. in 1684.

(36) See Wallis's Mathematical Works, Vol. III. p. 622 and 634. and Mr Leibnitz's letter. Ibid. p. 636.

(37) See his Remarks in Mr Des Maizeaux's Recueil, Tom. II. p. 87, 88.

and then from those forces demonstrates the other phænomena: particularly in settling the system of the heavens, he demonstrates mathematically in the first book what are the genuine effects of central forces, in all hypotheses whatsoever that can be framed concerning the laws of attraction; then, from Kepler's rules [*T*], and other astronomical and geographical observations, he shews what the particular laws of attraction are in nature, and proves, that this attraction is every where the same as the terrestrial gravity, by the force of which all bodies tend to the sun, and to the several planets. Then, from other demonstrations, which are also mathematical, he deduces the motion of the planets, the comets, the moon, and the sea. In the height of all these profound philosophical researches, just before his *Principia* went to the press, the privileges of the university being attacked by King James the Second, our author appeared among the most hearty defenders, and was, accordingly, on that occasion, appointed one of the Delegates to the High-Commission Court (*t t*) [*U*]; where the steady defence they made was so unexpected by the Court, that the King thought proper to drop the affair. After this, he was chosen one of the university representatives for the Convention-Parliament in 1688 (*u u*), where he attended 'till it's dissolution. Mr Montague, afterwards Earl of Halifax, sat likewise for the first time in that Parliament, and, being bred at the same college (*w w*), was well acquainted with our author's abilities; and undertaking the great work of recoining the money when he became Chancellor of the Exchequer, he obtained of the King for Mr Newton, in 1696, the office of Warden of the Mint. This post put him in a capacity of doing signal service in that affair, which was of so great importance to the nation. And three years after he was promoted to be Master of the Mint, a place, *communibus annis*, worth twelve or fifteen hundred pounds a year (*x x*), which he held 'till his death. Upon this promotion, he appointed Mr William Whiston, then Master of Arts of Clare-Hall, his deputy in the Mathematical Professorship at Cambridge, giving him the full profits of the place, and not

(*t t*) See Burnet's History of his own Time, Vol. I. p. 698. Lond. 1724, fol.

(*u u*) Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria, Vol. I.

(*w w*) See his article.

(*x x*) Historical Memoirs of Dr Samuel Clarke, by W. Whiston, p. 135, 136.

locities of the bodies, as far as our author; but finding by experiment that the second was more conformable to nature, he afterwards made some progress in that, 'till he was stopt by not being able to execute to his wish, what related to the perpendicular descent of bodies; not observing that the measurement of the curve line he made use of to explain it by depended on the hyperbola; which oversight may well be pardoned in that great man, considering that our author had not been pleased, at that time, to communicate to the public his discourse of the quadrature of curves, founded on the method of fluxions; for without the use of that treatise, it is, I think, no injury even to our author's unparallelled abilities, to believe it would not have been easy for himself to have succeeded so happily in this, and many other parts of his writings (38).

(38) Pemberton's View, p. 119. 1732, 8vo.

[*T*] *Kepler's rules.*] These rules, founded upon the observations of Tycho Brahe, were three, 1. That the same planets described about the sun equal areas in equal times. 2. That in different planets the squares of the periodic times were as the cubes of the transverse axes of their orbits. 3. That their orbits were undoubtedly oval, and probably ellipses, the sun being the common focus. From the first phænomenon our author demonstrated, that the planets were attracted towards the sun in the center. From the second, that the force of this attraction was reciprocally as the squares of the distances of the planets from this center; and then from this duplicate proportion he demonstrated the truth of Kepler's conjecture: in the third, that these orbits were actually ellipses, the sun being placed in the lower focus. We have been more particular in explaining this matter, because Monsieur Fontenelle has given a very perplexed, not to say an erroneous, account of it (39); neither is it clearly stated by his remarker, in the Republic of Letters, for the year 1738.

(39) See his Eloge, p. 6. Paris, 1728, 4to.

[*U*] *Appointed one of their Delegates to the High-Commission Court, where they made such a defence, that the court dropt the affair.*] We have the following account of this matter from Bishop Burnet (40). 'The King sent his letter of Mandamus to order F. Francis, an ignorant Benedictine Monk, to be received Master of Arts, once to open a way for letting them into the degrees of the University. The truth is, the King's letter was scarce ever refused in conferring degrees; and when Ambassadors or foreign Princes came to those places they usually gave such degrees to those who belonged to them as were desired. The Morocco Ambassador's Secretary, that was a Mahometan, had that degree given him; but a great distinction was made between honorary degrees given to strangers, who intended not to live among them, and those given to such as intended to settle among them. For every Master of Arts having a vote in the Convocation, they reckoned that if they gave this degree, they must give all that should be pretended to, on the like authority, and they knew all the King's priests would be let in upon them, which might occasion, in present, great distraction and contention among them, and in time they might grow to be a majority in Convocation, which is their Parliament. They refused the Mandamus with great unanimity, and with a firmness that the Court had not expected from them. New, and repeated orders, with severe threatnings in case of disobedience were sent to them; and this piece of raillery was every where set up, that a Papist was reckoned worse than a Mahometan, and the King's letters were less considered than the Ambassador from Morocco had been. Some feeble or false men of the university tried to compound this matter, by granting this degree to Father Francis, but enacting at the same time, that it should not be a precedent for the future, for any other of the like nature; this was not given way to. For it was said, that in all such cases the obedience that was once paid, would be a much stronger argument for continuing to do it as oft as it should be desired, than any such proviso could be against it. Upon which the Vice Chancellor was summoned before the Ecclesiastical Commission to answer this contempt.'

(40) History of his own Time, Vol. I. p. 697, 698. edit. Lond. 1724, fol.

Thus far that Bishop, who not being educated in England, may the rather be excused in not knowing the exact difference between an honorary, and a faculty degree. The first being merely titular, conveys no civil right whatsoever, not even that of voting in the Convocation (41), or (as it is called at Cambridge) the Senate, though such Graduates should, and often do, reside in the University. For this degree, none of the ordinary conditions being required, it is absurd to suppose it given upon a Mandamus, by which the King dispenses with those ordinary conditions, and upon that account such a degree is equal in every respect to one that is conferred according to the ordinary rules, and consequently is a faculty to which there are several privileges annexed in the Law. It was understood by the King's order, that this faculty of Master of Arts should be conferred upon Father Francis, and that he should actually enjoy the full extent of it, without taking the oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy. It was this additional dispensation with the oaths, which the University thought to be an infringement of their legal rights; and the point was handsomely maintained by the Delegates (42), who urged, not only, that not a single instance could be produced in favour of it, but likewise, that his Majesty's predecessor, King Charles II. upon the like representation to this, which was now made by the University, had been pleased to withdraw his Mandamus (43).

(41) Convocation; this is the name given to it in the Oxford statutes.

(42) There were 9 Delegates, including the Vice-chancellor; amongst whom, besides our author, were the learned Dr Echard, Master of Catharine Hall, and Mr George Stanhope, Fellow of King's, afterwards the worthy Dean of Canterbury.

(43) Proceedings against the Vice-chancellor and University of Cambridge, 3 Jac. II. 1686.

[*W*] *There*

not long after procured him to be his successor in that post (yy). The Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris having this year made a new regulation for admitting foreigners into their society, Mr Newton was immediately elected a member of that Academey. In 1703, he was chosen President of the Royal Society, in which chair he sat for twenty-five years, without interruption, 'till the day of his death. In 1704, he published at London in 4to, his OPTICS: *or, A Treatise of the Reflections, Refractions, Inflections, and Colours, of Light*. He had now at times employed thirty years, in bringing the experiments to that degree of certainty and exactness, which alone could satisfy himself. In reality, this seems to have been his most favourite invention. In the speculations of infinite series and fluxions, as also in his demonstrations of the power of gravity in preserving the system of the world, there had been some though distant hints given by others before him [W]; whereas, in the dissecting a ray of light into it's first constituent particles, which then admitted of no farther separation; in the discovery of the different refrangibility of these particles thus separated, and that these constituent rays had each it's own peculiar colour inherent in it; that rays falling in the same angle of incidence have alternate fits of reflection and refraction; that bodies are rendered transparent by the minuteness of their pores, and become opaque by having them large; and that the most transparent body, by having a great thinness, will become less pervious to the light: in all these, which made up his New Theory of Light and Colours, he was absolutely and entirely the first starter; and, as the subject is of the most subtle and delicate nature, he thought it necessary to be himself the last finisher of it *. The art of making experiments to a certain degree of accuracy is far from being a common attainment. The most trifling fact that falls under our notice, is complicated with so many others which compose or modify it, that it requires the utmost sagacity even to guess at the particular ingredients of such a composition, and the nicest dexterity to distinguish them from each other. The facts to be examined must be resolved into others which are themselves compounded, and sometimes if we happen to mistake our way, we are led into endless and inextricable labyrinths. The truth is, the affair that chiefly employed his researches for so many years, was far from being confined to the subject of light alone: on the contrary, all that we know of natural bodies seemed to be comprehended in it; he had found out, that there was a mutual action at a distance between light

(yy) See Memoirs of W. Whiston, p. 293. Mr Whiston was chosen Professor in 1703. Ibid. p. 346.

* Accordingly, the truth of it has not been controverted since, as has been already observed in Mr Maclaurin's article.

[W] *There had been some, though vague hints given by others before him.*] With respect to the first, besides what we have already observed * of Mr Fermat's method, which was seen by our author in Schooten's Commentary upon Cartes's Geometry, it is undoubtedly certain that Mr Newton's momenta, in his analytical investigations, were originally considered by him in a sense little, if at all, different from Cavallerius's Indivisibles. These are his words, *Nec vereor loqui de unitate in punctis sive lineis infinite parvis, si quidem proportiones ibi jam contemplantur Geometriæ dum utuntur methodis indivisibilium* (44). Cavallerius himself strove to avoid the supposing magnitude to consist of indivisible parts, and to abstract from the contemplation of Infinites. *Quoad continui compositionem manifestum est ex præostensis id ipsum ex indivisibilibus componendum nos minime cogi: solum enim continua sequi indivisibilium proportionem & è converso probare intentum fuit, quod quidem cum utraque positione stare potest. Tandem vero dicta indivisibilium aggregata non ita pertractavimus, ut infinitatis rationem propter infinitas lineas seu plana subire videantur. Method. Indivisib.* lib. vii. prefat. Thus he was sensible of the difficulties, as well as advantages, that attended his method, and even speaks as if he foresaw that it would be afterwards delivered in an unexceptionable form, that might satisfy the most scrupulous Geometrician; and leaves this Gordian knot, as he expresses himself, to some Alexander †.

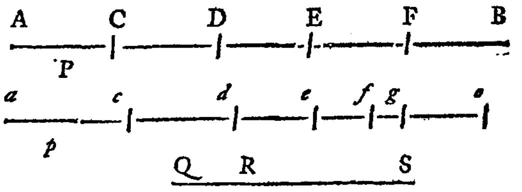
* In rem. [C].

(44) Commercium Epistolicum, No. XI.

† Sir Isaac was this Alexander; for, by considering his momenta as indeterminate quantities, whose proportions (not their magnitudes) are determined, he first opened a direct road thro' Infinites into the sublime Geometry.

The nature and genesis of Logarithms, which our author was acquainted with when he first invented Infinite Series and Fluxions (45), is also proposed by the inventor Lord Neper, in a method which has an affinity to that of Fluxions. My Lord begins his treatise on this subject by defining, that a line increases equally, when the point that describes it moves over equal spaces in equal times thus, *Sit punctum A, à quo ducenda sit linea fluxus alterius puncti qui sit P; fluat ergo primo momento P ab A in C, secundo momento à C in D, &c. Mirif. Logar. Canon. descript. defin.* 1. He afterwards lays down this postulate, *Quum quolibet motu & tardior & velocior dari possit, sequetur necessario cuique motui æquivelocem, quem nec tardiorem nec velociorem definivimus, dari posse.* Let A, says he, be the term from which the line is to be described by the flux or motion of the point P; let it flow from A to C in the first moment, or in any small part of the time; from C to D in the second moment; from D to

(45) Ibid. No. LVI.



E in the third; and so on for ever, describing always the equal parts, A C, C D, D E, E F, &c. in equal times this line is then said to increase equally.

By his second definition a line decreases proportionally, when the point that moves over it describes such parts in equal times, as are always in the same constant ratio to the lines from which they are subducted, or to the distances of that point at the beginning of those times from a given term in the line. *Linea proportionaliter in breviorem decrescere dicitur, quum punctum eam transcurrens æqualibus momentis segmenta abscindit ejusdem continuo rationis ad lineas a quibus abscinduntur.* Ibid. defin. 2.

Let the ratio of QR to QS be any given ratio, let *ac* be to *ao*, *cd* to *co*, *de* to *do*, *ef* to *eo*, *fg* to *go*, &c. be always in the same invariable ratio of QR to QS; suppose that the point sets out from *a*, describing *ac*, *cd*, *de*, *ef*, and *fg*, &c. in equal parts of the time; and let the space described by *p* in any given time, be always in the same ratio; the distance of *p* from *o* at equal succeeding intervals of time, are in a continued geometrical progression. Suppose now, that the uniform motion of the point P in describing the line A B is equal to the motion with which *p* sets out from *a*, in describing the line *ao*; and the line A B (that is described by P with this uniform motion, in the same time that *oa* by decreasing proportionally becomes equal to *op*) is the logarithm of *op*. Thus, A C, A D, A E, A F, &c. are the logarithms of *oc*, *od*, *oe*, *of*, &c. respectively; and *oa* is the quantity, whose logarithm is supposed to be equal to nothing. *Logarithmus cujusque sinus, est numerus quam proxime definiens lineam quæ æqualiter crevit, interea dum sinus totius lineæ proportionaliter in illum sinum decrevit, existente utroque motu synchrono atque initio æquiveloce.* Ibid.

In the next place, as to his system of the universe, besides what our author himself has said in his letters to Dr Halley ‖, 'tis well known that Des Cartes made some conjectures concerning the duplicate proportion upon which that system is founded.

‖ Cited in Hooke's article, remark [Q].

light and other bodies, by which both the reflections and refractions, as well as inflections, of the former were constantly produced. To ascertain the force and extent of this principle of action, was what had all along engaged his thoughts [X], and what, after all, by it's extreme

[X] *Was what had for the greatest part of the time engaged his thoughts.*] His hypothesis concerning the action of the æther, in explaining the properties of light and colours, was first sent to the Royal Society, Dec. 7, 1675, as has been already mentioned on another occasion *. December 14, he wrote the following letter from Cambridge to Mr Oldenburg, about the action of the same æther, observable in the phænomena of Electricity.

* Viz. In rem. [M] of Mr Hooke's article.

SIR,

'The notice you gave me of the Royal Society's intending to see the experiment of glass rubbed, to cause various motions in bits of paper underneath, put me upon recollecting myself a little farther about it; and then remembering that if one edge of the brass hoop was laid downward, the glass was as near again to the table as it was when the other edge was laid downward, and that the papers plaid but when the glass was nearest to the table: I began to suspect that I had set down a greater distance of the glass from the table than I should have done. For in setting down that experiment, I trusted to the idea I had of the bigness of the hoop, in which I might easily be mistaken, having not seen it of a long time. And this suspicion was increased by trying the experiment with an object-glass of a telescope, placed about the third part of an inch from the table; for I could not see the papers play any thing near so well as I had seen them formerly; whereupon I looked for the old hoop with it's glass, and at length found the hoop, the glass being gone, but by the hoop I perceived, that when one edge was turned down the glass was almost the third part of an inch from the table, and when the other edge was down, which made the papers play so well, the glass was scarce the 8th part of an inch from the table. This I thought fit to signify to you, that if the experiment succeed not well at the distance I set down, it may be tried at a less distance, and that you may alter my paper, and write in it an 8th part of an inch, instead of $\frac{1}{2}$ or $\frac{1}{3}$ of an inch. The bits of paper ought to be very little, and of thin paper, perhaps little bits of the wing of a fly, or other light substances may do better than paper. Some of the motions, as that of hanging by a corner and twirling about, and that of leaping from one part of the glass to another, without touching the table, happen but seldom; but it made me take more notice of them.

Pray present my humble service to Mr Boyle when you see him, and thanks for the favour of the converse I had with him at spring. My conceit of trepanning the common æther, as he was pleased to express it, makes me begin to have the better thoughts in that he was pleased to entertain it with a smile. I am apt to think, that when he has a set of experiments to try in his air-pump, he will make that one, to see how the compression, or relaxation of a muscle will shrink or swell, soften or harden, lengthen or shorten it (46).

(46) Dr Mead, in the preface to the last edition of his Mechanical Account of Poisons, has assumed that æther, which is proposed by Sir Isaac to be possibly the cause of electricity, for the cause of muscular motion. See his article.

As for registering the two discourses, you may do it; only I desire you would suspend 'till my next letter, in which I intend to set down something to be altered, and something to be added in the hypothesis, being in the mean while,

SIR,

Your humble servant,

Is. Newton.'

This letter was followed by another, containing among other things, a more particular direction for trying the experiment of glass rubbed to cause various motions, mentioned in his former letter of December 14, 1675.

SIR,

'Upon your letter, I took another glass 4 inches broad, and $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch thick, of such glass as telescopes are made of, and placed it $\frac{1}{8}$ part of an inch from the table. It was set in such a piece of wood as the object-glasses of telescopes used to be set in; and the experiment succeeded well. After the rubbing was still, and all was still, the motion of the papers would continue sometimes while I counted 100; every paper leaping up about 20 times more or less, and down as often. I tried it also with two other glasses, that belonged to a telescope, and it succeeded with both; and I make no question, but any glass will do, that be excited to electric virtue, as I think any may. If you have a mind to any of these glasses you may have them, but, I suppose, if you cannot make it do in other glasses, you will fail in any I can send you. I am apt to suspect that the failure was in the manner of rubbing, for I have observed, that the rubbing variously, or with various things, alters the case. At one time I rubbed the aforesaid great glass with a napkin twice as much as I used to do with my gown, and nothing would stir, and yet presently rubbing it with something else, the motion soon began. After the glass has been much rubbed too, the motions are not so lasting, and the next day I found the motions and difficulties to excite more than the first. If the society have a mind to attempt it any more, I can give no better advice than this; to make a new glass not yet rubbed, perhaps too one of the old ones may do well enough, after it has lain still a while, and let this be rubbed not with linnen, nor soft nappy woollen, but with stuff, that the threads may rake the surface of the glass; suppose tamerine, or the like, doubled up in the hand, and this with a brisk motion, as may be, 'till 100 or 150 be counted, the glass lying all the while over the papers, then if nothing stir, rub the glass half a score times to and fro, or knock your finger ends as often upon the glass, for this rubbing or knocking with your fingers, after the former rubbing, conduces most to excite the papers; if nothing stir yet, rub again with the cloth 'till 60 or 80 may be counted, and then rub or knock again with your fingers, and repeat this 'till the electric virtue of the glass be so far excited as to take up the papers, and then a very little rubbing or knocking will excite the motions. In doing all this, let the rubbing be always done as nimbly as may be, and if the motion be circular, like that of glass-grinders, it may do better. But if you cannot make it yet succeed it must be let alone, 'till I have some opportunity of trying it before you. As for the suspicion of the papers being moved by the air, I am secure from that. Yet in the other, of drawing leaf-gold to above a foot distance, which I never went about to try myself, 'till last week, I suspect the air might raise the gold, and a small attraction might determine towards the glass, for I could not make it succeed.'

In the following extract of a letter, to the same gentleman, dated January 10, 1675-6, this subject is farther pursued by our author.

SIR,

'Concerning the experiment of the glass and papers, I should add these two to the former directions. One, that the glass be rubbed with a full handful of stuff, which may cover and rub all the glass at once; for thus it's electric virtue will be more easily and vigourously excited, than if rubbed with a little, only doubled up but once or twice. This rubbing with the stuff, I suppose, only rarefies and diffuses the electric effluvia into irregular motions. The other thing I would note is, that the papers may, perhaps, be too little, as well as too great. Too small ones will be apter to stick to the glass or table. If the experiment be tried with a glass 3 or 4 inches broad, set about $\frac{1}{8}$ of an inch from the table, and the papers of a thin sort of paper, cut into triangular pieces, the sides of these triangles may not unfitly be the 20th or 25th part of an inch, more or less. It may be best tried with bits of several sizes put in at once, and if there be put in a piece or two of the wing of a fly, those I find will move more easily, though scarce so variously. These and the former directions observed, I cannot imagin how you should miss, though I cannot promise all things will appear justly to you as they did to

extreme subtlety, escaped even his most penetrating spirit. However, though he has not made so full a discovery of this principle, which directs the course of light, as he has in relation

to me; there being unaccountable circumstances which may make a difference †'.

For the rest of his letter, which relates to our author's dispute with Mr Hooke, see his article, remark [1].

We shall in the next place produce an extract of a letter to the same Mr Oldenburg, in which our author supposes the whole frame of nature to be derived from the action of this æthereal spirit.

'As to the paper of observations which you move, in the name of the Society, to have printed, I cannot but return them my hearty thanks for the kind acceptance they met with there; and know not how to deny any thing which they desire should be done. Only I think it will be best to suspend the printing of them for a while, because I have some thoughts of writing such another set of observations for determining the manner of the production of colours by the prism, which, if done at all, ought now to precede that now in your hands, and will do best to be joyned with it. But this I cannot do presently, by reason of some incumbrances lately put upon me by some friends, and some other business of my own, which at present almost take up my time and thoughts.

The additions that I intend, I think I must, after putting you to so long expectations, disappoint you in; for it puzzles me how to connect them with what I have sent you, and if I had those papers, I doubt the things I intended will not come in so freely as I thought they might have done. I could send them described, without dependances on those papers, but I fear I have already troubled your Society, and yourself too much, with my scribling, and so suppose it may do better to defer them 'till another season. I have therefore, at present, only sent you two or three alterations, though not of so great moment, that you need have staid for them, and they are these.

Where I say, that the frame of nature may be nothing but æther condensed by a fermental principle, instead of those words write, that it may be nothing but various contextures of some certain æthereal spirits or vapours, condensed as it were by precipitation, much after the manner that vapours are condensed into water, or exhalation into grosser substances, though not so easily condensible; and after condensation wrought into various forms, at first by the immediate hand of the Creator, and ever since by the power of nature, who by virtue of the command increase and multiply, become a compleat imitator of the copies set her by the Protoplast. Thus, perhaps, may all things be originated from æther, &c.

A little after where I say the æthereal spirit may be condensed in fermenting or burning bodies, or otherwise inspissated in the pores of the earth to a tender matter, which may be as it were the *succus nutritius* of the earth, or primary substance, out of which, things generable grow; instead of this you may write, that that spirit may be condensed in fermenting or burning bodies, or otherwise coagulated in the pores of the earth and water, into some kind of humid active matter for the continual uses of nature; adhering to the sides of those pores, after the manner that vapours condense on the sides of a vessel.

In the same paragraph there is, I think, a parenthesis, in which I mention volatile salt-peter, pray strike out that parenthesis, least it should give offence to somebody.

Also where I relate the experiment of little papers made to move variously with a glass rubbed, I would have all that struck out which follows, about trying the experiment with leaf-gold.'

SIR,

I am interrupted by a visit,

and so must in haste break off,

Your's,

Jan. 25, 1675-6.

If. Newton.'

The following letter was wrote to shew that any hypothesis concerning the particular mode of action, by which the æther is supposed to produce colours, in no wise affects the truth of our author's theory of light and colours.

To Mr Oldenburg.

SIR, Feb. 15, 1675-6, Cambridge.

'I thank you for giving me notice of the objection which some have made. If I understand it right they meane, that colour may proceed from the different pulses or rays of light may have as they come immediately from the sun. But if this be their meaning, they propound not an objection, but an hypothesis, to explain my theory. For the better understanding of this, I shall desire you to consider, that I put not the different refrangibility of rays to be the internal or essential cause of colours, but only the means whereby rays of different colours are separated. Neither do I say, what is that cause, either of colour or of different refrangibility, but leave these to be explained by hypotheses, and only say, that rays which differ in colour, differ also in refrangibility, and that different refrangibility conduces to the production of colour no other way than by causing a different refraction, and thereby a separation of those rays which had different colours before, but could not appear in their own colours 'till they were separated. Suppose red and blue powders, as minium and bise, were equally mixed, the compound would be neither a good red, nor a good blew, but a middling dirty colour. Suppose further, this mixture was put into water, and after the water had been well stirred, the powders left to subside; if the red was much more ponderous than the blew, it would subside fastest, and leave most of the blew to subside after it, and by consequence, the heap would appear read at bottom, and blew at top, and of intermediate colours between. Here then are various colours produced, out of a dirty colour, by means of different gravity, and yet that different gravity not the internal cause of those colours, but only the cause of the separation of the particles of several colours. And so it is in the production of colours by the prism; the different refrangibility of rays is no otherwise the cause of colours in this case, than the different gravity of the powders was in the other; it only causes a divers refraction of the rays, originally qualified, to exhibit divers colours, and by that divers refraction they are separated, and when separated they must needs exhibit each their own colours, which they could not do while mixed. Had I supposed different refrangibility the internal cause of colours, it would have been strangely precarious, and scarcely intelligible, but to make it only the cause of the separation of rays endowed with different colours, is nothing but experiment, and all that I have asserted in my writings. In like manner, where I make different reflexibility the cause of colours (as in the use of thin transparent plates), I say not that it is their internal cause, but only the means of their separation; for I apprehend that all the phænomena of colours in the world result from nothing but separations, or mixtures of different rays, and that different refrangibility and reflexibility, are only the means by which these separations or mixtures are made.

This being apprehended, I presume you will easily see that you have not sent me an objection, but only an hypothesis, to explain my theory by. For to suppose different velocities of the rays the principle of colour, is only to assign a cause of the different colours, which rays are originally disposed to exhibit, and do exhibit when separated by different refractions. And though this should be the true essential cause of those different colours, yet it hinders not but that the different refrangibility of the rays may be their accidental cause, by making a separation of pulses of different swiftness. Yea, so far is this hypothesis from contradicting me, that if it be supposed, it infers all my theory. For if it be true, then is the sun's light an aggregate of heterogeneal rays, such as are originally disposed to exhibit various colours; then is the whiteness of that light a mixture of those colours, being the result of those unequal colorific motions; then is there nothing requisite for the production of colours but a separation of these rays, so that the swiftest may go to one place by themselves, and the slowest to another by themselves, or one sort be stifled, and another remain; then must all the phænomena of colours proceed from the separations of these rays of unequal swiftness; because

relation to the power by which the planets are kept in their courſes; yet he gave the beſt directions poſſible for ſuch as might be inclined to carry on the work, and furniſhed matter abundantly enough to animate them to the purſuit. He has, indeed, hereby opened a way of paſſing from Optics to an entire ſyſtem of Phyſics; and if we only look upon his queries, as containing the hiſtory of a great man's firſt thoughts, even in that view they muſt be always entertaining and curious. He was very anxious that his true meaning in them ſhould be rightly underſtood, which was to furniſh ſufficient motives for making farther enquiries, but, in the mean time, not to determine any thing; and when Dr Freind publiſhed his Lectures in Chymiſtry a few years after (zz), in explaining the phænomena of chymical experiments, aſſumed the attraction for a principle, which in the queries was only ſtarted as a conjecture, our author complained of it as an injury done to him. Upon the ſame account it was, that, in the advertiſement prefixed to the Optics, he expreſſed a deſire that his book might not be tranſlated into Latin without his conſent; and when Dr Clarke, who, to prevent others, immediately undertook it with his approbation, preſented the manuſcript to him, finding herein his ſenſe accurately expreſſed in elegant language, he was ſo much pleaſed with it, that he gave him five hundred pounds, or 100 pounds for each of his children (aaa). Dr Clarke's tranſlation was printed at London in 1706, 4to. and our author printing a ſecond edition of his book, with improvements, there, in 1718, 8vo. [Y], the ſecond edition of Dr Clarke's tranſlation was likewiſe publiſhed

(zz) They were dedicated to Sir Iſaac, and publiſhed in 1709, 8vo.

(aaa) Whiſton's Memoirs of Dr S. Clarke, p. 8, 9. The doctor had then five children.

cauſe while they continue blended together, as in the ſun's original light, they can exhibit no other colour but white; and, laſtly, then muſt various refrangibility and reflexibility be the inſtrumental cauſes of the phænomena of colour, thoſe two being the proper means whereby difform rays are ſeparated.

Were I to apply this hypotheſis to my notions I would ſay, therefore, that the ſloweſt pulſes being weakeſt, are more eaſily turned out of the way by any refracting ſuperficies, than the ſwifteſt, and ſo, cæteris paribus, are more refracted; and that the priſm by refracting them more, ſeparates them from the ſwifteſt, and then they being freed from the alloy of one another, ſtrike the ſence diſtinctly, each with their own motions apart, and ſo beget ſenſations of colour, different both from one another, and from that which they begat while mixed together, ſuppoſe the ſwifteſt the ſtrongeſt colour, red; and the ſloweſt blew.

To all this I might add concerning the different ſwiftneſs of rays, that myſelf have formerly applied it to my notions in mentioning other hypotheſes, as you may ſee in my anſwer to Mr Hook, ſection 4th; and I think alſo in the hypotheſes I lately ſent you. I ſay, I applied it in other hypotheſes, for in this of Mr Hooke I think it is much more natural to ſuppoſe the pulſes equally ſwift, and to differ only in bigneſs, becauſe it is ſo in the air, and the laws of undulation are without doubt, the ſame in æther as they are in air.

Having thus anſwered, as I conceive, your objection in particular, I ſhall now, for a concluſion, remind you of what I have formerly ſaid in general to the ſame purpoſe; ſo that I may at once cut off all objections that may be raiſed for the future, either from this, or any other hypotheſis whatever. If you conſider what I ſaid both in anſwer to P. Pardies, and in my anſwer to Mr Hooke, ſect. 4. concerning the application of all hypotheſes to my theory, you may thence gather this general rule; that in any hypotheſis where the rays may be ſuppoſed to have any original diverſities, whether as to ſize or figure, or motion, or force, or quality, or any thing elſe imaginable, which may ſuffice to difference thoſe rays in colour and refrangibility; there is no need to ſeek for other cauſes of theſe effects, than thoſe original diverſities. This rule being laid down, I argue thus; in any hypotheſis whatever, light, as it comes from the ſun, muſt be ſuppoſed either homogeneal, or heterogeneal; if the laſt, then is that hypotheſis comprehended in this general rule, and ſo cannot be againſt me: if the firſt, then muſt refractions have a power to modify light ſo as to change it's colorific qualification and refrangibility; which is againſt experience.

Since the writing of this, I received your other letter. I thank you for your account of Mr Berkenſhaw's ſcale of muſick, though I have not ſo much ſkill in that ſcience as to underſtand it well. If you ſhould regiſter the papers in your hand, before you return them, I would deſire you to leave out the laſt paragraph of the hypotheſis (47), where I mention Mr Hooke and Grimaldi together; but ſince you are to receive thoſe papers again, that of the obſervations at leaſt (for the hypotheſis I am more inclined to ſuppreſs), I ſuppoſe it will not be neceſſary that you ſhould put yourſelf to the trouble of regiſtring them.'

(47) The hypotheſis explaining properties of light was regiſtred in Feb. 1675. Birch's Hiſtory of the Royal Society, under that year.

I remain,

SIR,

Your humble ſervant,

Iſ. Newton.

After this we find his thoughts ſtill engaged upon the ſame ſubject, when he wrote his *Principia*; in the preface to that treatiſe, having ſignified how fully he had therein demonſtrated the force of gravity, in upholding the great ſyſtem of the world, he has the following words, 'I wiſh we could derive the reſt of the 'phænomena of nature by the ſame kind of reaſon'ing. For I am induced, by many conſiderations, to 'ſuſpect, that they may all depend upon certain forces, 'by which the particles of bodies, by ſome cauſes 'hitherto unknown, are either mutually attracted to'wards each other, and cohere in regular figures, or 'are repelled and recede from each other, which 'forces being unknown, Philoſophers have hitherto 'attempted the ſearch of nature in vain. But I hope 'the principles here laid down will afford ſome light 'either to that, or ſome other method of Philoſophy.' In the ſame view, after the 96th propoſition of this treatiſe, he inſerted this ſcholium. 'Moreover, the 'rays of light that are in our air (as lately was diſ'covered by Grimaldi, by the admiſſion of light into 'a dark room through a ſmall hole, which I have al'ſo tried), in their paſſing near the angles of bodies, 'whether tranſparent or opake, ſuch (as the circular 'and quadrangular edges of gold, ſilver, and braſs 'coins, knives, and broken pieces of ſtone and glaſs), 'are bent and inflected round thoſe bodies as if they 'were attracted by them.'

[Y] *He publiſhed a ſecond edition of his Optics, with improvements, in 1718.*] Mr Leibnitz having charged him with maintaining gravity to be impreſſed upon matter by the immediate act of the Deity, and with introducing the occult qualities of the ſchools, and making gravity a perpetual miracle. Our author added another quere at the end of this edition of his Optics *, where he expreſſes himſelf thus. 'By what efficient cauſe theſe attractions (viz. gravity, magnetiſm, and electricity) are performed, I do not here inquire. That which I call attraction, may be effected by impulſon, or ſome other way unknown to us. By attraction, I underſtand only in general ſome force with which bodies tend to each other, whatever may be the cauſe of that force. For we ought firſt to learn from the phænomena of nature what bodies mutually attract each other, and what are the laws and properties of that attraction, before we inquire by what efficient cauſe it is performed.' That he therefore conſiders theſe attractions as forces which really exiſt in nature, being proved to do ſo by the phænomena, although their cauſes are to us yet unknown;

* Quere 11.

published in 1719, 4to *. Mr Peter Coste translated it into French from the second edition †. The first edition of the Optics was accompanied with his *Quadrature of Curves* by his new analysis; to which he subjoined, *An Enumeration of the Lines of the Third Order* ‖: both contained under the following title, *Tractatus duo de Speciebus & Magnitudine Figurarum Curvilinearum.* This was the first appearance in print of his *Method of Fluxions.* It was apparently done upon the plan of his original intention in 1671, as has been mentioned. He declined to publish it then on account of a controversy, and it unluckily proved the occasion of drawing him into another now §. In 1705, Queen Anne, in consideration of his extraordinary merit, conferred the honour of knighthood upon him. In 1707, Mr Whiston, by our author's permission, published his Algebraical Lectures under this title: *Arithmetica Universalis, sive de Compositione & Resolutione Arithmeticæ Liber* (*b b b*); and it was put into English by Mr Ralphson from this edition. Sir Isaac printed a second edition with improvements under the care of Mr Machin, Professor of Astronomy at Gresham-college, and Secretary to the Royal-Society. This work was another specimen of the vast depth of our author's genius. Dr Pemberton tells us (*c c c*), that he called

* A third edition was printed in 1721, 8vo.

† Printed at Amsterdam in 1720, 2 vols, 12mo. and at Paris in 1722.

‖ He gave 72 species of these lines; to which 4 have been since added by Mr Stirling, and 2 others by Mr Stone. See Stone's Mathematical Dictionary.

§ See rem. [Z]. He left it out of the second edition of his Optics, probably on account of a reflection made upon a passage in it by Mess. Leibnitz and Bernoulli. Recensio. Commerc. Epist. p. 40, 41. Edit. 1722, and Stuart's Quadrature of Curves.

(*b b b*) It was the subject of nine years lectures. Whiston's Memoirs of his own Life, p. 135. first edition.

(*c c c*) In his View of Sir If. Newton's Philosophy.

unknown; lastly, he distinguishes these attractions from the occult qualities of Aristotle, which were asserted to arise from the specific forms of things. Notwithstanding all the caution that is here used to prevent any mistake of his meaning, that the reason why he had not taken upon him to declare the immediate cause of gravity was, that he had not then discovered that cause; though the principle was ascertained by the phænomena, and consequently would not be charged with recurring to occult qualities of Aristotle. Yet Mr Leibnitz went on as before, with the charge of Sir Isaac's having assigned the Deity for that immediate cause. This conduct, however perverse, and senseless as it was, yet is easily accounted for. That rival had set forth himself for the first inventor of the method of Fluxions, and even charged Sir Isaac with borrowing that invention from him. And as this claim and charge could not at all be supported by facts, which on the contrary were all absolutely in favour of his competitor, recourse was had to sinister means; his Philosophy was to be disparaged at any rate, and himself thereby represented as a person not endowed with judgment and sagacity enough to be capable of making such an arduous invention as is that of Fluxions. And this blackning method was not without it's effect. Mr Pope, we are told, became the dupe of so senseless a calumny, in which disposition he inserted the two following lines in his Dunciad:

Philosophy that lean'd on Heav'n before,
Shrinks to her hidden cause, and is no more:

which it is said was intended as a censure of the Newtonian Philosophy. For that our Poet had been misled by the prejudices of foreigners, as if that Philosophy had recurred to the occult qualities of Aristotle. This was the idea he received of it from a man educated much abroad, who had read every thing, but every thing superficially. Had his excellent friend Dr A. [Arbuthnot] been consulted in this matter, it is very certain so unjust a reflection had never disgraced so noble a satire. 'When I, says this commentator, 'hinted to him how he had been imposed upon, he 'changed the lines with great pleasure into a compli'ment, as they now stand, on that divine genius, and 'a satire on the folly by which he himself had been 'misled. Thus,

'Philosophy that lean'd on Heav'n before,
'Shrinks to her second cause, and is no more †.

† Dunciad, B. IV. ver. 643, 644.

'The person who speaks here is Dr Warburton, who 'apparently prompted this applauded change, and 'therefore thought himself under an obligation to 'justify it, as follows. Philosophy, says he, has at 'length brought things to that pass, as to have it 'esteemed unphilosophical to rest in the first cause; 'as if it's ends were an endless indagation of cause 'after cause, without ever coming to the first. So that 'to avoid this unlearned disgrace, some of the pro'pagators of the best Philosophy, have had recourse to 'the contrivance here hinted at. For this Philosophy 'which is founded upon the principle of gravitation, 'first considered that property in matter, as some'thing extrinsecal to it, *and impressed immediately by* '*God upon it,* which fairly and modestly coming up 'to the first cause, was pushing natural enquiries as 'far as they should go. But this stopping, though at 'the extent of our ideas, and on the maxim of the 'great founder of this Philosophy, Bacon ‖, who says, '*Circa ultimates rerum frustranea est inquisitio,* was 'mistaken by foreign Philosophers as recurring to the 'occult qualities of the Peripatetics, whose sense is 'thus delivered by a great poet, whom, indeed, it 'more became than a Philosopher.

‖ De Augment. Scientiar.

'Sed gravitas etiam crescat, dum corpora centro
'Accedunt propius. Videor mihi cernere terra
'Emergens quicquid caliginis & tenebrarum
'Pellæi juvenis doctor conjecerat olim
'In Physicæ studium ——

Anti-Lucret.

'To avoid which imaginary discredit to the new 'theory, it was thought proper to seek for the cause 'of gravitation in a certain subtle matter, or elastic 'fluid, which pervaded all bodies. By this means, 'instead of really advancing in natural enquiries, we 'are brought back again, by this ingenious expedient, 'to an unsatisfactory second cause:

'Philosophy that lean'd on Heav'n before,
'Shrinks to her second cause, and is no more.

'For it might still, by the same kind of objection, be 'asked, What was the cause of that elasticity?' The reader, who has seen what Sir Isaac had said concerning this matter, in the quere abovementioned, must needs be surprized to find this ingenious commentator asserting, that he first considered gravity as impressed immediately by God upon matter, without the intervention of a second cause; whereas, the reason he gives for his not recurring to a second cause, was, not that there was indeed no such cause existing in nature, an assertion too bold for his cautious modesty to make; but only that no such cause was as yet sufficiently proved from the phænomena, or from experiments; for which reason he forbore to assign any such, or indeed, to say any thing about the cause thereof, as purposely avoiding to feign hypotheses *, and as foreign to the plan of his Philosophy. Whether the abettors of Sir Isaac's Philosophy, as they are called, have done an injury or no to their master, in assigning a certain elastic æther for the immediate cause of gravity, is not material to determine; only thus much may be observed, that the discovery of such a substance, by whose action upon light it's rays are reflected, refracted, and inflected, without impinging upon the surfaces of gross bodies, was as contradictory to all the settled notions concerning that matter, and as much astonished the world at the time when it was first made known, as the discovery of some such æther (which is far from being impossible, notwithstanding Mr Baxter's pretended demonstration † to the contrary), for the immediate cause of gravity, if it ever should be made known, can be. In the mean time it is undoubtedly as much an hypothesis to suppose the immediate impression of the Deity to be that cause, as it is to suppose an immediately intervening cause of it.

* It avails nothing to say these declarations are only introduced afterwards into his Optics, and the second edition of his Principia; since they are manifestly inserted there not as introductory of a new opinion, but as declaratory of his meaning in the first.

† He supposes the elastic æther, like air, to act equally every way, which is a meer hypothesis. Baxter on the nature of the human soul as cited by Mr Warburton, in the remark now under consideration.

called this treatise by the name of Universal Arithmetic, in opposition to the injudicious title of Geometry, which Des Cartes had given to the treatise, wherein he shews how the Geometer may assist his invention by such kind of computations. Mr s'Gravesande observes, that the ablest Mathematicians of the last age did not disdain to write notes on the Geometry of Des Cartes; and surely, continues he, Sir Isaac Newton's Arithmetic no less deserves that honour. And to excite some skilful hands to undertake that work, as well as to shew the necessity of it, he gave a specimen in the explication of two passages, which, however, are not the most difficult in that book (*ddd*). Accordingly, Mr Maclaurin dying in 1745, left a treatise which was designed for a commentary upon it (*eee*). In 1711, our author's *Analysis per Quantitatum Series, Fluxiones & Differentias cum Enumeratione Linearum Tertii Ordinis*, was published at London in 4to. by William Jones, Esq; F. R. S. who met with a copy of the first of these pieces among the papers of Mr John Collins, to whom, as already mentioned, it had been communicated by Dr Barrow in 1669. But the invention of approximating *per differentias*, or the method of drawing a geometrical curve of the parabolic kind through any number of points, though found out by our author long before, and reckoned by himself to be one of his rarest discoveries (*fff*), yet had not been communicated by him 'till this time. The publication of this book was occasioned by the dispute about the invention of the method of Fluxions [Z], which likewise gave birth to the following work, that was undertaken by the consent of Sir Isaac, and printed the next year at London in 4to. containing a collection of several letters by Sir Isaac and others, in relation to that controversy, under this title: *Commercium Epistolicum D. Johannis Collins & aliorum, de Analysi promotâ, jussu Societatis Regiæ in lucem editum.* In 1714, Mr Humphrey Ditton and Mr William Whiston having proposed and published a new method of discovering the Longitude at sea by signals, it was laid before the House of Commons to procure their encouragement; upon which, a committee was appointed to take the matter into consideration, who sending to Sir Isaac Newton for his opinion, he immediately drew up the following paper, which was delivered to the Committee June the 2d. 'For determining the Longitude at sea there

(*ddd*) These are the rule for finding the divisors, and that for the evolution of binomial surds. s'Gravesande's Specimen Comment. in Arithmet. Univ.

(*eee*) Maclaurin's Algebra in præfat.

(*fff*) A small treatise upon this method, with the title, *De Newtoniana Methodo Interpolandi*, was wrote by Mr Cotes, and published at the end of his Harmonia Mensurarum, at Cambridge, 1722, 4to.

[Z] *The dispute about the invention of the method of Fluxions.*] So long before, as from the year 1684, Mr Leibnitz had been artfully working the world into an opinion that he first invented this method (48); Sir Isaac saw his design from the beginning, and, upon that account, inserted the scholium recited in note [S]. To the same purpose, in the introduction to the Quadrature of Curves, which is founded upon the Method of Fluxions, Sir Isaac Newton had signified, that he invented that method in the years 1665 and 1666, as follows: *Considerando igitur quod quantitates æqualibus temporibus crescentes & crescendo genitæ, pro velocitate majori vel minori qua crescunt ac generantur evadunt majores vel minores; methodum quærebam determinandi quantitates ex velocitatibus motuum vel incrementorum quibus generantur, & has motuum vel incrementorum velocitates nominando fluxiones, & quantitates genitas nominando fluentes, incidi paulatim annis* 1665 & 1666, *in Methodum Fluxionum, qua hic usus sum in Quadratura Curvarum.* In the *Acta Eruditorum* of Leipsic, where an account is given of this book, the author (49) took occasion from it to explain the differential method of Mr Leibnitz, which they compared with Sir Isaac's method of Fluxions, in the following words: *Ingeniosissimus deinde author antequam ad Quadraturas Curvarum, vel potius Figurarum Curvilinearum veniat, præmittit brevem isagogen. Quæ ut melius intelligatur, sciendum est, cum magnitudo aliqua continuo crescit, veluti linea (exempli gratia) crescit fluxu puncti quod eam describit, incrementa illa momentanea appellari differentias, nempe inter magnitudinem quæ antea erat, & quæ per mutationem momentaneam est producta; atque hinc natum esse calculum differentialem, eique reciprocum summatorium; cujus elementa ab inventore Doctore Godefrido, Gulielmo Leibnitio in his Actis sunt tradita, variique usus tum ab ipso, tum a Dnn Fratribus Bernoulliis, tum & Dn Marchione Hospitalio (cujus nuper extincti immaturam mortem omnes magnopere dolere debent qui profundioris doctrinæ profectum amant) sunt ostensi. Pro differentiis igitur Leibnitianis D. Newtonus adhibet semperque adhibuit fluxiones, quæ sunt quam proxime ut fluentium augmenta æqualibus temporis particulis quam minimis genita: iisque tum in suis principiis naturæ mathematicis, tum in aliis postea editis eleganter est usus; quemadmodum & Honoratus Faber in sua Synopsi Geometrica motuum progressus Cavallerianæ methodo substituit.* This last comparison occasioned the dispute. For, as it is undoubted that Father Fabri is not the inventor of his method, but that he took it from Cavalleri, only changing the expressions; it was thought that the authors of the *Acta Eruditorum* designed thereby to intimate, that Sir Isaac Newton was not the inventor of the method of Fluxions, but that he took it from Mr Leibnitz. Mr John Keill undertook Sir Isaac's defence, and, in a piece which was published in the Philosophical Transactions, for September and October 1708 (50), asserted, not only that Sir Isaac had first invented the method of Fluxions, as appeared by his letters published by Dr Wallis, but that Mr Leibnitz had taken this method from him, only changing the name and notation. This charge was complained of by Mr Leibnitz in a letter to Sir Hans Sloane, then Secretary to the Royal Society, dated March 4, 1711; wherein he desired the Society would oblige Mr Keill publickly to disown the injurious sense which his words would bear. When this letter was communicated to the Royal Society, Mr Keill, to justify himself to Sir Isaac Newton, shewed him the extract of his book of the Quadrature of Curves in the *Acta Eruditorum*, where the comparison abovementioned was inserted. Hereupon, several other members, as well as Sir Isaac, finding the same sense as Mr Keill had done in that comparison, gave him leave to explain and defend what he had advanced. This he acordingly did in a letter to Sir Hans Sloane, which being read to the Royal Society May 24, 1711, they ordered a copy of it to be sent to Mr Leibnitz, who found new matter of complaint in it; and, in a second letter to Dr Sloane, dated at Hanover December 29, 1711, alledged, that Mr Keill had attacked his candour and sincerity more openly than before; that he acted without any authority from Sir Isaac Newton, who was the party concerned; and that it was in vain for him to pretend to justify his proceeding by the example of the *Acta Eruditorum*, since, in that journal, *no injustice had been done to any one, but every one had received what was his due.* He concluded with desiring the Royal Society would enjoin Mr Keill silence, not doubting but that what he had written was disapproved by Sir Isaac Newton himself, who was well acquainted with what had passed formerly, and to whose judgment he was ready to submit. Mr Keill, hereupon, appealed to the registers of the Society, affirming, that they would find there convincing proofs of what he had advanced. Sir Isaac Newton, likewise, being displeased at the comparison in the *Acta Eruditorum*, and that Mr Leibnitz should have said, that in that journal *every one had received what was due to him*, left the Society to act as they should think proper; who granted therefore to Mr Keill what he desired, which produced the *Commercium Epistolicum* mentioned above.

(48) See Comm. Epist.

(49) See their Journal for January 1705, p. 30, & seq.

(50) Pag. 174, & seqq.

[AA] It

'there have been several projects, true in theory but difficult to execute. 1. One is by a 'watch to keep time exactly; but, by reason of the motion of a ship, the variation of 'heat and cold, wet or dry, and the difference of gravity in different latitudes, such a 'watch hath not yet been made (*ggg*). 2. Another is by the eclipses of Jupiter's satel-'lites; but, by reason of the length of telescopes requisite to observe them, and the mo-'tion of a ship at sea, those eclipses cannot yet be there observed. 3. A third is by the 'place of the moon; but her theory is not yet exact enough for that purpose; it is exact 'enough to determine the longitude within two or three degrees, but not within a degree '(*hhh*). 4. A fourth is Mr Ditton's project; and this is rather for keeping an account 'of the Longitude at sea, than for finding it if at any time it should be lost, as it may 'easily be in cloudy weather. How far this is practicable, and with what charge, they 'that are skilled in sea-affairs are best able to judge. In sailing by this method, whenever 'they are to pass over very deep seas, they must sail due east or west; they must first 'sail into the latitude of the next place to which they are going beyond it, and then keep 'due east or west 'till they come at that place. In the three first ways there must be a 'watch regulated by a spring, and rectified every visible sun-rise and sun-set, to tell the 'hour of the day or night. In the fourth way such a watch is not necessary. In the 'first way there must be two watches, this and the other abovementioned. In any of the 'three first ways it may be of some service to find the Longitude within a degree, and of 'much more service to find it within 40 minutes, or half a degree if it may, and 'the success may deserve rewards accordingly. In the fourth way, it is easier to enable 'seamen to know their distance and bearing from the shore 40, 60, or 80 miles off, than 'to cross the seas; and some part of the reward may be given, when the first is performed 'on the coast of Great-Britain, for the safety of ships coming home; and the rest, when 'seamen shall be enabled to sail to an assigned remote harbour without losing their Longi-'tude, if it may be.' Upon this opinion the House of Commons threw aside the peti-tion *. In 1715, Mr Leibnitz intending to bring the world more easily into a belief, that Sir Isaac had taken the method of Fluxions from his differential method, thought to foil his mathematical skill by the famous problem (*iii*) of the trajectories, which he therefore proposed to the English by way of challenge. But the solution of this, though it was the most difficult proposition his antagonist could think of after a great deal of study, and, indeed, might pass for a considerable performance in another, yet was it hardly any more than an amusement to Sir Isaac: he received the problem at four o'clock in the evening, as he was returning from the Mint; and, though he was extremely fatigued with business, yet he finished the solution of it before he went to bed. As Mr Leibnitz was Privy-Counsellor of Justice to the Elector of Hanover, when that Prince was raised to the British throne, Sir Isaac came to be taken particular notice of at Court; and it was for the immediate satisfaction of King George the First, that he was prevailed with to put the last hand to the dispute about the invention of Fluxions [*AA*]. In this Court, the Princess of Wales,

(*ggg*) Since this such a watch has been made by Mr Harrison.

(*hhh*) See Dr Halley's article.

* See the Journals of the House for 1714.

(*iii*) Philos. Transf. No. 389. Vol. XXXIII. p. 321.

[*AA*] *It was for the immediate satisfaction of King George the First, that he was prevailed with to put the last hand to the dispute about the invention of Fluxions.*] The committee of the Royal Society having, in 1712, declared it their opinion, that Mr Newton was the first inventor of this method, and given incontestable proofs in support of it, which were all published in the *Commercium Epistolicum*, the affair soon reached the ears of Mr Leibnitz, then at Vienna, as appears from the following postscript of a letter, which he wrote to Count Bothmar about it (51). 'I was at Vienna, says he, 'when I was informed of the publication of the book, 'but being assured that it must contain malicious falsi-'ties, I did not think proper to send for it by the 'post, but wrote to Mr Bernoulli, a gentleman, who, 'perhaps, in all Europe, has succeeded best in the 'knowledge and use of this calculus, and who was ab-'solutely neuter, to give me his sentiments. Mr Ber-'noulli wrote me a letter, dated at Basil June 7, 1713, 'in which he said, that it appeared probable that Sir 'Isaac Newton had formed his calculus after having 'seen mine; since he had frequent occasion in his 'works to make use of this calculus, though there ap-'pears no trace of it, and that he had even committed 'some errors with respect to the knowledge of that 'calculus. One of my friends published this letter 'with reflections; and, as I had enough of other af-'fairs to employ me, I was unwilling to enter farther 'into this, especially as Sir Isaac Newton had not 'said any thing himself. I thought sufficient, there-'fore, to have opposed, to the clamours of his adhe-'rents, the judgment of a person of Mr Bernoulli's 'learning and impartiality.' These two pieces, writ-ten in Latin, were published in a loose sheet, dated July 29, 1713, in Germany; whence they were sent by a friend of Mr Leibnitz to the authors of the *Journal Literaire*, to which he added remarks of his own upon the dispute between Mr Leibnitz and Sir Isaac Newton. These remarks were occasioned by a letter sent from London, and inserted in the first tome of the *Journal Literaire*: to which letter the remarker ob-jects, as not giving an exact account of that dispute; and undertaking to give a *true relation of what had passed*, he asserts, that when Sir Isaac Newton pub-lished his *Principia* in 1687, *he did not understand the true differential method* (52), and pretends that he took it from Mr Leibnitz. To these three Dr John Keill wrote an answer, which was inserted in the fourth tome of the *Journal Literaire*. The affair stood thus, when Mr Chamberlayne stepped in, with a design to recon-cile Mr Leibnitz and Sir Isaac Newton. To this pur-pose he addressed himself to the former, who was still at Vienna (53); Mr Leibnitz thanked him for his obliging offer, but declared he had given no occasion for the dispute. 'But Sir Isaac Newton, says he, has 'procured a book to be published, which was written 'purposely to discredit me, and sent it into Germany, 'France, and Italy, as in the name of the Society.' He adds, 'That learned men among the French, Ita-'lian, and other nations, extremely disapproved of 'this manner of proceeding, and were amazed at it, '*and that he hoped in the Society itself every one would* '*not approve of it*. For myself, continues he, I 'have always acted in the most civil manner towards 'Sir Isaac Newton; and though it appears now that 'there is great reason to doubt whether he knew my 'invention before he had it of me, I had spoken as if 'he had discovered of himself something like my me-'thod. But being abused by some ill advised flatte-'rers, he has suffered himself to be engaged in attack-'ing me in a very sensible manner. Judge now, Sir, 'from whence the steps necessary to put an end to this 'contest ought first to be made.' Mr Chamber-layne communicated this letter to Sir Isaac Newton, who

(51) Des Maizeaux's Recueil de diverses Pieces, Tom. II. p. 44, 45.

(52) Journal Literaire, Tom. II. p. 447.

(53) In a letter dated April 28, 1714, in Des Maizeaux's Recueil, Tom. II, p. 116, & seqq.

Wales, afterwards Queen-consort to his present Majesty, happened to have a curiosity, which led her particularly to look into philosophical enquiries. No sooner, therefore, was

who answered in a few words, that *he had no share in what Mr Facio* (54) *had written against Mr Leibnitz*; that Mr Leibnitz *had attacked his reputation in* 1705, by intimating in the extract of the treatise of *Quadratures, that he had borrowed from Mr Leibnitz the method of Fluxions*; that Dr Keill had only defended him; and that the passage in the *Acta Eruditorum* was not known to him 'till the coming of Mr Leibnitz's first letter against Dr Keill, in which Mr Leibnitz demanded in effect, that he should retract what he had published in the introduction to the treatise of Quadratures, viz that he had invented the method of Fluxions in 1665 and 1666; and lastly, that if Mr Chamberlayne *could point out to him any thing in which he had injured Mr Leibnitz, he would endeavour to give him satisfaction, but that he would not retract things which he knew to be true*; and that he *believed* likewise, that *the committee of the Royal Society had done no injustice* to Mr Leibnitz in the affair of the *Commercium Epistolicum*. The Royal Society being informed that Mr Leibnitz complained of being condemned without being heard, though they had not taken any party in this contest, and being willing to prevent the disputes which might arise upon it, declared, on the 20th of May, 1714, that they did not pretend that the report of their committee should pass for a decision of the Society, and ordered this declaration to be inserted in their journal. Mr Chamberlayne sent a copy of it to Mr Leibnitz, with Sir Isaac Newton's letter, and Dr Keill's answer to the pieces inserted in the *Journal Literaire*. Mr Leibnitz, upon the perusal of these papers, returned the following answer (55) to Mr Chamberlayne. 'As to the letter [by Sir Isaac Newton] 'which you sent me a copy of, and which is written 'with very little civility, I consider it *pro non scripta*, 'as well as the piece printed in French [by Dr Keill]. 'I am not of an humour to put myself in a passion 'against such people. Since it seems that there are 'still other letters relating to me, amongst those of 'Mr Oldenburg and Mr Collins, which have not been 'published, I could wish that the Royal Society would 'order them to be communicated to me. When I 'shall return to Hanover, I shall be able to publish 'also a *Commercium Epistolicum* (56), which may be 'of service to the history of learning. I shall be ready 'to publish, as well those letters which may be urged 'against me, as those which favour me; and I shall 'leave the judgment of them to the publick.' When this letter was read to the Royal Society, Sir Isaac Newton observed, that the last words here transcribed were injurious to the committee, since it was there supposed that they had not made a disinterested choice of the papers which the Society had ordered them to collect. He added, that as he had no share in the *Commercium Epistolicum*, but had left the committee perfectly free to collect and print what they thought proper, he did not think it right for Mr Leibnitz himself to publish a *Commercium Epistolicum*. Upon this he produced two letters which had been written to him, one by Mr Leibnitz in 1693, and the other by Dr Wallis in 1695; and said, that though these letters were very favourable to him, he had waved the communicating of them to the committee, that he might not seem to become himself a witness in his own cause. These two letters having been examined before the Society, by members of the Society, who knew the hands of the writers of the letters, they were read, and deposited among the archives of the Society (57). Sir Isaac Newton remarked also the danger of sending to Mr Leibnitz the originals even of the letters of Mr Oldenburg and Mr Collins, which he seemed to desire; but said, that attested copies might be sent to him. He said, that if Mr Leibnitz had letters to produce in his favour, and would send the originals to some of his friends in England, to be shewn to the Royal Society, and examined by persons who knew the hands, the originals should be returned after authentic copies were taken, and that these letters might be published in the Philosophical Transactions, or in Germany, as Mr Leibnitz should think proper. Things were in this situation, when the Abbé Conti, a noble Venetian, came to England in 1715 (58); he received a letter soon after, upon certain philosophical opinions, from Mr Leibnitz, who in the postscript writes thus: 'I am 'glad you are in England; there are great advantages 'to be made there, and it must be owned there are 'men of distinguished abilities in that country; but 'they are fond of passing for almost the only inventors 'in the world, and this is manifestly what they will 'not succeed in. It does not appear that Sir Isaac 'Newton had before me the infinitesimal characteristic 'and algorithme, as Mr Bernoulli has very rightly 'judged; though it would have been extremely easy 'to have attained to it, if he had turned his thoughts 'that way, as it would have been very easy for Apollonius to have attained to the analysis of Des Cartes 'upon curves, if he had turned his thoughts that way. 'Those who have written against me having made no 'scruple to attack my candour by forced and ill-grounded interpretations, they shall not have the 'pleasure of seeing me answer the slight reasons of 'people who act in so ill a manner, and besides that 'deviate from the point. The question is concerning 'the differential method, and they turn it upon series, 'in which Sir Isaac Newton preceded me without 'doubt; but I discovered at last a general method for 'series, and after this I had no longer occasion to have 'recourse to his extractions. They would have done 'better to have published letters entire, as Dr Wallis 'did with my consent, and he had not the least dispute with me, as these persons would perswade the 'world. My adversaries have published, in the Commercium Epistolicum of Mr Collins, only what they 'thought capable of their false interpretations. I became acquainted with Mr Collins in my second 'voyage to England; for in my first (which was but 'for a very short time, as I came with a publick 'minister) I had not the least knowledge of the improvements in Geometry, and had neither seen nor 'heard any thing of the correspondence between Mr 'Oldenburg and Mr Gregory, and Mr Newton, as my 'letters exchanged with Mr Oldenburg at that time, 'and for some time after, will sufficiently prove. But 'in my second voyage, Mr Collins shewed me part of 'his correspondence; and I observed, that Mr Newton owned also his ignorance in several points, and 'said, among other things, that he had not discovered 'any thing with regard to the dimension of the celebrated curve lines, except the dimension of the cissoide; but all this has been suppressed. I am sorry 'that so able a man as Sir Isaac Newton has drawn 'upon him the censure of intelligent persons, by having too much regard to the suggestions of some flatterers, who have been desirous of raising a contest 'between him and me.' Mr Leibnitz after this attacks Sir Isaac upon his Philosophy, especially his opinions about *gravity*, *vacuum*, the *intervention of God* for the conservation of his creatures, &c. he accuses him of reviving the *occult qualities* of the schools, or of supposing miracles perpetually, &c. This postscript being much talked of at Court, Sir Isaac was greatly pressed by some persons of distinction to write an answer. The Abbé Conti omitted nothing to engage him to it; but his extreme dislike to personal contests remained inflexible to all these sollicitations. 'Till at last, King George the First having one day asked when Sir Isaac Newton's answer to Mr Leibnitz was to appear? Sir Isaac could not excuse himself any longer. He addressed his answer to the Abbé Conti, to be communicated to Mr Leibnitz (59), to whom he wrote at the same time, that he *had read with great attention, and without the least prejudice, the* Commercium Epistolicum, *and the little piece that contains the extract; that he had also seen at the Royal Society the original papers of the* Commercium Epistolicum, and some other original pieces relating to it. *From all this*, says he, *I infer, that if all the digressions are cut off, the only point is, whether Sir Isaac Newton had the method of Fluxions or Infinitesimals before you, or whether you had it before him. You published it first it is true. But you have owned also, that Sir Isaac Newton had given many hints of it in his letters to Mr Oldenburg and others. This is proved very largely in the* Commercium *and the extract of it. What answer do you give? This is still wanting to the Publick, in order to form an exact judgment of the affair.* He adds, *that Mr Leibnitz's own friends waited for his answer with great impatience, and that they thought he could not dispense with*

(54) In 1699, this gentleman published a mathematical piece, wherein he not only declared Sir Isaac Newton to be the first inventor, but insinuated also, that Mr Leibnitz, whom he called the second inventor, had made use of the lights of Sir Isaac. See his Lineæ Brevissimæ Descensus, p. 3.

(55) Des Maizeaux, ubi supra, p. 123, 124.

(56) A little before his death he signified that he had such a design; but it appears from his letters to the Abbé Conti, dated Feb. 26, 1715-16, and April 9, 1716, that he had none to publish. See Commercium Epistolicum, published at London, 1725, 8vo. in the preface.

(57) They are published by Mr Des Maizeaux. Recueil, Tom. II. p. 100, 103.

(58) He had written against Signor Nigrisoli, who endeavoured to revive the hypothesis of plastic natures, and had imagined a certain seminal light, to which he ascribed the generation of living beings. The Abbé consulted Mr Leibnitz concerning the opinions of his antagonist, to which this letter was the answer. Id. ibid. p. 337. and p. 3, & seqq.

(59) It was dated Feb. 26, O. S. Ibid. p. 11, & seq.

was ſhe informed of our author's firmneſs to the Houſe of Hanover, than ſhe engaged his converſation, which preſently endeared him to her. Here ſhe found, in every difficulty, that full ſatisfaction which ſhe had in vain ſought for elſewhere; and her Highneſs was often heard to declare in publick, that ſhe thought herſelf happy in coming into the world at a juncture of time which put it in her power to converſe with him. Amongſt other things, Sir Iſaac one day acquainted her Highneſs with his thoughts upon ſome points of Chronology, and communicated to her what he had formerly wrote purely for his own amuſement upon that ſubject. But the plan appeared to be ſo unexpectedly new and ingenious, that ſhe could not be ſatisfied 'till he promiſed her to compleat a work ſhe found ſo happily begun. Not long after, about the year 1718, the Princeſs begged ſhe might have a copy of theſe papers; Sir Iſaac repreſented to her Highneſs that they lay very confuſed, and, beſides, what he had written therein was imperfect, but in a few days he could draw up an abſtract thereof, if it might be kept ſecret. Some time after he had done this, and preſented it, ſhe deſired that Seignor Conti (*kkk*), a Venetian nobleman, then in England, might have a copy of it. This was a requeſt which could not be denied, eſpecially as the condition of ſecrecy was readily promiſed. Notwithſtanding this promiſe, the Abbé, who during his ſtay in England had always affected to ſhew a particular friendſhip for Sir Iſaac, no ſooner got croſs the water into France, but he diſperſed copies of it, got an Antiquary to tranſlate it into French, and, moreover, to write a confutation of it. This was printed at Paris in 1725; after which, a copy of the tranſlation only, without the remarks, under this title, *Abregé de Chronologie de M. Le Chevalier Newton, fait par lui meſme & traduit ſur le manuſcript Anglois*, was delivered as a preſent from the Bookſeller that printed it to our author, in order to obtain his conſent to the publication; which though expreſsly denied by him, yet the whole was publiſhed not long after in the ſame year. Upon this Sir Iſaac publiſhed, in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. 389. Vol. XXXIV. p. 315. *Remarks upon the Obſervations made upon a Chronological Index of Sir Iſaac Newton, tranſlated into French by the Obſervator, and publiſhed at Paris* [B B]. Some

(*kkk*) He brought the meſſage himſelf, that ſhe deſired to ſpeak with Sir Iſaac. See Phil. Tranſ. ubi ſupra, p. 317.

with anſwering, if not Dr Keill, at leaſt Sir Iſaac Newton himſelf, who had given him a defiance in expreſs terms, as he would ſee in Sir Iſaac's letter. He informed him at the ſame time, that the King had deſired him to give him an account of the whole affair. Mr Leibnitz anſwered Sir Iſaac Newton in a letter, which he addreſſed to the Abbé Conti; but at the time when the Abbé waited to receive that letter, he received a ſhort letter (60), in which Mr Leibnitz informed him, that he *had ſent it to Mr Remond at Paris, who would take care that he ſhould receive it. I have taken this way,* ſays he, *in order to have indifferent and intelligent witneſſes of our diſputes; and Mr Remond will communicate it to others. I have ſent him at the ſame time a copy of your letter and of Sir Iſaac Newton's. After this you will be able to judge, whether the unjuſt chicane of ſome of your new friends perplexes me very much.* Sir Iſaac Newton thought it wrong that Mr Leibnitz ſhould call in for witneſſes of that diſpute, perſons who probably had not read the *Commercium Epiſtolicum.* He thought that London, as well as Paris, *might furniſh indifferent and intelligent witneſſes.* He reſolved, therefore, to carry the diſpute no farther; and, when Mr Leibnitz's anſwer came from France, he refuted it by remarks, which he communicated only to ſome of his friends. Mr Leibnitz died ſix months after that, November 14, 1716; and, as ſoon as Sir Iſaac Newton heard of his death, he publiſhed at London the poſtſcript and letter of Mr Leibnitz to the Abbé Conti, with his own letter to the Abbé, and the remarks. To the remarks was prefixed the following advertiſement, explaining the ſubject and occaſion. *Cum D. Leibnitius adduci non poſſet ut vel Commercio Epiſtolico reſponderet, vel probaret quæ pro lubitu affirmabat, cumque præcedentes epiſtolas in Galliam prius mitteret quam earum tertia in Angliam veniret, & prætenderet ſe hoc facere ut teſtes haberet, & alias etiam adhiberet contumelias: Newtonus minime reſcripſit, ſed obſervationes ſequentes in Epiſtolam illam tertiam ſcriptas cum amicis ſolummodo communicavit.* To theſe pieces was added Mr Ralphſon's *Hiſtory of Fluxions*, as a kind of ſupplement. They were publiſhed in the ſame language in which each was written, viz. thoſe of Mr Leibnitz in French, and thoſe of Sir Iſaac Newton in Engliſh. The two laſt were tranſlated into French, and printed alſo at London, and Mr Des Maizeaux has reprinted them in the ſecond tome of his *Recueil* In 1725, there was publiſhed a third edition of the *Commercium Epiſtolicum* with additions, relating to what had paſſed in this controverſy, ſince the publiſhing of the firſt edition of that book, which put an end to this controverſy (61).

(60) Ibid. p. 26.

(61) This was publiſhed with Sir Iſaac Newton's approbation, and, by his remarks in Phil. Tranſ. No. 389. ſeems to have been chiefly occaſioned by the conduct of the Abbé Conti. See likewiſe the preface to this ſecond edition of the Commercium Epiſtolicum.

[B B] *Sir Iſaac publiſhed Remarks upon the Obſervations, &c.*] In theſe remarks, the ungenerous conduct of the Venetian nobleman, and the tricking management of the French bookſeller, are equally expoſed; and the Obſervator might clearly ſee, without the help of a teleſcope, by the manner of handling him, how much he meddled above his match. Having ſhewn the weakneſs and impertinence of his arguments upon the *epocha of the Argonauts*, and the *length of generations*, Sir Iſaac makes this remark. 'So then the Obſervator hath miſtaken my meaning in the two main arguments on which the whole is founded, and hath undertaken to tranſlate and to confute a paper which he did not underſtand, and been zealous to print it without my conſent; though he thought it good for nothing, but to get himſelf a little credit by tranſlating it to be confuted, and confuting his own tranſlation.'—In the concluſion of this paper, Sir Iſaac having remarked, that the Abbé Conti had acted in England privately as an agent for Mr Leibnitz, under the aſſumed character of a mediator in the diſpute about Fluxions, has theſe words: 'And what he [Abbé Conti] has been doing in Italy, may be underſtood by the diſputes raiſed there by one of his friends, who denies many of my optical experiments, though they have been all tried in France with ſucceſs. But I hope that theſe things, and the perpetual motion, will be the laſt efforts of this kind.' Upon this the Remarks were publiſhed in French at Paris, 1726, 8vo. with a letter of the Abbé Conti, in anſwer to ſome reflections caſt upon him in his Remarks. In the year 1726, ſome diſſertations were publiſhed likewiſe at Paris by Father Souciet, againſt Sir Iſaac's Chronological Index. In the juſt mentioned remarks he had ſaid, that Hipparchus names the ſtars, through which the colures paſſed in the old ſphere of Chiron, according to Eudoxus; and ſaith expreſsly, that Eudoxus drew one of theſe colures through the middle of Cancer and the middle of Capricorn, and the other through the middle of Chelæ and the back of Aries. And the colures paſſing thro' the back of Aries paſſes through the middle of Aries, and is but 8 degrees from the firſt ſtar of Aries. 'I follow Eudoxus, and, by doing ſo, place the equinoctial colure about 7°. 36′. from the firſt ſtar of Aries. But the Obſervator repreſents, that I place it 15°. from the firſt ſtar of Aries; and thence deduces, that I ſhould have made the Argonautic expedition 532 years earlier than I do. Let him rectify his miſtake, and the Argonautic expedition will be where I place it.' The P. Souciet makes himſelf merry with this account. 'As if, ſays he, the middle of Aries was not the middle of the ſign or dodecametorion of Aries.' Here the good Father is taken up by

Some few years before this, in the eightieth year of his age, our author was feized with an incontinence of urine, thought to proceed from the ftone in the bladder, and judged to be incurable. However, by the help of a ftrict regimen, and other precautions, which 'till then he never had occafion for, he procured great intervals of eafe during the five remaining years of his life; yet he was not free from fome fevere paroxyfms, which even occafioned large drops of fweat to run down his face. In thefe circumftances he never was feen to utter the leaft complaint, nor exprefs the leaft impatience; and, as foon as he had a moment's eafe, he would fmile and talk with his ufual chearfulnefs. 'Till this time he had always read and writ feveral hours in a day, but he was now obliged to rely upon Mr Conduit (*lll*) for the difcharge of his office in the Mint. On Saturday morning, March 18, 1726-7, he read the news-papers, and difcourfed a long time with Dr Mead, his Phyfician, having then the perfect ufe of all his fenfes and his underftanding; but that night he entirely loft them all, and not recovering them after, he died on the Monday following, which was March 20th, in the eighty-fifth year of his age. His body lay in ftate in the Jerufalem-Chamber, and March 28th was conveyed into Weftminfter-abbey, the Lord Chancellor, the Dukes of Montrofe and Roxburgh, and the Earls of Pembroke, Suffex, and Macclesfield, holding up the pall. The corpfe was interred juft at the entrance into the choir, on the left hand, where a rich monument is erected to his memory, with a fuitable infcription upon it [*CC*]. As to his perfon, he was of a middling ftature, and fomewhat inclined to be fat in the latter part of his life. His countenance was pleafing and venerable at the fame time, efpecially when he took off his peruke, and fhewed his white hair, which was pretty thick. He loft but one tooth, and never made ufe of fpectacles during his whole life, which, perhaps, might be the ground for Mr Fontenelle's faying, in a kind of panegyric, that he had a very lively and piercing eye. For Bifhop Atterbury (*mmm*), who feems to have obferved it more critically, affures us, that 'This 'did not belong to him, at leaft not for twenty years paft, about which time, fays the Bifhop, 'I became acquainted with him. Indeed, in the whole air of his face and make, there was 'nothing of that penetrating fagacity which appears in his compofitions; he had fome-'thing rather languid in his look and manner, which did not raife any great expectation 'in thofe who did not know him.' In viewing the character of his genius, we muft turn to the nature of his inventions, and the manner in which he opened his way to them. Of thefe we have given an account, at the feveral ftages of his life when the difcoveries were made by him. The mark that feems moft of all to diftinguifh it is this, that he himfelf was the trueft judge, and made the jufteft eftimation of it. One day, when one of his friends had faid fome handfome things of his extraordinary talents, Sir Ifaac, in an eafy and unaffected way, affured him, that for his own part he was fenfible, that whatever he had done worth

(*lll*) This gentleman married Mrs Barton, one of his nieces, and fucceeded him in his office in the Mint. See fome account of this niece in the article of Charles Montague Earl of Halifax. She died a widow in 1739, and in the 59th of her age, having brought Mr Conduit a daughter, who married the honourable Mr Wallop, eldeft fon to Lord Lymington. Conduit's monument in Weftminfter Abbey.

(*mmm*) See fome letters of his to Mr Thiriot.

(62) Phil. Tranf. No. 397.

by Dr Halley (62), who makes him feel the rod for not reading his leffon right out of Hipparchus, whofe words are very exprefs, that the colure of the vernal equinox, in paffing through the back, according to Eudoxus paffed likewife through the head of the Whale, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἑτέρῳ κολούρῳ φησὶ κεῖσθαι· τοῦ Κήτους τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τοῦ κριοῦ τὰ νῶτα κατὰ πλάτος; whereas in paffing through the middle of the dodecatemorion, it leaves the head of the Whale to the weftward. Thus the Pere Souciet firft blunders notorioufly in undertaking to correct Sir Ifaac, and then plays the droll upon the ftrength of his own blunder. Dr Halley obferving, that Sir Ifaac juftly took the middle of Aries, over which the colure is fuppofed by Eudoxus to have paffed, to be the middle of the conftellation; and in fo doing, fays he, no doubt had reafon to place this colure 7°. 36′. in confequence of the firft ftar of Aries, inftead of 8°. 17′. as it was when the ftar in the middle of the back of Aries (marked *v* by Bayer) was under the colure; which, reckoning 50″ per annum for the known preceffion of the equinoctial points, will fet the Argonautic expedition 984 years before Chrift, that is, exactly half a century earlier than it is placed by Sir Ifaac. Does not the reafon feem evidently to be this? The defcription of Hipparchus is not, 'tis allowed, circumftantial enough to determine the place in the back of Aries through which the colure in queftion paffed in Chiron's fphere, to an exactnefs of 25″. 'Tis true, Hipparchus fuppofes this colure to have paffed at that time through the ftar in the middle of the back of Aries, but this he allows to be only his own conjecture. The difficulty lay in finding out a better rule than meer conjecture. Here Sir Ifaac fteps in. This was a Gordian knot, which he and he alone was able to untye. The firft Chronologers, he obferved, had made the reigns of the ancient Kings of Greece longer than the courfe of nature would bear. The Ancients, had founded their technical Chronology, on the rule of reckoning the reigns of kings equal to generations, making three to amount to 100, and fometimes to 120 years. This rule he examined, by comparing it with what was found to be the true courfe of nature, after the times were more exactly fet down in later hiftorians. From hence it appeared, that the reigns of kings were far from being equal to generations of men, and that they did not exceed 18 or 20 years a piece one with another. Allowing, therefore, that proportion to the Kings of Greece, he found the Argonautic expedition muft have happened about 44 years after the death of Solomon, that is, according to Scripture, 934 years before Chrift. Let this now be applied to the words of Hipparchus, and the equinoctial colure, at the time of the Argonautic expedition, will be fixed at about 7°. 36′. from the firft ftar of Aries.

[*CC*] *A monument, with a fuitable infcription upon it, is erected in Weftminfter-Abbey.*] The infcription well deferves a place here, and is as follows.

H. S. E.
Ifaacus Newton, Eques Auratus,
Qui animi vi prope divina
Planetarum motus, figuras,
Cometarum femitas, Oceanique Æftus,
Sua mathefi facem præferente,
Primus demonftravit.
Radiorum lucis diffimilitudines,
Colorumque inde nafcentium proprietates,
Quas nemo antea vel fufpicatus erat, perveftigavit.
Naturæ, Antiquitatis, S. Scripturæ,
Sedulus, fagax, fidus interpres,
Dei Opt. Max. majeftatem philofophia afferuit,
Evangelii fimplicitatem moribus expreffit.
Sibi gratulentur mortales, tale tantumque extitiffe,
HUMANI GENERIS DECUS.
Natus xxv. Decemb. MDCXLII. Obiit. xx. March,
MDCCXXVI.

[*DD*] *He*

worth notice, was owing to a patience of thought, rather than any extraordinary ſagacity which he was endowed with above other men *. I keep the ſubject conſtantly before me, and wait 'till the firſt dawnings open ſlowly, by little and little, into a full and clear light. And hence we are able to give a very natural account of that unuſual kind of horror which he had for all diſputes upon theſe points; a ſteady unbroken attention was his peculiar felicity, he knew it, and he knew the value of it. In ſuch a ſituation of mind, controverſy muſt needs be looked upon him as his bane. However, he was at a great diſtance from being ſteeped in Philoſophy: on the contrary, he could lay aſide his thoughts, though engaged in the moſt intricate reſearches, when his other affairs required his attendance, and, as ſoon as he had leiſure, reſume the ſubject at the point where he left off. This he ſeems to have done, not ſo much by any extraordinary ſtrength of memory, as by the force of his inventive faculty, to which every thing opened itſelf again with eaſe, if nothing intervened to ruffle him. The readineſs of his invention made him not think of putting his memory much to the trial; but this was the offspring of a vigorous intenſeneſs of thought, out of which he was but a common man. He ſpent, therefore, the prime of his age in theſe abſtruſe reſearches, when his ſituation in a college gave him leiſure, and even while ſtudy was his proper profeſſion. But, as ſoon as he was removed to the Mint, he applied himſelf chiefly to the buſineſs of that office, and ſo far quitted Mathematics and Philoſophy, as not to engage in any new purſuits of either kind afterwards (*n n n*). Dr Pemberton tells us (*o o o*), that he found Sir Iſaac had read fewer of the modern mathematicians than one could have expected, but his own prodigious invention readily ſupplied him with what he might have occaſion for in any ſubject he undertook. He often cenſured the handling geometrical ſubjects by algebraic calculations, and frequently praiſed Sluſius, Barrow, and Huygens, for not being influenced by the bad taſte which then began to prevail. He uſed to commend the laudable attempt of Hugo de Omerique, to reſtore the ancient analyſis, and very much eſteemed Apollonius's book *De Sectione Rationis*, for giving us a clearer notion of that analyſis than we had before. He particularly recommended Huygens's ſtile and manner, as being, he thought, the moſt elegant of any mathematical writer of modern times, and the moſt juſt imitator of the Ancients; of whoſe taſte and form of demonſtration Sir Iſaac always profeſſed himſelf a great admirer. Dr Pemberton likewiſe obſerves, that his memory, indeed, was much decayed in the laſt years of his life; yet the common diſcourſe, that he did not then underſtand his own works, was entirely groundleſs. This opinion might, perhaps, ariſe, from his not being always ready to ſpeak on theſe ſubjects when it might be expected he ſhould. But this the doctor imputes to an abſence commonly ſeen in great geniuſes. 'Inventors, ſays he, ſeem to treaſure up in their minds what they have found out, after 'another manner than thoſe do the ſame things, who have not this inventive faculty. The 'former, when they have occaſion to produce their knowledge, are obliged, in ſome 'meaſure, immediately to inveſtigate part of what they want; for this, as they are not 'equally fit at all times, ſo it has often happened, that ſuch as retain things chiefly by 'means of a very ſtrong memory, have appeared off-hand more expert than the diſco-'verers themſelves.' Add to this, what in regard to ſtrict truth muſt not be ſuppreſſed, that the behaviour of Mr Leibnitz particularly, as well as of the Abbé Conti, not to mention ſome others *, had given that caution which was innate to him ſuch a reſerve, as ſeemed to border upon the ſuſpicious. However, this reſerve, no doubt, was at ſome of theſe times the genuine effect of his native modeſty, which (in paſſing to contemplate the character of his mind) appears to ſtand foremoſt in his compoſition, and was, in truth, greater than can eaſily be imagined, or will be readily believed; yet it always continued ſo without any alteration, though the whole world (*p p p*), ſays Mr de Fontenelle, conſpired againſt it. In his diſpute with Mr Leibnitz, he even ſhewed a great meekneſs of diſpoſition; however, he was very far from being inſenſible, both of the injurious preſumption and mean chicanery of his envious competitor, and undoubtedly took the beſt method of foiling him, by refuſing to feed his vanity with a verbal conteſt, but ſubduing his inſolence with inflexible facts. When he was twenty-ſeven years of age, he wrote a letter to a young gentleman who was entering upon his travels [*D D*]; where, in giving rules for his friend's

* He begins his firſt letter to Dr Bentley in 1692, thus, 'When I wrote my treatiſe about our ſyſtem, I had an eye upon ſuch principles as might work with conſidering men for the belief of a Deity, and nothing can rejoyce me more than to find it uſeful for that purpoſe. But if I have done the public any ſervice this way, it is due to nothing but induſtry and patient thought.' Four letters, &c. Edit. 1756, 8vo.

(*n n n*) Mr Whiſton tells us, that Sir Iſaac uſed to ſay, that no old men, excepting Dr Wallis, loved Mathematics. Memoirs, p. 315, 316.

(*o o o*) In the preface to his View, &c.

* Among theſe muſt be reckoned Mr Whiſton, who repreſented Sir Iſaac as an Arian, which he ſo much reſented, that he would not ſuffer him to be a member of the Royal Society while he was Preſident. Whiſton's Memoirs of his own Life, p. 178, 249, 250. Edit. 1753, 8vo.

(*p p p*) In his Eloge.

[*D D*] *He wrote a letter to a young gentleman who was entering upon his travels.*] This young gentleman was his friend, Francis Aſton, Eſq; and is as follows.

Trinity College, Cambridge, May 18, 1669.

SIR,

'Since in your letter you give mee ſo much liberty 'of ſpending my judgment about what may be to 'your advantage in travelling, I ſhall do it more free-'ly, than perhaps otherwiſe would have been decent. 'Firſt, then, I will lay down ſome general rules, moſt 'of which, I beleive, you have conſidered already; 'but if any of them be new to you they may excuſe 'the reſt; if none at all, yet is my puniſhment more 'in writing than your's in reading.

'When you come into any freſh company, 1. Obſerve their humours. 2. Secondly, Suit your own 'carriage thereto, by which inſinuation you will make 'their converſe more free and open. 3. Let your 'diſcours be more in querys and doubtings, than peremptory aſſertions, or diſputings, it being the de-'ſigne of travellers to learne, not to teach. Beſides, 'it will perſuade your acquaintance that you have the 'greater eſteem of them, and ſoe make them more 'ready to communicate what they know to you; 'whereas nothing ſooner occaſions diſreſpect and quar-'rels than peremptorineſſe. You will find little or 'no advantage in ſeeming wiſer, or much more igno-'rant than your company. 4. Seldome diſcommend 'any thing, though never ſo bad, or doe it but mo-'derately, leaſt you bee unexpectedly forced to an un-'hanſom retraction. It is ſafer to commend any thing 'more than it diſerves, than to diſcommend a thing 'ſo much as it deſerves. For commendations meet 'not ſoe often with oppoſitions, or at leaſt are not 'uſually

friend's conduct, he has in some measure described his own. He never talked either of himself or others, nor ever behaved in such a manner, as to give the most malicious censurers the least occasion even to suspect him of vanity. He was candid and affable, and always put himself upon a level with his company. He never thought either his merit or his reputation sufficient to excuse him from any of the common offices of social life. No singularities, either natural or affected, distinguished him from other men. Though he was firmly attached to the Church of England, he was averse to the persecution of the Nonconformists. He judged of men by their manners, and the true schismaticks, in his opinion, were the vicious and the wicked. Not that he confined his principles to Natural Religion, for he was thoroughly perswaded of the truth of Revelation; and, amidst the great variety of books which he had constantly before him, that which he studied with the greatest application was the Bible. He did not neglect the opportunities of doing good, which the revenues of his patrimony and a profitable employment, improved by a prudent œconomy, put into his power. When decency upon any occasion required expence and shew, he was magnificent without grudging it, and with a very good grace (qqq). At all other times, that pomp, which seems great to low minds only, was utterly retrenched, and the expence reserved for better uses. He never married, and, perhaps, he never had leisure to think of it. Being immersed in profound studies during the prime of his age, and afterwards engaged in an employment of great importance, and even quite taken up with the company which his merit drew to him, he was not sensible of any vacancy in life, nor of the want of a companion at home. He left two and thirty thousand pounds at his death, but made no Will, which Mr de Fontenelle tells us was, because he thought a legacy was no gift. After his death, there were found among his papers several discourses upon the subjects of Antiquity, History, Divinity, Chemistry, and Mathematicks. Some of these have been since published. Besides those already mentioned, in 1727,

(qqq) It has been observed, that he put on a suit of laced cloaths when he offered himself a candidate to represent the University in Parliament against Mr Annesley, afterwards Earl of Anglesey, and Steward of that University.

'usually soe ill resented by men that think otherwise, 'as discommendations. And you will insinuate into 'mens favour by nothing sooner, than seeming to approve and commend what they like; but beware of 'doing it by a comparison. 5. If you bee affronted, 'it is better in a forraine country to pass it by in silence, and with a jest, though with some dishonour, 'than to endeavour revenge; for in the first case 'your credit's ne'er the worse, when you return into 'England, or come into other company, that have 'not heard of the quarrell. But in the second case, 'you may beare the marks of the quarrel while you 'live, if you outlive it at all. But if you find yourself unavoidably engaged, 'tis best, I think, if you 'can command your passion and language, to keep 'them pretty eavenly, at some certain moderate 'pitch, not much hightning them to exasperate your 'adversary, or provoke his friends, nor letting them 'grow over much dejected to make him insult. In a 'word, if you can keep reason above passion, that 'and watchfulnesse will be your best defendants. To 'which purpose you may consider, that tho' such excuses as this, *He provok't mee so much I could not forbear*, may pass among friends, yet amongst strangers they are insignificant, and only argue a traveller's weaknesse.

'To these I may add some general heads for inquiry's or observations, such as at present I can 'think on. As 1. To observe the policys, wealth, 'and state-affairs of nations, so far as a solitary traveller may conveniently doe. 2. Their impositions 'upon all sorts of people, trades, or commoditys, 'that are remarkable. 3. Their laws, and customs, 'how far they differ from ours. 4. Their trades, and 'arts, wherein they excell, or come short of us in 'England. 5. Such fortifications as you shall meet 'with, their fashion, strength, and advantages for defence, and other such military affairs as are considerable. 6. The power and respect belonging to their 'degrees of nobility, or magistracy. 7. It will not 'be time mispent to make a catalogue of the names 'and excellencys of those men that are most wise, 'learned, or esteemed in any nation. 8. Observe the 'mechanisme and manner of guiding ships. 9. Observe the products of nature in several places, especially in mines, with the circumstances of mining, 'and of extracting metals, or minerals, out of their 'oare, and of refining them; and if you meet with 'any transmutations out of their own species into another (as out of iron into copper, out of any metall 'into quicksilver, out of one salt into another, or into an insipid body, &c.) those, above all, will 'be worth your noting, being the most luciferous, 'and many times lucriferous experiments too in 'Philosophy. 10. The prices of diet and other 'things. 11. And the staple commoditys of places.

'These generals (such as at present I could think 'of), if they will serve for nothing else, yet they 'may assist you in drawing up a modell to regulate 'your travells by. As for particulars, these that follow are all that I can now think of, viz. Whether 'at Schemnitium in Hungary (where there are mines 'of gold, copper, iron, vitriol, antimony, &c.), they 'change iron into copper by dissolving it in a vitriolate water, which they find in cavitys of rocks in 'the mines, and then melting the slimy solution in a 'strong fire, which in the cooling proves copper. 'The like is said to be done in other places, which I 'cannot now remember, perhaps too it may be done 'in Italy. For about 20 or 30 years agone there 'was a certain vitrioll came from thence (called Roman Vitrioll), but of a nobler virtue than that which 'is now called by that name; which vitriol is not 'now to be gotten, because, perhaps, they make a 'greater gain by some such trick as turning iron into 'copper with it, than by selling it. 2. Whether in 'Hungary, Sclavonia, Bohemia, near the town Eila, 'or at the mountains of Bohemia near Silesia, there 'be rivers whose waters are impregnated with gold; 'perhaps, the gold being dissolved by some corrosive 'waters, like aqua regis, and the solution carried along with the streame, that runs thro' the mines. 'And whether the practise of laying Mercury in the 'rivers 'till it be tinged with gold, and then straining 'the mercury thro' leather that the gold may stay behind, be a secret yet, or openly practised. 3. There 'is newly contrived in Holland a mill to grind glasses 'plane withall, and I think polishing them too, perhaps it will be worth the while to see it. 4. There 'is in Holland one ——— Borry, who some years 'since was imprisoned by the Pope, to have extorted 'from him secrets (as I am told) of great worth, both 'as to medicine and profit, but he escaped into Holland, where they have granted him a guard. I 'think he usually goes cloathed in green. Pray inquire what you can of him, and whether his ingenuity be any profit to the Dutch. You may inform 'yourself whether the Dutch have any tricks to keep 'their ships from being all wormeaten in their voyages to the Indies. Whether pendulum clocks do 'any service in finding out the longitude, &c.

'I am very weary, and shall not stay to part with 'a long compliment, only I wish you a good journey, 'and God be with you,

Is. Newton.

'Pray let us hear from you in your travells. I 'have given your 2 books to Dr Arrowsmith.'

1727, there appeared a table of the aſſays of foreign coins, drawn up by him, and publiſhed at the end of Dr Arbuthnot's book on that ſubject. And the next year came abroad his Chronology, under this title: *The Chronology of Ancient Kingdoms amended: To which is prefixed a ſhort Chronicle, from the firſt Memory of things in Europe, to the Conqueſt of Perſia by Alexander the Great. By Sir Iſaac Newton.* Dedicated to the Queen by Mr Conduit. In the advertiſement prefixed to this work we are told, that, ‘Though the Chronology of Ancient Kingdoms amended was writ by the author many ‘years ſince, yet he lately reviſed it, and was actually preparing it for the preſs at the ‘time of his death. But the Short Chronicle was never intended to be made publick, and ‘therefore was not ſo lately corrected by him. To this the reader muſt impute it, if he ‘ſhall find any places where the Short Chronicle does not accurately agree with the dates ‘aſſigned in the larger piece. The ſixth chapter was not copied out with the other five, ‘which makes it doubtful whether he intended to print it; but being found among his ‘papers, and evidently appearing to be a continuation of the ſame work, and as ſuch ‘abridged in the Short Chronicle, it was thought proper to be added (*rrr*).’ Sir Iſaac ſpeaking of this work in 1725, ſays, when he lived at Cambridge, he uſed ſometimes to refreſh his memory with Hiſtory and Chronology for a while, when he was weary with other ſtudies (*sss*). Nevertheleſs, there is diſplayed in this work the ſame creative genius (if we may be allowed the expreſſion) which informed his other reſearches. Accuſtomed to unravel chaoſes, he has thrown light both into the dark and fabulous ages of Antiquity, and fixed an uncertain chronology; ſhewing himſelf herein no leſs a maſter in calculating the comparative degrees of moral evidence, than he was in applying the abſolute force of mathematical demonſtration. The chain of his argument is unavoidably ſometimes ſo long, that even tolerable good capacities, in attempting to follow it, have, by dropping ſome of the links, loſt the connection, and thence erroneouſly concluded him miſtaken [*E E*]. In the piece, as we have it unfiniſhed, there are, perhaps, a very few ſmall errors of little conſequence, which, however, probably would not have eſcaped his laſt reviſal. But he employed his firſt care upon the principal part; and his two main arguments, from Aſtronomy and the courſe of Nature, will always remain unſhaken monuments of his ſupreme abilities among the beſt judges. All ſorts of readers muſt find a very agreeable entertainment from his account of the heathen Mythology, of the origin and progreſs of Arts and Sciences, and a variety of curious obſervations of ſeveral kinds, which he has interſperſed throughout the whole work. The generous and good-natured mind in particular, muſt needs be pleaſed to find him loſing no opportunity of inſtilling thoſe principles of virtue and humanity, which, by his conduct and writings, appear to have been always uppermoſt in his heart. He ſeverely condemns all oppreſſion, and every kind of cruelty even to brute beaſts; he inculcates mercy, charity, and the indiſpenſible duty of doing good, with the greateſt warmth; and ſhews, that an abhorrence of idolatry and perſecution was one of the earlieſt laws of the divine legiſlator; that in theſe things conſiſted the morality of the firſt ages, the primitive religion both of Jews and Chriſtians; and that theſe ought to be the ſtanding religion of all nations, they being both for the honour of God and the good of Society. This treatiſe muſt likewiſe be of conſiderable uſe to the Divine, as it ſets the connection of Sacred and Prophane Hiſtory in a new and clearer light than before, and furniſhes him with many illuſtrations of ſeveral texts of Scripture, not to be found in the moſt celebrated commentators. After this, there came out his *Obſervations on the Prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypſe of St John*, Lond. 1733, 4to. Tho' this appears to be a very unfiniſhed piece, yet there are ſeen ſome ſtrokes in it which diſcover the hand of it's great maſter. Among other things, he has ſhewn the exact duration of our Saviour's miniſtry upon earth, by a ſtrict demonſtration; a diffiuclty which had mocked the efforts of the beſt wits before him. In 1734, Dr Berkley, Biſhop of Cloyne in Ireland, in a piece intituled *The Analyſt*, attacked his Method of Fluxions, as being obſcure and unintelligible,

(*rrr*) Mr Whiſton tells us, that Sir Iſaac wrote out 18 copies of the firſt and principal chapter with his own hand, but little different one from another. Memoirs of his own Life, p. 39.

(*sss*) Phil. Tranſ. No. 389, p. 320.

[*E E*] *And thence erroneouſly concluded him miſtaken.*] Sir Iſaac expreſsly declares, that his endeavour was to make Hiſtory conſiſtent 1. With Aſtronomy; 2. The courſe of nature; 3. The Bible; 4. Herodotus, the father of hiſtory; and 5. With itſelf. And by a juſt application of theſe, according to the exact degree of probability in each, it is, that he ſettles 4 remarkable periods, whereby he determines all the reſt. 1. The return of the Heraclides into Peloponneſus. 2. The Trojan war. 3 The Argonautic expedition. 4. The return of Seſoſtris into Egypt. Mr Fourmond * engages the aſtronomical argument ſeparately, and is very laboriouſly profound in expoſing the abſolute uncertainty of it, as well from the vague account given of the ancient ſphere by Hipparchus, as from the coarſe obſervations of the ancient Aſtronomers. But he did not conſider, that what he ſo painfully proves is granted by Sir Iſaac, who therefore found a way of bringing the deſcription of this ancient ſphere to a great degree of exactneſs, by the argument from the courſe of nature, as is ſhewn in rem. [*B B*] In like manner Mr Freret, of the ſame academy, undertakes to ſhew, that Seſoſtris returned into Egypt much earlier than our author aſſerts, purely upon the concurrent teſtimony of Sanchoniatho, and other ancient hiſtorians †, forgetting that it was the groundleſs conjectures of theſe very hiſtorians, which put Sir Iſaac firſt upon looking out for a better foundation in the courſe of nature and Aſtronomy. Mr Arthur Bedford's large work is entirely owing to the like inadvertency. And Dr Shuckford's warm animadverſions, together with Dr Con. Middleton's affected drollery, may not unfitly be coupled to the flaming vanity of Mr Will. Whiſton, who after telling us, that Sir Iſaac was of the moſt fearful, cautious, and ſuſpicious temper that he ever knew: And that he would not have done any thing which might have brought that great man's grey-hairs with ſorrow to the grave, goes on thus. ‘And had he been alive when I wrote againſt his Chronology, and ſo thoroughly confuted it, that nobody has ever ventured to vindicate it, that I know of, ſince my confutation was publiſhed, I ſhould not have thought proper to publiſh it during his life-time; becauſe I knew his temper ſo well, that I ſhould have expected it would have killed him (63).’

* In the Memoirs of the Royal Academy at Paris, of which he was a Member.

† Ibid.

(63) Memoirs of Mr Whiſton, &c. p. 293, 294.

telligible, since the doctrine of Moments, upon which it was founded, necessarily involved a notion of infinity, whereof we can form no comprehensible or adequate idea *, and therefore ought to be excluded from all geometrical disquisitions (*ttt*). This gave rise to a controversy, which occasioned the publication of our author's *Method of Fluxions and Analysis by Infinite Series*. The treatise being written in Latin, was translated into English, and printed in 1736, 4to. with a perpetual commentary by Mr John Colson, the present Professor of Mathematics at Cambridge; wherein, among other things, he inserted a Defence of the Method against the Objections of Dr Berkley. The task, indeed, was not difficult; Sir Isaac was too clear-sighted not to perceive such objections, and accordingly had fully obviated them before, (viz. in schol. to sect. 1. of his Principia, and lemma 2. B. 11.) so much to the satisfaction of every intelligent and unprejudiced reader, that the great dust which has been raised about the whole of his doctrine, must be owing, as has been observed (*uuu*), either to weakness or some worse principle. In 1737, there was printed an English translation of *A Latin Dissertation upon the Sacred Cubit of the Jews* [*FF*], written by Sir Isaac (*www*). It was found subjoined to a work of his not finished, intituled *Lexicon Propheticum*. Lastly, in 1756, there was published in 8vo. *Four Letters from Sir* Isaac Newton *to Dr* Bentley, *containing some arguments in proof of a Deity*. These letters were wrote in the year 1692. Dr Bentley had been appointed to preach the first course of sermons of Mr Boyle's Lecture, and being intent to make the best figure he could on that occasion, he applied to our author for the solution of a difficulty which he had met with, in an argument urged by Lucretius, to prove the eternity of the world from an hypothesis of deriving the frame of it by mechanical principles, from matter endued with an innate principle of gravity [*GG*], evenly spread through the heavens. The hypothesis being inconsistent with Sir Isaac's system of the world, as laid down and demonstrated in the *Principia*, had been very little considered by him before this application. However, he easily satisfied all the doctor's queries upon the subject with great clearness; and it may be observed, that, as Dr Bentley established his fame by these sermons at Boyle's lecture, so that happiness was entirely owing to the assistance, publick and private, which he received from Sir Isaac Newton [*HH*].

* [illegible] tion of [illegible] infinity. And therein consists the excellence of his method, whereby the ultimate ratio of quantities, or the proportion of them in their nascent or evanescent states, is determined by the velocity of their generating motions, without considering their magnitudes at all.

(*ttt*) The Bishop was answered by Philalethes Cantabrigiensis; to which he wrote a defence, and Philalethes a reply. Another piece was also published in defence of Sir Isaac by Mr Robins, intituled, The Nature and Certainty of Sir Isaac Newton's Method of Fluxions. Lond. 1735, 8vo.

(*uuu*) By Mr Stuart, Professor of Mathematics at Aberdeen in Scotland, in his Commentary upon Sir Isaac's Quadrature of Curves. Lond. 1745, 4to. See also Mr Maclaurin's Method of Fluxions, in 2 vols, 4to. Edinb. 1742.

(*www*) It is inserted among the miscellaneous Works of Mr John Greaves, published by Dr Birch, Vol. II.

[*FF*] *A Dissertation upon the Sacred Cubit of the Jews.*] He has shewn, that this cubit was certainly between the limits of 26 and 27 Roman unciæ, and thinks it probably consisted of 26 $\frac{1}{2}$ of those unciæ.

In this piece there is seen one character of his genius, which distinguishes remarkably all his undertakings; I mean a talent of drawing the most hidden and unobserved truths from the most common and vulgar observations. Thus, his Method of Fluxions is founded upon the ordinary ideas of space, time, and motion. His Theory of Light and Colours was one part raised out of the well-known experiments of a prism, and the other out of a child's play of blowing bubbles with soap suds. His System of the World took it's beginning from seeing some apples fall from a tree in an orchard. His Chronology was fetched chiefly from an obvious observation concerning the lengths of kings reigns; and, suitable to this road of thinking, he has, in his Observations on Daniel, made a very curious as well as useful remark, that our Saviour's precepts were all occasioned by some ordinary circumstance of things then particularly before him.

[*GG*] *Dr Bentley applied to our author for the solution of a difficulty concerning gravity.*] These letters furnish another evidence, besides what is already produced, of the injury that is done to Sir Isaac, in ascribing to him an opinion, that gravity is the immediate act of the Deity. In the second letter he writes thus. 'You sometimes speak of gravity as essential 'and inherent to matter. Pray don't ascribe that notion to me; for the cause of gravity is what I don't 'pretend to know, and therefore would take more 'time to consider of it.' And in the third letter he is still more explicit, so that he cannot possibly be mistaken. 'It is inconceivable, says he, that inanimate 'brute matter should, without the mediation of something else which is not material, operate upon and 'affect other matter, without mutual contact, as it 'must be, if gravitation, in the sense of Epicurus, be 'essential and inherent in it. And this is one reason 'why I desired you would not ascribe innate gravity 'to me. That gravity should be innate, inherent, 'and essential to matter, so that one body may act 'upon another at a distance through a vacuum, without the mediation of any thing else, by and through 'which their action and force may be conveyed from 'one to another, is to me so great an absurdity, that 'I believe no man, who has in philosophical matters a 'competent faculty of thinking, can ever fall into it. 'Gravity must be caused by an agent acting constantly 'according to certain laws; but whether this agent be 'material or immaterial I have left to the consideration of my readers.'

[*HH*] *Bentley's fame owing to Sir Isaac Newton.*] Mr Whiston having observed, that these sermons of Dr Bentley are, perhaps, the most valuable of all that great critic's performances, gives the following account of that excellence: viz. That herein he demonstrated the Being and Providence of God, from Sir Isaac Newton's wonderful discoveries, to such a degree of satisfaction, as to the sceptics or infidels themselves, that he informed that Memoir writer of a club of such people, who had heard his sermons, and were asked by a friend of his, at his desire, what they had to say against them, they honestly owned they did not know what to say; but added withal, What's this to the fable of Jesus Christ? In regard to this question, Mr Whiston also further informs us, that after Dr Bentley had preached his second year's sermons, having a design to make them publick, he applied to Bishop Lloyd, for leave to insert some of his Lordship's predictions from the Scripture prophecies into the preface (64); urging, that upon their completion they might be of service to Christianity. But these sermons were never printed. The reason of which, continues my author, will appear by what follows: Upon his [Bentley's] application to the Bishop, and the Bishop's frank and open answers, he was so far from being satisfied, that he immediately began to suppose, that his disappointment arose from the sacred books of Daniel and the Revelation themselves, and not only from his own or the Bishop's misunderstanding them. He was offended that the Bishop understood a *day* in the prophecies to denote a *year* in their completion; as all expositors had done before him, and as the ancient language of prophecy plainly implied (65). Nay, continues Mr Whiston, so greatly was he offended at this interpretation, that he long afterwards bluntly asked Sir Isaac Newton himself (with whom I had brought him acquainted about A. D. 1696), who thus expounded the prophecies also, whether he could demonstrate the same. Sir Isaac Newton was so greatly offended at this, as invidiously alluding to his being a Mathematician, which science was not concerned in this matter, that he would not see him, as Dr Bentley told me himself, for a twelvemonth afterward. The correspondence mentioned in the text evidently shews Mr Whiston's mistake in the parenthesis here inserted by him, and was apparently a slip of his vanity; which, however, ought not to prejudice the credit of his narrative in relation to the fact of Sir Isaac Newton's just resentment, especially as it is entirely consonant to his general character; and, indeed, is only one instance, tho' an admirable one, among many others, of his excellent good sense. P

(64) Part of these sermons were preached upon some of those Prophecies. Memoirs of W. Whiston, &c. p. 94. 2d edit. 1753, 8vo.

(65) See Whiston's Essay on the Revelations, 2d edit. 1753, 8vo.

NICOLSON [WILLIAM] [*A*], a late learned writer, and successively Bishop of Carlisle, of Londonderry, and Archbishop of Cashell (the two last in Ireland), was the son of Joseph Nicolson, Rector of Plumland in Cumberland (*a*), and born [*B*] about the year 1655 (*b*). In 1670, he became a student of Queen's-college in Oxford; and took the degree of Bachelor of Arts February 23, 1675-6 (*c*). Soon after which, his countryman, and perhaps relation, Sir Joseph Williamson, one of the Principal Secretaries of State, sent him to travel into Germany: and that enabled him to give the fine description of that country, which is printed in Pitt's Atlas (*d*) [*C*]. We are told, that he did undergo many and great hardships in his travels: however, that did not hinder him from visiting France also (*e*). July 3, 1679, he took the degree of Master of Arts (*f*), and was chosen Fellow of his college: about which time he became Chaplain to Dr Edward Rainbow, Bishop of Carlisle (*g*), who gave him, November 17, 1681, a Prebend in his church; October 3, 1682, the Archdeaconry of Carlisle; and also the Vicarage of Torpenhoe (*h*) [*D*]. Being a great master of the History and Antiquities of England, he published, in 1696, the first part of his English Historical Library, of which the second and third parts were printed afterwards [*E*]. He published also the Scottish [*F*] and Irish Historical Libraries [*G*]. Upon the death of Dr Thomas Smith, he was promoted in his room to the Bishopric of Carlisle. His *congé d'eslire* bore date May 8, 1702, and he was consecrated June 14th following (*i*). The 23d of the same month of June, he was created by *diploma* Doctor in Divinity at Oxford (*k*). In the year 1717, he had an unhappy contest with Benjamin, then Bishop of Bangor, and afterwards of Winchester [*H*]; which

(*a*) Wood Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 980.

(*b*) For Wood tells us, that he was aged 15 in 1670. Ibid.

(*c*) Idem Fasti, Vol. II. col. 198.

(*d*) Wood Ath. as above.

(*e*) Ibid.

(*f*) Idem, Fasti, col. 211.

(*g*) Idem Ath. ut supra.

(*h*) Survey of the Cathedrals, &c. by Br. Willis, Esq; Vol. I. p. 302, 307, 309.

(*i*) Br. Willis, in the same volume, p. 302.

(*k*) Catal. of Graduats.

[*A*] *Nicolson.*] Thus he writ his name, as appears from his works; and not *Nicholson*, with an *h*. And indeed the writing of it so is an impropriety; for the word Nicolas from whence Nicolson is formed, in Greek, [from which 'tis derived,] is written Νικόλαος, and not Νιχόλαος. This observation may by some be reckoned too minute; but exactness and propriety are commendable qualifications in every writer.

[*B*] *And born.*] Walter Harris, Esq; informs us (1), that he was born at Orton in Cumberland.

[*C*] *And that enabled him to give the fine description of that country, which is printed in Pitt's Atlas.*] The share our learned Author had in that work, is as follows. In the 1st. Volume, printed at Oxford in 1680. fol. the Description of Poland, and of Denmark were drawn up by him. In the 2d. Volume, printed at the same place in 1681. fol. he composed the Description of part of the Empire of Germany, viz the Upper and Lower Saxony, the Dukedoms of Mecklenburgh Bremen, Magdeburgh, &c. the Marquisates of Brandenburgh and Misnia, with the Territories adjoyning the Palatinate of the Rhine, and the Kingdom of Bohemia The 3d Volume, which he also compiled, contains a Description of the remaining part of the Empire, viz Schwabenn, the Palatinate of Bavaria, Archdukedome of Austria, Kingdom of Hungary, Principality of Transilvania, the Circle of Westphalia; with the neighbouring Provinces. Oxford. 1683. fol.

[*D*] *And also the Vicarage of Torpenhoe.*] Walter Harris, Esq; styles him Vicar of Bienerhasset in the Diocese of Carlisle (2): But that is only a Hamlet, or Village, in the parish of Torpenhoe

[*E*] *Of which the second and third Parts were printed afterwards.*] The second part was first printed in 1697. and the third part in 1699. A second Edition of all these Three Parts together, *corrected and augmented*, was published in 1714. in a thin folio. But the Scottish Historical Library was not reprinted with them, as is asserted in the General Dictionary (3).

[*F*] *He published also the Scottish.*] It was published in 1702. 8vo. under this title, 'The Scottish 'Historical Library: Containing a Short View and 'Character of most of the Writers, Records, Registers, Law-Books, &c. which may be serviceable to 'the Undertakers of a General History of Scotland, 'down to the Union of the two Kingdoms in King 'James the VI. with an Appendix.' To it is prefixed a long Preface, which is almost word for word the same as a Pamphlet published by our Author in 1702. 4to. and intituled, 'A Letter to the Reverend 'Dr White Kennet, D. D. in defence of the English 'Historical Library: Against the unmannerly and 'slanderous Objections of Mr Francis Atterbury, 'Preacher at the Rolls, in his new Theory of the 'Rights, Powers, and Privileges of an English Convocation.'

[*G*] *And Irish Historical Library.*] This was not published 'till 1724. at Dublin, 8vo. after our learned Author's translation to the Bishopric of Derry. The title of it is, 'The Irish Historical Library. Pointing at most of the Authors and Records in Print or 'Manuscript, which may be serviceable to the Compilers of a General History of Ireland.' With an Appendix; containing, an Account of several antient Irish Historians, Annals, &c. referr'd to by Dr Keating; a Translation of the Irish Preface, to Mr Lhuyd's Irish Dictionary; and of the Welsh Preface to his Glossography, &c.——Walter Harris, Esq; observes, that our Author 'fell into many Errors in this last 'work, for want of sufficient acquaintance with the 'Irish manuscripts and language: But, notwithstanding that, (adds he) much Thanks are due to him, 'for the extraordinary pains he took to inform himself about the materials, which may be had for improving Irish History (4).'

It must be confessed indeed, that not only the *Irish*, but also the *English* and *Scottish* Historical Libraries, abound with Mistakes: Though it is true, that a Work of that infinite Variety, and wherein such Numbers of Books are mentioned and characteriz'd without the Author's having an Opportunity of examining them All himself, cannot be suppos'd to be exempt from Faults. With regard to MSS. the mistakes are excusable. But they are not so with respect to printed, and common, Books. And yet even in these, our learned Author is frequently mistaken. We shall only instance in two very common Chronicles, *Holinshed*'s, and *Hall*'s. He saith (5), that 'all that is left out, 'or *castrated*, in Holinshed's Chronicle, relates to 'Royal Grants in favour of the Lord Cobham, and 'his Ancestors.' Whereas of 39 sheets that are castrated, or left out, there are only about seven and a half relating to the Cobham-family, and they do not appear in 1586, or 1587 *, to have been in disgrace.— Next, the Character he gives of Hall's Chronicle is injurious, and not according to truth. 'If the Reader, 'says he, desires to know what sort of cloaths were 'worn in each King's reign, and how the fashions alter'd this is an Historian for his purpose; but in 'other matters his information is not very valuable.' On the contrary, persons that have throughly examined it, have found, that it is equal in value and authority to our Records ——And the Character he gives of many other Authors is not free from prejudice.

[*H*] *In the year 1717, he had an unhappy contest with Benjamin, then Bishop of Bangor, &c.*] This Dispute was Accidentally occasioned by the Bangorian controversy, as it was then called; that is, the Controversy raised by the Bishop of Bangor's Sermon, preached before the King, March 31, 1717, on John xviii. 36, and intituled, *The Nature of the Kingdom, or Church, of Christ.* For, Dr Snape, in his *Second Letter to the Bishop of Bangor* (6), having addres'd himself to him thus,—'I pray recollect yourself, and 'put these plain Questions home to your conscience: 'Whether your *Absolutely*'s and *Properly*'s, and such 'like evasive words, were not omitted in your Sermon, as it was *originally composed*? Whether you 'did

(1) In his supplementary account of the Archbishops of Cashell, in Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. I. p. 488. edit. Dublin, 1739, fol.

(2) Ubi supra.

(3) Under the article NICHOLSON [WILLIAM].

(4) Sir James Ware's Works, as above, Vol. I, p. 296.

(5) English Histor. Libr. edit. 1714, p. 71.

* When that Chronicle was printed.

(6) P. 40.

which did not turn to the honour of one or both of them. However, that dispute was said to have been the cause of Bishop Nicolson's removal to Ireland; namely, his translation to the see of Londonderry, by letters patent dated the 2d of May, 1718. While he continued in that Bishoprick, he built an apartment near his garden at Derry for the preservation of the manuscripts and records relating to that see. On the 28th of January, 1726-7, he was translated to the Archbishoprick of Cashell, and made Primate of Munster, in the room of Dr William Palliser. But he dyed suddenly at Derry the 13th of February following, having enjoyed his last dignity but a few days (*l*). He was confessedly a man of very great learning; to whom the world is much indebted, not only for what he has published in Antiquity, but in universal Sciences (*m*) [*I*].

(*l*) The Works of Sir James Ware, with improvements by Walter Harris, Esq; Dublin, 1739, fol. Vol. I. p. 296, 448.

(*m*) Br. Willis, as above, p. 302.

' did not *before it was preach'd* shew it a certain Person (7) without such limitations? And whether you ' was not with Difficulty prevail'd upon by him, to ' insert them by way of caution? If you think fit to ' answer the world in the *Negative*, I engage that a ' person of unquestionable Veracity, of as high and ' sacred a Station as your Lordship (8), will charge ' himself with the proof of the Affirmative '—This produc'd a very angry Advertisement from the Bishop of Bangor, June 28, wherein he solemnly averr'd, ' That the words mentioned as evasive words, not only were in the Sermon originally, but were intended ' and designed to be so; that he did *not*, before it ' was preach'd, shew it to any person in the world, ' either *with*, or *without*, such limitations;' and called upon Dr Snape, either to make public reparation, or to produce immediately that worthy person of the same *high and sacred station*. Whereupon Dr Snape published an Advertisement, June 29, wherein he declared, that he ' First received that account from ' a worthy Divine (9), who assur'd him, he heard the ' Lord Bishop of Carlisle declare, That he had spoke ' with the person who advis'd my Lord of Bangor, ' upon reading his Sermon, to insert such words as ' *Absolutely*, &c. That some days after, the same ' Divine did again assure him, he had heard the same ' worthy Prelate, a second time declare that matter to ' be true, and that he would justify it to all the ' world, &c.' To this Advertisement Bishop Nicolson subscribed, *This is true* W. Carliol. Upon that, Bishop Hoadley put out a flaming Advertisement, to which Bishop Nicolson replied in another, wherein he hath these words.— ' I never did affirm, that the ' words *Absolutely, Properly*, &c. were inserted in his ' Sermon, by *way of Caution*, before it was *Preach'd*; ' but that before it was *Publish'd*, they were *so* insert- ' ed, I did (and do still) verily believe.'——And, soon after, Dr White Kennett, Dean of Peterburgh, was named, as the Person to whom Bishop Hoadley had shewn his Sermon before he Preach'd it; who had advis'd him to put in some limitations; and who had told Bishop Nicolson so. But Dr Kennett declared in a letter to his Lordship, ' That he had no manner of ' correspondence with the Bishop of Bangor about the ' Preaching and Publishing his Sermon: That he never ' saw or heard any one paragraph in it, before it came ' out of the press:——And that he must ever declare, ' in the most solemn manner, that he never suggested ' to Bishop Nicolson, nor to any mortal man, that the ' Sermon was preached with his knowledge, or sub- ' mitted to his correction.' On the contrary, Bishop Nicolson declared in the most solemn manner, That Dr Kennett had actually told him so, in his study (viz. Dr Kennett's). All this is contain'd in a pamphlet publish'd by Bishop Nicolson, under the title of, ' A ' Collection of Papers scatter'd lately about the ' Town in the Daily Courant, St James's Post, &c. ' with some Remarks upon them. In a Letter from ' the Bishop of Carlile to the Bishop of Bangor.' Lond. 1717, 8vo.

(7) i. e. Dr Kennett.

(8) Meaning Bishop Nicolson.

(9) Dr Hutchinson.

[*I*] *Not only for what he has published in Antiquity, but in universal Sciences.*] Besides what hath been already mentioned, he was author of the following things. ' 1. A Sermon preached in the Cathe- ' dral Church of Carlisle, on Sunday the 15th of Fe- ' bruary, 1684, being the next day after King James ' II. was proclaimed King in that City.' On Prov. xxiv. 21. Lond. 1685, 4to.——Besides other Sermons (10). 2 ' A Letter to Mr Obadiah Walker; ' Master of University College, concerning a Runic ' Inscription in the Church of Beucastle in Cumber- ' land.' Dated at Carlisle, Nov. 2, 1685. Published in the Philosophical Transactions, No. 178. 3. ' A Letter to Sir William Dugdale concerning a Runic ' Inscription on the Font at Bridekirk' Dated at Carlisle, Nov. 23, 1685. Published in the same No. —These two Letters are also inserted in Bishop Gibson's Edition of Camden's *Britannia* (11). 4. Bishop Nicolson wrote, likewise, a very learned Latin Epistle to Dr David Wilkins, concerning his new Edition of the Anglo Saxon Laws, Lond. 1721, fol. which is prefixed to that work. 5. And, a Natural History of Cumberland, in Dr Plot's method (12). But it still remains in manuscript. 6. Moreover, he is supposed to be the author of the following piece. ' A true State of the Controversy betwixt the present ' Bishop and Dean of Carlile, touching the Regal ' Supremacy. In a Letter from a Northern Divine ' to a Member of the University of Oxford.' Lond. 1704, 4to. C

(10) See Wood's Ath. as above, col. 980.

(11) Lond. 1722, fol. Vol. II. col. 1007, &c. and col. 1029, &c.

(12) The English Topographer, &c. edit. 1720, 8vo. p. 32.

NORRIS [John], an eminent Mystic Divine, was born about the year 1657 in Wiltshire; his father, a clergyman of good repute [*A*], being first Minister of Collingbourne-Kingston, and thence removed to the rectory of Aubourne or Aldbourne in that county. In the design of breeding this son to his own profession, he sent him to Winchester-school, and thence, at the age of nineteen, to Oxford, where he was entered of Exeter-college in Michaelmas term, 1676 (*a*). Having made a good proficiency in classical learning at school, he applied with greater advantage to the academical studies; wherein, not contenting himself with the lesser systems of the sciences usually taught by tutors in the university, he went to the fountain-head, and took into his hands the ancient great masters of Philosophy, Plato, Xenophon, and Aristotle. Being particularly delighted with the first of these, he studied his works with extraordinary diligence, and drank in his notions with eagerness (*b*). At the regular time, in Act term, June 15, 1680 (*c*), he took his first degree in Arts, and was soon after elected Fellow of All-Souls-college. Having obtained so favourable a situation to his wishes, he indulged his genius in pursuing Plato through all his most abstracted speculations. But being of a melancholy and devout temper (*d*), he was easily led, from the principles of that Philosophy, into the

(*a*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1011.

(*b*) This is evident from his first pieces.

(*c*) Wood's Fasti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 212.

(*d*) See his Essay on Seriousness, and on Contemplation and Love, and his Ode on Melancholy.

[*A*] *A clergyman of good repute.*] He died March 16, 1681, and was buried in the church of Aldbourne, under the reader's desk; a monument was fixt soon after upon the pillar, over-against that desk, with an epitaph written by his son our author (1), who likewise, in 1685, printed a piece left by his father in manuscript, entituled, *A Discourse concerning the pretended Religions, assembling in private Conventicles; wherein the unlawfulness, and unreasonableness of it, are fully evidenced by several Arguments.* 8vo.

(1) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 705.

[*B*] The

the most visionary refinements of the Mystic Theology; and taking up Father Malebranche's *Search after Truth*, which chiefly was at that time in great vogue, he presently became a most zealous disciple of that French Philosopher, and commenced a professed Idealist. The first undertaking which brought the turn of his genius into the notice of the University was, the translation into English of a little piece, then in good esteem among the wits of that place, intituled, *Effigies Amoris* (e), &c. which came out in 1682, in 12mo. under the title of *The Picture of Love unveiled* [B]. He likewise published, *A Translation from the Greek of Hierocles upon the Golden Verses of Pythagoras* (f), the same year in 8vo. He discovered some tincture of his enthusiastic Divinity in his *Idea of Happiness* [C], which was printed the next year (g). In the mean time, he did not bury himself

(e) Ath. Oxon. ubi supra.

(f) There was another translation of it into English, published the same year.

(g) It was afterwards inserted in his Miscellanies. He cites it in a letter concerning Idea, at the end of his Metaphysical Essay towards a Demonstration of God, *from the steady and immutable Nature of Truth, which* was wrote not long after.

[B] *The Picture of Love unveiled.*] The whole title of the original runs thus: *Effigies Amoris, sive quid sit amor efflagitanti responsum.* It was writ by Robert Waryng, a student of Christ Church, and a cavalier, who bore arms in the garrison of Oxford for King Charles I. (2). It was first printed in 1649, in 12mo. from the original copy, by Mr John Birkenhead, at the request of the author, who chose to have his name concealed because of his loyalty, as the publisher informs us. The third edition came out after the Restoration, by William Griffith, who in his *Præloquium* observes, that this author, with Cartwright, Gregory, Digges, and J. Birkenhead, were *Numina Oxonia Tutelaria*, every one having, *Ingenium cœlitus delapsum*, quæ quasi numina dum intra mœnia retinuit sua perstitit Oxonium, nec hostili cedens fraudi, nec infestis inimicorum succumbens armis. In 1668, there was printed a fourth edition of this performance. Mr Norris, in his preface to his translation declares, that he admires the author for his sweetness of fancy, neatness of his stile, and lusciousness of hidden sense: by this last expression our translator discovers his own taste and genius. He must needs have been some time conversant with Plato's writings, and have imbibed that Philosopher's doctrine, with a strong relish, to taste the lusciousness of the hidden sense in this little tract, since the *Effigies Amoris* is a mere philosophical rhapsody, upon the Platonic conceit, *that love is the sole principle in nature*; *Amor mundi, parens rerum ex discordia concentum elaboravit*; *dressed out in the humourous way, something after the manner of the* Moriæ Encomium of Erasmus.

(2) See some account of him in Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 223, 224. where Mr Wood observes, that he was a most excellent Latin and English poet, but a better orator, and reckoned among the great wits of his time in the university.

[C] *Idea of happiness.*] Here he first discovered a tincture of Enthusiasm. He was naturally inclined to melancholy, and indulging himself in the Platonic reveries, he grew exorbitantly fond of the rapturous and mystic theology. *Scire tuum nihil est nisi te scire hoc sciat alter*, says the satirist (3); and being once possessed with the happy illusion, like other inamoratos, his humanity and benevolence would not suffer him to conceal the sweet secret from the world, in the view of shewing others the way to the same blissful fruition; in this spirit he wrote the letter, and intituled his Essay, *An Idea of Happiness*; *in a Letter concerning in what the greatest Happiness attainable by Man in this Life does consist.* Having laid it down, that Happiness consists only in the fruition of God, he proceeds to explain the nature of that fruition, and asserting the insufficiency of a virtuous life to that purpose, as the word Virtue is understood by the Stoicks, Peripatetics, and the generality of other moralists, he takes the word in that higher sense, which frequently occurs in the Pythagorean and Platonic writings, in contemplation and the unitive way of religion. ‘ This, in contradistinction to moral virtue, they call divine virtue; the former is a state of proficiency, the latter of perfection: in the former is a state of difficulty and contention, the latter of ease and security: the former is employed in mastering the passions and regulating the actions of common life, the latter in divine meditation and the extatasies of seraphic love. He that has only the former, is like Moses, with much difficulty climbing up to the holy mount; but he that has the latter, is like the same person conversing with God on the serene top of it, and shining with rays of anticipated glory. This is the last stage of human perfection, the utmost round of the ladder whereby we ascend to heaven, one step higher is glory. ‘ Here then, continues he, will I build my tabernacle, for it is good to be here.’ He then goes on to treat of contemplation, which he takes in a peculiar sense, as it signifies an habitual attentive study, application, and conversion of the spirit to God and his divine perfections. ‘ Of this, says he, the masters of *mystic Theology* commonly make fifteen degrees. The first is intuition of truth; the second is a retirement of all the vigor and strength of the faculties into the innermost parts of the soul. The third is spiritual silence. The fourth is rest. The fifth is union. The sixth is hearing the still voice of God. The seventh is spiritual slumber. The eighth is extasy. The ninth is rapture. The tenth is the corporeal appearance of Christ and the Saints. The eleventh is the imaginary appearance of the same. The twelfth is the intellectual vision of God. The thirteenth is the union of God in obscurity. The fourteenth is an admirable manifestation of God. The fifteenth is a clear and intuitive vision of him, such as St Austin and Thomas Aquinas attribute to St Paul, when he was wrapt into the third heaven. Others of them, continues he, reckon only seven degrees, viz. Taste, Desire, Satiety, Ebriety, Security, Tranquillity, but the name of the seventh, they say, is known only to God. However, he does not agree with the severe Platonists, who finding their master to define contemplation λύσις καὶ χωρήσις τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπὸ σώματος, a solution and separation of the soul from the body, understood it literally and absolutely; yet he says there are exceeding great measures of abstraction in it; so great, that sometimes, whether a man be in the body or out of the body, he himself can hardly tell; and consequently the soul in these præludiums of death, these neighbourhoods of separation, must needs have higher glimpses and beatific ideas of God, than in a state void of these elevations, and consequently must love him with greater ardency. This brings him to consider this love, which he will have to be not only intellectual, but passionate; the motion of the will being accompanied with a sensible commotion of the spirits, and an estuation of the blood; and animadverting on an argument against this opinion, it is not, says he, all the sophistry of the cold logicians that shall work me out of the belief of what I feel and know, and rob me of the sweetest entertainment of my life, the passionate love of God; whatever some men may pretend, who are strangers to all the affectionate heats of religion, and therefore make their Philosophy a plea for their indevotion, and extinguish all holy ardors with a syllogism. Yea, I am firmly persuaded, that our love of God may be not only passionate, but exceeding the love of women: he endeavours to prove this from the use of church-musick, and maintains, that though the beauty of God be not the same with that which we see in corporeal beings, and as it comes intellectually, cannot directly fall within the sphere of the imagination, yet it is something analogous to it, and that very analogy is enough to excite a passion; he concludes with describing the nature and force of seraphic love, which is to love God with the utmost capacity of a mortal creature in this life, when a man, after having many degrees of abstraction from the animal life, many a profound and steady meditation upon the excellencies of God, sees such a vast ocean of beauty and perfection, that he loves him to the utmost stretch of his power. *When he sits under his shadow with great delight, and his fruit is sweet to his taste* (4). When he consecrates and devotes himself wholly to him, and has no passion for inferior objects. When he is ravished with delights of his service, and breathes out some of his soul to him in every prayer. When he is delighted with the anthems of praise and adoration more than marrow and fatness (5), and feasts upon hallelujahs. When he melts into a calenture of devotion, and his soul breaketh out with fervent desires. When the one thing he delights in is to converse with God in the beauty of holiness, and the one thing he desires is to see him in heaven. This is seraphic love, and this with contemplation, make up that which the mystic Divines stile the unitive way of religion. By union, he does not understand that which

(3) Persius.

(4) Canticles ii, iii.

(5) Psalm cxix.

felf fo entirely in thefe abftracted ideas, as not to obferve or be affected with what paffed in the world. Upon the difcovery of the Rye-Houfe plot, and feveral perfons concerned in it, he publifhed a piece, intituled, *A Murnival of Knaves, or Whiggifm plainly difplayed, and burlefqued out of countenance.* He likewife attacked the Calviniftic Diffenters, in another tract written in Latin, and printed this year with the following title: *Tractatus adverfus Reprobationis Abfolutæ Decretum nova methodo & fuccinctiffimo compendio adornatus, & in duos libros digeftus*, 8vo. To the end of the third chapter of the fecond book is inferted a declamation, fpoken in the publick fchools, commending the Roman Senate for banifhing all Mathematicians (*b*) out of their dominions. This was apparently part of the academical exercife for his degree of Mafter of Arts, which he proceeded accordingly to take April 22, 1684, and entered into Holy Orders not long afterwards (*i*); and the fame year he publifhed the firft edition of his Mifcellanies, under the title of *Poems and Difcourfes occafionally written.* The celebrated Dr Henry More of Cambridge had been now many years at the head of the myftic divines in England; all his writings had been greedily devoured by our author, who had thereby conceived the higheft opinion of his abilities; and, being puzzled in his enquiries into fome abftrufe points of Metaphyfics and Moral Philofophy, he took the liberty of communicating his difficulties in a letter to the doctor [*D*] this year, 1684, which begun a correfpondence between them, that ended only in the death of that ingenious divine (*k*). During this literary intercourfe, our author having occafionally advanced fome curious remarks upon the fubject of human liberty, in

(*b*) That is, forcerers and dealers in magic, which are underftood by that appellation in the Roman law.

(*i*) Fafti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 225. and Athen. Oxon. ubi fupra.

(*k*) The letters were printed by Mr Norris at the end of his Theory and Regulation of Love in 1688, Dr More dying the year before.

which is local, nor that of grace, nor yet that of charity; thefe two laft being common to all men who indeed love God, but want the excellency of contemplative and myftic union; the union which thefe fpeak of, is between the faculty and the object, confifting of fome habitude or operation of one towards the other. The faculties are the underftanding and will, and the object God, and the operations contemplation and love; the refult of which two in the myftic union, is thus admirably reprefented by Bifhop Taylor (6). It is, fays he, a prayer of quietnefs and filence, and a meditation extraordinary, a difcourfe without variety, a vifion and intuition of divine excellencies, an immediate entry into an orb of light, and a refolution of all our faculties into fweetnefs, affections, and ftarings upon the divine Beauty, and is carried on to extafies, raptures, fufpenfions, elevations, abftractions, and apprehenfions beatifical.'

[*D*] *A correfpondence upon fome abftrufe points of Metaphyfics and Moral Philofophy*, 1684] Our author opened this correfpondence in an eloquent Latin letter from All-Souls college, dated January 8th, 1684; wherein he applied to Dr More for a refolution of fome difficulties in his *Enchiridion Metaphyficum*, about the nature of fpace, which Mr Norris, it feems, could not readily conceive to be infinitely extended, as this doctor had afferted, becaufe it was a permanent quantity, all whofe parts exifted together, or were co-exiftent; fince to exift, according to all it's parts at once, is to be inclofed within certain limits, as any number, how big foever, is contained under fome certain fpecies of number, and therewithal conceived finite, as the term [all] alfo implies. This is eafily folved by the doctor, who obferves, that his fpace being incorporeal, had properly no parts, and was indifcerpible, and that by *totum* or *all*, was underftood not the comprehenfiblenefs, or limitablenefs, or exhauftibility of the number of the parts, but merely the entirenefs, indefectuoufnefs, or perfection of the thing, or that there is nothing left out of it. It cannot be denied that the difficulty which fo intangled him is really very fhallow and flight, and by no means equal to his ufual fagacity. But if we confider the time when it was made, it will perhaps appear to be no difcredit to his underderftanding: Sir Ifaac Newton had not yet publifhed his *Principia*. Des Cartes was in full poffeffion of authority, and among others, greatly admired by our author's correfpondent (7). But though in the beginning of his addrefs to Dr More, he yields to that doctor's arguments as convincing, that fpace is immobile, extenfible, and diftinct from moveable matter, he could not tell how to apprehend that there fhould be any incorporeal fubftance infinite befides God; a difficulty which has fince puzzled the beft wits, and has put fome upon denying the reality of fpace To this purpofe a late author (8) expreffes himfelf in thefe words, 'Some will fay that we may conceive in fpace 'real diftinction, but not real divifions, that we may 'difcover in it heights, lengths, and breadths, and yet 'no feparable parts, and therefore, though it may be 'partially apprehended, yet it cannot be mentally nor 'really divided. I anfwer, that this is true; becaufe, 'as we fhall fhew, fpace is not a real fubftance; but 'if it were a real fubftance that exifted by diffufion, 'then it would be both mentally and really divifible.' On this principle he afterwards endeavours to demonftrate, that infinite fpace is an abftract idea of the manner according to which bodies exift by extenfion, and yet it has no objective reality without us, but is a mere notion and an *Ens Rationis*, a work of our own thoughts. But to return to Mr Norris, who, it feems, found a particular difficulty in conceiving fpace to be infinite, as being *quantitas permanens*; *aliter, inquit ille, rem fe habere in quantitate fucceffiva, cujus partes exiftunt aliæ poft alias, quæ quoniam poft quantamcunque appofitionem incrementi alterius capax eft, fuo modo cenferi poffit infinita.* To this the doctor anfwers, 'that it is only permanent quantity, and fpiritual and indifcerpible, whofe parts are all at once, that is, capable of abfolute infinity; but as for fucceffive quantity, it is not capable of being infinite, neither *a parte ante*, nor *a parte poft*; but, continues he, your fancy feems unawares to have transferred the property of fucceffive quantity to the permanent, and fo, becaufe, as foon as we can fay of fucceffive quantity there is all of it, it implies certainly there is an end of it, and fo it is finite; fo you feem unawares to have imagined, becaufe it is true of the parts of permanent quantity, that there is all of them at once, therefore they are now exhaufted as the parts of fucceffive quantity were, and therefore are finite; this I think is the fophifm you put upon yourfelf, but you are the beft judge of your own meaning.' Whether the doctor's conjecture was right or no, our author confeffes himfelf fatisfied in the folution of this difficulty, and had fenfe enough to ramble no farther in fpace; and in fo doing, I doubt not his conduct will be applauded by all thofe whofe heads not being difturbed by the vapours, keep aloof from finking in a pit of bottomlefs ideas; but what fhall be faid for our author's ready acquiefcence in the doctor's refolution of his fecond difficulty, about the penetrability of fpirits, where he declares himfelf fatisfied with the notion of effential fpiffitude, or a fourth dimenfion actually exifting in *rerum natura*, befides the three allowed ones of longitude, latitude, and profundity, and by fuch means thefe fubftances can retain themfelves into a leffer *ubi* than they had before. He fubmitted the more willingly to this conceit, from the pious ufe that was made of it in anfwering the objections, and fo forbore to pufh the notion any further, which would have run him into abfurdities equal with thofe of the materialifts or atheiftical Spinozifm. I believe we may venture to lay down this for an indubitable truth, that tho' we are fure that immaterial fubftances do exift, yet the manner of their exiftence is to us at prefent incomprehenfible, which, however, is far from proving it to be impoffible. The moral point upon which thefe letters turn, relates to the pleafure of the venereal contact, or, as it is called by Jof. Scaliger, the 6th Senfe, in which Dr More determines there is no moral turpitude, the confcioufnefs of it not being finful, but only in the grofs indulgence.

(6) In the great Exemplar.

(7) See Dr Henry More's article.

(8) The Chevalier Ramfay, author of the Travels of Cyrus, in a piece intituled, the Philofophical Principles of Natural and Revealed Religion, unfolded in a geometrical order, p. 56. Glafgow, 1748, 4to.

in a sermon preached before the university of Oxford on Midlent Sunday, in 1685, published the discourse (*l*), with a dedication to that gentleman [*E*]. The same year there came out ΚΥΡΟΠΑΙΔΕΙΑ, *or the Institution of Cyrus the Great, written by that famous Philosopher and General* Xenophon *of Athens, and from the original Greek made English; the first four books by* Francis Digby, *late of Queen's-college in Oxford; the four last by* John Norris, *Fellow of All-Souls-college, Oxford.* And King Charles the Second dying this year, our author expressed his grief in a pastoral poem on that occasion (*m*). In 1688, he published *The Theory and Regulation of Love* [*F*]; wherein he advanced some notions contrary to the vulgar sentiments, being entirely new and unblown upon, by the reduction of all virtue and vice to the various modifications of love. In 1689, he was presented to the rectory of

(*l*) He likewise inserted it in the second edition of his Miscellanies in 1687, 8vo.

(*m*) This is likewise printed in the second edition of his Miscellanies.

[*E*] *During this literary intercourse our author published a sermon on the subject of Liberty, and dedicated it to the doctor.*] It is intituled, *The Root of Liberty.* In reality it was intolerably performed, upon this arduous subject he even maintains a flat contradiction. Liberty, says he, cannot lie in the will, because that necessarily follows the dictates of the understanding, and this too necessarily judges as the object appears; hence the immediate subject of freedom, is neither in the soul as volent nor as intelligent; whence the true root of liberty consists, in the advertency or attention of the understanding to the object, which appears to it differently, according to the different degrees of that attention. Here it is evident, as Dr More observes, that he inadvertently falls into the notion which was at first rejected by him, since the advertency or attention is manifestly an act of the will, or of the soul as volent. However he persists finally in his first determination, and indeed both Locke and Limborch have split upon the same rock* And being here summed up in a short compass by our author, it may not be amiss to insert it. 1. A creature void of liberty, cannot be capable of law or obligation, virtue or vice, reward or punishment, is certain. 2. Man is capable of all these, is certain. 3. Man therefore is endowed with liberty, is certain. 4. That liberty is a rational perfection belonging to an intelligent nature, is certain. 5. That therefore this liberty must be subjected either in the understanding or, will; or to speak more properly, in the soul as intelligent, or in the soul as volent, is certain. 6. That it cannot be subjected in that part which acts necessarily, is certain. 7. That the will necessarily follows the dictate of the understanding, or that the soul necessarily wills according as she understands, is certain. 8. That therefore this liberty cannot immediately be subjected in the will or in the soul as volent, is certain. 9. That therefore it must be subjected in the soul as intelligent, is certain 10. That even the soul as intelligent, so far as it acts necessarily, cannot be the immediate subject of liberty, is also certain. 11. That the soul as intelligent, necessarily judges according as the object appears to her, is certain. 12. That therefore the soul, as judging or forming a judgment, can no more be the immediate subject of liberty than the soul as volent, is certain. 13. That since the soul necessarily wills as she judges, and necessarily judges as things appear to her, we have thus far no glimpse of liberty, is certain. 14. That therefore our liberty must be founded upon the no-necessity of some certain things appearing determinately thus or thus, or that we have no liberty at all, is certain. 15. That this appearing thus or thus, unless in self-evident propositions, depends upon the various degrees of advertency or attention, and nothing else, is certain. 16. That therefore we have an immediate power of attending or not attending, or of attending more or less, is certain. 17. That therefore this indifferency of the soul as to attending or not attending, or attending more or less, is the prime root and immediate subject of human liberty, is no less certain: which was the point to be demonstrated. Thus we see he assumes this indifferency as a third principle in the soul, distinct from the will and understanding.

* See Letters between Mr Locke and some of his Friends.

[*F*] *The theory and regulation of love.*] Love was a subject upon which, it seems, Mr Norris had spent the greatest share of his thoughts, and as he had an æthereal genius, which carried him to soar far above the limits of this sublunary world, it is no wonder that we find him stretching beyond the reach of a sound wit by too much thinking; many of the notions of this tract are the same with those in the *Effigies Amoris* abovementioned, particularly in the passage *Lupus agnum, ignis aquam depascitur, nullo odio sed sui conservandi studio, &c.* (9) in which he gives us here the luscious secret of that author, viz. that there cannot be a pure and uninterested malice, though there can be a pure and uninterested charity; since in malice, says he, we necessarily consider another will, as making for our good some way or other, and so willing to it. In the same manner he explains (with that author) self-love, in such a loose sense, as is not only consistent with, but actually comprehends, a perfectly disinterested benevolence. This piece is dedicated to Lady Masham, who, as he here declares, had professed an esteem for some of his former writings; yet this ingenious and learned lady afterwards published a discourse concerning the Love of God, where she attacks an opinion, as she says, maintained by our author in his Practical Discourses, that mankind is obliged directly as his duty, to love with desire nothing but God only, every degree of desire of any creature whatsoever, being sinful, since God, not the creature, is the immediate efficient cause of our sensations: for whatsoever gives us pleasure, has a right to our love, but God only gives us pleasure, therefore he only has a right to our love. It is true, the bad consequences of such a scheme are represented in a strong light by that ingenious lady, but perhaps with too much hastiness is ascribed to Mr Norris, who, in this tract, expresly defends the lawfulness of all sensual pleasure, and our desire of it, in the following words: 'I add, that even 'the grossest pleasures of sense is one of the remotest participations of God; for it must be 'granted to be at least a natural good, and every particular good, be what it will, is a ray and emanation of the universal good, but now nothing of 'God can be simply and absolutely evil. And besides 'that, I consider in the human frame, God has prepared organs and instruments for the use of sensual 'pleasure, and that he has also given us natural appetites to it, whereby it appears that God has provided gratifications for the animal, as well as the divine life, and though this is chiefly to be nourished, 'yet the other is not to be starved: for it is a tree 'of God's own planting, and therefore the fruit of 'it may be good for food, as well as fine to the eye, 'for there can be nothing entirely evil in the paradise 'of God, as it is finally made out by the excellent Dr '[Henry] More, in several places of his *Conjectura 'Cabalistica,* where the reader may find this argument copiously and very ingeniously managed.' Mr Norris, in 1690, published a piece, intituled, *Reflections upon the Conduct of Human Life, with reference to the Study of Learning and Knowledge; in a Letter to the Excellent Lady, the Lady Masham,* 8vo, where, in the dedication, he speaks of that lady as being then blind, which Mr Locke, who then lived at her house, made himself merry with, at our author's expence, as has been already observed (10). We must not omit, that some years before these letters cited in the margin passed, our author published his *Treatise of Christian Blessedness, or a Discourse upon the Beatitudes of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ;* to which he subjoined *cursory Reflections upon a Book called, An Essay concerning Human Understanding,* which he afterwards prosecuted more largely in the *Second or relative Part of his Essay of the Ideal World, wherein the intelligible World is considered, with relation to Human Understanding, whereof some Account is here attempted and proposed.* Edit. 1704. 8vo. Mr Molyneux made the following censure on the Reflections, &c. in a letter to Mr Locke, dated December 22, 1692; 'Mr Norris's unfortunate attempts, says he, on your book, sufficiently testifies it's validity; and truly I think he trifles so egregiously, that I think he should forwarn all men how they criticize on your work.' However, Mr Norris, to the second edition of *Christian Blessedness with the Reflections,* subjoined a reply to the Remarks made upon them by the Athenian Society; which was printed in 1692 (11).

(9) Effigies Amoris, p. 85.

(10) Viz. in Mr William Molyneaux's article. See the Letters between Mr Locke and several of his Friends, under the year 1699.

(11) This was left out in the third edition.

[*G*] Drew

of Newton St Loe in Somersetshire (*n*); upon which occasion he entered into matrimony, and resigned his fellowship at All-Souls-college; and the same year he gave the publick another treatise, entituled, *Reason and Religion, or the Grounds and Measures of Devotion considered, from the Nature of God and the Nature of Man; in several Contemplations; with Exercises of Devotion applied to every Contemplation*, 8vo. This was followed the next year, 1690, by his *Reflections upon the Conduct of Human Life, with reference to the Study of Learning and Knowledge (o), in a Letter to the excellent Lady, the Lady Masham*. This address was occasioned by that lady's having expressed a good esteem for some of his writings; and he here repays the compliment with such attestations of her Ladyship's worth and learning as were justly her due. But this drawing him into a suitable condolence of her misfortune in the supposed loss of her eye-sight, which was a mistake, furnished his antagonist Mr Locke, who then resided with her Ladyship, with a subject for some mirthful raillery (*p*). In this piece our author had dropped some expressions, which, being understood by the Quakers to favour their opinions, drew him into a dispute with an eminent person of that sect [*G*]; in the course of which, he wrote two treatises

(*n*) See the title of the following piece, where he stiles himself Rector of that parish.

(*o*) To this is subjoined a Visitation Sermon, preached at the abbey church at Bath, July 30, 1689.

(*p*) See the article of MOLYNEUX [WILLIAM], in remark [*P*].

[*G*] *Drew him into a dispute with an eminent person of that sect.*] In speaking of the light within, as untowardly represented by the Quakers, he says, 'The thing itself rightly understood, is true, and if any shall yet call it Quakerism or Enthusiasm, that it is such Quakerism as makes a good part of St John's Gospel, and St Austin's Works.' And so again, in his postscript he declares, that 'If the Quakers understood their own notion, and knew how to explain it, it would not differ from his.' Mr Vickeris an eminent Quaker, endeavoured to make an advantage of this, supposing it greatly befriended the cause of Quakerism, as implying a sort of confession to their principles; and that the difference would only be *in terminis*: this suggestion much nettled our author, it touched him in a tender point, What, should his darling hypothesis be brought into the scandal of Quakerism? 'Is the man, says he, in good earnest, or does he think that he writes to one that understands not what belongs to consequences? What, does the general truth of any notion rightly stated, infer the truth of this, or that particular way of explaining it? If Mr Vickeris had but been at the pains to deck himself with a little more of that corrupt wisdom, called Logic, he would never have imposed on himself, nor have offered to impose upon me such womanish consequences as these.' As our author, in this postscript, states the differences between his notion of the divine light, and the Quaker's light within, by the advantage of an immediate contrast, conveys a clearer idea of both, and that also in fewer words, than is easily met with elsewhere; we shall gratify our reader with a sight of them. They are therefore as follow.

1. 'The Quakers usually talk of this light within, as of some divine communication or manifestation only; whereas, I make it to be the very essence and substance of the Deity, which I suppose virtually to contain all things in it, and to be intimately united to our minds. 2. The Quakers represent this light within, as a sort of extraordinary inspiration, whence they have the name of Enthusiasts; whereas, I suppose it to be a man's natural and ordinary way of understanding. 3. The Quakers, if I mistake not, confine their light within to some certain objects, namely, moral, and spiritual truths, in order only to the direction of practice; and accordingly make it a supplement to Scripture, which they say is not sufficient without it, nor indeed any more than a meer dead letter; but now I don't appropriate this divine light to moral or spiritual things, but extend it as far as all truth; yea, as far as all that is intelligible, which I suppose to be perceived or understood in this divine light, as I have explained it. 4. The Quakers make their light within, a special privilege of a certain order of men, their own party; not, indeed, as to the possibility, because they suppose all men to be indifferently capable of this divine illumination, as may appear from their contending against predestination, and for universal grace: but though they don't make it a special privilege as to the possibility, yet they do as to the act, making none but those of their own way to be actually enlightened by it: whereas, according to my principles, this is no special privilege, but the common and universal benefit of all men, yea of all the intelligent creation, who all see and understand in this light of God, without which there would be neither truth nor understanding. 5. The Quakers by their light within understand some determinate formed dictate or proposition, expresly and positively directing and instructing them to do so or so; whereas my light is only the essential truth of God, which, indeed, is always present to my understanding, as being intimately united with it; but does not formally enlighten or instruct me, but when I attend to it and consult it and read what is written in those divine ideal characters. 6. And lastly, the Quakers do not offer any rational or intelligible account of their light within, neither as to the thing, nor as to the mode of it, but only cant in some loose general expressions about the light, which they confirm with the authority of St John's Gospel, though they understand neither one nor t'other; whereas I have opened a natural, distinct, and philosophical way of explaining both, namely, by the omniformity of the ideal world, or the divine Λογὸς, who has in himself the essences and ideas of all things, and in whom the same are perceived by us, and by all creatures. In another tract (12) our author endeavours to shew, that the absurdity of the Quakers explanation of this light, consists chiefly in their making it created and material; and yet he quotes Mr Barclay as asserting, that though it is not the Godhead itself, yet it is a middle nature betwixt the Godhead, mankind, and angels; and tho' it is of the substance of that natural body which was conceived in Mary, yet is it celestial, and came down from heaven, and not his body of flesh and blood, and in the next place as to the materiality; though Mr Barclay holds the seed to be a measure, or portion of that celestial body of the eternally begotten Λόγος, or Christ; yet in representing the manner of this light within, he says, the seed is the same in us as in Christ; and therefore this being in us, the man Christ is in us, not according to his manhood, but according to that which is proper unto it, and yet without all division, as the natural life is in all the members, but more especially in the head and heart without division; so this spiritual light and nature is both in Christ our head, and in us by which he dwelleth in us, as the spirit of a man doth in the body (13). Now surely, as matter so constituted as to be capable of being in two or more persons at once without division, cannot be denied to be raised so far above the nature of ordinary matter, that the unknown properties of the one, are not to be determined by the known properties of the other; nor, indeed, can we judge at all, or decide any thing about the nature of the first, which is manifestly incomprehensible, from what we see and know of the nature and properties of the latter; neither ought this incomprehensibility of the notion be any just objection or prejudice to it with Mr Norris, who allows, that in his own notion, the multifarious ideas of particular beings are not of the essence of God; which, however he maintains to be absolutely clear, is, though true, yet incomprehensible to us, as the divine immensity is without extension, the truth of which he also asserts. Observe, that he also allows the possibility, and even suggests the probability, of the Quaker's doctrine concerning Christ's spiritual body; neither will his proofs of the absurdity, that the Quaker's light within should be a principle of wisdom and knowledge, be thought very conclusive from their allowing it to be a creature, and a material creature; since all the proof he brings for the impossibility of the first, is founded upon an assertion, that no creature, though never so glorious and excellent,

(12) The Grossness of the Quakers Principle, p. 11.

(13) Barclay's Apology, p. 130.

treatises concerning the Divine Light: the first being *An Answer to a Letter of a learned Quaker, which he is pleased to call* A just Reprehension to John Norris, for his unjust Reflections on the Quakers, in his book intituled, *the Conduct of Human Life.* The second being *A Discourse concerning the Grossness of the Quakers notion of the Light within, and their Confusion and Inconsistency in explaining it.* This was published in 1692; and he had also published a controversial piece the preceding year on the following occasion: Not long after the Act of Toleration had passed in the latter end of the year 1689, he printed *Christian Blessedness, or Discourses upon the Beatitudes of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ* (*q*), in a large 8vo, in which, having charged the Nonconformists with being guilty of schism, that imputation gave some offence; whereupon, in 1691, he published *The Charge of Schism continued* [*H*]; *being a Justification of the Author of Christian Blessedness, for his charging the Separatists with Schism, notwithstanding the Toleration Act: in a Letter* to

(*q*) To this he subjoined Cursory Reflections upon a book called An Essay [by Mr Locke] concerning Human Understanding.

excellent, can ever be a light to the mind of man and furnish it with ideas; because to do this it must have the full perfection of being, so as to have the ideas of all things, and be an universal representation, which no creature can possibly have; an assertion which presupposes the truth of his own hypothesis, that we see all things in God; whereas, we have already produced a very thinking author (14), who maintains that finite, or, which is the same, created beings, may have a power communicated to them of furnishing ideas to the soul of man, and that not only spiritual and immaterial, but also material creatures; which last removes the other absurdity charged upon the Quakers, from the materiality of their light: and, indeed, upon this last point our author rather declaims than argues, treating the common scholastic solution, that sensible objects, or corporeal emanations, are rendered intelligible by the *intellectus agens*, as a mere romance, and contents himself with observing, that this hypothesis rests upon this single bottom, the transmutability of material into immaterial ideas, which he declares is as much a mystery as the other, and doubts not but they are both absurdities. Indeed, he cannot, without destroying the bottom of his own hypothesis, infer their absurdity from their mysteriousness, or surpassing his understanding. Besides, Mr Ramsay has invented another solution of this difficulty, without the help of the *intellectus agens*, by making matter itself indued with an active force, so as to impress those modifications or ideas upon the soul; yet this author allows his own notion to be a mystery. Indeed, all our attempts to give an account of the manner how the soul receives ideas from impressions upon the body arising from their union, will always remain so much a mystery to us, that the best way is to sit down contented with Mr Locke, in our own ignorance. We must not conclude this remark, long as it is, without clearing Mr Norris from an imputation which may be thrown out, and is the more dangerous and hurtful, as the ground of it comes from a person celebrated no less for his modesty and candor, than his learning and ingenuity; I mean the author of *Reflections upon Learning*, who in the place abovecited, gives Mr Norris his due encomium, of having set off Mr Mallebranche's opinion with all the advantages of beauty of stile, and perspicuity of expression, and allows that he has distinguished himself from the Quakers. 'Yet in another thing, says he, there is too great an 'agreement, that these men have too low a value for 'human learning, either as it lies in our common 'books, or in the book of nature, in respect of this 'light, which displays itself from the ideal world, by 'attending to which with pure and defecated minds, 'they suppose knowledge to be the most easily had. 'Experience and deductions have been formerly 'esteemed useful, but in this compendious way to 'knowledge, provided we make our approaches with 'our souls purged, and with due preparation of mind, 'there needs little more than application and attention (15).' Now, so far is Mr Norris from falling under this censure, that he makes his necessary and eternal truths not only the proper objects of contemplation, but of science. He allows science to be the most perfect intellectual habit, and professedly exalts the reputation of rational studies beyond those of histories, and any matters of fact; preferring those which procure clearness of thought and exactness of judgment (16); and that by science and the rational studies, he does not exclude the sciences as they lie in common books. In the acquiring of which, experience and deductions of reason are useful, will appear by and by. For as our author was blamed on one hand for too great an agreement with the Quakers, for having too low a value for human learning; so was he calumniated by the Quakers themselves for too greatly disagreeing from them, by setting too high a value upon human learning. 'Art thou not decking thyself 'with thy corrupt wisdom? (says Mr Vickeris to him) 'which is the forbidden fruit, and will prove folly in 'the end (17).' In answer to which, our author supposing Philosophy and the study of the Sciences to be meant by his antagonist, writes thus, 'Now, though 'I not only grant, but in a treatise purposely written 'upon this subject, have expresly contended, and, if 'I mistake not, fully demonstrated, that, considering 'the present state of man, the study of learning and 'knowledge is no further allowable than is conducive 'to the moralizing of his life, and that all prosecution of it beyond, or beside this end, is an immoderate and blameable curiosity; yet, I hope, as far as 'it is apt to serve the interest of a good life, there is 'no reason to disallow or condemn it, though it be 'not to be allowed any farther; yet I think it may, 'and must be allowed so far; and herein, I think, I 'state the measure of prosecuting learning and knowledge in a due mean, betwixt the extreme of those 'over inquisitive spirits on the one hand, who set no 'limits to their curiosity, and those narrow and contracted ones on the other, who confine it too straitly; 'condemning all humane learning in gross, under the 'reproachful appellations of *carnal reason, corrupt 'wisdom, vain philosophy*, and the like; under which 'characters, I think, it ought not to be represented, 'as far as it is apt to serve and minister to the interests of religion and a good life, and that it may be 'serviceable to that purpose I might undertake to 'shew; but that the excellent Mr Boyle has saved me 'the trouble, in a late treatise upon this very subject, 'called the *Christian Virtuoso*. He then proceeds to 'expose the petulancy of his adversary's railing, who 'allows himself, that the divine light assists the natural faculty of the soul in the attainment of arts and 'sciences (18). And admonishes the reader, that under the words application and attention to the 'light that displays itself in the ideal world, he 'comprehends the usual methods of studying the arts 'and sciences as it lies in our common books, the objects of which being eternal truths, and consequently placed in the ideal world, display themselves to the mind by this method of application (that 'is, by experience and deduction of reasoning), as 'well as by that of pure contemplation.'

[*H*] *The charge of schism continued, notwithstanding the Toleration*] As far as may be judged from his writings, our author was of the Tory party, at least in the Church, as well as his father had been. In this principle, on the discovery of the Fanatic-plot in 1683, he published a piece intituled, *A Murnival of Knaves, or Whiggism displayed and burlesqued out of Countenance.* But this principle flames out with the strongest ardour, in the dedication of his Miscellanies, in 1687, to Dr Leopold Finch, Warden of All Souls-college, to whom he addresses himself in these terms: 'Sir, it is by your kind patronage and protection (next to the favourable influences of a good Prince) that our studies prosper, and our laurels thrive and flourish, and that any of us are in a capacity to throw in the least symbol into the Muses Exchequer.' And he acted steadily upon the same principles after the Revolution, as appears by the treatise above, to which this remark is set.

(14) Mr Ramsay, ubi supra.

(15) Baker's Reflections on Learning, in the chapter of Metaphysics.

(16) Theory of the Ideal World, p. 374, 375, 376.

(17) Just Reproaches to J. Norris, &c. p. 9. edit. 1692, 8vo.

(18) Treatise concerning the Divine Light, p. 12, 13, 14.

to a City Friend, 8vo. Soon after this, he was presented to the rectory of Bemerton near Salisbury (*r*), a living of between two and three hundred pounds a year. By this prefer ment his revenues were handsomely augmented, which was the more acceptable, as his family began to grow numerous; and, the parochial duty being easy, he continued to employ the press, in printing *Practical Discourses upon several subjects*; the third volume of which came out in 1693 (*s*). And in 1695 there appeared *Letters concerning the Love of God, between the author of the Proposal to the Ladies and Mr* John Norris: *wherein his late Dif-course, shewing that it ought to be entire, and exclusive of all other loves, is further cleared and justified* (*t*). The lady here intimated was the famous Mrs Mary Astell, author of *A Serious Proposal to the Ladies, for the Advancement of their true and greatest Interest*, and some other pieces (*u*). This opinion of Mr Norris was also attacked by Lady Masham, in *A Discourse concerning the Love of God*, in 1696. To which our author returned an answer, subjoined to the fourth volume of his Practical Discourses, in 1698, 8vo. He had the preceding year, by way of answer to Mr Toland's book, intituled *Christianity not mysterious*, published his *Account of Reason and Faith, in relation to the Mysteries of Christianity* [*I*]. After this, he spent seven years in composing his capital piece in Philosophy; the first part of which being finished in 1701, he published it under the title of *An Essay towards*

(*r*) See the inscription on his monument in remark [O].

(*s*) The first volume came out in 1691, and the second in 1692.

(*t*) The second edition of these letters, corrected by the author, with some few additions, came out in 1705, 8vo.

(*u*) [illegible] case. The Christian Religion, as professed by a Daughter of the Church of England. Both 8vo. See an account of her in the Memoirs of several learned Ladies of Great Britain, by George Ballard, 1752, 8vo.

[*I*] *An account of reason and faith, &c.*] It is well known, that in the common systems of Logic, the operations of the understanding are described to be simple apprehension, judgment, and discourse; our author in this treatise, after Des Cartes and Pere Mallebranche denies the truth of this division, and maintains that judgment is not an operation of the understanding, but of the will. Nothing, says he, belongs to the understanding but perception; judgment then cannot belong to it, because judgment is not perception; for we are said to judge as we perceive, and some are so much in haste, that they will judge before they perceive; which plainly shews them to be two different things. He then produces the following argument for a demonstration. Judgment is a fallible thing, which may either be true or false; whereas perception is always true, it being a contradiction that it should be otherwise, for what a man does not truly perceive, he does not perceive at all: I conclude, therefore, that judgment is not perception; and since perception is the only operation of the understanding, I conclude again, that judgment does not belong to the understanding; it must therefore belong to the will, which is the proper seat both of judgment and error too. And it is nothing else but the will's consenting to, and acquiescing in, the representations that are made by the understanding. No where does our author justly incur the censure of an egregious trifler more than in this reasoning. Indeed, so very childishly playing with words could not escape his own notice, after he has drawn out what he calls a new form of the several ways in which the understanding operates, and reduced these into three, exactly as the logicians do, only in other words, calling the first simple perception, the second complex perception immediate, called *judicium* in logic, and the third complex perception mediate, called *discursus*. He rests in this as a right account of the operations of the understanding, both as to matter and form, and then conscious that so much of nothing stood in need of an extraordinary puff to blow it out into the appearance of something, he makes the following eulogium of this great work of his own creative understanding. 'The knowledge of this, says he, considering 'how much spirit is above body, though it were only 'a piece of speculation or curiosity, I should think of 'greater worth and consideration, than that of the 'properties of lines and figures, nay, or any of the 'phænomena of nature.' However contemptible this whole matter is, both in it's utility, and in the burlesque exaltation of it's excellence, yet it is not so much above comprehension, as it is also beneath notice; but in the sequel of this discourse, we find him following the same leader, Father Mallebranche, into the intelligible world, where he immediately becomes unintelligible. The passage I mean is in his 4th chapter, where he undertakes to shew that human reason is not the measure of truth, a proposition easily proved by any ordinary capacity, which yet in that philosophy which maintains also the particular essences of created bodies to be in God, and that our reason perceives them in him, streight becomes incomprehensible and unintelligible in the explanation; thus, in order to demonstrate the proposition, it was judged absolutely necessary, to represent the infinite nature and extent of truth, this leads into the divine ideas, the region of truth, and this begets, unavoidably, a distinction of those ideas into two sorts, the absolute, and the relative; those that are of the essence of God, as in himself, and those that are of the same divine essence, as it is in relation to creatures. The first infinite and incomprehensible, the second finite and comprehensible; for an instance, he produces the divine immensity and extension. The idea of the first [immensity] is of the essence of God absolutely, being no other than the substance of God universally diffused, and filling all places, yet without any local extension. But the idea of extension, or that perfection in God, which virtually, eminently, and *modo intelligibili* answers to extension, and therefore is frequently called by Mr Mallebranche, *l'etendüe intelligible*, is of the substance of God, as it is representative of matter or body, and imitable or participable by it, according to those limitations and imperfections which belong to that kind of being, and which are represented by this it's idea. Now, though the sum total of all this metaphysical jargon, amounts to no more than that we have a clear idea of finite extension, which indeed is the object of Geometry; yet wrapt up as it is here, in a cloud of words without meaning, it is made incomprehensible and obscure. Our author himself, it seems, was aware of it, where he concludes with the following extraordinary observation. 'I know not, says he, whether I express 'myself to the conception of every reader, but I am 'sufficiently clear and intelligible to myself, and who-'ever is not much wanting either in metaphysics or 'in attention, cannot, I think, well miss my mean-'ing.' He was certainly in the right in his apprehension of his not having expressed himself to the conception of every reader, Mr Locke (19) animadverts on this part of Mallebranche's hypothesis, as advancing that absurd inconsistency of making the vast variety of ideas or essences of particular things to be contained in the perfect simplicity of God's essence; nor indeed is the matter mended at all by the word eminently, *eminenter*, a term invented by the schoolmen, whose art lay in mocking their own understanding by words without meaning. After all, we must do our author the justice to observe, that as far as he keeps clear of Father Mallebranche, so far he reasons justly, and expresses his reasons with admirable perspicuity, and nobody hath better laid open the popular objection of the Deists against believing mysteries: that faith is an act of reason, and that we cannot believe beyond our reason. In doing of this he claims Des Cartes from the Socinians, and shews, that not only the expression of that philosopher in the conclusion of his system, *Nihilque ab ullo credi velim nisi quod ipsi evidens & invicta ratio persuadebit*, but explains the manner how it does consist very well with this other, *Credenda esse omnia quæ a Deo revelata sunt, quamvis captum nostrum excedant. Ita si forte nobis Deus de seipso vel aliis aliquod revelet, quod naturalis ingenii nostri vires excedit, qualia sunt tum mysteria Incarnationis & Trinitatis, non recusabimus illa credere, quamvis non clare intelligamus, nec ullo modo mirabimur multa esse, tum in immensa ejus natura, tum etiam in rebus ab eo creatis, quæ captum nostrum excedunt.*

(19) See his Remarks on Mallebranche, &c. parag. the last.

[*K*] *Ideal*

wards the Theory of the Ideal or Intelligible World [K], *designed for two parts. The first considering it absolutely in itself, and the second in relation to Human Understanding. Part I. The second part, being the relative part of it, wherein the Intelligible World is considered with relation to Human Understanding, whereof some account is here attempted and proposed*, came out in 1704, 8vo. It was Mr Locke's celebrated Essay on Human Understanding that gave birth to this work. The growing reputation of the principles of Philosophy maintained in that Essay, notwithstanding the censure that had been passed upon it by others, as well as our author (*w*), rendered him very anxious for the security of the Mallebranchian system, which he had so long and so heartily espoused. He resolved, therefore, that nothing should hinder him from executing a design which he had many years before entered upon, of drawing up a formal treatise in defence of that system [*L*]; and 'tis acknowledged

(*w*) Viz. In his Cursory Reflections mentioned in note (*q*).

[*K*] *Ideal world*] This treatise is nothing else but an attempt to explain and defend the notion of Father Mallebranche, that we see all things in God. In the proof of which that ideal philosopher reasons, upon the source of our ideas, which, according to this philosophy, must either be, 1. Images detached from the objects; or 2. created by God in the soul from the beginning; or 3. originally contained in the mind, as archetypes of all things; or 4. produced in the soul by it's own native activity; or 5. formed in the mind by God's immediate action; or 6. perceived in God as representative of all things: and then rejecting as insufficient the first five ways, the 6th is concluded on as the only true one. A celebrated author already mentioned (20), attacks this enumeration, as not only obscure, but imperfect; 'since there may be, he says, yet another way by which the soul may have some of it's ideas, and that is, 7. by the impression which finite objects, whether material or immaterial, make upon us; the first three ways, continues he, are absurd, the sixth is fantastical, the fourth, fifth, and seventh, are the true sources of all our ideas.' This author raising his seventh way upon a supposition that matter may, by an immanent communicated activity, really modify the soul, which modifications are simple ideas, endeavours to prove, that matter is really endowed with activity; which is contrary to the opinion of Sir Isaac Newton, that matter is inactive. His proof as a demonstration runs thus: 'God is essentially and infinitely active, creation is a representation of God in things external, infinite activity cannot be represented by absolute inaction, therefore God may communicate to his living images and lively pictures a real activity, by which they can act mutually upon each other. And that this activity or active force is really communicated to them, he will have to be manifest from the mutual action and reaction between the soul and body in their union, and endeavours to shew that the denial of such an activity leads to pernicious and blasphemous consequences; yet he is far from thinking to explain the manner of the action, on the contrary, he held the activity of second causes to be one of the mysteries of natural religion, equally incomprehensible with immensity and creation. This activity then being established for the source of simple ideas; he derives complex ones, from comparing, combining, and dividing of these by our innate activity; and then observes, that the action of the first cause is a supernatural motion by inspiration; the action of second causes is a natural manner by sensation; which with the action of the mind upon itself by reflection, are the three sources of all our ideas. 'The French Philosopher, continues he, confounds those three sources, by attributing all to the immediate action of God, as the only efficacious cause of all our modifications and perceptions. Thus he introduces Enthusiasm into Philosophy, thanks the *Logos* for discovering to him that the three angles of a triangle are equal to two right ones, looks upon geometrical theory as a real contemplation of the divine essence, and so confounds the natural activity of the mind with the supernatural illumination of the eternal Word.' In further reflecting on this way of knowledge by vision, he falls in with Mr Baker, and says (21), 'the privilege of seeing all things in God, is an advantage, not of our exiled state here below, but a felicity reserved for our celestial native country; then we shall see light in it's true light, God as he is, and the archetypal ideas of all things as they were at first freely formed in the divine understanding, 'ere God created substances correspondent to them; then we shall see the intimate and inmost essences of things in the eternal essence, the relation of the original to the pictures; whereas now we see only some of their attributes or modes. All the Mallebranchian Philosophy is founded upon a perpetual confusion of nature and grace, of the archetypal ideas with the consubstantial *Logos*, of the natural activity of the understanding with the supernatural illumination of the *Word*, of the natural immanent action of the will with the supernatural impression of the Holy Ghost (22), and, in fine, of the privileges of a beatified state with those of our exile. The Spinozists make use of all those obscure ideas, to confound the action of the first cause with the actions of second causes, and the substance of the Creator with that of the Creature, and this Philosophy, by a tendency to the same purpose, is exceeding dangerous; it seems the beginning of Spinozism, and Spinozism is Mallebrancheanism consummated. However, it seems, that Mallebranche did not allow, nor even see these dangerous tendencies of his doctrine, and that in framing his witty romance, this pious and devout Philosopher was imposed upon by a full persuasion, that his system exalted our notions of a Divine Power, and placing the Creature in a continual dependence upon the Creator, made every thing, even the least motion of matter, and the smallest modification of spirit, a proof of God's existence.' In truth, impiety and indevotion are not of the growth of this Philosophy, so far from it, that his disciple having, in his way, shewn that the ideas of all things are in God, breaks out into a meditation of the most elevated and warm devotion, which concludes with this hymn.

(20) Mr Ramsay, ubi supra, B. iii. p. 274.

(21) In his Reflections upon Learning, chap. ix. p. 129. edit. 1708.

(22) Dr Berkley, upon this principle, that God only acts upon spirits, raises his notion of the non-existence of matter. See his Dialogues.

Lay down, proud heart, thy rebel arms,
And own the conqueror divine;
In vain thou do'st resist such charms,
In vain the arrows of his love decline.
There is no dealing with this potent fair,
I must, my God, I must love thee;
Thy charms but too victorious are,
They leave me not my native liberty.
A holy force spreads thro' my soul,
And ravishes my heart away;
The world it's motion does controul
in vain; the happy captive will not stay.
No more does she her wonted freedom boast,
More proud of thy celestial chain;
Free-will itself were better lost,
Than ever to revolt from thee again.
Sun of my soul! what shall I do,
Thy beauties to resist, or bear?
They bless, and yet they pain me too,
I feel thy heat too strong, thy light too clear.
I faint, I languish, I almost expire,
My panting heart dissolving lies;
Those must shine less, or I retire:
Shade thou thy light, I cannot turn my eyes (23).

(23) Essay towards the Theory of the Ideal World, p. 174, 175.

Our author likewise insinuates, that his greatest motive to this undertaking, was the establishment of an important and concerning truth, for the advantage and improvement of morality; as containing certain principles that laid the firmest foundation for the being of God, and for a dependance upon him in our intellectual operations, and consequently for all the duties of humility, love, and the most raised devotion, that arise from that dependance.

[*L*] *The general reception of Mr Locke's Essay on Human Understanding, rendered our author extremely anxious*

acknowledged he has done it with all the advantages of beauty of ftile and perfpicuity of expreffion (*x*). After this, he engaged in behalf of that important point of Philofophy and Religion, the natural immortality of the Soul, which he defended, in a fet treatife againft Mr Dodwell in 1708 [*M*]. Mr Norris alfo publifhed two excellent practical treatifes upon Humility in 1707, and the other upon Chriftian Prudence in 1710, befides fome other pieces which are mentioned below [*N*]. Towards the latter end of his life he grew very infirm, and enjoyed little health 'till the day of his death, which happened in 1711, at Bemerton; and he was interred in the chancel of that church, where there is a handfome marble monument erected to his memory, with an infcription upon it [*O*]. He left a widow and three children, two fons and a daughter. His eldeft fon was Rector of Little-Langford, and Vicar of the two Chitterns, and died a few years ago without iffue, at the houfe near Crarebridge; and his widow now refides in the high ftreet at Salifbury. His fecond fon, Thomas, was alfo a clergyman, and fome time minifter of Stroud in Gloucefterfhire, or the Stow in the Wold, has been dead feveral years. His daughter, Elizabeth, was married to Mr Bowyer, Vicar of Martock in Somerfetfhire, and has brought him feveral children. Mr Norris's widow refided with her fon-in-law 'till her death, which happened a few years ago.

(*x*) Baker's Reflections on Learning, p. 105. 2d edit. 1700.

anxious for the fecurity of the Mallebranchian Philofophy which he had ardently embraced.] That this was his incitement to that undertaking, appears from the preface to the firft part, where he declares, 'The motive that induced him to efpoufe it, befides the moment and importance of the fubject, was the frequent intimation he had occafionally dropped of this notion in his writings, which lighter touches, without a more explicit account of the thing, would have ferved only as fo many amufements to the common fort of readers, to whom, fays he, I fhould have been little better than a Barbarian: and as to thofe whofe better difcernment would let them into fome view and apprehenfion of what I would have underftood by thofe hints *en paffant*, fuch a flight, broken, and tranfient reprefentation of my meaning, would with them ferve only to expofe it as vifionary and fantaftic; though, continues he, whether the prefentialnefs of an ideal world to our mind, be really fuch Platonic gibberifh, there is a certain perfon [Mr Locke] that may now be concerned to confider, and whether the notion may not as little deferve his cenfure, as the maintainer of it does his compliments.' What we have here afferted is further manifeft by the following paffage towards the end of the fame preface. 'I think fit, fays our author, further to acquaint my reader (though it is no more than what the title and courfe of the work may inform him) that what is premifed in thefe papers, is in order to a following account concerning the manner of human underftanding, which is to be erected upon the principles here laid down: which, if they lead me to an account of that great abftrufity, fomething different from what has been fome while fince publifhed to the world, I hope the very ingenious author of it will pardon me, fince, though I cannot in all things think with him, yet I mean in nothing to detract from him, or from that juft reputation which his celebrated and very valuable performance ftands poffeffed of.' Mr Locke made fome remarks on this Theory, which were printed among his pofthumous works. Mr Norris had frequently thrown out hints *en paffant* (to ufe his own phrafe) of his opinion concerning fome doctrines advanced in the *Effay concerning Human Underftanding*, and in refpect to one article, fmartly flings back the charge of *fantaftick* upon that author. In fpeaking of the Quakers opinion, that their light within is the fpiritual body of Chrift, and therefore material, to give this fantaftical conceit, as he calls it, it's full fhare of ridicule, he contrafts it with that other of Mr Locke, as laying the lower ftep to it. 'It has been thought, fays he, a ftrange advance in fpeculation to fuppofe, that matter, by the advantage of a finer mechanifm, might be made capable of thought, and be able to reafon and underftand; and the truth is, I would give a great deal to fee the mould in which thofe mens heads were caft, who could entertain fuch a notion; but, alas! what is this in comparifon of making matter the principle of illumination.'

[*M*] *He defended againft Mr Dodwell.*] The title of it is, *A Philofophical Difcourfe concerning the natural Immortality of the Soul, wherein the great Queftion of the Soul's Immortality is endeavoured to be rightly ftated and cleared.* To this Mr Dodwell returned an anfwer, in the appendix to his book intituled, *The natural Mortality of the Human Soul clearly demonftrated from the Holy Scriptures, and the concurrent Teftimony of the primitive Writers*; in which that learned writer returns our author his thanks for having kept clofe to the caufe, without any thing reproachful to his reafon. 'The rather, fays he, becaufe you are the firft of my adverfaries who have done fo' The other two were, Mr Chifhul, and Mr S. Clarke, of whofe perfonal abufes he makes great complaint.

[*N*] *Some other pieces mentioned below*] We have either in the text or notes mentioned all his pieces except two, which are, 1. *Spiritual Counfel, or the Father's Advice to his Children*; publifhed 1694, 8vo. at firft compiled, as he obferves, in the advertifement before it, for the ufe of his own children. 2. *Letters, Philofophical, Moral, and Divine; to the Reverend* Mr John Norris, *with his Anfwers*; and this contained fome additional letters to thofe betwixt Mrs Aftell and him

[*O*] *A monument erected to his memory, with an infcription upon it.*] It is as follows: *H. S. E.* Johannes Norris, *Parochiæ hujus Rector, ubi annos viginti bene latuit curæ paftorali & literis vacans, quo in receffu fibi pofuit late per orbem fparfa, ingenii paris ac pietatis, monumenta.* Obiit An. Dom. 1711. ætat. 54. P

NORTH [Dr JOHN], a learned man, and Mafter of Trinity-college in Cambridge in the XVIIth century, &c. was the fourth of feven fons of Sir Dudley North [*A*], Knight of

[*A*] *The fifth of feven fons of Sir Dudley North*] The *North*-family was feated, in the reign of King Henry V. at Walkringham in Nottinghamfhire. One of his Defcendants, *Edward North*, Efq; was, in the 32d of King Henry VIII. Treafurer, and in the 36th of the fame King, Chancellor, of the Court of Augmentation; and the 17th of February 1553, the firft of Queen Mary I. had fummons to Parliament by the title of *Baron North of Kirtling*, in the County of Cambridge; and departed this life in 1564. His fon and heir *Roger*, dyed in 1600, having buried his eldeft fon Sir *John*, in 1597. Therefore he was fucceeded in his title and eftates by his grandfon Sir *Dudley North*, who having married Frances daughter and coheir of Sir John Brocket of Brocket-hall, had by her *Dudley*, and three other fons, and two daughters. This laft Sir Dudley was made Knight of the Bath in 1616, and marrying Anne daughter and coheir of Sir Charles Mountagu, Knt. a younger brother of Henry Earl of Manchefter, had by her fourteen children, whereof fix fons, and four daughters lived to maturity; viz. 1. *Charles* his heir. 2. Sir *Francis North*, Lord Keeper, created Baron of Guilford 3. Sir *Dudley*, a Turkey-merchant, and Sheriff of London. 4. JOHN, who is the fubject of this article. 5. *Mountagu*, a Turkey-merchant, who dyed without iffue.

of the Bath, Lord North, Baron of Kirtling (*a*), and Anne, one of the daughters and coheirs of Sir Charles Mountagu, a younger brother of the Boughton family (*b*). He was born at London September 4, 1645. In his youth he was of a nice and tender constitution; and of a temper grave, reserved, and studious; which made his parents design him early for the Church. His school-education was at St Edmundsbury in Suffolk, under the learned Dr Thomas Stephens. After leaving school he passed some time at his father's house, who gave him some notion of Logic and Metaphysics. In 1661, he was admitted a Fellow-Commoner of Jesus college; but when his grandfather, the first Dudley Lord North, dyed, whereby the Barony descended to his father, then he assumed the post of a Nobleman. Notwithstanding which, he was exemplary in his attendance upon divine service, diligent in his studies, and duly performed such exercises as were consistent with his station [*B*]. Thus, by a regular course of study [*C*], he became eminently learned, particularly in the Greek and Hebrew languages; and collected a very valuable library [*D*]. Having regularly taken the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and being about six years standing, he was admitted Fellow of Jesus-college, September 28, 1666, by the King's mandate. He took afterwards the degree of Master of Arts (*c*), and was incorporated in the same at Oxford, June 15, 1669 (*d*). Not long after he took Orders, as the statutes of his college required; and the first Sermon he preached to a public audience, was before King Charles the Second at Newmarket (*e*) [*E*]. About the same time, he assisted the truly learned Dr Thomas Gale, in his edition of the *Opuscula Mythologica*, &c. [*F*]. In November 1672, he was elected Greek Professor of the University of Cambridge (*f*). The first ecclesiastical preferment he had, was the Sine-cure of Llandinom in Wales, given him by Archbishop Sheldon. Whereupon he quitted his Fellowship, and Jesus-college, of which he had been weary for some time; and procured himself to be admitted in Trinity-college, for the sake of being near the Master, the most excellent Dr Isaac Barrow, for whom he had the utmost friendship and esteem (*g*). About that time he was appointed Clerk of the Closet to King Charles the Second (*h*), who granted him a Prebend of Westminster, into which he was installed January 11, 1672-3 (*i*). And, upon his Majesty's coming by invitation from Newmarket to Cambridge, he was created Doctor in Divinity, out of respect to the Duke of Lauderdale, whose favourite he then was (*k*). His most valuable friend Dr Isaac Barrow dying May 4, 1677 (*l*), he was made, in his room, Master of Trinity-college: by which preferment, he became possessed, as he thought, of all the ease and content he could by any means propose to himself. However, he found himself disappointed. For this preferment took him, partly, from his studies, but almost entirely out of those advantages, which by a few friends he enjoyed: that is, from a frequent, easy, free, and pleasant, conversation, into an anxious, solitary, and pensive, course of life; which, with his austere way of ordering himself, drew upon him a most deplorable sickness; and that proved in the end the ruin of all his powers both of body and mind (*m*). The unreasonable opposition of the eight senior Fellows of the college, who had before managed all things without controul, gave him also infinite vexation. And his over-sollicitude for maintaining good order and strict regularity [*G*] in his society, together with his conscientious integrity in elections

(*a*) Vulgarly called Catlidge.

(*b*) Life of Dr John North, by Roger North, Esq; edit. 1744, 4to. p. 235. Peerage by Arth. Collins, edit. 1735, Vol. III. p. 166.

(*c*) Life, &c. as above, p. 235, &c.

(*d*) Wood, Fasti, Vol. II. edit. 1721, col. 176.

(*e*) Life, &c. as above, p. 241, 249.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 254.

(*g*) Ibid. p. 247, &c. 253.

(*h*) Ibid. p. 255.

(*i*) Ibid. p. 256. and J. Le Neve's Fasti, &c. edit. 1716, p. 373.

(*k*) Life, &c. as above, p. 257.

(*l*) See above, the article BARROW [ISAAC].

(*m*) Life, &c. as above, p. 258, 272.

issue. And 6. *Roger*, who was seated at Rougham in Norfolk (1). 7. Edward dyed very young.

[*B*] *And duly performed such exercises as were consistent with his station.*] 'Nothing observed of him 'turned more to his credit, than his due attendance 'at public Exercises, and *Lectures* in most faculties in 'the schools.—Though his opinion as to Lectures, 'was, that since Books are so frequent as now they 'are, public Lectures are not so necessary, or (per'haps) useful, as in elder times, when first instituted, 'because the intent of them was to supply the want 'of Books; and now Books are plentiful, Lectures 'might better be spared, and the promiscuous use of 'Books come in the place of them (2).' And, indeed, considering that those Lectures generally are wall-lectures; and, in school-divinity, and the Aristotelian Philosophy, consist only of the squeezings of a barren and empty brain; it would be much better to convert them into some more useful method of Instruction.

[*C*] *Thus by a regular course of study.*] In his studies he was very regular, and took his Authors one after another, and pursued effectually through them, not leaving any passage which he did not understand, or at least criticise upon as far as he could reach. He noted as he went along, but not in the common way by common-place; but every Book severally, setting down whatever he found worthy to be observed in that Book. And these he kept by themselves, as Comments upon his Authors, 'till he had a considerable body of them (3).

[*D*] *And collected a very valuable Library.*] He bought at once a whole set of the Greek Classics in folio, of the best Editions. He courted, as a fond lover, all best editions, fairest characters, best bound and preserved. If the subject was in his favour (as the Classics) he cared not how many of them he had, even of the same edition, if he thought it among the best, either better bound, squarer cut, neater covers, or some such qualification. He delighted particularly in the small edition of the Classics by Seb. Gryphius: And, by his care and industry, at length made himself master of a very considerable Library, wherein the choicest collection was Greek (4).

[*E*] *The first sermon he preached—was before King Charles* II. *at Newmarket.*] It was preached October 8, 1671, on Psalm i. ver. 1. and published the same year at Cambridge; in 4to (5).

[*F*] *He assisted the truly learned Dr Thomas Gale, in his edition of the* Opuscula Mythologica, &c.] This is acknowledged by the Doctor (6), in the following words. *Habes denique* Pythagorica Fragmenta. *Vidêre ea quidem jam sæpius lucem, transfusa in plures, credo formas, quam ipsius* Pythagoræ *anima. Ex iis alia nunc primo latine versa, alia autem notis illustrata debes* Joanni North, *V. C. qui generis sui claritudinem (quæ certè magna est) virtute & eruditione exæquat.* These *Opuscula* were printed at Cambridge in 1671, 8vo.

[*G*] *And his over-sollicitude for maintaining good order and strict regularity.*] 'He had first laid down his own Example of Regularity and Sobriety before the Scholars; and after that, he thought it his duty to be informed, as well as might be, of what was outrageously amiss amongst them. He never connived at any thing, whereof, by the duty of his place, he was bound to take notice; but, either by admonition, or otherwise, he did his best to amend it. He endeavoured

(1) See Life of Francis Lord Guilford, in the preface. And Ar. Collins, as above, p. 166.

(2) Life, &c. as above, p. 248.

(3) Ibid. p. 242.

(4) Ibid. p. 240, 241.

(5) Wood, Fasti, as above.

(6) Ad Lectorem Præfatio.

tions [*H*], expoſed him to many affronts, and diſagreeable importunities. But, by pre-elections [*I*], he found means to obviate and break the cuſtom of Court-Mandates, which were quite common at his firſt coming, to the great prejudice of real merit (*n*). While he continued Maſter of that college, he finiſhed the fine library, which was begun by his predeceſſor Dr Barrow (*o*). He was naturally of a weak conſtitution: and having overſtrained it by too intenſe thinking, and by too cloſe and eager application to his ſtudies, without proper remiſſions and due exerciſe, he quite ruined his health. His firſt infirmity, and ſenſible ſign of decay, was a violent cold, attended with a great defluxion, and a ſwoln throat; which, being ill managed, was followed with an apoplectic fit, and that with a numb palſey, which deprived him in a great meaſure of the uſe of his underſtanding (*p*). Between four and five years he lived in that deplorable condition (*q*); and his miſeries being increaſed by epileptic fits, one of them put an end to his life April 1683 (*r*) [*K*]. He was buried in the ante-chapel of Trinity-college [*L*], with no other epitaph but I. N. upon a ſmall ſtone over him (*s*). As to his perſon; he was comely, had an agreeable air, a freſh and ſanguine complexion, light hair, and a florid youthful countenance (*t*). With regard to his temper, he was always diſpoſed to fear the worſt that might poſſibly happen; and had a natural timidity, owing to a feeble conſtitution of body, inclining to the effeminate (*u*). In converſation, he was witty, jocoſe, and free, with a great fluency of ſpeech (*w*). As to his morals, he was a man of great probity, temperance, ſobriety, chaſtity, honeſty, and juſtice; orthodox, and ſincere; averſe to faction; devoted to all good order, religion, and virtue: and fortified with a reſolution not to run in debt, nor to help himſelf by any wicked compliances, whatever became of him (*x*). With reſpect to his learning, he was not only a good Philologiſt and Divine; but extended his enquiries into the dark receſſes of learned Antiquities, Languages, and Phiſophy (*y*) [*M*]. In particular, he was a great admirer of Plato [*N*], of ſome of whoſe pieces

(*n*) Ibid. p. 273—277.

(*o*) Ibid. p. 275.

(*p*) Ibid. p. 235, 277, &c.

(*q*) Life of the Lord Keeper Guilford, by Rog. North, Eſq; p. 179.

(*r*) Life of Dr North, as above, p. 277, 287.

(*s*) Ibid. p. 287.

(*t*) Ibid. p. 237, 246, 248.

(*u*) Ibid. p. 239, 268.

(*w*) Ibid. p. 245.

(*x*) Ibid. p. 238, 245, 248, 271.

(*y*) Ibid. p. 258, 259, 262.

voured alſo to make the Diſcipline of the College as light and eaſy to the Scholars as he could, by uſing private intimations and friendly advices tempered with mild reaſonings and perſuaſion. But, for all that, he grew unpopular amongſt them. They took him to be over officiouſly rigid and ſtrict, ſaying, *it had not been ſo before*. Youth (as our author obſerves) will always miſtake manhood to conſiſt wholly in diſorderly living, and that order and diſcipline belongs only to boys. And, to ſhew how much Men they are, they behave themſelves, as ſome did to him, contumaciouſly, and many of them contrived to affront him. Of which ſome inſtances are given. That made Dr North affirm, that no *conſcientious* magiſtrate can be *popular*; but, in lieu of that, he muſt arm himſelf with equanimity (7).'

(7) Life, &c. as above, p. 275.

[*H*] *Together with his conſcientious integrity in Elections.*] ' He was reſolute in adhering to the ſtatutes of the college, and to ſee that Elections went fairly; and, in the buſineſs of Fellowſhips, that created him no ſmall trouble. For the pupil-mongers, often ſenior Fellows, would favour good pupils, though perhaps no good ſcholars, in order to get them into good Fellowſhips, when others had better pretenſions. This bred intereſt-making, and, for the moſt part, brought importunities upon him; as if, by teeſing and urging, points might be gained. All which partialities were faſtidious and hateful to him that had none, and whatever impetuoſity he endured, he never would conſent to have a dunce preferred to a good ſcholar when the ſtanding was equal; but always declared to do juſtice to whom, upon account of better merit, it belonged (8).'

(8) Ibid. p. 273, 274.

[*I*] *But by pre-elections*, &c.] ' He often ſuſpected that ſome of his ſenior Fellows, when they could not compaſs their will of him another way, were inſtrumental in obtaining Mandates from Courtiers. And he uſed to inveigh bitterly againſt that practice, declaring, that whoever of them was guilty of it did not conſider their duty and their oaths; and that it muſt, in time, bring the college to nothing; for if elections are for favour and not merit, who will think of riſing by any means but courtſhip and corruption? And then flattery, or money, muſt ſupply want of parts, learning, and ſobriety; and the college, once ſo filled, will continue and avow the ſame methods: Whereby gentlemens ſons in the college, under the influence of ſuch a regimen, will be expoſed to the miſchiefs of idleneſs, expence, and debauchery, ſpreading in the univerſity, as bad as in any lewd corporation-town. Therefore the Doctor, to eaſe his mind a little, (for he lived in perpetual dread of Mandates) but principally for the good of the college, he found out a way by *Pre-elections*, to obviate an inconvenience he could not reſiſt. That is, out of the ſeveral years, four or five one under another, he cauſed to be pre-elected into Fellowſhips ſcholars of the beſt capacities in the ſeveral years; which made it improbable another Election ſhould come about in ſo many years then next enſuing; for, until all theſe elections were benefitted, there could be no vacancy. And that broke the courſe of *Mandates* whilſt he lived. He was ſollicitous about nothing more than the buſineſs of Elections, which he thought the ſpring of good and evil to the college, and, (as he thought) in ſome degree, to the public (9).'

(9) Ibid. p. 274.

[*K*] *Put an end to his life April*——1683.] His brother doth not mention the exact day of his death (10). But ſome place it on the 8th day of April.

(10) Life, as above, p. 287.

[*L*] *He was buried in the ante-chapel of Trinity-college*] This was according to his direction; that the Fellows (as he ſaid) might *trample upon him dead, as they had done living*. Alluding to the unhappy Diſputes that had ariſen between them; and wherein he thought himſelf extremely ill uſed (11).

(11) Life, &c. p. 277.

[*M*] *And Philoſophy.*] ' He intended to compoſe a critical Hiſtory of Philoſophy and Philoſophers, with the originations, connections, tranſitions and alterations of the opinions, and alſo of the ſeveral Sects, how they ſprung up, one under another, comparing their Tenets, and ſhewing wherein they agreed and diſagreed, with their ſquablings and altercations; and ſo coming down as low as his own time, to ſhew how the moderns had borrowed from the ancients, and what they had ſet up new of their own. He uſed to ſay there was little of this kind of learning to be found in print, and being once well done, it would be very uſeful to ſcholars.——He alſo intended a Hiſtory of the Heathen Theology, which he ſaid was almoſt wholly wanted.——Moreover, he had by him great heaps of Comments and Notes of his own upon the Greek and Latin Claſſic authors; which he intended not to publiſh but occaſionally, as Authors might happen to be reprinted (12).'

(12) Ibid. p. 262.

[*N*] *In particular, he was a great admirer of Plato.*] ' He was (to uſe his brother's words) *partial* to that Philoſopher. He thought Plato's way of philoſophiſing more conſonant to Chriſtian morality than Ariſtotle's was. The ancient Fathers inclined that way, until a known courſe of corruption in the Hierarchy bred an occaſion to abandon Plato, and to take up with Ariſtotle, whoſe diſcipline was apter for maintaining indeterminate diſputes about any thing or nothing, truth or falſity, and error, almoſt indifferently. What elſe could be the meaning of their pouring out of Ariſtotle that empty jargon, of Matter and Form, upon the holy Euchariſt; by which, and many ſyllogiſtical artifices, they maintain their gainful impoſitions, and particularly, that monſtrous abſurdity Tranſubſtantiation. Which they fortify with chimeric notions

pieces he publiſhed a new edition [*O*]. He had done ſeveral other things, that were worthy of ſeeing the light; but, by his ſpecial direction, all his manuſcripts were committed to the flames after his deceaſe. He writ a fine hand; and his ſtyle was ready, clear, and ſignificant (*z*). By Will he left a thouſand pounds to charitable uſes [*P*].

(*z*) Ibid. p. 263, 264.

notions of ſubſtance and accident, out of the ſame nonſenſical philoſophy (13).'

(13) Ibid. p. 259, 260.

[*O*] *Of ſome of whoſe pieces he publiſhed a new edition.*] They were printed at Cambridge in 1673, 8vo. under this title, *Platonis de Rebus divinis Dialogi ſelecti Græce & Latine, Socratis Apologia, Crito, Phœdo, E Libb. Legum decimus, Alcibiades ſecundus.* The Latin tranſlation he ſubjoins to them, is that of *Marcilius Ficinus*, which he prefers to that of *Serranus*, or De Serres. 'For the laſt, ſays he, is obſcure, 'intricate, and very often falſe; And Serranus was 'unequal to the taſk he undertook.' *Interpretationem* Marcilii Ficini *potiùs quam* Serrani *Græco comitem individuum dedimus.* Serranum *quidem, ſi deguſtare lubet, obſcurum, impeditum, & ſæpiſſimè falſum deprehendes; Ac ei, quam ſuſcepit in adornando* Platone *operam, longiſſimè imparem judicabis.* Notwithſtanding which imperfections, Serranus's edition bears an exorbitant price: But that is to be attributed more to the Beauty of Henry Stephens's types, than to the perfection of that edition. 'Tis hoped, that the Edition we are made to expect from Scotland, will be free from the Faults found in the former.

[*P*] *He left a thouſand pounds to charitable uſes.*] His perſonal eſtate was about 4000 *l.* one *fourth* of which, by direction of his will, was given to poor people (14). C

(14) Life of the Lord Keeper Guilford, as above, p. 179.

NOWEL, or NOWELL [ALEXANDER], a learned Divine in the XVIth century, was the ſecond ſon of John Nowell of Great Meerley in Lancaſhire, an ancient family, and born at Read in that county in 1511 [*A*]. At thirteen years of age he was admitted in Brazen-noſe-college in Oxford, where making great progreſs in Grammar, Logic, and Philoſophy (*a*), he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts May 29, 1536 [*B*], and that of Maſter June 10, 1540 (*b*). Before he took this laſt degree he was elected Fellow of his college, and grew very famous for piety and learning, and for his zeal in promoting the reformation of religion. In the reign of King Edward the Sixth, and perhaps before, he kept a ſchool in Weſtminſter, wherein he trained the youth up in Proteſtant principles (*c*). He was an allowed Preacher by Licence from that King, about the year 1550 (*d*); and, December 5, 1551, was inſtalled Prebendary of Weſtminſter (*e*). In the firſt Parliament of Queen Mary the Firſt at Weſtminſter, he was returned one of the Burgeſſes for Portpigham, alias Weſtlow, in Cornwall (*f*); but his election was declared void [*C*], becauſe, as he was Prebendary of Weſtminſter, and, by virtue of that, had a voice in the Convocation-houſe, therefore he could not be a Member of the Houſe of Commons (*g*). Being a noted Proteſtant, he was marked out, with ſome other eminent Divines, for a ſacrifice to Popiſh perſecution in that bloody reign; had not Mr Francis Bowyer, afterwards Sheriff of London in 1577, reſcued him from the danger, and ſafely conveyed him beyond-ſea (*h*). He withdrew to Francfort with the reſt of the Engliſh exiles; and joyning himſelf to the Epiſcopal Church there, ſubſcribed, among the reſt, to the Diſcipline they eſtabliſhed (*i*). He was alſo one of the ſubſcribers to an excellent Letter [*D*], ſent from Francfort to the diſcontented Engliſh exiles at Geneva, dated the third of January, 1559 (*k*). Upon the death of Queen Mary, and acceſſion of Queen Elizabeth, he was the firſt of our Proteſtant exiles that returned to England (*l*): and ſoon after obtained many and conſiderable preferments. For, January 1, 1559-60, he was preſented to the Archdeaconry of Middleſex, which he reſigned the year following (*m*): and,

(*a*) Wood Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 313.

(*b*) Idem, Faſti, Vol. I. col. 57, 63.

(*c*) Wood Ath. ut ſupra.

(*d*) Strype's Annals, &c. as above, p. 205. and Life of Parker, p. 202.

(*e*) J. Le Neve's Faſti, &c. edit. 1716, fol. p. 366.

(*f*) Notitia Parliamentaria, &c. by Br. Willis, Eſq; Vol. II. edit. 1716, 8vo. p. 92.

(*g*) Fuller's Church-Hiſt. book X. p. 4. and Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Part ii. p. 253.

(*h*) Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. b. viii. p. 16.

(*i*) See A brieff Diſcours off the Troubles begonne at Franckford, &c. edit. 1575, 4to. p. 65, 134.

(*k*) Ibid. p. 188, 190.

(*l*) Life by Donal Lupton. See Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. book ix, p. 4.

(*m*) Newcourt's Repertorium, &c. Vol. I. p. 82.

[*A*] *And born in that county in* 1511.] His mother was Dowſabell, daughter of Thomas Heſketh of Rufford in the ſame county, Eſq; (1).

(1) Wood Ath. as above, Vol. I. col. 185. and Biſhop Tanner's Bibliotheca.

[*B*] *At thirteen years of age, he was admitted in Braſen-noſe college in Oxford,——and took the degree of Bachelor of Arts May 29th,* 1536.] There is ſomething inconceivable and inconſiſtent in theſe Dates, taken from Ant. Wood, which it is not in our power to adjuſt and reconcile. If Mr Nowell was admitted at the age of thirteen, that muſt have been in the year 1524; and he might regularly have taken his degrees, of Bachelor and Maſter of Arts, in 1528, and 1531. But why he ſtaid *twelve* years, before he took the firſt, is no where explained, nor the proper reaſons for it aſſigned by any one. According to his Epitaph, he ſtudied *thirteen* years in that college.——*Col.* Ænei Naſi Oxonii, *ubi ab anno ætatis* 13, *Annos* 13 *ſtuduit.* —i. e. as we may ſuppoſe, he conſtantly reſided there 13 years.

[*C*] *But his election was declared void.*] The entry in the Journals of the Houſe of Commons upon that occaſion (2), is in the following words. 'October 12. 'Mr Secretary Bourne, &c. to enquire for *Alexander* '*Newell*, Burgeſs of Loo in Cornwall, Prebend of 'Weſtminſter, if he may be of this houſe. October '13. It is declared by the Commiſſioners, that *Alex.* '*Newell*, being Prebendary in Weſtminſter, and 'thereby having voice in the Convocation-houſe, can'not be a member of this houſe; and ſo agreed by 'the Houſe; and the Queen's writ to be directed for 'another Burgeſs in that place.'—In both places, the name is printed *Newell*, which is viſibly a miſtake: for it appears from Dr Willis's *Notitia*, &c. that it was Alexander *Nowell*, who was returned.

(2) Printed Journals of the Houſe of Commons, Vol. I. p. 27.

[*D*] *He was alſo one of the ſubſcribers to an excellent Letter.*] In that Letter are theſe moderate and pacific expreſſions.——'For ceremonies to contende (where it 'ſhall lye neither in your hands or oures to appoint 'what they ſhall be, but in ſuche mennes wiſedomes as 'ſhall be appointed to the deviſing off the ſame, and 'whiche ſhall be receyved by common conſent off the 'Parliament) it ſhal be to ſmall purpos. But we truſte 'that bothe true religion ſhall be reſtored, and that 'we ſhall not be burthened with unprofitable ceremo'nies. And therefore, as we purpos to ſubmit oure 'ſelves to ſuch orders as ſhall be eſtabliſhed by autho'ritie, beinge not of themſelves wicked, ſo we would 'wiſhe yow willingly to do the ſame. For, whereas 'all the reformed churches differ amonge themſelves 'in divers ceremonies, and yet agree in the unitie of 'doctrine: we ſe no inconvenience if we uſe ſome ce'remonies divers from them, ſo that we agree in the 'chief points of our religion. Notwithſtandinge, if 'anie ſhal be intruded, that ſhal be offenſive, we, up'on juſte conference and deliberation upon the ſame at 'oure meetinge with yow in Englande (whiche we 'truſte by God's grace, will be ſhortly) wil brotherly 'joine with yow to be ſewters for the reformation 'and aboliſhinge of the ſame. In the meane ſeaſon, 'let us with one harte and minde cal to the Almightie 'God, that of his infinit mercie, he will finiſhe and 'eſtabliſhe that worke that he hathe begon in oure 'countrie.' . . . (3).

(3) Diſcours off the Troubles begonne at Franckford, &c. as above, p. 189, 190.

[*E*] He

and, June 21, was made the first Canon of the seventh stall in the collegiate church of Westminster (*n*). But this he quitted again, upon his being elected Dean of St Paul's cathedral in London, November 17, 1560. The third of December ensuing, he was collated to the Prebend of Wildland in the same church (*o*): and December 28, 1562, to the Rectory of Hadham in Hertfordshire. Thus quietly settled again in his own country, he became a frequent and painful preacher [*E*], and a zealous writer against the English Catholicks that had fled out of the kingdom; as will appear in the sequel. For thirty years together he preached the first and last sermons in the time of Lent before the Queen, wherein he dealt plainly and faithfully with her, without dislike [*F*]; only at one time speaking less reverently of the sign of the Cross, she called aloud to him from her closet window, commanding him to retire from that ungodly digression, and to return to his text (*p*). At the recommendation of Archbishop Parker, he was chosen Prolocutor of the Lower House of Convocation, in 1562, when the Articles of Religion were settled (*q*). In 1564, when the debates ran high between the Churchmen and Puritans about the use of the Garments, Dean Nowell appears to have been moderate upon that subject [*G*]. For he was for the general using of them, but with a protestation, that it were desirable, these differences of Garments were taken away (*r*). In the year 1572, he founded a free-school at Middleton, in his native county of Lancashire, for teaching the then rude inhabitants the principles of learning and true religion (*s*). He was one of those learned Divines, who had, in 1581, some Conferences with Edmund Campian in the Tower [*H*], which were published in 1583 (*t*). The 20th of August, 1588, he preached a Thanksgiving Sermon at Paul's-cross, for the deliverance from the Spanish Armada; when he exhorted his audience, to give praise and thanks to God for that great mercy (*u*). Having soon after resigned his Prebend of Wildland, he was collated, November 11, 1588, to to that of Totenhall, which he kept as long as he lived (*w*). About the beginning of the year 1589, he resigned the Rectory of Hadham (*x*); and, April 28, 1594, was installed Canon of Windsor (*y*). September 6, 1595, he was elected Principal of Brazen-nose-college in Oxford; and, October 1st following, actually created Doctor in Divinity, with allowance of Seniority over all the Doctors then in the University, not only in regard of his age, but of his dignity in the Church (*z*). He resigned his place of Principal 14 December, 1595 (*a*). After having arrived to the long and uncommon age of ninety, and enjoyed to the last a perfect use of his senses and faculties [*I*], he departed this life February 13, 1601-2, and was buried in the chapel of the Virgin Mary, within the cathedral of St Paul. Soon after, a comely monument was erected over his grave, with a Latin epitaph (*b*). He gave an estate of 200 pounds a year to Brasen-nose-college [*K*]: and was also a benefactor to St Paul's school (*c*). Besides some controversial pieces [*L*], he

(*n*) Idem, p. 49. and J. Le Neve, as above, p. 369.

(*o*) Newcourt, Vol. I. p. 49, 226, 832. He was then Chaplain to Bishop Grindal. Strype's Life of Archbishop Parker, p. 65.

(*p*) Wood as above, col. 313. See also his epitaph, below.

(*q*) Strype's Annals, &c. Vol. I. edit. 1725, p. 316.

(*r*) Strype's Life of Archbishop Parker, edit. 1711, p. 173.

(*s*) Idem Annals, Vol. II. p. 239.

(*t*) Idem, in eod. vol. p. 645, &c. Vol. III. p. 33.

(*u*) Idem, Vol. III. p. 525.

(*w*) Newcourt, as above, p. 215.

(*x*) Idem, p. 832.

(*y*) Wood Ath. ut supra.

(*z*) Wood Ath. ibid. Fasti, Vol. I. col. 151. & Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. L. ii. p. 215.

(*a*) Hist. & Antiq. ibid.

(*b*) Wood Ath. See Dugdale's Hist. of St Paul's; and Stow's Survey, with Strype's Addit. book iii. p. 160.

(*c*) Wood Hist. & Antiq. p. 214. —Scholæ Paulinæ plurimorum bonorum auctoris Epitaph.

[*E*] *He became a frequent and painful preacher.*] J. Strype gives us an instance of his wonderful success in that employment (4): Namely, that, in the year 1567, when he was in Lancashire, he did, by his continual preaching in divers places of that country, bring many obstinate and wilful people to conformity and obedience.

[*F*] *Without dislike.*] So Mr Wood affirms. But from Mr Strype's Life of Archbishop Parker, it appears, that though Mr Nowell was much favoured by the Queen for his excellent learning and education, and that she used to permit him to discourse in her presence; yet, because in a sermon before her, March 7th, 1564, he had reflected on a very leud Popish book, dedicated to her, which was stuffed not only with Papistical doctrine, but in many places tainted with immodest language, and therefore full of irreverence and impudence towards her Majesty; some of the lewd or Popishly affected Courtiers, not only ran him down with much severe language, but also found means to prejudice the Queen against him, so that she reproved him: which gave him the utmost uneasiness. And it was a considerable time before he could entirely regain her favour (5).

[*G*] *Dean Nowell appears to have been moderate upon that subject.*] His Pacification was expressed in the following words. *Ministri* Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, *qui Dei beneficio puram Christi doctrinam, & manifestam detestationem Antichristianismi publice profitentur, Vestiumque discrimine, publica auctoritate jam præscripto, utuntur, tum in administratione sacra, tum in usu externo, eo discrimine sine impietate uti possunt, modo omnis cultus, necessitatisque opinio amoveatur. Optamus tamen hoc Vestium discrimen propter has causas tolli.* 1. *Propter abusum in Ecclesiis Anglicanis metuendum.* 2. *Propter pleniorem declarationem detestationis corruptæ & superstitiosæ religionis.* 3. *Propter pleniorem professionem libertatis Christi.* 4. *Propter tollendas inter fratres dissensiones.* With this last paragraph Mr Nowell declared he could subscribe, or else not (6).—— The substance of his Pacification was; 'That the 'Ministers of the Church of England, who, by the 'blessing of God, profess the pure doctrine of Christ, 'and an open detestation of Antichristianism, and use 'the Garments injoyned by public authority, both in 'the administration of the Sacraments, and in common wear; may use that difference of habit without sin; Provided no superstition, nor any opinion 'of their necessity, be annexed to them. He wished, 'however, they were taken away, for the following 'reasons 1. For fear of the abuse they might occasion. 2. To express more strongly a detestation of 'the corrupt and superstitious religion of the Papists. '3. For a fuller profession of our Christian liberty. '4. To put an end to the disputes between the Brethren.'

[*H*] *Who had*, 1581, *Some Conferences with Edmund Campian in the Tower.*] They were published at London in 1583, in a small 4to, and black letter.

[*I*] *And enjoyed to the last a perfect use of his senses and faculties.*] So the inscription on his picture, in Brasen-nose-college, testifies.——*Cum neque oculi caligarent, neque aures obtusiores, neque memoria infirmior, neque animi ullæ facultates vietæ essent* (7). Or, as it is in his Epitaph, *cum nec animi nec corporis oculi caligarent.*

[*K*] *He gave an estate of* 200 *l. a year to Brasen-nose college.*] Which he appropriated to the following uses.—Sixty five marks, or 43 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* to *thirteen* scholars (so many as he had continued years in the college) viz. to each ve marks, for six years.—Thirty pounds *per annum* to the Master and Usher of Middleton-school.—The remainder for the use of the Principal, Fellows, &c. of the college.—The said thirteen scholars to be chosen out of Middleton-school, or out of the schools at Whalley and Burnley in Lancashire (8).

[*L*] *Besides some controversial pieces.*] His controversies were entirely with the Papists. The first piece he published, was against Thomas Dorman, B. D. sometime Fellow of New college, Oxford, who had written

(4) Annals, &c. Vol. I. p. 546.

(5) See Life of Archbishop Parker, p. 160, 202.

(6) Strype's Life of Parker, as above.

(7) Vide Wood Hist. & Antiq. L. ii. p. 225.

(8) Idem, eod. Libro, p. 214. Hearne Præfat. at Camdeni Ann. p. 144.

he publiſhed a Catechiſm, which was very much eſteemed [*M*]. He was, in the time he lived, a very learned man; reckoned an excellent Divine, and much eſteemed by the heads of our Church. His charity to the poor was great and exemplary, eſpecially if they had any thing of a ſcholar in them; and his comfort to the afflicted either in body or mind was very extenſive (*d*). What further character is given of him, may be ſeen in the note [*N*]. He wrote a very neat and beautiful ſmall hand, as appears from an original letter of his in our poſſeſſion [*O*], of which the contents are given below. His next younger brother,

(*d*) Wood Ath. ut ſupra. Parker's Life by Strype, p. 202. and epitaph.

LAURENCE NOWELL, alſo a very learned man, was educated partly in Braſen-noſe-college in Oxford, and partly in Cambridge. About the year 1543, he became Maſter of the free-ſchool at Sutton-Colfield in Warwickſhire, where he continued ſeveral years. In Queen Mary's reign, he abſconded for a while at Carew-caſtle in Pembrokeſhire, the houſe of Sir John Perrot; and then withdrew into Germany, to his brother, and the reſt of the Engliſh exiles (*a*). After Queen Elizabeth's happy acceſſion, returning to England, he was inſtalled Dean of Lichfield April 29, 1559, holding with it the Archdeaconry of Derby; he was alſo Prebendary of York and Chicheſter, and Rector of Haughton, and Drayton-Baſſet in the county of Stafford (*b*). He is juſtly celebrated for his ſingular learning, and for *being the firſt who revived the ſtudy of the Saxon language in this kingdom* (*c*). And he it was who inſtructed the moſt eminent William Lambarde in that tongue, and put him upon the ſtudy of Antiquities. He dyed in 1576, leaving behind him in manuſcript *A Saxon-Engliſh Dictionary*, which is in the Bodleian Library; and ſome *Collections* out of ancient Hiſtorians, &c. which are in the Cottonian (*d*).

(*a*) Wood Ath. ut ſupra, Vol. I. col. 185.

(*b*) Survey of the Cathedrals, &c. by Br. Willis, Eſq; Vol. I. p. 115, 400, 421.

(*c*) Camden's Britannia, in Cornwall.

(*d*) Wood, as above.

written a book againſt ſome part of Biſhop Jewell's challenge, and intituled it, *A Prouſe of certain Articles in Religion denied by Mr Jewell*; [viz. the ſupremacy of the Pope, Tranſubſtantiation, Communion in one kind, and the Maſs.] Antwerp, 1564, Mr Nowell's Anſwer, therefore, was ' A Reproof of a book ' intituled, *A Proofe of certain Articles in Religion,* ' *denied by Maſter Jewell,* ſet forth by Thomas Dorman ' Bachelor of Divinitie.' London, 1565, 4to. Dorman replying, in *A Diſprouſe of Nowell's Reproofe.* Mr Nowell vindicated himſelf, in II ' A Reproof of ' Mr Dorman's Proof continued, with a Defence of ' the chief Authority of Princes, as well in Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical as Civil, within their Dominions, by Mr ' Dorman maliciouſly impugned.' Lond. 1566. 4to, III. He publiſhed ' A Confutation as wel of M. Dorman's laſt Boke, intituled, *A Diſprouſe,* &c. as alſo ' of D. Sander his cauſes of Tranſubſtantiation, by ' *Alexander Nowel.* Whereby our Countreymen (eſpecially the ſimple and unlerned) may underſtande ' howe ſhamefully they are abuſed by thoſe and like ' Bokes, pretended to be written for their inſtruction.' Lond. 1567, 4to.

[*M*] *A Catechiſm.*] Mr Nowell was put upon compoſing this Catechiſm, by Secretary Cecil, and other great men in the nation; on purpoſe to ſtop a clamour raiſed amongſt the Roman Catholicks, That the Proteſtants had no Principles. When it was finiſhed, the Dean ſent it with a Dedication to Secretary Cecil. The Convocation that met in 1562, did it ſo much honour, as diligently to review, and interline it in ſome places; and unanimouſly to approve and allow it as their own Book, and their profeſſed Doctrine. After thoſe corrections, the Dean cauſed a fair copy of it to be taken, which he ſent to Secretary Cecil; not in his own name as afore, but in the name of the Clergy of the Convocation, as their book: and, after it had lain in the Secretary's hands above a year, he returned it to the Author with ſome learned man's notes. At length, upon the joynt requeſt of the two Archbiſhops, it was firſt printed and publiſhed in 1570, under this title, IV. *Chriſtianæ Pietatis prima Inſtitutio; ad uſum Scholarum Latinè ſcripta.* Lond. 4to. reprinted very often ſince, and tranſlated into Engliſh by Tho. Norton. Lond. 1571, 4to. and into Greek by William Whitaker. Lond. 1575. Mr Strype informs us, that this Catechiſm ſeems to be nearly the ſame with one ſet forth a month or two before King Edward the VIth's death, and licenſed, and recommended by that King's Letter prefixed thereto. We may conclude, that this firſt Catechiſm was alſo compoſed by Mr Nowell; for it is not to be imagined, that a man of his great reputation would have publiſhed it as his own, after it had undergone ſome corrections and alterations, unleſs it had been originally of his own compoſition (9). Several years after, it was in ſo great eſteem, that Biſhop Cooper, in his *Admonition to the People of England* (10), gives this high character of it. ' For a Catechiſm, I refer them ' to that which was made by the learned and godly ' man, Mr *Nowell*, Dean of Paul's, received and allowed by the Church of England, and very fully ' grounded and eſtabliſhed upon the word of God. ' There may you ſee all the parts of true Religion received, the Difficulties expounded, the Truth declared the Corruptions of the Church of Rome re' jected.' V. Dean Nowell publiſhed alſo a leſſer Catechiſm, which he intituled, *Catechiſmus parvus, Pueris primum, qui ediſcatur, proponendus in Scholis*; in Latin and Greek. Lond. 1574, 8vo. Tranſlated into Engliſh Lond. 1587, 8vo. and afterwards into Hebrew. VI. A Letter of his is publiſhed in the Appendix to Archbiſhop Parker's Life, by J. Strype (11). And he is ſaid in the ſame Life (12), to have compoſed a Homily on account of the Plague in 1564.

(9) See Strype's Annals of the Reformation, as above, Vol. I. p. 352, &c. and Life of Parker, p. 202.

(10) Edit. 1589, p. 66.

(11) No. 29. p. 52.

(12) P. 202.

[*N*] *What further Character is given of him, &c.*] Dr Fuller, in his jingling and affected way, thus repreſents him (13). ' A man of a moſt angelicall life, ' and deep learning. A great defender of Juſtification by Faith alone, and yet a great practiſer of good ' works; witneſſe—*his benefaction to Brazen noſe* ' *college.* A great honourer of the Marriage of the ' Clergie, and yet who lived and died ſingle himſelfe. ' An aged man of 90 yeares of age, yet freſh in his ' youthful learning: yea, like another Moſes, his ' eyes were not dimme, nor did he ever make uſe of ' ſpectacles to read the ſmalleſt print (14).'

(13) Church-Hiſt. B. x. p. 4.

(14) H. Holland Icones, &c.

[*O*] *As appears from an original Letter of his.*] That Letter is a recommendation of Hilkiah Crooke to the Bailiffs of Colcheſter, for his being Maſter of the free ſchool in that Town; and is as follows. ' After my verie hartie commendacions unto yow ' right woorſhippfull. Wheras Helkiah Crooke is an ' humble ſuiter unto yow, for the Schole Maiſters ' place in your Citie, beinge now voyde, and as I ' underſtande Mr Docter Bright, Mr D. Hutchinſon, ' Mr Charke, Mr Egerton, Mr Haward, Mr Brooke, ' and others, men both of great learninge and godlyneſs, have commended hym unto yow as a man ' right for that office: I, though unacquainted myſelfe with the yonge learned man, yet I thinke that ' the commendacion of ſoe manie, wiſe, and worthie ' men, ſhould be a teſtimonie ſufficient unto yow for ' the admittinge of hym unto the ſaid place. And ' ſo I ende, commending yow all, and your whole ' Citie, to the moſt bleſſed keepinge and protection of ' almightie Godd. 7° Dec. 1598. Your woorſhipps aſſured in Chriſte, *Alexander Nowell.* C

O.

OGILBY [JOHN], a person memorable for his ingenuity and industry, and for the many books he published without the benefit of a regular education; and memorable also for the several reverses of fortune he underwent. He was born, about the 17th of November 1600, in or near Edinburgh in Scotland (*a*). His father, who was of an ancient and genteel family [*A*], having wasted his estate, and being a prisoner in the King's-Bench, could give his son but little education at school. However, the youth being very industrious, obtained some knowledge in the Latin Grammar; and, afterward, so much money, as not only to relieve his father and procure his discharge from prison, (a rare instance of filial piety!) but also to bind himself out apprentice to one Draper, a Dancing-master in Grays-Inn-lane, London. By his skill in that profession, and his agreeable and complaisant behaviour to his master's customers, he got so much money from them, as to buy out the remaining part of his time, and set up for himself. But, some time after, being employed to dance in a mask given by the great Villiers Duke of Buckingham, he happened, by a false step [*B*], to sprain a vein in the inside of his leg, which ever after occasioned him to go lamish. Next, we find he was Dancing-master to the sisters of Sir Ralph Hopton [*C*], at Witham in Somersetshire; where he learned, from that accomplished gentleman, how to handle the pike and musquet. When Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland, in 1633, he took him into his family to teach the art of dancing; and having a command of his pen, and writing a good hand, he was also employed by the Lord Deputy to transcribe several things for him. In this family it was, that he first gave proof of his inclination to Poetry, by translating some of Æsop's Fables into English verse; which, afterwards, when he came to understand Latin better, and had submitted them to the correction of several learned persons, he made publick. And being one of the troop of guard belonging to the Earl his master, he composed in English verse, The Character of a Trooper, a witty and humorous piece. About that time, his Lordship having appointed him Master of the Revels in Ireland, he built a Play-house in St Warburgh's street in Dublin, and was much estremed there for his industry and ingenuity: but the Rebellion breaking out in that kingdom in 1641, he lost all; and his life was several times in great danger, particularly at the blowing up of Refernam-castle near Dublin, when he happily escaped. About the year 1646, he left Ireland, and having the misfortune of being shipwrecked in his passage to England, arrived at London in very poor and necessitous circumstances. After a short stay there, he walked to Cambridge, where his great industry, and his greater love to learning, being discovered, several of the scholars gave him all the encouragement and instructions in their power; by which means, he became so compleat a master of the Latin tongue, that he ventured to translate Virgil into English verse, which was published in 1649 [*D*], and reprinted afterwards in a pompous manner, adorned

(a) Wood Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 378.

[*A*] *His father, who was of an ancient and genteel family.*] The name of Ogilby, or Ogilvie, hath been ennobled, by the titles of Earl of Airly, Earl of Finlater; and Lord Banff: all in Scotland. But, which of those families our Author had any relation to, we are not particularly informed.

[*B*] *By a false step.*] It happened by his high dancing, and cutting of capers, according to the fashion then in use (1).

[*C*] *The sisters of Sir Ralph Hopton.*] This Sir Ralph Hopton was made Knight of the Bath at the Coronation of King Charles I. and was General of his armies in the West, where he signalized his valour at Sherbourne castle, Launceston, Saltash, Bradock, Stratton, &c. See a full Account of him, and his exploits. in Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars (2). He was advanced to the title of Baron Hopton of Stratton, 4 Sept 1643; but dying at Bruges, in Sept 1652, without issue, his four sisters succeeded to his estate. Namely, 1. Rachel, married to —— Morgan. 2. Mary, first to —— Hartop, and afterwards to —— Mackworth, Knt. 3. —— to —— Windham. And 4. Margaret, to —— Throgmorton (3)

[*D*] *He ventured to translate Virgil into English verse*] He published that great Poet; or, as he intituled it, *The Works of Pub Virgil Maro*, in a large 8vo. Lond. 1649-50. which he dedicated to his most noble patron William, Marquis of Hertford; and thereupon obtained a considerable sum of money in his pocket, as Mr Wood informs us (4). He reprinted this translation in a large Octavo, Lond. 1675, and 1685, with sculpture and annotations.

(1) Wood, Ath. as above.

(2) Vol. I. and II. of the folio edition, and the four first volumes of the 8vo. edit.

(3) Sir William Dugdale's Baronage. Vol. II. p. 469.

(4) Athenæ, as above, col. 379.

[*E*] *And*

adorned with sculpture [*E*]. And, with the same sculptures, or cuts, he put out a beautiful and elegant Latin edition of that poet [*F*]. In 1651 he published, Fables of Æsop paraphrased in verse, and adorned with sculptures [*G*]. About the year 1654, through his great and unwearied diligence, accompanied with an insatiable desire of knowledge, he did learn the Greek language (*b*). When he had arrived to a competent knowledge of it, he undertook to translate Homer's Iliads, and afterwards his Odysseys; both which he published in process of time [*H*], printed in a beautiful and elegant manner. Mean while, he was employed, with the assistance of Dr John Worthington and other learned men, in printing at Cambridge a finer edition of the English Bible than had been extant ever before; which he adorned with chorographical and other sculptures, and presented a sumptuous copy of it to King Charles the Second, at his first coming to the royal chapel at Whitehall (*c*). He also presented a copy of it to the House of Lords, for which he received a gratuity from that House [*I*]: and very probably from the House of Convocation then sitting (*d*) [*K*]. In the beginning of the year 1661, he received orders from the Commissioners for his Majesty's Coronation, to prepare and conduct the poetical part thereof, as speeches, emblems, mottoes, and inscriptions: whereupon he drew up for the present, The Relation of his Majesty's Entertainment, passing through the City of London to his Coronation: with a description of the Triumphal Arches and Solemnity (*e*), in ten sheets, folio. But afterwards, by his Majesty's command, he improved and published it in a large volume, on royal paper, with admirable sculptures, and the speeches at large [*L*]; and it hath been much made use of in succeeding coronations (*f*). In 1662, he went into Ireland, being appointed by patent Master of the Revels there, though he had Sir William Davenant for competitor. At Dublin he built a noble theatre, which cost him about 2000 pounds, the former having been destroyed during the troubles. Upon his return to England he took Æsop again in hand, of which he published a second volume in 1665 [*M*]. The next things that he composed, were, The Ephesian Matron, and The Roman Slave, two heroic poems, dedicated to Thomas Earl of Ossory. Afterwards he wrote Carolics, an epic poem in twelve books, in honour of King Charles the First, whom he represented as the best pattern of true prudence, valour, and christianity. But this was entirely lost in the great fire of London, when our author's house in White-Friers was burnt, and he himself ruined, having but five pounds left to begin the world (*g*). But 'so it was, that he had such an excellent invention and prudential wit, and 'was master of so good an address, that when he had nothing to live on, he could not 'only shift handsomely, but made such rational proposals, which were embraced by rich 'and great men, that in a short time he would obtain an estate again. He never failed in 'what he undertook, but by his great industry and prudence went through it with profit 'and honour to himself (*h*).' Soon after the said fire, he had his house in White-Friers rebuilt; set up a printing-house there; employed able workmen; was appointed his Majesty's Cosmographer, and Geographic Printer, and printed several books that he and his assistants had translated and collected; particularly an Atlas [*N*], of which an account is given

(*b*) He learned it of Mr David Whitford, a Scots gentleman, at that time usher to Mr James Shirley. Wood Ath. col. 379.

(*c*) See Bishop Kennett's Register and Chronicle, fol. 1728, p. 244, 868, 871.

(*d*) Ibid. p. 328, 455.

(*e*) This is printed in the same volume of Bishop Kennett's, p. 411, &c.

(*f*) Wood, Ath. as above, col. 380.

(*g*) Idem, ibid.

(*h*) These are A. Wood's own words, col. 380.

[*E*] *And reprinted afterwards in a pompous manner.*] Namely, in 1654. Lond. fol. with this title, *The Works of Publius Virgilius Maro, translated, adorn'd with sculpture, and illustrated with Annotations.* It was the fairest edition that 'till then the English press ever produced, and hath his picture before it, as most of the Books which he published have. Mr Wood tells us (5), that by the publication with Annotations, of that most noble author, Mr Ogilby obtained the reputation of a good translator, and a faithful interpreter. But he hath been much eclipsed by the subsequent and more modern translators of that great Poet.

(5) Ibid.

[*F*] *He put out a beautiful and elegant Latin edition of that poet.*] This was in the year 1658, in a large folio.

[*G*] *Fables of Æsop, &c.*] Lond. 1651, 4to. These were ushered into the world, with commendatory verses from Sir William Davenant, then a prisoner in the Tower, and Mr James Shirley, both eminent poets (6).

(6) Wood, ibid.

[*H*] *Homer's Iliads, and afterwards his Odysses.*] He published 'Homer his Iliads translated, adorn'd 'with sculpture, and illustrated with Annotations.' Lond. 1660. fol. Dedicated to his most gracious Majesty King Charles II.——But it was not 'till 1665, that he put out, 'Homer his Odysses translated, 'adorned with Sculpture, and illustrated with Annotations.' Lond. fol. This he dedicated to his most noble Lord, James Duke of Ormond, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.——In these translations, he had the assistance of James Shirley, reputed an excellent Poet at that time (7).

(7) Wood, ubi supra, col. 378.

[*I*] *He also presented a copy of it to the House of Lords, for which he received a gratuity, &c.*] This appears from the following entry. (8) 'Ordered, That 'Dr Hodges shall attend the Lords, to receive from 'them such voluntary Contributions, as their Lordships shall give to Mr *Ogilby*, in recompense of his 'great Pains and Charge he hath been at in printing 'a *Bible*, which he hath presented and delivered to 'this House.'

(8) In the Lords Journals.

[*K*] *And very probably from the House of Convocation, &c.*] Which may be inferred from this minute in their Books, '1661, 31 die mensis Maii—— 'lecta est Petitio cujusdam Ogleby cum literis Regis 'huic Domo directis de & super commendatione Biblii 'impensis dicti Ogleby imprimendi, &c. (9).'

(9) Append. ad Synod. Anglican. See Kennett, as above, p. 455.

[*L*] *And published it in a large volume,——with admirable sculptures, &c.*] The title he gave it, was, 'The large Treatise, formerly promised and much 'expected, of his Majesty's Entertainment, in his 'passing through London; with the whole Cavalcade, 'and the four Arches, in Sculpture. As also a Narrative and Sculptures of his Majesty's solemn Coronation. Not 'till now published, by John Ogilby, 'Gent.' Lond. 1662, fol.

[*M*] *He took Æsop again in hand, of which he published a second Volume.*] He not only paraphrased that author, but also unfolded his Mythology, and added some new Fables of his own. It was the amusement of his leisure hours, during his recess at Kingston upon Thames, at the time of the great Sickness in London. And he published it, as I have said, in 1665, fol. with beautiful cuts: afterwards, in a lesser volume, with this title, 'The Fables of Æsop, paraphrased in verse, adorned with sculptures, and 'illustrated with Annotations.' Lond. 1673, 1674. 2 vol. 8vo.

[*N*] *Particularly an Atlas.*] This great work was comprised in several folio Volumes, and published in the following order. 1. An Embassy from *New Batavia*,

given below. All these great works were printed on imperial paper, adorned with maps, and most curious sculptures; and were carried on and sold by way of Proposals and standing Lotteries (*i*). This laborious man dyed September 4, 1676, and was interred in the vault under part of the church of St Bride's in Fleet-street (*k*). Some have styled him one of the prodigies of his age, for producing, from his late initiation into literature, so many large and learned volumes, as well in verse as in prose [*O*]. Mr Pope hath pronounced his poetry too mean for criticism (*l*): he was then speaking of our author's translation of Homer; but very probably he had no better opinion of his original poems, of which I have above given an account. However, if Mr Ogilby had not a compleat poetical genius, he was notwithstanding a man of parts, and made an amazing proficiency in learning, by the force of an unwearied application. He cannot be sufficiently commended for his virtuous industry, as well as his filial piety, in procuring, in so early a time of life, his father's liberty, when he was confined in a prison. In a word, he appears in his whole conduct to have been an honest and a good man [*P*].

(*i*) Wood, Ath. col. 381.

(*k*) Ibid.

(*l*) Mr Pope's preface to his translation of Homer's Iliad.

tavia to the Emperor of *China*. Lond. 1669. fol. adorned with Maps, Prospects, and various Sculptures, as all the rest were. 2. Description of *Africa*. Lond. 1670, fol. 3. Description of *America*. Lond. 1671, fol. 4. *Atlas Japanensis*: Being remarkable Addresses by way of Embassy from the East India Company of the United Provinces to the Emperor of Japan. Lond. 1670, fol. 5. *Atlas Chinensis*: Being the second part of a Relation of remarkable Passages in two Embassies from the East-India Company of the United Provinces, to the Viceroy of Simlamong. Lond. 1671, fol. 6. *Asia*, the first Part; being an accurate Description of Persia, and the several Provinces thereof. Lond. 1673, and 74, fol. He did not live to finish the second part. 7. Description of *Europe*; which he left unfinished. 8. *Britannia*, An Historical and Geographical Description of Britain, &c. Part I. fol. 9. The Traveller's Guide: Or, a most exact Description of the Roads of England; being Mr Ogilby's actual Survey, and Mensuration by the wheel, of the great Roads from London, to all the considerable Cities and Towns in England and Wales; together with the Cross Roads from one City or eminent Town to another, &c. Lond. 1674, fol. Reprinted since in octavo, without the Copper-plates, on which it was printed, and intitled, Mr Ogilby's and Mr William Morgan's Pocket-Book of the Roads, with their computed and measured distances, &c. Lond. 1689, and since in 12mo.—Improved also by John Owen of the Middle Temple, under this title, *Britannia depicta*: or, Ogilby improved: Being a correct copy of Mr Ogilby's actual Survey of all the direct and principal cross Roads in England and Wales, &c. in large octavo, all ingraved.

There goes also under his name, A new Map of the City of London, as it is new built: on one sheet. And He, jointly with William Morgan, made, A new and accurate Map of the city of London, distinct from Westminster and Southwark; 6 foot long, and 6 deep. Likewise, A Map of London, Westminster, and Southwark. And a Survey of Essex, with the Roads therein exactly measured. Having the Arms of the Gentry on the borders.

[*O*] *Some have styled him one of the prodigies of his age*, &c.] This is the character given of him by Mr Edw. Phillips (10), who adds, that 'His Paraphrase upon Æsop's Fables, for ingenuity and fancy, besides the invention of new Fables, is generally confess'd to have exceeded whatever hath been done before in that kind.'

(10) Theatr. Poetar.

[*P*] *He appears in his whole conduct to have been an honest and a good man.*] 'He seems to have recommended himself to the world by honest means, without having recourse to the servile arts of flattery, and the blandishments of falshood. He is an instance of the astonishing efficacy of application; had some more modern poets been blessed with a thousandth part of his oeconomy and industry, they needed not to have lived in poverty, and dyed of want. Although Mr Ogilby cannot be denominated a genius, yet he found means to make a genteel livelihood by literature, which many of the sons of Parnassus, blessed with superior powers, curse as a very dry and unpleasing soil, but which proceeds more from want of culture, than native barrenness.' Such is the conclusion of the character, and of the account, given of him, in the Lives of the Poets published by Mr Theoph. Cibber (11). C

(11) Edit. 1753. 12mo. Vol. II. p. 265—268.

OLDFIELD [ANNE], a celebrated Actress, was born in the year 1683, in Pall-Mall; where her father Captain Oldfield (*a*), then a private gentleman in the horse-guards, was once possessed of a moderately competent estate in houses; but by a heedless extravagance, too frequently seen in his profession, having made away both that and his military appointments, he left his family at his death very much unprovided. In these unhappy circumstances, the widow gladly accepted of an invitation to live with her sister ‖ who kept a tavern in St James's Market, placing her daughter with a sempstress * in King's-Street Westminster. But it was not long before fortune chalked out another course of life for Miss Oldfield. She had, it seems, early begun to take an extraordinary delight in reading plays, and was entertaining her relations at the tavern with her talent this way (*b*), when her voice chanced to reach the ear of Captain George Farquar [*A*], who, luckily for her, happened to dine there that day. He immediately perceived something so sweet in it, as to engage his particular attention; and, after listening a while, he stept into the room behind the barr, whence it came. Here he was equally struck with the agreeable person and carriage of the performer, as he had before been pleased with the performance, and presently pronounced our young sempstress admirably formed for the stage. This destination entirely concurring with her own most ardent wishes.

(*a*) 'Tis said he had a commission from King James the Second. See Memoirs of the Life of Mrs Oldfield, p. 55. in a letter to the author, by Ch. Taylour, servant to Mr Rich. If this be so, whatever the commission were, he had a just claim, by the courtesy of England, to the title of Captain.

‖ Mrs Voss.

* Mrs Wotton.

(*b*) She was reading the Scornful Lady of Beaumont and Fletcher, a play which she sometimes chose for her benefit afterwards. Ibid. p. 51.

[*A*] *Captain Farquar.*] The author of the Memoirs of her Life (1), assures us that he had frequently heard her mention the agreeable hours she had passed in Mr Farquar's company, and that his apology for the stage pleased her above all others; which is not unlikely (2), as the humorous, it is well known, was her distinguished taste. 'Poetry alone, says this sprightly author, and chiefly the drama, lies open to the insults of all pretenders. She was one of nature's eldest offsprings, whence, by her birth right, and plain simplicity, she pleads a genuine likeness to her mother. Born in the innocence of time, she provided not against the assaults of succeeding ages; and depending altogether on the generous end of her invention, neglected those secret supports, and serpentine devices used by other arts, that wind themselves into practice for more subtle and politic designs: naked she came into the world, and it is to be feared, like her professors, will go naked out.'

(1) This is no other than Mr Edm. Curl; but he seems to write here from his own knowledge.

(2) See his Discourse upon Comedy, p. 51. This is more probable, as it exactly suited Mrs Oldfield's case at that time.

[*B*] Sir

wishes. Her mother took the first opportunity of opening the matter to Sir John Vanbrugh [B], who had always expressed a great kindness for the family. That gentleman, after some trial, finding the young votary's qualifications every way very promising, without any delay, recommended her to Mr Rich, then Patentee of the King's theatre, who took her into the play-house at fifteen shillings a week. This was in 1699, when Miss was only sixteen years of age, yet she grew, in a short time, so much into favour, as to get her salary advanced to twenty shillings (c) [C]. She first distinguished herself in the part of Leonora [D] in Sir Courtly Nice, in 1703, and established her theatrical reputation the following year, in that of Lady Betty Modish [E]. It was a little before this [F] time, that she engaged the particular regards of Arthur Maynwayring, Esq; who interested himself greatly in the figure she made upon the stage. It was in some measure owing to the pains he took in improving her natural talents, that she became (as she soon did) the delight and chief ornament of it (d). In 1708, she was ranked so high in this profession, as to be pitched on among the principal actors (e), for one of the managers of the play-house, but that design being laid aside on account of her sex, she was so far from being chagrined at the disappointment, that she even approved the change of the scheme, and a charte blanche being offered her to continue in her former station, she demanded in lieu of so great a share of profit and power, no more than two hundred pounds a year, besides a benefit. That salary, in respect to her singular merit, was raised in a few years, to three hundred guineas; and she never sought to advance it. Some time after the death of Mr Maynwayring, to whom she brought a son, she engaged in a like correspondence with Brigadier-General Charles Churchill, Esq; This gentleman took as much delight in bringing her into the company of persons of the first rank, off the stage, as the former had taken in fitting her to sustain such personages upon it (f). By him she had another son, who afterwards married the Lady Anna Maria Walpole, natural daughter to the Earl of Orford. About the year 1718, Mr Savage, natural son to Earl Rivers, being reduced to the extremest necessity, his very singular case was so much compassionated by Mrs Oldfield, that she allowed him a settled pension [G] of fifty

(c) At the particular instance of the Duke of Bedford. See Mr Taylour's Letter, ubi sup.

(d) See his article.

(e) Dogget, Wilks, and Cibber, who soon after shared 1000 pounds each every season. Apology for the Life of Colley Cibber by himself, p. 235, 236, and 265.

(f) Memoirs of Mrs Oldfield, ubi supra, p. 65.

[B] *Sir John Vanbrugh.*] At this interview, Sir John having learned from her own mouth, that her inclination lay chiefly to Comedy, in preference to Tragedy, revised the Pilgrim of Beaumont and Fletcher, and making some alterations in it, procured the part of Alinda for Miss Oldfield; the play being now revived for the benefit of Mr Dryden, who wrote a prologue to it, but died on the third night of it's representation (3). Mr Cibber observes, that this gentle character [Alinda] was well suited to that modesty, which is inherent to young beginners, who arrive at any excellence (4).

(3) Viz. on May 1, 1701.

(4) Cibber's Life by himself, p. 175. fourth edit.

[C] *She was raised to twenty.*] The last cited author tells us (5), that she remained about a year little more than a mute, nay, he will have it chiefly for want of skill in the pronunciation, which was only conquered by her good understanding (the case, as he remarks too, of Mrs Barry). That during this time she gave no tolerable hopes of her ever being an actress, and even in the part of Alinda, he thought she had little more than her person of the necessary requisites for forming a good actress. For, continues he, she set out with so extraordinary a diffidence, that it kept her too despondingly down to a formal, plain, not to say flat, manner of speaking. But though the silver tone of her voice could not incline Mr Cibber to any hopes in her favour, yet, it seems, the other part of the auditory saw further into her promising merit, and procured her a better allowance. This truth is extorted from her contemporary actor, who owns he was deceived in the opinion he had entertained of her. However, this mistake could not, it is well known, be owing to any want of a discerning spirit in himself, but to the approbation of the public, which, though given her against the judgment, yet being the true warm weather of a theatrical plant, soon brought this forward to the perfection designed it by nature.

(5) Ibid. and p. 94, 95.

[D] *The part of Leonora.*] Queen Anne being at Bath that summer, was attended there by the company; who leaving Mrs Verbruggen sick in London, of all her parts, it seems, this of Leonora was the only one which fell to the share of Miss Oldfield. In this part she luckily happened to be contrasted with Mr Cibber in that of Sir Courtly Nice: and it seems she first set before his eyes the superiority of her understanding, by the misty manner of muttering her words, in return to his affected carelessness from a contemptuous neglect of her merit at the rehearsal; and then in acting the play, triumphed over his dulness, and awaked him into an almost amazement: so forward and sudden a step, says he, into nature, I had never seen; and what made her performance more valuable, was, that I knew it all proceeded from her own understanding, untaught, and unassisted by any more experienced actor (6).

(6) Ibid. p. 176.

[E] *Part of Lady Betty Modish.*] We are assured by the author himself of the Careless Husband, which had been thrown aside the summer before less than half finished, in despair of having justice done to the character of Lady Betty Modish, was taken up again by him, upon the breaking out of Miss Oldfield's theatrical powers in that of Leonora. From that time, it seems he condescended to admit her into his company, and we must admire the promptness of his wit, to make the best advantage of it. At these interviews she sat for her picture, and I need not mention what advantage the circumstance of being unknown to her gave both to the artist and the subject. Many sentiments in this character, were so far Mrs Oldfield's, as to be only dressed with a little more care, than when they negligently fell from her lively humour. She wanted only birth to be the agreeable, gay, woman of quality, a little too conscious of her natural attractions (7).

(7) Ibid. p. 177.

[F] *It was a little before this, &c.*] The author of her Memoirs informs us (8), that the summer before the Careless Husband was brought upon the stage, our actress passed the long vacation with Mr Maynwaring at Windsor (the scene of that comedy) where they lodged in the castle, at the house of Mr John Sewell, Treasurer and Chapter-Clerk to the Dean and College; a circumstance, which he suggests, furnished an opportunity of improving Mrs Oldfield's performance.

(8) P. 56.

[G] *She gave Savage a pension.*] In the view of preventing any ill-natured and unjust censure, which might deprive this act of generosity of it's due praise, and that the good actions of Mrs Oldfield may not be sullied by her general moral character, the writer of Mr Savage's Life thinks proper to mention, that he [Savage] often declared in the strongest terms, that he never saw her alone, or in any other place than behind the scenes. In another place, the same author, speaking of Queen Caroline's stipend of 50 pounds, observes, that Mrs Oldfield had formerly given him the same allowance, with much more heroic intentions (9); that she had no other view than to enable him to prosecute his studies, and to set himself above the want of assistance; and was content with doing good without stipulating for encomiums: he takes notice also, that this favour was done him without expecting any sollicitations, or exacting any servilities (10).

(9) By the Queen's stipend he was retained to write a Birth-day ode, as her Poet Laureat. Jonson's Life of Savage, p. 103.

(10) Ibid. passim.

fifty pounds a year, which was duly and regularly paid as long as she lived. This added to several other tenderly humane and disinterestedly generous actions, together with a peculiarly distinguished taste in the elegance of dress, conversation, and manners [*H*], have generally been spread as a veil to cover her failings, which indeed could by no means bear the light [*I*]. However, with all her faults, she was the Cara of her time [*K*] as long as she lived, and after her death [*L*], which happened on Friday, October 23d, 1730. Her corps, elegantly dressed [*M*], was carried on the Tuesday following from her house in Grosvenor-Street to the Jerusalem-Chamber, to lie in state; whence, about eleven o'clock at night, it was conveyed to the Abbey; the pall being supported by the Lord de la Warr, Lord Hervey, the Right honourable George Bubb Dodington, Charles Hedges, Esq; Walter Carey, Esq; and Captain Elliot; her eldest son, Arthur Maynwayring, Esq; being chief mourner, and the funeral service being performed by the senior Prebendary then resident. She was interred towards the west end of the south isle, near the Consistory Court between the monuments of Mr Craggs and Mr Congreve. Her will [*N*] is an instance both of her good sense, and her piety towards her relations.

(g) The Examiner observes, that she was too much admired upon the stage, to have any enquiry made into her conduct behind the curtain. In that paper, for Feb. 9, 1713.

[*H*] *Elegance of her dress, conversation, and manners.*] The Tatler, taking notice of her dress (11), says, that 'whatever character she represented, she was always well dressed. The make of her mind very much contributed to the ornament of her body. This made every thing look native about her, and her cloaths were so exactly fitted, that they appeared, as it were, part of her person. Her most elegant deportment was owing to her manner, and not to her habit. Her beauty was full of attraction, but more of allurement. There was such a composure in her looks, and propriety in her dress, that you would think it impossible she should change the garb you one day saw her in, for any thing so becoming, 'till you next day saw her in another. There was no other mystery in this, but that however she was apparelled, herself was the same. For there is an immediate relation between our thoughts and gestures, that a woman must think well to look well.'

(11) No. 212. Vol. IV. She is said there to be drawn under the feigned name of Flavia.

[*I*] *Will not bear the light.*] We are told that Sir Roger Mostyn, then an officer in the guards, was passionately in love with her, that she not only treated his addresses with coldness, but even used him ill. Notwithstanding which, upon receiving the news of his discharge from the army and banishment (12), the thoughts of a separation from her, which that must occasion, drew tears from him, and being ordered to his seat in the country next day, he proposed instant marriage to her, as the last remedy, which produced no other effect than a mortifying refusal. If we may rely upon this piece of secret history for fact, it may be made use of to confirm the testimony of those who suggest it as their opinion, that she had no love-affairs besides those with the two persons mentioned in the text (13). But enough of this subject.

(12) He took the liberty of speaking favourably of the noblemen concerned in the rebellion of 1715, for which he was broke, and confined to his house in the country. Chetwood's History of the Stage, p. 44.

(13) Memoirs of Mrs Oldfield, and Mr Maynwayring's article.

[*K*] *The Cara of her time.*] The qualities which gave birth to this distinction, were partly natural, and partly acquired. The first are summed up as follow (14). In her person, she was of a stature just rising to that height, where the graceful can only begin to shew itself. Of a lively aspect, and command in her mien. Nature had given her this peculiar happiness, that she looked and maintained the agreeable at a time of life, when other fine women only raise admirers by their understanding. She had a very large portion of natural good sense, and a lively turn of conversation, which made her very easy to ladies of the highest rank. The effect of this was seen upon the stage, where she sometimes was what might have become the finest woman in real life to have supported. Mr Cibber tells us (15), 'that he had often seen her in private societies, where women of the best rank might have borrowed some part of her behaviour, without the least diminution of their sense or dignity; and assures us, that in this, he did no more than repeat the words of a woman of condition then at Bath.' The qualities she had acquired, were the genteel and the elegant; one in her air, and the other in dress. She generally provided her own dress on the stage, and in this, set the fashion, 'till she appeared in another. She was particularly fortunate in the wearing of her person, her figure always improving 'till her thirtieth year. Mr Cibber likewise mentions it as a mark of good sense rarely known in any actor of either sex besides herself, that to the last year of her life, she never undertook any part she liked, without being importunately desirous of having all the helps in it, that could be given her, and that with all her merit, she was tractable, and less presuming in her station, than several that had half her pretensions to be troublesome. At the same time, we are assured, that she lost nothing by this easy conduct, having every thing she asked, but that, it seems, was, because she was always reasonable in her requests; hating as much to be grudged as denied a civility (16).

(14) In the preface to the Provoked Husband.

(15) In his Apology, p. 177.

(16) Ib. p. 178.

[*L*] *Her death.*] The last time she appeared on the stage, was in the character of Lady Brute, in the Provoked Wife, acted April 28th, 1730. She had been for some years in a declining way, and though the natural chearfulness of her temper had kept it out of sight, and she continued acting with the universal applause of the audience, yet in the midst of these loud claps, the tears have been seen trickling down her cheeks (17). The last original character she acted, was Sophonisba, in the tragedy of that title, which was thought by some to hasten her death; the anguish of her pain many times forcing the tears from her eyes during the performance (18). However, she continued her assistance to the house, 'till within the last two months of her illness, after which she declined receiving her salary, though intituled to it by her agreement (19). She went down the steps which led to her grave, with a dignity equal to any appearance she had made in the vigour of her health. And we are told, that when the Physicians, at her own importunity, declared there was no hopes of her recovery, she replied, without the least emotion, that she acquiesced in the lot Providence had assigned her, and hoped she should bear her afflictions patiently. She was attended during the whole time by Mrs Sanders, a female friend and intimate acquaintance (20), who declared, that she behaved throughout this last scene of life, with Christian fortitude, and though she had no Priest (21), yet she did the office of one to the last.

(17) Idem ibid.

(18) Preface to that play, by the author, Mr Thompson; and Chetwood's Memoirs, &c.

(19) Cibber, in his Life, ubi sup.

(20) This was an actress brought upon the stage by Mrs Oldfield, who retained an unalterable respect for her as long as she lived. Memoirs of Mrs Oldfield.

(21) Memoirs of the Stage, p. 72, 73. This expression of Mrs Saunders countenances the common report, that the clergy declined this office.

[*M*] *Her corps elegantly dressed.*] This was done by the sole direction of Mrs Sanders (22), who saw her laid in her coffin, with a very fine Brussels laced head, a holland shift with a tucker and double ruffles of the same lace, a pair of new kid gloves, and her body wrapt up in a winding sheet.

(22) This gentlewoman declared she never heard her once mention her funeral. Ibid. p. 73, 74.

[*N*] *Her last will.*] It was dated June 27th, anno Georgii II. quarto, & Domini 1730, and contained in substance as follows. Having first mentioned a former gift by deed, of her house in Grosvenor-street, to her son Charles Churchill, and ordered all her estate not already disposed of to be turned into money, and placed out at interest. She leaves first the interest of 5000 *l.* to her son Arthur Maynwayring, 'till he attains the age of thirty years, if he lived so long, after which, the principal to be paid to him, to be at his own disposal; and in case of his dying before thirty, the money is bequeathed to her other son Charles Churchill, and at his decease, to his father the Brigadier, absolutely. She then bequeaths to her mother ten guineas, and sixty pounds a year for her life. Thirdly, she leaves ten guineas to her aunt Garlow, and an annuity of thirty pounds for her life, in case she survives her mother, and not otherwise: To this she added in a codicil ten pounds a year for her aunt's life during that of her mother. Fourthly, Ten pounds a year for life is given to Mrs Saunders. Lastly, having appointed the surplusage of the yearly product of her estate to be put out to interest, and added to the bulk by way of increase: As to the rest, she orders, after the deaths of her mother, aunt, and Mrs Saunders, annuitants for life, two thirds of her whole estate to be given to her son Arthur Maynwayring,

(23) This consisted chiefly, if not solely, of the furniture of her house, which was very rich, the sale of it amounting to several thousand pounds.

wiyring, and the remaining third to her son Charles Churchill. And in case both or either of them be then dead, the share or shares to be paid to the Brigadier Churchill absolutely, whom she appoints her executor, in conjunction with Lord Hervey, and John Hedges of Tradey in Middlesex. P

OLDHAM [JOHN], truly styled the *English Juvenal*, (for none of our English writers have more happily imitated the spirit and vehemence of that ancient Satyrist,) was the son of John Oldham, a Minister in the Oliverian times, and grandson of John Oldham Rector of Nun-eaton near Tetbury in Gloucestershire. He was born the 9th of August 1653, at Shipton, where his father was then Minister, near the town, and in the county, just now mentioned. His father educated him in grammar-learning 'till he was almost fit for the university; but, in order to qualify him for it the better, he sent him to Tetbury-school; where he staid indeed longer than he needed, occasioned by the earnest request of Alderman Yeat of Bristol, who having a son at the same school, was desirous that Mr Oldham should be his companion; as that, he thought, would conduce to advance him in his learning. This for a time retarded him in the prosecution of his studies, but Mr Alderman Yeat made him afterwards ample amends. In the beginning of June, 1670, he became a Batler of Edmund-Hall in Oxford, under the tuition of William Stephens, B. D. where he was observed to be a good Latinist, and chiefly to apply himself to Poetry, and other studies of that kind, to which he was naturally carried by his genius (*a*). May 30, 1674, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (*b*); but left the university without compleating that degree by determination; and went and lived at home with his father, much against his humour and inclination. However, this disagreeable situation did not abate his fire, or make him forsake his poetical studies. For in 1675, he composed a fine *Pindarique, to the memory of his dear friend Mr Charles Morwent.* In 1676, some *Verses, upon presenting a book to Cosmelia; the Parting; complaining of Absence; and promising a Visit.* In 1677, *A Dithyrambick*: the Drunkard's speech in a Mask (*c*). Mean while, he was appointed Usher of the free-school at Croyden, and continued there about three years: towards the expiration of which, he began to compose his four Satires against the Jesuits [*A*], occasioned by the discovery of the Popish Plot in

(*a*) Wood Ath. edit. 1721. Vol. II. col. 751. Life of our author, prefixed to a new edition of his Works, Lond. 1722, 2 vols.

(*b*) Wood, Fasti, Vol. II. col. 195.

(*c*) See his Works, and Wood, Ath. as above, col. 751, 752.

[*A*] *His four Satires against the Jesuits.*] In these Satires he hath very severe strokes against that Society, and paints them in the strongest colours, both as to their principles and practices. Of which we shall give a few specimens.

Be diligent in Mischief's trade, be each
Performing as a Dev'l; nor stick to reach
At Crimes most dangerous; where bold despair,
Mad lust, and heedless blind revenge would ne'er
Ev'n look, march you without a blush, or fear,
Inflam'd by all the hazards that oppose,
And firm, as burning Martyrs to your cause.
Then you're true Jesuits, then you're fit to be
Disciples of great Loyola - - - - (1)

(1) Satire i. p. 11. edit. 1694, 8vo.

In Loyola's will, or last speech, he brings him in recommending Impudence to them, as one of their chief accomplishments; as well as Irreligion.

Get that great gift, and talent, *Impudence*,
Accomplish'd Mankind's highest excellence:
'Tis that alone prefers, alone makes great,
Confers alone wealth, titles, and estate:
Gains place at Court, can make a fool a peer,
An ass a bishop, can vil'st blockheads rear
To wear Red Hats, and sit in porph'ry chair.
'Tis learning, parts, and skill, and wit, and sense,
Worth, merit, honour, vertue, innocence.
Next for *Religion*, learn what's fit to take,
How small a dram do's the just compound make.
As much as is by th' crafty states-men worn
For fashion only, or to serve a turn:
To bigot fools its idle practice leave,
Think it enough the empty form to have:
The outward show is seemly, cheap, and light,
The substance cumbersom, of cost, and weight.
- - - - - - - - - -
- - - - - - - - - -
Let no nice, holy, conscientious ass
Amongst your better company find place,
Me and your foundation to disgrace.
Let Truth be banisht, ragged Vertue fly,
And poor unprofitable Honesty (2).

(2) Satire III. p. 49, 50, 51.

He also shows what dangerous use they make of *Confessions.*

But I forget (what should be mention'd most)
Confession, our chief privilege, and boast:
That staple ware, which ne'er returns in vain,
Ne'er balks the Trader of expected gain.
'Tis this that spies through Court-intrigues, and brings
Admission to the cabinets of Kings:
By this we keep proud Monarchs at our becks,
And make our footstools of their Thrones and Necks (3).

(3) P. 57.

In another place he very well exposes the Romish Relicks.

Yon is the *Baptist*'s Coat, and one of's Heads,
The rest are shewn in many a place besides;
And of his teeth as many sets there are,
As on their belt six Operators wear.
Here blessed *Mary*'s milk, not yet turn'd sour,
Renown'd (like asses) for it's healing pow'r,
Ten *Holland* kine scarce in a year give more (4).

(4) Sat. iv. p. 84.

His representation of Transubstantiation is also very sarcastical.

But nothing with the crowd does more enhance
The value of these holy *Charlatans* †,
Than when the Wonders of the Mass they view,
Where spiritual jugglers their chief mast'ry shew:
Hey Jingo, Sirs! What's this? 'tis Bread you see;
Presto be gone! 'tis now a Deity.

† Jugglers.

Two

in 1678. At Croyden, he received an unexpected visit from John Earl of Rochester, Charles Earl of Dorset, Sir Charles Sedley, and other persons of wit and distinction, merely upon the reputation of some Verses of his, they had seen in manuscript. The master of the school was not a little surprized at such a visit, and would have taken the honour to himself; but they soon convinced him, that he had neither wit nor learning enough to make a party in such company (*d*). Upon his quitting Croyden school, he was recommended by his friend Harman Atwood, Esq; [*B*] to Sir Edward Thurland, one of the Barons of the Exchequer, who had a house near Riegate in Surrey, to be tutor to his grandsons. He continued in that family 'till 1681, and then being out of all employment, he retired to London, resorting there among the wits. Shortly after, he became tutor to a son of Sir William Hicks of Ruckholt-hall in Low-Layton, near London: where, by the advice and encouragement of the very eminent Dr Richard Lower, who was acquainted in the family, he applied himself to the study of Physic. But the irresistible bent of his genius, made him quit all gainful business, for the sake of his beloved mistress Poetry, as he expresses it [*C*]. When he had qualified young Mr Hicks for foreign travel, not caring, though earnestly pressed, to go abroad with him, he took leave of the family; and, with a small sum of money which he had saved, hastened to London, where his company was much sought after, on account of his wit [*D*]. It was then

(*d*) Wood, Ath. col. 751. and Life of Mr Oldham, as above.

Two grains of Dough, with cross, and stamp of Priest,
And five small words pronounc'd make up their *Christ*.
To this they all fall down, this all adore,
And strait devour, what they ador'd before ‖.

‖ P. 88, 89.

[*B*] *He was recommended by his friend Harman Atwood, Esq;*] This gentleman resided at Saunderstead in Surrey, where his family had been long seated. He was a singular benefactor to the Church there, and other Churches in his patronage; by building houses for the incumbents, and restoring the impropriated tythes, which sacrilege had despoiled them of (5). In his station of a *Counsellor at Law*, he was a person of uncommon Uprightness and Integrity: for which he is justly celebrated by our Author (6), in the following strains.

(5) J. Aubrey's Hist. and Antiquities of Surrey, edit. 1718, Vol. II. p. 60.

(6) In his fine Pindarique on Mr Atwood's death. *Remains*, p. 113.

Long time had the profession under scandal lain,
And felt a general, tho' unjust disdain,
An upright Lawyer contradiction seem'd,
And was, at least, a prodigy esteem'd.
If one, perhaps, did in an age appear,
He was recorded like some blazing Star;
And statues were erected to the wond'rous man,
As heretofore to the strange honest publican.
To thee the numerous calling all it's thanks should give,
To thee, who could'st alone, it's lost Repute retrieve.
Thou the vast wide extremes didst reconcile,
The first almost, e'er taught it was not to beguile.
To each thou didst distribute Right so equally,
Ev'n Justice might herself correct her scales by thee.

And thus he goes on with the highest encomiums on that worthy man.

[C] *But the irresistible bent of his genius, made him quit all gainful business for Poetry, &c.*] Of this irresistible inclination of his to Poetry, he gives the following pleasant account, in a Letter to a friend.

- - - - Silly I, all thriving Arts refuse,
And all my hopes, and all my vigour lose,
In service on that worst of Jilts, a Muse.
For gainful business court ignoble ease,
And in gay Trifles wast my ill-spent days.
- - - - - - - - - -
Oft (I remember) did wise friends dissuade,
And bid me quit the trifling barren trade.
Oft have I tried (heav'n knows) to mortifie
This vile and wicked lust of poetry:
But still unconquer'd it remains within,
Fix'd as an habit, or some darling sin.
In vain I better studies there would sow,
Often I've tried, but none will thrive, or grow:
All my best thoughts, when I'd most serious be,
Are never from its foul infection free.
Nay (God forgive me) when I say my Prayers,
I scarce can help polluting them with verse:
That fabulous wretch * of old, revers'd I seem,
Who turn whate'er I touch to dross and rhyme.

* Midas.

- - - - - - - - - -
' What was't I rashly vow'd? shall ever I
' Quit my beloved mistris, Poetry?
' Thou sweet beguiler of my lonely hours,
' Which thus glide unperceiv'd with silent course:
' Thou gentle spell, which undisturb'd do'st keep
' My breast, and charm intruding care asleep:
' They say, thou'rt poor, and unendow'd, what ' tho?
' For thee I this vain worthless world forego:
' Let wealth and honour be for fortune's slaves,
' The alms of fools, and prize of crafty knaves:
' To me thou art, whate'er the ambitious crave,
' And all that greedy misers want, or have:
' In youth or age, in travel, or at home,
' Here, or in town, at London, or at Rome,
' Rich, or a beggar, free, or in the Fleet,
' Whate'er my fate is, 'tis my fate to write (7)'

(7) Works, p. 121, 122, 129.

[*D*] *Where his company was much sought after, on account of his wit.*] His wit was agreeable and piercing, and free from the prophaneness then too common; as is acknowledged in some of the Verses made to his memory, after his decease.

The company of beauty, wealth, and wine,
Were not so charming, not so sweet as thine;
They quickly perish; yours was still the same,
An everlasting, but a lambent flame;
Which something so resistless did impart,
It still through ev'ry ear, won ev'ry heart:
Unlike the wretch that strives to get esteem,
Nay, thinks it fine and janty to *blaspheme*,
And can be witty on no other theme:
Ah! foolish men (whom thou didst still despise)
That must be wicked to be counted wise!
Thy converse from this *reigning Vice* was free
And yet was truly all that wit could be:
None had it, but, ev'n with a tear, does own,
The *Soul of dear Society* is gone (8).

(8) Verses by Rob. Gould, prefixed to our author's Remains.

[*E*] *And*

then he became acquainted with the renowned Mr Dryden. But what turned to his greater advantage, was his being made known to the most generous and truly noble William Earl of Kingston, who became his patron, and entertained him with great respect at his seat at Holme-Pierpont [*E*]. At length, Mr Oldham being seized with that fatal distemper the small-pox, died of it Dec. 9th, 1683, in the thirtieth year of his age; and was buried in the church of Holme-Pierpont, the Earl attending as chief mourner, and soon after erected a monument to his memory [*F*]. He was tall of stature; the make of his body very thin; his face long, his nose prominent, his aspect unpromising, but satire was in his eye: His constitution was very tender, and inclined to a consumption; and it was not a little injured by his intense application to his studies (*c*). For, that he was a person of great reading, is sufficiently plain from his works, of which a list is given below [*G*]. The esteem

(*c*) Life, as above; and Wood Ath. col. 752.

[*E*] *And entertained him with great respect at his seat at Holme Pierpont.*] The Author of his Life affirms, that the Earl would fain have had Mr Oldham to be his Chaplain. But, besides that it is much to be questioned whether he ever entered into orders, 'tis certain that he had the utmost aversion for that honorable servitude. This he sufficiently manifested in his Satyr addressed to a Friend, &c. (9) wherein are these remarkable lines.

(9) Works, p. 141, &c.

Some think themselves exalted to the sky,
If they light in some noble family:
Diet, an Horse, and thirty pounds a year,
Besides th' advantage of his Lordship's ear,
The credit of the business, and the state,
Are things that in a Youngster's sense sound great.
Little the unexperienc'd Wretch does know,
What slavery he oft must undergo:
Who tho' in silken scarf and cassock drest,
Wears but a gayer Livery at best:
When Dinner calls, the Implement must wait
With holy words to consecrate the Meat:
But hold it for a Favour seldom known,
If he be deign'd the Honor to sit down.
Soon as the Tarts appear, Sir *Crape*, withdraw!
Those Dainties are not for a spiritual Maw:

\- - - - - - - - - -

For meer Board-wages such their freedom sell,
Slaves to an Hour, and Vassals to a Bell.

\- - - - - - - - - -

And where's the mighty Prospect after all
A Chaplainship serv'd up, and seven years Thrall?
The menial thing, perhaps, for a Reward
Is to some slender Benefice preferr'd,
With this proviso bound, that he must wed
My Ladies antiquated waiting-maid,
In dressing only skill'd, and marmalade.
Let others who such meannesses can brook,
Strike countenance to every Great Man's look;
Let those that have a mind, turn slaves to eat,
And live contented by another's Plate:
I rate my Freedom higher, nor will I
For Food and Rayment truck my Liberty.
But if I must to my last shifts be put,
To fill a Bladder, and twelve yards of Gut;
Rather with counterfeited wooden leg,
And my right Arm tied up, I'll chuse to beg:
I'll rather chuse to starve at large, than be
The gawdiest Vassal to Dependency.

[*F*] *Soon after erected a monument to his memory.*] With this inscription. 'M. S. *Joh. Oldhami* Poetæ, 'quo nemo sacro furore plenior, nemo rebus sublimior, aut verbis feliciùs audax: cujus famam omni 'ævo propria satis consecrabunt carmina Quem inter 'primos Honoratissimi *Gulielmi* Comitis de *Kingston* 'Patroni sui amplexus Variolis correptum, heu nimis 'immatura mors rapuit, & in coelestem transtulit chorum. Natus apud Shipton in Agro Glocestrensi, in 'Aula Sti Edmundi Graduatus. Obiit die Decembris 'nono, An. Dom. 1683. Ætatis 30 (10).'

(10) Wood Ath. as above, col. 752. and Life, as above.

[*G*] *His works, &c.*] The particulars of them are as follow. 1. Satyrs upon the Jesuits; four in number. With a Prologue. Written in the year 1679. 2. Pindarique Ode. 3. An Apology for the foregoing Ode, by way of Epilogue.—This Ode, or Satire, had something so shocking in it at first appearance, that the Author was forced to vindicate himself, and explain his meaning, in an Advertisement prefixed to the first collection of Poems he published.—— 'As for the 'next poem, saith he, (which is the most liable to 'censure) tho' the world has given it the name of the '*Satyr against Virtue*, he declares, 'twas never de'sign'd to that intent, how apt soever some may be 'to wrest it. And this appears by what is said after 'it, and is discernable enough to all, that have the 'sense to understand it: 'Twas meant to abuse those, 'who valued themselves upon their Wit and Parts, 'in praising Vice; and to shew, that others of so'ber principles, if they would take the same liberty 'in poetry, could strain as high rants in Profaneness 'as they. At first he intended it not for the publick, 'nor to pass beyond the privacy of two or three 'friends; but it having had the fate to steal abroad in 'manuscript, and afterwards in print, he thought it a 'justice due to his own reputation, to have it come forth 'without those faults which it had suffered from tran'scribers and the press, and which made it a worse 'Satyr upon himself, than upon what it was design'd.' 4. The Passion of Byblis in Ovid's Metamorphosis, B. 9. F. 11. Imitated in English. 5. A Satyr upon a Woman, who by her Falshood and Scorn, was the Death of his Friend. 6. Horace his Art of Poetry, imitated in English.—He apologizes for adventuring upon a translation of this after Ben. Jonson, and the Earl of Roscommon; by letting the Reader know, that it was a task imposed upon him, and not what he voluntarily engaged in. 7. Paraphrase upon Horace. Book I. Ode 31. 8. Paraphrase upon Book II. Ode 14. of the same. 9. The Praise of Homer. An Ode. 10. Bion. A Pastoral, in imitation of the Greek of Moschus, bewailing the Death of the Earl of Rochester 11. The Lamentation for Adonis. Imitated out of the Greek of Bion of Smyrna. A Pastoral. 12 Paraphrase upon the 137th Psalm. 13. Paraphrase upon the Hymn of S Ambrose, An Ode. 14. A Letter from the Country to a Friend in Town, giving an account of the Author's Inclinations to Poetry. Written in July 1678. 15. Upon a Printer that exposed him by printing a Piece of his grosly mangled, and faulty. 16. The eighth Satyr of Monsieur Boileau, imitated. Written in October 1682. 17. The thirteenth Satyr of Juvenal, imitated. Written in April, 1682. 18. David's Lamentation for the Death of Saul and Jonathan, paraphrased. Written in September 1677. 19. The Ode of Aristotle in Athenæus, paraphrased. 20. Ode upon the works of Ben. Johnson. Written in 1678. 21. The ninth Ode of the Third Book of Horace, imitated. 22. Upon a Lady, who, by overturning of a Coach, had her Coats behind flung up, and what was under shewn to the View of the Company. Out of Voiture. 23. Catullus Epigr. 7. Imitated. 24, 25, 26. Elegies out of Ovid's Amours, Imitated. Viz. Book II. Elegy. 4.—Elegy. 5.—Elegy. 10.—27. A Fragment of Petronius, paraphrased. 28. An Ode of Anacreon, paraphrased. The Cup. 29. An Allusion to Martial. Book I. Epigr. 118. 30 The Dream. Written, March 10. 1677. 31. A Satyr touching Nobility. Out of Monsieur Boileau. 32. A Satyr addressed to a Friend that is about to leave the University, and come abroad in the world. 33. Some Verses written in September, 1676. Presenting a Book to Cosmelia. Elegy. 34. The parting, Elegy. 35. Complaining

esteem his contemporaries had for him, appears by the many copies of Verses they wrote to bewail his immature death [*H*]. He had, as Mr Collier observes (*f*), 'a considerable genius for Satire, but did not always keep his wit within bounds, having some licentious strokes in his writings.' What further character hath been given of him by others, is set down below in the note [*I*].

(*f*) Great Historical Dictionary, Vol. II. under the article *Oldham*.

ing of Absence. Elegy. 36. Promising a Visit. Elegy. 37. The Careless Good Fellow. Song. Written March 9, 1680. 38. A Satyr. The person of Spencer is brought in, dissuading the Author from the study of Poetry, and shewing how little it is esteemed and encouraged in this present age. 39. A Satyr, in Imitation of the Third of Juvenal. Written May 1682. 40, A Dithyrambick. The Drunkard's speech in a Mask. Written in Aug. 1677.— All the above were published by himself; and the following after his decease.—*Remains* of Mr John Oldham in verse and prose. 41. Counterpart to the Satyr against Virtue. In person of the Author. 42. Virgil's Eclogue viii. The Enchantment. 43. Upon the marriage of the Prince of Orange with the Lady Mary. 44. An Ode for an anniversary of Musick on S. Cecilia's day. Set to Musick by Dr John Blow, in 1685. 45. To Madam L. E. upon her recovery from a late Sickness. 46. On the Death of Mrs Katherine Kingscourt, a Child of excellent parts and piety. 47. A Sunday-thought in Sickness. 48. To the memory of his dear friend Mr Charles Morwent. A Pindarique. 49. To the memory of that worthy gentleman, Mr Harman Atwood. A Pindarique. 50. A Character: Or, as it is in some editions, Character of a certain ugly old Parson. 'This last, as A. Wood observes rightly (11). 'is the worst and most offensive of all the rest;' and the more so, for being made, as 'tis said, upon a very near relation of his.—These several pieces were published at four different times, For those from No. 1. to No. 5. came out in 1681, and 1682. Only the first Satire against the Jesuites, and the Satire against Virtue, stole into the world in 1679, against the Author's knowledge and consent. The pieces from No. 5. exclusive to No. 15, inclusive, came out in 1681: And from thence to the Remains, in 1683. All, in three thin Volumes 8vo. And the Remains were published in 1684. 8vo. They have since been frequently reprinted all together in one Volume 8vo. And in two Volumes 12mo. in 1722. with the Author's Life; which is chiefly taken from A. Wood.

(11) Athen. as above, col. 752.

[*H*] *The esteem his contemporaries had for him, appears by the many copies of Verses they wrote to bewail his immature death.*] Several of them are prefixed to his *Remains*, written by Mr Dryden, Thomas Flatman, Nahum Tate, T. Durfey, Tho. Andrews, T. Wood, Robert Gould, and other anonymous Authors. Mr Dryden being the most considerable amongst them, we shall set down what he saith in praise of our Author.

Farewell, too little, and too lately known,
Whom I began to think, and call my own;
For sure our souls were near ally'd; and thine
Cast in the same poetic mould with mine.
One common Note on either Lyre did strike,
And knaves and fools we both abhorr'd alike:
To the same goal did both our studies drive,
The last set out the soonest did arrive.
Thus *Nisus* (12) fell upon the slippery place,
While his young friend perform'd and won the race.
O early ripe! to thy abundant store
What could advancing Age have added more?
It might (what Nature never gives the young)
Have taught the Numbers of thy native tongue.
But Satyr needs not those, and wit will shine
Through the harsh cadence of a rugged line.
A noble error, and but seldom made,
When Poets are by too much force betray'd,
Thy generous fruits, though gather'd ere their prime
Still shew'd a quickness; and maturing time
But mellows what we write to the dull sweets of rhime.
Once more, hail and farewel; farewel you young,
But ah too short, *Marcellus* of our tongue;
Thy brows with ivy, and with laurels bound;
But Fate and gloomy Night encompass thee around.

(12) See Virgil Æneid.

[*I*] *What further character hath been given of him by others, &c.*] In the Historical Dictionary, printed at London in 1694, he is styled, 'The darling of the 'Muses, a pithy, sententious, elegant, and smooth 'writer.'—And it is said, that 'his Translations ex'ceed the original, and his invention seems matchless. 'His Satire on the Jesuits is of special note, and he 'may justly be said to have excelled all the Satirists 'of the age.'—W. Winstanley says of him, that his 'Works none can read but with wonder and admira'tion; so pithy his strains, so sententious his expres'sions, so elegant his oratory, so swimming his lan'guage, so smooth his lines; in Translating out-doing 'the original, and in invention matchless (13).'——If any thing appears coarse in his Sentiments or Expression, it was more the Fault of the age than his own: and it must be remembered, that he wrote at the same time with Willmot Earl of Rochester, and Villiers Duke of Buckingham. C

(13) Lives of the English Poets, edit. 1687, 8vo. p. 212.

OSBORN [Francis], an ingenious English writer in the XVIIth century, was the younger son of Sir John Osborn of Chicksand near Shefford in Bedfordshire, and brother to Sir Peter Osborn of the same place [*A*]. He was born about the year 1589 (*a*), and never had the benefit of a free school or university education, but was privately instructed at home [*B*]. When grown up, he frequented the Court, became a retainer to

(*a*) See the time of his death below.

[*A*] *Brother to Sir Peter Osborn of that place.*] Our Author's father and grandfather did both enjoy a quiet, happy, and plentiful fortune under Queen Elizabeth (1); having a place in the Remembrancer's office (2). He deduceth his pedigree, both by father and mother, from those Normans that attended William I. in his conquest of England (3); I suppose from William Fitz-Osberne. But, without having recourse to those hungry Norman adventurers, from whom a descent is not the most honorable, it is certain, That the Osborn-family hath been long seated at Chicksand, the present possessor of which is Sir Danvers Osborn Bart. one of the Knights for the county of Bedford.

(1) Wood, Ath. ut supra.

(2) See our author's Advice to a Son, Part ii. §. 45.

(3) Ibid. §. 46.

[*B*] *But was privately instructed at home.*] He informs us himself of this particular, in the beginning of his Advice to a Son (4). 'Though, says he, I can 'never pay enough to your grandfather's memory, for 'his tender care of my *Education*, yet I must observe 'in it this mistake; that by keeping me at *home*, where 'I was *one of my young Masters*, I lost the advantage of 'my most docile time. For not undergoing the same 'discipline, I must needs come short of their expe'rience, that are bred up in Free Schools; who, by 'plotting to rob an orchard, &c. run through all the 'subtilties required in taking of a town; being made, 'by use, familiar to secresie, and Compliance with 'Opportunity; qualities never after to be attained at 'cheaper rates than the hazard of all: whereas these 'see the danger of trusting others, and the rocks they 'fall upon, by a too obstinate adhering to their own 'imprudent resolutions; and all this under no higher 'penalty than a whipping: And 'tis possible this 'indulgence of my father might be the cause I afforded 'him so poor a return for all his cost.'

(4) §. 1.

[*C*] He

to the Penbroke family, and at length, Master of the Horse to the most magnificent William, Earl of Penbroke. Having been puritanically educated, he sided with the Disaffected upon the breaking out of the civil wars [*C*], and had some public employments under the Parliament, and under Oliver Cromwell (*b*). In the latter part of his life, he lived in Oxford, on purpose to have an eye upon his son John, whom he had procured the Parliamentarian Visitors to appoint Fellow of All-Souls-college in 1648; And also to print some books of his own composition [*D*], particularly his *Advice to a Son* [*E*], of which a large extract is given in the note [*F*]. This book being much admired by the young scholars

(*b*) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 308.

[*C*] *He sided with the Disaffected upon the breaking out of the civil wars*] But, that he was not violent against the Church and the order of Bishops, is evident from the following passages out of his works.... 'Read the Book of God with reverence, and in things 'doubtful, take fixation from the *Authority of the* '*Church*, which cannot be arraigned of a damnable 'Error, without questioning that truth, which hath 'proclaim'd her proof against the gates of Hell. 'This makes me wish that our *Samsons in success*, who 'have stript her of her ornaments (riches, powers, 'and honours, which the antient piety left her to 'cover her nakedness withal) and given them to vain 'Expounders of Riddles, may not one day have cause 'to repent, when they find themselves annoyed, no 'less than the Eyes of Truth put out by the dust and 'rubbish the fall of so great and antique a frame is 'like to make (5) ——The vagabond Schismatick is so 'fiery, as he cannot last long unconsumed, being 'ready upon the least advantage to melt all into sedi'tion; not sparing to burn the fingers of Government 'longer than they shower down offices and preferments 'upon him; *whining for a sanctity* here God never 'yet trusted out of heaven (6).——Since we are not 'only led by the example, but precepts of the Apostles, 'to yield obedience to our Governours, This in my 'apprehension avows it presumption in any, *below the* '*owners of a Supream power*, to question the Decency, 'Sanctity, or Legality of what the Church hath 'heretofore, or may at this present avouch. For 'though really converted into Idolatry, which is 'treason against God, as the brazen Serpent was; 'or into heresie or sedition, which imports no less in 'relation to his *earthly representatives*, the *Church* and '*Prince* (as the Mosaical purifications &c. were in the 'days of Christ) yet it cannot warrant the hands of 'any single person, no not *of the multitude in gross*, 'to appear in their *abolition*, unless by way of *petition*: 'But to admit them as trials of their farther patience, 'till God inclines the heart of some lawful Power, 'the only place such a zeal can be safely kindled in, 'without threatning destruction to the whole frame. 'Men being commonly partial in their own case, else 'such as stile themselves *the best of men* would never 'have exploded *the Calling of Bishop* (and suffered so 'many of their persons to want, though approved of 'in their own hearts, for men no less exemplary in 'their lives than learning) under no milder an aspect 'than *Antichristian*; yet did not at the same time '*refuse to themselves* the Imperious title of the *King*'*dom of Christ*, under which notion the *unworthiest* 'amongst them did, only in a less volumn, though in 'the same at a larger extent, exercise the *like power* 'over the people of God (if the Nation afford any, a 'blasphemy to doubt of) as was before held tyranny 'by them for the *Hierarchy* to administer within the 'circuit of a *Diocess*: not remembring the *English* '*Bishops* have not only been *Champions* in the cause of '*Reformation*, but have justified the convenience of 'their *Discipline* through the experience of the *longest* '*peace* and *greatest felicity* England ever enjoy'd, and 'with the effusion of the least blood; which these 'had the fortune or will to be aspersed by (7).'—— He also speaks, in some places, with due respect of King Charles I. As, for instance, when he commends his excellent style ... —'This [viz. low words or 'phrases] may easily be declined by those who read 'for their imitation *the incomparable lines of the late* '*King*, written in a style as free from affectation as 'levity (8).' And he extols that Prince's Judgment, as *greater* than that of most of his counsellors (9).

(5) Mr Osborn's Works, edit. 1689, p. 81.

(6) P. 86.

(7) P. 192, 193.

(8) P. 10.

(9) P. 14.

[*D*] *And also to print some books of his own composition.*] Namely. 1. 'A seasonable Expostulation 'with the Netherlands declaring their Ingratitude to, 'and the Necessity of their Agreement with, the 'Commonwealth of England.' Oxford 1652. 4to. 'in 2 sheets and a half. 2. 'Persuasive to mutual 'Compliance under the present Government.' In 2 sheets. 3. 'Plea for a free State compared with Mo'narchy.' in 4 sheets. Oxford 1652. 4to. These two were printed together. 4. 'The private Chri'stian's *non ultra*; or a Plea for the Layman's interpret'ing the Scriptures.' Oxford, 1656. 4to. in three sheets and a half. There is no name to it, but it was strongly reported to be our Author's.——5. A volume, containing, 'The Turkish Policy, or Observations 'upon the Government of the Turks. A Discourse 'upon Nicholas Machiavel: Or an impartial Exami'nation of the justness of the Censure, commonly laid 'upon him. Observations upon the King of Sweden's 'Descent into Germany: A Discourse upon Piso and 'Vindex, who both conspired the death of Nero, 'though with a contrary success. A Discourse upon 'the Greatness and Corruption of the Court of Rome. 'A Discourse upon the Election of Pope Leo the XI. 'Political occasions of the Defection from the Church 'of Rome. A Discourse in vindication of Martin 'Luther.' Oxford, 8vo.

[*E*] *Particularly his Advice to a Son.*] This book is divided in two parts: Whereof the First was printed in 1656. 8vo. and so well received, that within two years after, there were six impressions of it. The second Part came out in 1658 8vo. but was not so well liked as the first. The *ninth* Edition of the first part was printed in 1689. 8vo. with the rest of his works; and there was a new edition of them in 1722. in 2 Volumes 12mo.

[*F*] *Of which a large extract is given in the note.*] That work is comprised in a pithy sententious style, and chiefly delivered by way of aphorisms. A specimen of his sentiments upon some subjects, will inform the Reader of his good sense, and of his style and manner. ———Thus therefore he speaks upon the point of *Education*, and the several branches of it.———'Let 'not an over-passionate prosecution of Learning draw 'you from making an honest *improvement of your* '*Estate*; as such do, who are better read in the big'ness of the whole Earth, than that little spot left 'them by their friends, for their support. A *mixt* '*Education* suits employment best. Scholars and 'Citizens, by a too long plodding in the same track, 'have their Experience seldom dilated beyond the 'circle of a narrow profession; of which they carry 'so apparent marks, as bewray in all places, by their '*Words* and *Gestures*, the ped and company they were 'brought up in; so that all ways of preferment are 'stopped against them through others prejudice, or 'their own natural insufficiency; it being ordinary, 'in their practice, to mistake a wilful Insolency for a 'resolute confidence, and Pride for gravity (10).' '———If a more profitable imployment pull you not 'too soon from the university, make some inspection 'into *Physick*; which will add to your welcome where'ever you come; it being usual, especially for Ladies, 'to yield no less reverence to their Physicians, than 'their Confessours: Neither doth the refusal of Fees 'abate your profit proportionably to the advancement 'it brings to your credit:———Yet I advise you this, 'under such caution, as not to imagine the diseases you 'read of, inherent in yourself (11).'——He gives the highest encomium to the Mathematics, which he calls,—'the Queen of Truth, that imposeth nothing 'upon her subjects, but what she proves due to belief 'by infallible demonstration: The only knowledge we 'can on earth gain, likely to attend us to heaven. As 'for other human Learning, (adds he) so much of it 'as is not hewed out of this rock, is nothing but 'lumber and forms.———Yet though it cannot be 'denied, that *Number* and *Measure*, were all the 'journey-men God had during his six days labour; 'my memory reacheth the time, when the generality 'of people thought her most useful branches *Spells*, 'and

(10) Advice to a son, p. 3.

(11) Ib. p. 4, 5.

scholars in the university; and the godly Ministers (as Mr Wood expresses it) pretending, that it instilled into them principles of Atheism [*G*], the Vice-chancellor was desired to cause it publicly to be burnt. But that proposal taking no effect, an order was made, July 27th, 1658, that no Booksellers, or any other persons, should sell it; which in
(e) Wood, ibid. reality made it sell the better (*e*). Besides this, and the forementioned books, Mr Osborn pulished a few others, at London [*H*]. He died February 11th, 1658 9, aged about seventy,

'and her professors *Limbs of the devil*; converting the honour of *Oxford*, due for her proficiency in this study, to her shame: Not a few of our then foolish Gentry refusing to send their sons thither, lest they should be
(12) Ibid. p. 5. smutted with the *black Art* (12).—A *few Books* well studied, and throughly digested, nourish the understanding more, than hundreds but gargled in the mouth, as ordinary students use: And of these *choice* must be had answerable to the profession you intend: For a *Statesman*, French authors are best, as most
(13) P. 7. fruitful in Negotiations and Memoirs (13).'——'Propose not them for patterns, who make all places *rattle*, where they come, with *Latine and Greek*; For, the more you seem to have borrowed from books, the poorer you proclaim your natural parts, which only can properly be called yours. Follow not the tedious practice of such as seek *Wisdom* only in *Learning*: Not attainable but by *experience* and *natural Parts*. *Much reading*, like a too great repletion, stopping up, through a concourse of diverse, sometimes contrary, opinions, the access of a nearer, newer and quicker invention of your own. And for *Quotations*, they resemble sugar in wine, marring the natural taste of the liquor, if it be good; if bad,
(14) P. 8. that of itself (14).'——'The way to *Elegancy of style*, is to employ your pen upon every errand; and the more trivial and dry it is, the more brains must be allowed for sauce.——When business or complement calls you to *write Letters*, consider what is fit to be said were the party present, and set down
(15) P. 9. that (15).'——'The small reckoning I have seen made (especially in their life-time) of excellent Wits bids me advise you, that if you find any delight in *writing*, to go on: But in hope to please or satisfie others, I would not black the end of a quill: For long experience hath taught me, That *Builders* always, and *Writers* for the most part, *spend their money and time in the purchase of reproof and censure* from envious contemporaries, or self-conceited pos-
(16) P. 10. terity (16).'——The Art of *Musick* is so unable to refund for the *time* and *cost* required to be perfect therein, as I cannot think it worth any serious en-
(17) P. 11. deavour (17).'——His thoughts upon *Dress*, *Behaviour*, and many occurrences of life, are also excellent.——'Wear, saith he, your *Cloaths* neat, exceeding rather than coming short of others of like fortune; a charge born out by *Acceptance* wherever you come: Therefore spare all other ways rather than prove defective in this. Never *buy* but with *ready money*: and be drawn rather to fix where you find things cheap and good, than for friendship or acquaintance, who are apt to take it unkindly, if you will not be cheated. For if you get nothing else by going from one shop to another, you shall
(18) P. 12. gain experience (18).'——Such as are betrayed by their easie nature, to be ordinary *security* for their friends, leave so little to themselves, as their liberty remains ever after arbitrary at the will of others. Experience having recorded many, whom their fathers had left elbow room enough, that by suretiship
(19) P. 13. have expired in a dungeon (19).'——'He that *lends upon publick Faith* is security for his own money, and can blame none more than himself, if never paid: common debts, like common lands, lying ever most neglected. Honesty treats with the world upon such vast disadvantage, that a *pen* is often as useful to defend you as a sword, by making *writing* the witness of your *contracts*; for where profit appears, it doth commonly cancel the bands of friendship, religion, and the memory of any thing that can pro-
(20) P. 14. duce no other register than what is verbal (20).'——'When you *speak* to any, especially of quality, *look them full in the face*; other gestures bewraying want of breeding, confidence, or honesty; dejected eyes confessing to most judgments, guilt or folly. *Impudence* is no virtue, yet able to beggar them all; being for the most part in good plight, when the rest starve; and capable of carrying her followers up to the highest preferments; found as useful in a Court, as armour in a camp.'——'*Covetousness*, like a candle ill made, smothers the splendor of an happy fortune in its own grease (21).'—Keep no more *Servants* (21) P. 17.
than you have full employment for; and if you find a good one, look upon him under no severer aspect than that of an humble friend: the difference between such an one and his master residing rather in fortune than nature (22).'——'*Drink* not being (22) P. 18.
hot, unless Sack &c. such droughts residing rather in the palate and throat than stomach, and so safer quenched by gargles, liquorish, a cherry, or tobacco, (23).' &c—His general Observations upon *Travel-* (23) P. 19.
ling will conclude this note. 'Some, (says he) to starch a more serious face upon wanton, impertinent, and dear-bought vanity, cry up *Travel*, as the best accomplisher of youth and gentry, though detected by experience in the generality, for the greatest Debaucher; adding affectation to folly, and Atheism to the curiosity of many not well principled by Education: Such wanderers imitating those factors of Solomon, that, together with gold, returned apes and peacocks. They, and only they, advantage themselves by Travel, who, well fraught with the experience of what their own country affords, carry over with them large and thriving talents, as those servants did commended by our Saviour: For he that hath nothing to venture, but poor, despicable, and solitary parts, may be so far from improvement, as he hazards quite to lose and bury them in the eternal *Levity* of France, *Pride* of Spain, and *Treachery* of Italy, &c. (24).' (24) P. 44.

[*G*] *Pretending that it instilled into them principles of Atheism*] There doth not appear, in this work, any sufficient ground for fixing so odious an imputation upon the author. On the contrary, he expresses therein a proper abhorrence for all tendency to Atheism.—'I hold, says he, in charity no less than commerce with all sorts of people, that do acknowledge *a divine and universal Providence*: But abominate those that have the impudence, no less than the indiscretion, to *deny* it, openly in their words, or tacitly in their actions; as such cannot but be thought to do, that destroy others under a pretence of Sanctity, meerly to enrich themselves; who deny God no less in his *justice* than the other in his *power*. Since, without a Creator, man must be the product of a contingency, together with all things extant, if not the maker of himself; or, which is as prodigious an absurdity, Nothing, out of its own strength, must have produced all things.——And if men cannot, by a serious reflection upon their own affairs, distinguish the operations of Providence from those of Contingency; yet since it is the most universal opinion, and, for ought ever I could hear objected to the contrary, the least obstructed from reason or consent, That every creature holds its production, no less than preservation, at the will of an Omnipotency, by us stiled *God*; Though the way how he operates be beyond our fathom, and past finding out, why should not credulity rest at the brink of this abyss (by all acknowledged the less dangerous,) rather than hazard all hope of future beatitude, in the uncomfortable gulf of a *wretchless Atheism* (25).'——But some free expressions used (25) P. 202, 204.
by him, as, *whining for sanctity*, mentioned in note [*C*] and many observations he makes, under the articles *Government* and *Religion*, too long to be inserted here, were more than enough to provoke some *galled* persons to cry out upon him as an Atheist. What is most exceptionable, is under section 2d. of *Love and Marriage*, wherein many coarse and unhandsome reflexions are made upon the fair sex.

[*H*] *Mr Osborn published a few other Books at London.*] Namely, 1. 'Some Traditionall Memorialls on the reigne of Queene Elizabeth;' and 'Traditionall Memoyres on the raigne of King James.' The common title to both of which is, 'Historical Memoires on the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James.' London 1658, 8vo. These Memoirs contain several anecdotes; and also bitter and severe reflexions,

ſeventy, at Nether-wotton, near Dedington in Oxfordſhire, in the houſe of William Draper, Eſq; whoſe ſiſter he had married; and was buried in the Church there.

reflexions, particularly upon King James, and his Miniſters, eſpecially upon Robert Cecill Earl of Saliſbury. Therefore they ought to be rank'd with Sir Antony Weldon's Court and Character of King James, and the French Chronicle, named *La Chronique Scandaleuſe*. They are not alſo without miſtakes, one of which I ſhall point out (26); 'Tis where he ſays, That after the diſcovery of the Powder-plot, the King of Spain 'Sent an Agent on purpoſe to congratulate King James 'his great preſervation; a flattery ſo palpable, as the 'the Pope could not refraine laughing in the face of '*Cardinal D'oſſat* when he firſt told it him. Nor he 'forbear to informe his King of it, as may be found 'in his printed Letters.' But Cardinal D'oſſat died in 1604. and conſequently before the diſcovery of the Powder-plot. II. The other book publiſhed by Mr Oſborn, was, 'A Miſcellany of Sundry Eſſayes, Paradoxes, and problematicall Diſcourſes, Letters and 'Characters; Together with politicall Deductions 'from the Hiſtory of the Earl of Eſſex, executed under 'Queen Elizabeth.' London 1659. 8vo. Some aſcribed alſo to him, *A Dialogue of Polygamy*, tranſlated from Italian: *A modeſt plea for an equal Commonwealth againſt Monarchy*, &c. *An Apology for younger Brothers*, and *A lift at Tythes* &c. 1657, 1659 (27). But it is not certain they were his. C

(26) §. 14.

(27) Wood Ath. ubi ſupra.

OVERBURY [Sir THOMAS], A polite writer in the XVIIth century, was deſcended of an ancient family (*a*), born in the year 1581 (*b*), among his mother's relations at Compton Scorfen (*c*), in the county of Warwick, where he likewiſe had his ſchool learning. At the age of fourteen, he was removed to Oxford, being entered a gentleman-commoner of Queen's college in that univerſity, in Michaelmas term, 1595. Here he applied with a diligence rarely ſeen in young perſons of that ſtation, to the academical ſtudies, and having acquired a competent ſtock of Logic and Philoſophy (*d*), the degree of Bachelor of Arts was conferred upon him November 15, 1598 (*e*) [*A*]. He continued at the univerſity 'till he had completed his degree, by determining the next Lent, and then went to the Middle-Temple, where he had been admitted a ſtudent ſome time before (*f*), his father deſigning to breed him to the Law, which was his own profeſſion (*g*). But his genius leading him more to polite literature [*B*], the ſplendor and elegancy of a Court preſently engaged his whole attention, and it was not long before he reſolved to puſh his fortune in it. Accordingly, about the time of the coronation of King James the Firſt in 1604, he commenced an acquaintance with the famous Robert Car (*h*), afterwards Earl of Somerſet; and that gentleman finding Mr Overbury's accompliſhments very ſerviceable to his ambitious views [*C*], entered into the moſt intimate connexion with him;

(*a*) Weldon's Court and Character of King James, p. 61. Lond. 1651.

(*b*) This is collected from his age at his admiſſion in the univerſity.

(*c*) It is in the pariſh of Ilmington, the ſeat of Giles Palmer, Eſq; whoſe daughter Mary was our author's mother. Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 388.

(*d*) Id. ibid.

(*e*) Wood's Faſti, Vol. I. col. 154.

(*f*) Ath. Oxon. ubi ſupra.

(*g*) This appears from his being made a Welſh Judge, as will be ſeen preſently.

(*h*) Wood calls him Sir Robert Carr, at this time Knight of the Bath; but he had not that title 'till ſome years after. Rapin, from the Hiſtorians of this reign.

[*A*] *He commenced Bachelor of Arts.*] This was a year ſooner than the uſual time for granting that degree. Mr Wood inſinuates, that this favour was granted him partly on account of his being an Eſquire's ſon (1). It muſt be remembered, that the preſent ſtatutes of Archbiſhop Laud, which require four years ordinarily for that degree, without any privilege to the ſons of Eſquires, were not then in being.

[*B*] *His genius lay to polite literature.*] His genius for poetry is ſeen in his pieces of that kind, and how little inclined he was to be a drudge in any profeſſion, may be collected from the following ſpecimen, where he gives the character of a mere ſcholar: who, ſays he, 'is an unintelligible aſs, or a ſilly fellow in black, that ſpeaks ſentences more familiarly than ſenſe. The antiquity of his univerſity is his creed, and the excellency of his college, though but for a match at foot-ball, an article of his faith. He ſpeaks Latin better than his mother tongue, and is a ſtranger in no part of the world but his own country. He does uſually tell great ſtories of himſelf to ſmall purpoſe, for they are commonly ridiculous be they true or falſe: his ambition is, that he either is, or ſhall be, a Graduate; but if ever he get a Fellowſhip, he has then no fellow; in ſpight of all logic he dares ſwear and maintayn it, that a cuckold and a townſman are *Termines convertibiles*, though his mother's huſband be an Alderman. He was never begotten, it ſeems, without much wrangling, for his whole life is ſpent in *pro & contra*: his tongue goes always before his wit, like a Gentleman-Uſher, but ſomewhat faſter. That he is a complete gentleman in all points *cap-a-pé*, witneſs his horſemanſhip, and the wearing of his weapons. He is commonly long-winded, able to ſpeak more with eaſe, than any man can endure to hear with patience: univerſity jeſts are his univerſal diſcourſe, and his news the demeanors of the Proctors: his phraſe, the apparel of his mind, is made of divers threads, like a cuſhion, and when he goes plaineſt, it has a patch'd out-ſide, and fuſtian linings. The current of his ſpeech is cloſed with an *ergo*, and whatever be the queſtion, the truth is on his ſide. 'Tis a wrong to his reputation to be ignorant of any thing, and yet he knows not that he knows nothing. He gives directions for huſbandry from Virgil's Georgics, for cattle, from his Bucolics; for warlike ſtratagems from his Æneid, or from Cæſar's Commentaries. He orders all things, and ſucceeds in none; ſkilful in all trades, and thrives in none. He is led more by his ears than his underſtanding, and therefore does moſt confidently believe, that *Erra Pater* was the father of heretiques, *Rodolphus Agricola* a ſubſtantial farmer: and will not ſtick to averr, that *Syſtemo*'s logic does excell *Keckerman*'s. His ill luck is not ſo much in being a fool, as in being put to ſo much pains to expreſs it to the world; for what in others is natural, in him, with much ado, is artificial. His poverty is his happineſs, for it makes ſome men believe he is none of fortune's favourites. That learning he has, was in his non-age put in backward like a glyſter, and it's now like ware miſlaid in a pedlar's pack, he has it, but knows not where it is. In a word, he is the index of a man, and the title-page of a ſcholar, or a Puritan in morality, much in profeſſion, nothing in practice (2).'

[*C*] *Serviceable to his ambition.*] Every one knows from what a low ſtation Car was raiſed, and that his ignorance in literature was one motive for King James's taking him into his favour; who propoſed not only to teach him Latin, but to make him as able a Stateſman as the beſt of his miniſters. It is no wonder then, he was glad to cultivate a familiarity with our author, whoſe parts and learning could not but be of great uſe to him; but we need not here build upon probability only, for we have Sir Thomas himſelf aſſerting this in the ſtrongeſt terms, in a letter written in the Tower, where our author, having mentioned ſeveral inſtances of this friend's ill-uſage of him at that time, goes on thus: 'And all this ill nature ſhewed by the man that had convey'd all my 'ſervice to Julius, and made himſelf valued by his 'maſter for it; nay, knoweth, that what he ſpeaks 'and writes hourly, is mine; and yet forget him 'that ſewed that in him, and upon whoſe ſtock he 'ſpends; nay, forget him between whom was nine 'years love, and ſuch ſecrets of all kinds have paſſed. . . . . He afterwards writes, that he had all that 'vacation, written the ſtory between them from the 'firſt hour to this day; what I found you, ſays he, 'at firſt; what I found you when I came; how 'I loſt

(1) His words are, 'He, as a 'Squire's ſon, 'took the degree 'of A. B. &c.' Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 387.

(2) Characters and Deſcriptions, &c. edit. 1614.

him; and growing in a few years into high favour with his Majesty, he made use of it in 1608, to obtain the honour of knighthood for his friend: whose father he likewise procured at the same time to be appointed one of the Judges for Wales (*i*). The year following, Sir Thomas made the short tour through Holland, Flanders, and France, and wrote his observations upon those travels the same year [*D*]. In 1612, he first assisted his friend, then become Lord Viscount Rochester, in his amour with the Countess of Essex [*E*]. But being afterwards displeased with his Lordship's design of bringing about a marriage with her, he took the same liberty of opening his mind upon this, as he had always done upon other subjects; declaring, with all the warmth that was natural to his temper, against a match, which he apprehended would unavoidably prove the ruin of his interest in the Viscount [*F*]. This courtier made no scruple of sacrificing his friend to his love;

(*i*) Ath. Oxon. ubi supra.

'I lost all the great ones of my country for studying 'your fortune, reputation, and understanding; how 'many hazards I have run for you (3).'

(3) See the whole letter in the Earl of Somerset's trial, printed in the State-Trials.

[*D*] *A tour through Holland and France*] We have already given an instance of our author's humour, and he has furnished us with a specimen of his penetration and judgment, in these observations. With regard to the Dutch, he first gives an account of their revolt from the Spanish government, and then describing the form of their new government, he shews whence arises their revenue, expences, strength, shipping, trade, discipline, army; and, lastly, gives the following character of the nation. They still retain the signs of a Commonwealth yet uncorrupted, private property, and commonweal. For no one man there is exceeding rich, and few very poor, and no state more sumptuous in the public buildings. Whether this, being a free state, will subsist in peace as well as it hitherto hath done in war, peace leaving every one to attend his particular wealth. For while the war lasts, it makes them concur for their common safety: and besides, 'tis a doubt whether the same care and sincerity would continue, if they were at their consistence, as appears yet whilst they are but in raising. How prophetically this remark is made, experience has since abundantly evinced. After this, the reader will no douht desire to see his account of the temper and manners of this people, which, he says, are neither much devout, nor much wicked, given all to drink, and eminently to no other vice; hard in bargaining, but just; surly and respectless as in all Democracies; thrifty, industrious, and cleanly, disheartened upon the least ill success; insolent upon good; cunning in traffic; and generally, for matter of action, that natural slowness of theirs, as it is better by reason of it's advisedness and perseverance, it brings along with it, than the rashness and changeableness of the French and Florentine wits, and the equality of spirits which is among them and the Switzers renders them fit for Democracy, which kind of government nations of more sprightly wits being once come to a consistent greatness, have seldom long endured. His remarks on the French are not less curious, whose children, he observes, at first sight seem men, and their men children; but whoso, in dealing with them, presumes upon appearances, will be deceived: compassionate towards their own nation and country, loving to the Prince, and so they may have liberty in ceremony and free access to him, they will be the better content that he shall be absolute in matter of substance. Impatient in peace any longer than whilst they are employed in recovering the ruins of war, the presentness of danger inflames their courage, but any expectation makes it languish. For the most part they are all imagination but no judgment, but those that prove solid excel. Their gentlemen are all good outward men, good courtiers, good soldiers, and knowing enough in men and business; but merely ignorant in matters of letters, because at fifteen they quit books, and begin to live in the world, when indeed a mediocrity between their form of education and ours, would do better than either. No men stand more upon punctilios of Honour in matters of valour, and, which is strange, in nothing else; for otherwise the custom of shifting and overspeaking in conversation hath quite overcome the shame of it. In speaking of the state of the south part of Europe, his observations shews us the very different situation it stood in then, from what it was some years after brought to by Lewis XIV. He tells us, that this part of Europe was divided betwixt Spain, France, and England. Of these Spain was then the most formidable, and the only entire body in Christendom that makes head against the Spanish monarchy in France; and therefore they say in France, that the day of the ruin of France is the eve of the ruin of England. For the weakness of each, Spain is to be kept busied in the Low-Countries, France by the Protestants, and England in Ireland (4).

(4) Observations, &c upon the State of the United Provinces, as they stood in 1609, 4to.

[*E*] *Assisted Rochester in his amour.*] This is acknowledged by Sir Thomas himself, in the letters already cited (5); where setting forth his own merits, he mentions this among others, 'and then, says he, 'for the last part, how when you fell in love with 'that woman, as soon as you had won her by *my* '*letters*, and after all the difficulties being passed, then 'used your own for common passages.'

(5) Viz. in remark [*C*].

[*F*] *Ruin his interest with the Viscount, &c.*] From the preceding remark it appears, that our author's opposition to this amour proceeded not, as has been generally intimated, from any scruple of Conscience; and we shall shew in this the true cause of it. The first circumstance that shews itself in this dark affair, to exercise the reader's curiosity, is, why the Lady Frances, resolving upon Sir Thomas's destruction, should go to consult with her uncle, the Earl of Northampton, upon it; she must needs be well acquainted with that Earl's ability to procure the favourite's friendship, and that at the same time his ambition was great enough to stick at no means of compassing it: and accordingly we find she was not mistaken. He immediately came into her utmost wishes, and was none of the least active in contriving the particular means, of destroying his competitor by poison. Some letters of this Earl were read at the trial of the Minion concerning his practices with the Lieutenant of the Tower, to keep Overbury close prisoner; in one of which he tells his Lordship, That the Lieutenant had undertaken, that either Overbury should do him good offices with the Lord Suffolk, when he came out, [of the Tower] or else he should never recover, which he thought the most sure and happy change. Immediately after the death of his rival, he wrote to the Lieutenant of the Tower, as follows:

'Worthy Mr Lieutenant,

'My Lord of Rochester desiring to do the last honour to his deceased friend, requires me to desire 'you to deliver the body of Sir Thomas Overbury to 'any friend of his that desires it, to do him honour 'at his funeral. Herein my Lord declares the constancy of his affection to the dead, and the meaning that he had in my knowledge, to have given his 'strongest strain at this time of the King's being at 'Tilbury, for his delivery. I fear no impediment to 'this honourable desire of my Lord's, but the unsweetness of the body, because it was reported that he had 'some issues; and in that case, the keeping him above 'ground must needs give more offence, than it can do 'honour. My fear is already that the body is also buried upon that cause whereof I write, which being 'so, it is too late to set out solemnity. Which, with 'my kind commendations,

'I end and reste

'Your affectionate,

'And assured friend,

H. Northampton.

'*P. S.* You see my Lord's earnest desire, with my 'concurring care, that all respect be had to him that 'may be for the credit of his memory; but yet I wish 'withal, that you do very directly inform yourself 'whether this grace has been afforded to close prisoners,

love; and disclosing all to the lady, his idol, it was immediately resolved, that the successful issue of their intrigue, necessarily required the removal of Sir Thomas out of the way: accordingly, after some other fruitless trials to that purpose [G], the method of poisoning was pitched upon, as the least liable either to a miscarriage in the attempt, or to a discovery after the perpetration [H], if they could get him into their power (k). Upon this view, the Minion first obtained for him the offer of an embassy to Russia [I] from his Majesty, and then prevailing upon him to refuse it, easily procured his imprisonment for a contempt of the King's commands, by such refusal in one of his servants [K]. Accordingly,

(k) Wilson's Life of King James I. p. 66, 67. Lond. 1653. Fulk Grevile's Five Years of King James, p. 60, & seq. Lond. 1651.

'soners; or whether you may grant my request in this 'case, who speake out of the sense of my Lord's affection, tho' I be a counsellor without offence or 'prejudice. For I would be lothe to draw either you 'or myself into any censure. I have well thought of 'the matter, though it be a work of charity.'

This is cool malice; we shall see the next hot enough, and be convinced at the same time there was reason enough for any degree of heat whatever. It is in the following terms.

'Worthy Mr Lieutenant,

'Let me intreat you to call Mr Lidcote and three 'or four of his friends, if so many come to view 'the body, if they have not already done it; and so 'soon as it is viewed, without staying the coming of 'a messenger from the Court, in any case, see it interred in the body of the chapel within the Tower 'instantly; if they have viewed it, then bury it by 'and by, for it is time, considering the humours of 'that damned crew, that only desire means to move 'pity and raise scandals. Let no man's instance move 'you to make stay in any case; and bring me these 'letters when I next see you Fail not a jot herein, 'as you love your friend; nor after Lidcote and his 'friends have viewed, stay one minute, but let the 'Priest be ready, and if Lidcote is not there, send 'for him speedily, pretending that the body will not 'tarry. In poste haste, after 12.

'Your's, &c. (6)'

(6) These two letters are in the Cotton Library. Titus, B. vii. fol. 464, & seq.

We see here, how greatly he interested himself in the dispofal of Overbury, and the safety of the Minion; and all Historians agree, that he supplied Overbury's place in the friendship of that Minion.

[G] *After some fruitless trials to that purpose.*] Among other projects, the Countess tried to put one Sir David Wood upon assassinating him, with a promise of 1000 *l.* That gentleman, it seems, having obtained the grant of a suit to the King worth 2200 *l.* was opposed by Rochester and Overbury, so that he could receive no benefit from it, unless he gave the first 1200 *l.* But he had determined to cane Sir Thomas, who, he said, had refused to fight him (7).

(7) See Sir David Wood's Examination at Weston's trial.

[H] *Poison the safest*] Sir Francis Bacon, then Attorney-General, upon opening the evidence, shewed, that what rendered this crime of poisoning so detestable, was, that a man was taken off in full peace, thinking no harm, and while a man was comforting and refreshing nature with his food; and it was the more to be dreaded, because it was so easily committed, and hard to be prevented or discovered. Other murders, continues he, are committed *cum sonitu*, some acts that might discover or trace the offenders: but this comes upon a man while he is careless and without suspicion, and every day he is in the gates of death. Nor does it only concern the man against whom the malice is intended, but it was often proposed for one and taken by another, as in the example of 21 H. VIII. where the purpose was to poison one man, and being put into the broth, sixteen of the Bishop of Rochester's servants were poisoned; and it went into the almshouses, and the poor at the gate were poisoned (8); which occasioned a statute that year, that made poisoning high-treason: for it tended to dissolve human society, and whatever offence did so, was in the nature thereof high treason. He observes, that Sir Thomas was the first man that had been murdered in the Tower, except the two young Princes, by Richard III. concluding, that murder *non est nostris generis nec sanguinis* (9).

(8) In another place he mentions the case of one Sanders, where the poisoned pill was laid for the mother, and the child eat it.

(9) Bacon's speech in the Star-Chamber, against Holles, Wentworth, &c. for tampering with Weston.

[I] *To Russia.*] We have a letter in Winwood's Memoirs, which gives us some light into the intention and design of the embassy into that country. After speaking of our author's commitment to the Tower, the writer takes notice of a report that Sir Thomas was engaged to go to Muscovy, which drew him to a peremptory and unmannerly refusal. 'Indeed (con'tinues the writer) we have great doings in hand and 'strange projects for that place, which I doubt, will 'all prove discourses in the air, for they be grounded 'upon certain speeches of some of the nobility to an 'English merchant about two years since; but *tem'pora mutantur*, and the scene is much altered there 'since that time. Yet the King apprehends the business very earnestly, and hath caused Sir Henry Ne'ville to confer with some of the Council about it 'divers times, wherein they say he hath shewed great 'sufficiency, and discoursed at large what commo'dity might arise by bringing the whole trade of Rus'sia, and the inland parts of the East-Indies up the 'river Hydaspes, and so with a short cut down the 'river Oxis into the Caspian sea, and then up the ri'ver Volga, to a streight of land that will carry all in'to the river Dwina, that runs down to St Nicolas 'and the town of Archangel, the ordinary port and 'station of our shipping in those parts. These are 'goodly specious discourses, of things not so easily 'done as spoken. For my part, I can never believe '*that* people will put themselves so under the King's 'protection, as to be governed by a Deputy, and we 'can afford them no other; and if the matter should 'come to any pass, what a business and charge would 'it be to transport thither 12 or 15,000 men (which 'are the numbers spoken of) you may judge (10)'

(10) See a letter dated May 6, 1613, from Mr John Chamberlayne to Winwood, in this latter's Memorials of State, &c. Vol. III. p. 453.

[K] *Prevailed upon him to refuse it, &c.*] We have a large account of what was thought of this commitment at first, in the following letter of Sir Henry Wotton to Sir Edmond Bacon, dated Thursday, St George's eve, who writes, 'The Court was full of discourse and expectation, that the King being now disencumbered of the care of his daughter, would toward this feast of St George, fill up either all, or some at least of those places that had lain vacant so long, and had been at this time of their emptyness, a subject of notorious opposition between our great Viscount and the house of Suffolk. Thus, I say, run the opinion, when yesterday, at six o'clock at evening, Sir Thomas Overbury was from the Council-Chamber conveyed by a Clerk of the Council and two of the guards to the Tower, and there, by warrant, consigned to the Lieutenant as close prisoner; which, both by the suddenness, like a stroke of thunder, and more, by the quality and relation of the person, breeding in the beholders (whereof, by chance, I was one) very much amazement, and being likely, in some proportion, to breed the like in the hearers, I will adventure, for the satisfying of your thoughts about it, to set down the forerunning and leading causes of this accident, as far as in so short a time I have been able to wade in so deep a water. It is conceived, that the King had a good while been much distasted with the said gentleman, even in his own nature, for too stiff a carriage of his fortunes, besides that scandalous offence of the Queen at Greenwich, which was never but a palliated cure. Upon which consideration, his Majesty resolving to sever him from my Lord of Rochester, and to do it, not disgracefully nor violently, but in some honourable fashion, he commanded not long since, the Archbishop, by way of familiar discourse, to propound unto him the ambassage of France, or of the Arch-Duke's Court, whereof the one was soon to be changed, and the other at the present vacant. In which proposition, it seemeth, though shadowed under the Archbishop's good-will, that the King was also contented, some little lights should be given unto him of his Majesty's inclination unto it, grounded upon his merit. At this the fish did not bite: whereupon the King took a rounder way, commanding my Lord Chancellor and the Earl of Pembroke, to propound the same unto

dingly, he was sent to the Tower April 21, 1613 (*l*), and all engines were set to work to compass the villainous design. After some time his father came to town, and petitioned the King for his discharge. He likewise applied to the Viscount [*L*], to whom several pressing letters were also wrote by Sir Thomas himself on this occasion [*M*], but all to no purpose.

(*l*) True and Historical Relation of the poisoning of Sir Thomas Overbury, &c. Lond. 1651.

unto him, (which the Archbishop had before moved) as immediately from the King; and to sweeten him the more, he had, as I hear, an offer made him of assurance before his going, of the place of Treasurer of the Chamber; which he expecteth after the death of Lord Stanhope, whom, be-like, the King would have drawn to some reasonable composition. Notwithstanding all which notices and impulsives, Sir T. Overbury refused to be sent abroad, with such terms, as were by the Council interpreted pregnant of contempt, in a case where the King had opened his will; which refusal of his, I should, for my part, esteem an eternal disgrace to our occupation, if withal, I did not consider how hard it is, to pull one from the bosom of a favourite. Thus you see the point upon which one hath been convicted, standing in the second degree of power in the Court, and conceiving (as himself told me but two hours before) never better than at present of his own fortune and ends. Now, in this whole matter, there is one main and principal doubt, whether this were done without the participation of my Lord of Rochester: a point necessarily infolding two different consequences; for were it done without his knowledge, we must expect of himself either a decadence or a ruin; if not, we must then expect a reparation by some other great publick satisfaction, whereof the world may take much notice. These clouds a few days will clear. In the mean time, I dare pronounce of Sir Thomas Overbury, that he shall return no more to his stage, unless Courts be governed every year by a new Philosophy, for our old principles will not bear it (11).'

(11) Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 408, & seq. edit. 1651.

Another letter was wrote the same day to Mr R. Winwood, then on an embassy in Holland, by Mr Parker, in these terms. 'Yesterday at six of the clock, my Lord Chancellor and my Lord Pembroke were employed by the King to speak to Sir Thomas Overbury, and to make him an offer of an ambassage to the Low-Countries, whereto he made answer, that he was not capable of such employment for want of language, nor able to undergo it, by reason of his weakness, being so exceedingly troubled with the spleen, that if he had a long letter to write, he was fain to give over. Therefore he should not be fit to attend any business, as, in accepting this offer, he should be forced to do. And whereas it was alledged, that his Majesty intended this for his good and preferment, he would not leave his country for any preferment in the world. Some say he added some other speech which was very ill taken; but what it should be I cannot learn. But not to trouble your Lordship with length, the report being made to the King, he sent my Lord of Pembroke for the Lords who were in Council, (my Lord Chancellor staying still with his Majesty) to whom he declared when they were come, that he could not obtain so much of a gentleman, and one of his servants, as to accept an honourable employment from him. In conclusion, he gave them orders to send for him, and to send him where he is close prisoner. Now, for my Lord of Rochester, he knew nothing 'till all was done, and he gone; which your Lordship may imagine did much perplex him (12).'

(12) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 447. edit. 1725, fol.

In another letter to the same Sir Ralph Winwood, dated Aug. 6th 1613, the Earl of Southampton writes thus. 'I perceive by your last letter, that you have of late been particularly advertised of the proceedings in England and how the business of which we desire so much to see the conclusion, is still in suspense. The difficulty alledged, is the not having as then accommodated the matter of Sir Thomas Overbury, which many times bred disturbance and hindered the performance of the resolution taken. And it is in vain to hope for any good issue of the other, until that be settled; which I think to be done long ere this, after this manner: that upon his submission, he shall have leave to travel with a private intimation not to return until his Majesty's pleasure be farther known. And much ado there hath been, to keep him from a publick censure of banishment and loss of office, such a rooted hatred lieth in the King's heart towards him (13).'

(13) Ibid. p. 475.

So little was the truth of this matter known at first, while the person chiefly concern'd was kept close prisoner, and no body suffered to see him but such as were under the direction of his persecutors. But it appeared afterwards, that after Sir Thomas had dissuaded his friend from pursuing his intrigue with Lady Essex, his Lordship coming late to his chamber in the gallery at Whitehall, met Sir Thomas, and said to him, *How now! are you up yet? Nay*, answered Sir Thomas, *what do you here at this time of night? will you never leave the company of that base woman? and seeing you so neglect my advice, I desire, that to morrow we may part, and that you will let me have that portion which you know is due to me, and then I will leave you free to yourself, to stand on your own legs.* My Lord Somerset answered, *his legs were streight and strong enough to bear himself*, and went away in anger. The words *I will leave you free to stand on your own legs* (14), allude to the great assistance Sir Thomas gave that Earl, who communicated to him the greatest matters; several packets that were sent to the King, were given by my Lord sealed to Sir Thomas, who broke them open, took short notes of them, and then sealed them up and returned them to my Lord Somerset again. It also appeared, that Sir Thomas once told Sir Dudley Digges, that he would undertake the employment beyond sea; and then sent him word by Sir Robert Mansel, that he had changed his mind, and that this last mentioned Gentleman told Sir Dudley, he saw a letter from the Lord Somerset to dissuade him from it. That presently after his commitment, Sir Gervase Ellis was preferred to the Lieutenancy of the Tower, by the Lord Somerset's means, May 6th, 1613; and Weston appointed to be his keeper, by the recommendation of Sir Thomas Monson, who did it through the intreaty of the Lady Essex (15).

(14) See the evidence of Henry Peyton in Somerset's Trial, ubi supra.

(15) Examination of Dering, ibid.

[*L*] *His father petitioned the King and Viscount.*] After his son was committed, he came to town with his wife, and hearing that their son was sick, he first petitioned that some Physician might be allowed to attend him; and the King answering his own Physician should go, he addressed himself to Lord Somerset, then Rochester, and none else, who told him his son should speedily be delivered, but dissuaded him from preferring any more petitions to the King. However, his freedom being delayed, continues he, I preferred another; and the King said, I should have a present answer, and my Lord Somerset told me he should suddenly be relieved; but that neither my wife nor I should press to see him, because it might protract his delivery; nor deliver any more petitions to the King, because that might stir up his enemies against him. In a letter to Mr Overbury afterwards, his Lordship writes thus: 'Your stay in town can nothing avail your son's delivery, therefore, I would advise you to retire into the country, and doubt not, before your coming home, you shall hear he is a free man (16).'

(16) Account of the poisoning of Sir T. Overbury, &c. p. 22.

[*M*] *He wrote several letters to the Earl of Somerset.*] Notwithstanding what had passed betwixt the Viscount and Sir Thomas above related (17), yet when Sir Dudley Digges was sent by a Privy-Counsellor to Sir Thomas Overbury, to bring him to that great man's levy, and coming back together by water, Sir Thomas appeared discontented, and said he was persuaded by the great man to withdraw himself from Court, for some reasons which he did not disclose. And that afterwards, Sir Dudley being sent by his Lordship, to know the resolution of Sir Thomas concerning the Earl of Suffolk, he found that he relied on the Lord Somerset; saying, *My precious Chief knows the King's mind better than any, and I the mind of my precious Chief.* Sir Thomas had no suspicion at first, that his imprisonment was his friend's contrivance. Upon talking to the Lieutenat of the Tower, protesting his innocence, he asked what they intended to do with him? to which the other answered, that they intended to refine him, that his purity might appear the better; and having advised him to give way to the match between Rochester and the Countess, he grew hot against Lord Northampton, and the Countess of Suffolk; saying, if he were the Countess of Suffolk's prisoner, as he thought he was, that Lieutenant

(17) In remark [*K*].

purpoſe. That pretended friend kept him cloſe confined by his own power, contrary to the

Lieutenant might let her know, that he cared as little to die, as ſhe to be cruel. But it was not long before he diſcovered the true author, by reaſon of the delay of his promiſe to releaſe him. This appears from the firſt letter of Sir Thomas to him, where he writes thus: ‘ Is this the fruit of my care and love to you? be ‘ thoſe the ſweets of common ſecrets, common danger? ‘ As a man, you cannot ſuffer me to lie in this pri- ‘ ſon, yet your behaviour betrays you. All I intreat ‘ of you, is, that you will free me from this place, ‘ and that we may part friends. Drive me not to ex- ‘ tremities, leaſt I ſhould ſay ſomething that you and ‘ I both repent, and I pray God you may not repent ‘ the omiſſion of this my counſel in this place where ‘ I now write this letter.’ And Somerſet was ſo much afraid of the conſequence of this threat, that he charged the Lieutenant to look to Overbury well, for if ever he came out, it would be his ruin, or one of the two muſt die. In another letter to Rocheſter, Sir Thomas declared, that he would do his endeavour of being a means of friendſhip between Rocheſter and ſome others, but as for his marriage with the Counteſs, he would never give his conſent. And not long before his laſt clyſter, he expreſſes himſelf with great warmth at that match. ‘ This, ſays he, comes under ſeal, and therefore ſhall be bold: you told my brother Lidcote, that unreverend ſtyle might make you neglect me, you bid him keep my deſire of liberty ſecret, while in the mean time you ſacrifice me to your woman, ſtill holding friendſhip with thoſe that brought me hither. And all this to one who loſt his fortune with *Ignati*, entered a quarrel with *Niger*, ſuffered five months baniſhment, and now fine me with miſerable impriſonment; and now, to make a pretence to ſay you were altered towards me for the ſtyle of my letters. Alas! this ſhift will not ſerve to cover your vow; your ſacrificing me to your woman; your holding a firm friendſhip with thoſe that brought me hither, and keep me here, and not make it your firſt act of any good terms with them to ſet me free, and reſtore me to yourſelf again. And you bid my brother keep your intent ſecret, that you might ſteal away with your wickedneſs: but that ſhall not be, you and I will come to a public trial before all the friends I have. They ſhall know what words have paſſed betwixt us heretofore, of another nature than theſe, and I pray you keep my letters, that they may ſee how much I forgett your Lordſhip in my ſtyle. I ſhall be upon the racke, you at your eaſe, negligent of me, and I muſt ſpeak calmly, yf *Hector* of the *Harlaw* be ſo infamous for betraying a ſtranger, your ſtorie ſhall be put down to betray, and ſo quit a friend. But now I will confeſs you, ſo ſoon as I perceived how little (never name love) humane affection, how little compaſſion, (no, not ſo much as the colt in Enfield-Chace) when I heard, how, notwithſtanding my miſerie, you viſited your woman, frizled your head never more curiouſly, tooke care of your hangings, and daily were ſolicitous about your cloaths, officious in waighting, could preſerve your couzen and Gibbie; held day traffique of letters with my enemies without any turning it to my good, ſent me nineteen projects and promiſes for my liberty, then at the beginning of the next week ſent me ſome frivolous account of the miſcarriage of them, and ſo ſlip out of towne: and all this ill nature by the man whoſe conſcience tells him, that truſting to him brought me hither, and by him that conveighed all my ſervice to *Julius*, and made himſelf valued by his maſter for it; and my ſhare to be a priſon, upon ſuch terms that never man ſuffered yet. . . . . And in the noyance my father and mother languiſhing for me, my ſoul wiſheth ſhe might but lie upon the boards, to bear me company, my brother Lid overthrown by it, his aunt diſcharging him from her houſe, which ſaved him 300 *l.* a year, and he that is the author of all, and that hath more cauſe to love, yea periſh for me, rather than ſee me periſh; to ſtand ſtupid, and not leeſe a jot of any thing that concerns himſelf, go on and make much of one; nay, let mine enemies play upon me, ſend for tickets under my hand, ſo that, by God, ſince I came in, I have not found the advantage of a ſtrawe, no, not ſo much as a ſervant in my extream ſickneſs, nor my friends free to ſpeake my laſt wordes to. When I had obſerved this, the bitterneſs of my ſoul cannot conceal itſelf in letters; and that his wickedneſs may never die, I have all this vacation, wrote the ſtory betwixt you and me from the firſt hower to this day: what I found you at firſt; what I found you when I came; how many hazards I have runn for you; how many gentlemen, for giving themſelves to you a ſtranger, are now left to the oppreſſion of their enemies; what ſecretts have paſſed betwixt you and me; and then for the laſt part, how, after that you had wonne that woman by my letters, that then you concealed all your after-proceedings from me. Upon that cauſe, there came many breaches at Huntingdon and Newmarket (18), and after at Whitehall. Thereupon you made your vow that I ſhould live in the Court, was my friend, and many oaths which are now fulfilled; ſtayed me here, when I ſhould have been gone, and ſent for me twice that day that I was caught in the trap; perſuading me it was a trap of my enemies to ſend me beyond ſea, and urging me not to accept it, aſſuring me you would free me from any long trouble. And long intending in your thoughts long ago a marriage with that woman, denied ſince me to enquire of her; would ſpeak ill of her yourſelf; and having been now two months reconciled to a league, not to have firſt, upon thoſe of theirs, made ſure my liberty and return; and now at laſt, when we may eaſily live the reſt of our life in peace, and enjoy the remembrance of our troubles, now you leave me out, and take occaſion upon unreſpective language to ſay *you will never be to me as you have been.* All theſe particulars I have ſett down in a large diſcourſe, on Tueſday I made an end of wrighting it fair, and on Friday I have ſealed it up under eight ſeals; and if you perſiſt ſtill to uſe me thus, aſſure yourſelf it ſhall be publiſhed, ſo that whether I live or die, your ſhame ſhall never die, nor leave to be the moſt odious man alive (19).’

(18) Davies, ſervant to Sir Thomas, ſwore that Rocheſter told him at Newmarket, he would be even with his maſter. See Weſton's Tryal.

(19) See the Earl of Somerſet's tryal, p. 253, in State Tryals.

As to the ſecrets that paſt between them, beſides thoſe before produced in remark [K], another letter wrote by a favourer of Sir Thomas ſhews, that as Somerſet executed the office of Secretary, he communicated all the foreign diſpatches, not by glympſes, and now and then a reading in the ear, but in a ſettled manner, ſometimes opened, other times unbroken, to Overbury, who peruſed them, copied them, regiſtred them, nay, as he continues, made table talk of them as he thought good: ſo time was, when Overbury knew more of the ſecrets of the State than the Council-Board did; nay, they were grown to ſuch inwardneſs, that they made a play of all the world beſides themſelves, ſo as they had cyphers and jargon for the King and Queen, and great men of the realm (20). We have the following account of the temper and morals of Sir Thomas Overbury from Sir Francis Bacon (21), who ſhews, that about a year before Overbury's impriſonment, the Earl fell into an unlawful love with the Counteſs of Eſſex, and purpoſed to marry her; which Overbury with all his might impugned under pretence of friendſhip, calling her an ill woman. But that in truth Overbury had little of ſolid religion or virtue, but wholly poſſeſſed with ambition and vain glory, was loth to have a Partner in my Lord of Somerſet's favour, eſpecially one of the houſe to whom he had always profeſſed an averſion; and that Overbury had been ſo far from making a ſcruple of conſcience of the matter, that there was a time when he boaſted he had won him this Lady's love by his letters and induſtry. That however the tragical end of this poor gentleman might obliterate his faults, yet it was material to the true underſtanding this courſe [his murder] to know, that he was naught and corrupt. For when Overbury found himſelf poſſeſſed of this Lord's favour, by whoſe greatneſs he had promiſed himſelf to do wonders, and being a man of an unbounded and impudent ſpirit, he began not only to diſſuade, but to deter him from the love of that Lady; and ſuppoſing he had my Lord's head under his girdle, in reſpect of communication of ſecrets of State, he dealt violently with him to make him deſiſt, by menaces of a diſcovery; and from hence there flowed two ſtreams of hatred againſt Overbury, one from the Lady who was croſſed in her love and expoſed in her reputation, and the other from Somerſet, who was afraid of Overbury's nature, who, if he did fly out, might trouble his whole fortunes; to which might be added a third ſtream, proceeding from the Earl of Northampton's ambition, who deſiring to be firſt in favour with Somerſet, and knowing Overbury's malice to

(20) Annals of King James, p. 14. edit. 1681.

(21) In his ſpeech, at the tryal of the Counteſs of Suffolk.

the common rule in ſuch caſes [*N*]; 'till, after many diſappointments in all other ways, of conveying the poiſon in his victuals, the deſign was completed by a clyſter given to him September 14, under a pretence of removing thoſe complaints, which, unknown to him, were occaſioned by the former leſs dead-doing means [*O*]. Being of a ſtrong conſtitution, he ſtruggled many hours in the agonies of death [*P*], which, however, at length put an end to his extreme torture about five o'clock the next morning; his corps being exceedingly noiſome, was interred about three or four o'clock in the afternoon of the ſame day, in the chapel of the Tower. Immediately after his death, ſome ſuſpicion of the true cauſe of it was rumoured about; but the opinion that he died of the venereal diſeaſe ſo far prevailed, through the induſtry and high ſtation of the contrivers, as to give a confidence of ſafety to their under-agents [*Q*]: ſo that, when the diſcovery was made by an unexpected accident two years afterwards [*R*], they were all eaſily apprehended, tried, and executed [*S*]. The favourite alſo, now become Earl of Somerſet, as well as his Counteſs (for

to himſelf and his houſe, thought it neceſſary that that man ſhould be removed and cut off, ſo as certainly it was reſolved and decreed that Overbury muſt die

[*N*] *Kept him confined by his own power.*] In the trial of the Earl of Somerſet, ſeveral depoſitions were read, ſhewing that Sir Thomas was kept cloſe priſoner by warrant of the Earl, though he was convicted only for a contempt, which was contrary to the rules in ſuch a caſe. Somerſet alſo, to conceal the deſign of poiſoning him, aſſigned for the cauſe of his keeping him cloſe priſoner, the danger himſelf ſhould be in from a diſcovery, which it lay in Sir Thomas's power to make againſt him, with regard to ſeveral ſecret and unjuſtifiable methods he had made uſe of in the management of the King's affairs, which had been communicated to Sir Thomas; and whilſt Sir Thomas was in the Tower, the Earl charged the Lieutenant to look to Overbury well, for if ever he came out, one of them two muſt die (22).

(22) See Somerſet's Tryal.

[*O*] *The former ineffectual attempts.*] The firſt poiſon was of a green and yellow colour, called roſalgar, which was put into his broth, particularly on the ninth of May; this proving ineffectual, another poiſon called white arſenic was given him on the firſt of July; and on the nineteenth another called mercury ſublimate, which was put into his tarts and jellies. The poiſons were prepared by Franklin an Apothecary, who at the Counteſs of Eſſex's requeſt, bought ſeven ſorts which were given to Sir Thomas at ſeveral times. He was deſired by Mrs Turner to provide a poiſon that would not kill a man preſently, but lie in his body a certain time, wherewith he might languiſh by little and little, and ſhe gave him four angels, with which he bought aquafortis, ſhe tried it upon a cat which languiſhed and cried pitifully for two days, and then died. Thus ſhe ſaid afterwards aquafortis was too ſtrong, and upon his ſaying arſenic was too violent too, ſhe propoſed powder of diamonds, and gave him money to buy ſome (23).

(23) Confeſſion of James Franklin, in his own tryal, and that of Sir Gervas Elway.

[*P*] *Strong conſtitution, he ſtruggled many hours under the agonies of death.*] Beſides the poiſon already mentioned. The Viſcount, June 5, wrote him a letter in which he ſent him a little powder, deſiring him to take it, *it will make you more ſick*, ſays he, *but fear not I will make this a means for your delivery and for the recovery of your health*. This powder gave him 60 vomits beſides ſeveral ſtools. That the Counteſs then ſending to him for more poiſon, he beſought her on his knees not to uſe him any more in this matter. In ſhort, Sir Thomas hardly ever eat any thing, but there was poiſon mixt with it. Notwithſtanding of this he ſuffered ſo little, that Sir Gervis Ellis in anſwer to a letter of the Counteſs expreſſing her ſurprize, that the jobb was not yet done, writes, 'Madam, *the ſcab is is like the Fox, the more he is curſed, the better he fareth.*' How ſtrong the poiſon was, may be collected from the anſwer made *to the Judge* by Simon Maſon, who had carried a poiſoned tart to Overbury. *Simon*, ſays the Judge, *Thou hadſt a hand in this poiſoning buſineſs. No my good Lord*, cried he, I had got but one finger in it, which coſt me all my hairs and nails (24). After the firſt glyſter was given him, he never ceaſed vomiting and purging 'till he expired. After his death there appeared twelve kernels, each as big as a ſixpence upon him, and the corps ſtank intolerably.

(24) Weldon's Court and Character of King James, p. 196. but this appears not in the examinations at Weſton's tryal, where Maſon gave his evidence.

[*Q*] *Aſſurance of ſafety.*] We ſhall produce one ſpecimen of the induſtry to conceal the murder, becauſe I don't remember it is ſet in that light by any of the numerous authors, who write an account of it. We have already preſented ſome paſſages between the Earl of Somerſet and Sir Thomas's father, before the ſon's death. After it, the Earl writes the following letter to him. 'Sir, your Son's love to me got him the malice 'of many, and they caſt thoſe knots on his fortune that 'have coſt him his life; ſo in a kind, there is none 'guilty of his death but I; and you can have no more 'cauſe to commiſerate the death of a ſon, than I of a 'friend: But tho' he be dead, you ſhall find me as 'ready as ever I was, to do all the courteſies that poſ'ſibly I can to you or your wife, for your loſt ſon, tho' 'I eſteem my loſs the greater; and for his brother that 'is in France, I deſire he may return, that he may ſuc'ceed his brother in my love (25).'

(25) True and Hiſtorical Relation of the poyſoning of Sir Thoma Overbury, &c.

[*R*] *The diſcovery*] Weldon tells us that Franklin, who adminiſtered the poiſoned glyſter to Overbury, made uſe, in compoſing it, of one Reive an Apothecary's boy, who was afterwards ſent into Flanders, and partly ran away from his maſter, this Reive being at Fluſhing, where ſome buſineſs had brought Sir William Trumbull, his Majeſty's Envoy at Bruſſels, got concealed with ſome of the Envoy's ſervants, and whether unadviſedly, or with deſign, informed them of what he knew concerning Overbury's death; the ſervants telling this to their maſter, he examined Reive, and drawing the ſecret from him found means to detain him in his houſe, and then wrote to Winwood, deſiring him to get the King's leave for him to come to England, becauſe he had ſome matters to reveal, which he could not truſt to paper. Leave being granted, he acquainted Winwood with what he had learned who told it the King, who commanded them both to keep it private 'till further orders (26). However that be, Sir Francis Bacon informs us, that the murder came out in a compliment, thus: My Lord of Shrewſbury having recommended Sir Gervis Ellis to a certain Counſellor of State, whom Sir Gervis had deſired to be made known to, the Counſellor anſwered, that he took it as a favour from him, but added withal, that there lay a kind of heavy imputation on him about Overbury's death, and he wiſh'd he would clear himſelf, and give him ſome ſatisfaction in the point. This my Lord of Shrewſbury related to Ellis, who was in ſome aſtoniſhment at it, and made ſome kind of a diſcovery. He ſaid that indeed ſome attempts had been made againſt Sir Thomas Overbury, but they came to no effect having been checked by him (27). The Counſellor weighing this *relation* of Ellis, acquainted the King with it, who preſently commanded that Ellis ſhould ſet down his knowledge of this matter in writing, which he accordingly did, but took care not to inſert any thing that might touch himſelf; then the King referred the matter to certain of the council, who ſifted ſomething out of Weſton (28); and the further enquiry into it was referred to my Lord Coke, who in this cauſe ſhewed great diligence, and took two or three hundred examinations.

(26) Court and Character of King James, &c. p. 94.

(27) See his ſpeech at the tryal of the Counteſs of Somerſet.

(28) Sir Gervas Ellis had informed of Weſton, as appeared by his own tryal.

[*S*] *They were all apprehended and condemned to death.*] Theſe were firſt Weſton, who had been a pander and procurer to the Counteſs of Eſſex, and was appointed under-keeper to Sir Gervis Ellis, at the recommendation of Sir Thomas Monſon, May 6th, three days only before he adminiſtred the poiſon. 2 Anne Turner, a Phyſician's widow, who mixt the poiſon and propoſed it to Sir Gervis Ellis. 3. Franklin the Apothecary, who bought and prepared the poiſon. 4 Sir Gervis Ellis, Lieutenant of the Tower, who knowingly ſuffered the poiſon to be adminiſter'd. The Counteſs and Earl of Somerſet the chief contrivers were condemned, but pardoned by the King; who likewiſe gave the Earl the greateſt part of his eſtate back forfeited by his attainder (29), but confined him to two houſes in Oxfordſhire,

(29) Viz. 4000 pounds a year, which he took in the names of his ſervants.

(for he had married the lady some time before), were both tried and condemned, though afterwards pardoned by his Majesty the following year, 1616 (*m*); which, perhaps, is none of the least blemishes of that reign, especially with regard to the Countess, who yet underwent a much more miserable fate in her death, occasioned by a gangrene that ended in a mortification of that part, in which she had almost beyond all example shamelessly offended (*n*). Our author's character is represented by an historian of those times, who having related the occasion and circumstances of his death, proceeds in the following terms: 'In this manner fell Sir Thomas Overbury, worthy of a longer life and a better 'fate; and, if I may compare private men with princes, like Germanicus Cæsar, both by 'poison procured by the malice of a woman, both about the thirty-third year of their 'age, and both celebrated for their skill and judgment in poetry, their learning, and 'their wisdom (*o*). Overbury, continues this writer, was a gentleman of an ancient 'family, but had some blemishes charged upon his character, either through a too great 'ambition, or insolence of a haughty temper. Among those of his compositions which 'are in verse, our author wrote a little poem concerning the choice of a wife, which I 'suppose was chiefly designed for the service of his lord. It was printed in his life-time, 'and several times after his death, with many commendatory verses upon the author and 'the book, of which number was Ben. Jonson [*T*]. This, with the manner of his 'death, gave occasion to one of his friends to write the following lines, which I have seen 'under his picture:

'A man's best fortune or his worst 's a wife,
'Yet I who knew nor marriage nor strife,
'Liv'd by a good, by a bad one lost my life.

'After the return from his travels, the Viscount Rochester embraced him with so entire a 'friendship, that exercising by his Majesty's especial favour the office of Secretary provi-'sionally, he not only communicated to Sir Thomas the secrets, but many times gave to 'him the packets and letters unopened, before they had been perused by the King him-'self; which, as it prevailed too much upon his early years, so as to make him in the 'opinion of some thought high and ambitious; yet he was so far from violating his 'trust and confidence, that he remains now one example among others that have suffered 'in their persons or their fortunes, for a freedom of advice, which none but sincere friends 'will give, and many are such ill friends to themselves as not to receive (*p*).' All the pieces written by him have been lately collected and printed together, under the title of *The Works of Sir Thomas Overbury: in prose and verse.* Lond. 1753, 8vo. Being never married, he left no issue; so that, after the death of his father, the family estate at Burton on the Hill in Gloucestershire came to our author's younger brother, who, at the time of Sir Thomas's unfortunate exit, happened to be in France (*q*). This gentleman's son, Sir Thomas Overbury, wrote some pieces, the titles of which may be seen below [*U*]. After a competency

(*m*) See a further account of him after his pardon, in Lord Will. Russell's article.

(*n*) 'Tis said she had a *procidentia vulvæ & uteri*, which hanging down inverted to her knees, and mortifying piece-meal, caused the most excruciating tortures. Weldon's Court and Character of King James.

(*o*) Mr Wood tells us, that in learning and judgment he excelled any of his years. Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 389.

(*p*) Ibid.

(*q*) See remark [*Q*].

fordshire, not to stir above three miles from them; and in 1624, about four months before his death, granted him a free pardon. Upon the stop that was put to the trial of Sir Thomas Monson, on account of Lord Coke's dropping some suspicious words about the murder of Prince Henry, which he had discovered in the Earl of Somerset's papers, all further proceeding on Overbury's murder were dropped, so that the Earl of Northampton entirely escaped all examination and trial for it. Mr Howell tells us, that Mrs Turner was the inventor of yellow starch, and that she was hanged in a cobweb lawn ruff of that colour at Tyburn. 'And with her I believe, says he, that yellow starch, which so much disfigured our nation, and rendered them so ridiculous and fantastic, will receive it's funeral.' The same author informs us, that 'William Lord Pembroke did a most noble act like himself, for the King having given him all Sir Gervis Ellis's estate, which came to above 1000 *l.* a year, he freely bestowed it upon the widow and her children *.'

* Howell's Letters, Vol. I. No. 11 p. 4. edit. 1650.

[*T*] *Ben Johnson wrote commendatory verses to his* Wife.] As these verses exhibit one part, and that the best too, of our author's character, we shall insert it as follows,

To Sir Thomas Overbury.

So Phœbus make me worthy of his bays,
As but to speak thee Overbury's praise:
So where thou liv'st, thou mak'st life understood!
Where what makes others great doth keep thee good!
I think the fate o'th' court thy coming crav'd,
That the wit there and manners might be sav'd.
For since, what ignorance, what pride is fled!
And letters and humanity in the stead!
Repent thee not of thy fair precedent,
Could make such men and such a place repent;
Nor may any fear to lose of their degree,
Who in such ambition can but follow thee (30).

These are rough lines like most of Ben's; the following, on the same occasion by Owen, are every way polite,

(30) Epigram CXIII. in Jonson's Works, Vol. VI. edit. 1756, in 7 vols, 8vo.

Uxorem culto describis carmine talem,
Qualem oratorem Tullius ore potens:
Qualem describis, quamvis tibi nuberet uxor,
Æqualis tali non foret illa viro.

[*U*] *The titles of which may be seen below.*] These are (1) *A true and perfect account of the examination, trial, condemnation, and execution of Joan Perry, and her two sons, for the supposed murder of* William Harrison, *written* by way of letter to Tho. Shirley D. M. in London, 1676, 4to. This is one of the most remarkable incidents in story. Harrison was not really murdered, but conveyed away alive by a gang of Mohocks and carried to Turkey, where coming into the hands of a physician he acquired some skill in that faculty; and at length, after many years absence, found means of getting away and returned home, to the great astonishment of every body, since the sufferers for his supposed death had actually confessed the murder. (2) *Queries proposed to the serious consideration of those, who impose upon others in things of divine and supernatural revelation, and prosecute any upon the account of religion; with a desire of their candid and Christian resolution*

a competency of grammar learning, he completed his education by travelling abroad. Returning home, he became a favourer of the Proteftant Diffenters. He was a Juftice of Peace for the county of Gloucefter, and enjoyed this eftate 'till the year 1680; when, felling it to Alexander Popham, Efq; he refided on another eftate he had in the fame county, at Adminton in the parifh of Queinton; but died there February 18th, the fame year, and was interred in the church of Queinton (r).

(r) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 389, 390.

tion thereof. Printed in 1677. In anfwer to which there came out the fame year Ataxiæ Obftaculum; *an anfwer to certain queries intituled,* Queries propofed, &c. by George Vernon Rector of Bourton on the water. Upon this Sir Thomas wrote a reply entituled Ratiocinium Vernaculum, or *a reply to* Ataxiæ Obftaculum; *being a pretended anfwer to certain queries difperfed in fome parts in Gloucefterfhire.* P

OUGHTRED [William], one of the ableft Mathematicians of his time, was born about the year 1573 (a), at Eton in the county of Bucks; and being bred a fcholar upon the foundation of that fchool, was elected thence, in 1592, about the age of nineteen, to King's-college in Cambridge; where, after the regular time of probation, he was admitted perpetual Fellow of the Society (b). He did not neglect the opportunity which this education gave him, of improving himfelf both in Claffical Learning and Philofophy; but his genius leading him particularly to the Mathematics, he applied himfelf chiefly to that ftudy, and beginning at the fountain-head, he read all the ancient authors in the fcience, as Euclid, Archimedes, Apollonius Pergæus, Diophantus, and the reft; in perufing whofe works, he did not content himfelf with barely learning their propofitions, but was diligent in looking into the fagacity of their invention, and careful to comprehend the peculiar force and elegance of their demonftrations. Thefe refearches leading him to enquire into the particular means and affiftances, by the help of which thofe ancient worthies firft found out, and afterwards enlarged and adorned the fcience; he proceeded in their fteps, and foon enriched it with fome farther improvements of his own [A]. Before the ftatutable time for his taking a degree, he invented an eafy method of geometrical dialling, which, though he did not publifh 'till the year 1647, yet it was received with fo much efteem, that Mr (afterwards Sir Chriftopher) Wren, then a Gentleman-Commoner of Wadham-college in Oxford, immediately tranflated it from the Englifh into Latin [B]. In 1599, Mr Oughtred commenced Mafter of Arts, having proceeded regularly to take his Bachelor's degree three years before. In 1600, he projected an horizontal inftrument for delineating dials upon any kind of plane, and for working moft queftions which could be performed by the globe: it was contrived purely for his own private ufe, and, though not executed without uncommon pains and fubtlety, under fome particular difadvantages owing to his fituation in the college, yet it was fo lightly efteemed by himfelf, that thirty years afterwards he gave it to be publifhed for the advantage of one of his fcholars [C]. However,

(a) In a picture of his by Hollar there is wrote anno ætatis 73, 1646.

(b) From the regifter of that college.

[A] *He enriched it with fome farther improvements of his own.*] The improvements here underftood are thofe which he made with refpect to the fcience, as diftinct from the art. Thefe are taken notice of by himfelf in the preface to the *Clavis,* where he gives an account of the method he took in the inveftigation of his new theorems. We fhall give the paffage from the third edition of that tract in Latin, becaufe being wrote in a very elegant ftyle, it furnifhes an undeniable evidence of his claffical accomplifhments afferted in the text.

'Mihi quidem, in illis [veteribus] legendis verfanti, & 'demonftrationes ingeniofiffimas ex incogitatis & inexpectatis fed divino quodam artificio conquifitis principiis adeo affabre concinnatas, animadvertenti admirantique ftupor incidit, unde tanta exifteret imaginationis vis, quæ tam immenfam confequentiarum molem fuftinere poffet, facereque ut toties, tam longe diffitæ animo fimul obferventur, & quafi ultro in argumenti unius ftructuram coeant atque confidant.'

'Quapropter ut ipfas res clarius intueret, propofitiones & demonftrationes verborum integumentis exutas, brevibus tantum fymbolis ac notis, oculis etiam ipfis uno obtutu perfpiciendas defignavi. Tum theorematum affectiones varias in æqualitate, proportione, affinitate, atque dependentia, conferendo, nova elicere tentavi. Denique quæftiones confimiles problematice fingendo, eafque quafi jam confectas via analytica in fua principia refolvendo, rationes ac media, quibus conftruantur, inveftigavi.'

[B] *An eafy way of Geometrical Dialling —— which Sir* Chriftopher Wren *tranflated into Latin*] This treatife was added to the fecond edition of his Key, with this title, *A moft eafy way for the delineation of plane Sun-dials, only by geometry without any trigonometrical calculation, whereby the meridian fubftylar and ftyle, are not only found out, but alfo infcribed in every kind of plane in their juft places. All plainly demonftrated; invented by the author between the 22d and 23d years of his age.* In the third edition of the Clavis, at the end of which this tract appears in Latin, he fays of it: Partem autem illam quo geometricam horologiorum fciotericorum rationem tradit, ex Anglico Idiomate in latinum vertit Dn *Chriftophorus Wren,* Collegij Wadhamenfis Commenfalis Generofus, &c. (1).

[C] *In 1600 he projected an horizontal inftrument ——and gave it to be publifhed for the advantage of one of his fcholars*]. This inftrument was publifhed, together with his circles of proportion at London, 1633, in 4to. by *William Fofter,* who had been taught the Mathematics by Mr Oughtred, but was then himfelf a teacher of thofe fciences (2). It is dedicated to Sir *Kenelme Digby,* to whom Mr *Fofter* writes thus. 'Being in the time of the long vacation 1630, in the 'country of the reverend and my moft worthy friend 'Mr *William Oughtred* (to whofe inftructions I owe 'both my initiation and whole progrefs in thefe 'fciences) I, upon occafion of fpeech, told him of a 'ruler of numbers fines and tangents which one had 'befpoken to be made (fuch as is ufually called 'Mr *Gunter's* ruler) fix feet long, to be ufed with a 'pair of beam compaffes: He anfwered *that was a poor invention, and the performance very troublefome. But,* faid he, *feeing you are taken with fuch mechanical wayes of inftruments, I will fhew you what I have had by mee thefe many yeares; and firft* he brought 'to me two rulers of that fort, to be ufed by applying 'one to the other, without any compaffes: And 'after that he fhewed me thofe lines caft into a circle 'or ring with another moveable circle upon it. I 'feeing the great expediteneffe of both thefe ways, but 'efpecially of the latter, wherein it far excelleth any 'other inftrument, which hath been known, told him, 'I wondered that he could fo many yeares conceal fuch 'ufefull inventions not only from the world, but from 'myfelf, to whom in other parts and myfteries of art 'he had been fo liberall. He anfwered, *that the true way of art is not by inftruments, but by demonftrations;* 'and

(1) See more of this in the article of Sir Chriftopher Wren.

(2) This appears from the following note at the bottom of the book. Thofe that defire farther inftruction in the ufe of thefe inftruments, or other parts of the Mathematics, may repair to W. Fofter, at the Red Bull over againft St Clement's Church-Yard, without Temple-Bar.

However, when the invention, he found, was claimed by another perſon, he did not neglect to repel that injury [*D*]. It was not the art, ſo much as the ſcience, of the Mathematics, that chiefly engaged his attention; and, in eager purſuit of this, he continued during his ſtay at the college, where he reſided about twelve years; and in that time, as well by his example as by his inſtructions, gave a turn in the univerſity to thoſe enquiries. About the year 1603, he was preſented to the rectory of Aldbury near Guildford in Surry, and receiving Prieſt's Orders from Dr Bylſon (*c*), then Biſhop of the dioceſe, he left the college, and ſettled upon his living, where he was not wanting in a faithful diſcharge of all the duties of his office. But this retirement favouring his ſtudious diſpoſition, he could not forbear indulging his genius, though it proved a great detriment to his fortune and family [*E*], ſpending the greateſt part of his time with the darling object of his life, in what he

(*c*) See his Apologetical Epiſtle ſubjoined to his Circles of Proportion. Lond. 1633, 4to.

' *and that it is a prepoſterous courſe of vulgar teachers to begin with inſtruments, and not with the ſciences; and ſo inſtead of artiſts to make their ſcholars only doers of tricks, and as it were jugglers, to the deſpite of art, loſſe of precious time, and betraying of willing and induſtrious wits upon ignorance and idleneſs. That the uſe of inſtruments is indeed excellent, if a man be an artiſt; but contemptible being ſet and oppoſed to art. And laſtly, that he meant to commend to me the ſkill of inſtruments, but firſt he would have me well inſtructed in the ſciences.* He alſo ſhewed me many notes and rules for the uſe of thoſe circles, and of his *Horizontal inſtrument* (which he had projected about 30 years before) the moſt part written in Latin. All which I obtained of him leave to tranſlate into Engliſh, and make publick, for the uſe and benefit of ſuch as were ſtudious and lovers of theſe excellent ſciences.'

[*D*] *He did not neglect to repel the injury*] To ſome editions of the book mentioned in the former note, there is ſubjoined. *To the Engliſh gentry and all other ſtudious of the mathematics, which ſhall be readers hereof; the juſt apology of William Oughtred againſt the ſlanderous inſimulations of Richard Delamain, in a pamphlet called* Grammelogia; *or*, the Mathematical Ring; *or* Mirifica Logarithmorum Projectio Circularis. In this epiſtle, with regard to the *Horizontal inſtrument*, our author tells us, that long ago, when he was a young ſtudent of the Mathematical ſciences, he tried many ways and devices to fit himſelf with ſome good dial or inſtrument portable for his pocket, to find the hour, and try other concluſions by; and accordingly framed for that purpoſe both quadrants and rings, and cylinders, and many other compoſures; yet not to his full content and ſatisfaction; for either they performed but little, or elſe were patched up with a diverſity of lines by an unnatural and forced contexture. And at laſt, conſidering that all manner of queſtions concerning the firſt motions were performed moſt properly by the globe itſelf, rectified to the preſent elevation by the help of a moveable azimuth; he projected the globe upon the plan of the horizon, and applied to it at the center, which was therein the zenith, an index with projected degrees for the moveable azimuth; in which projection he firſt found what he had before with much ſtudy and pains in vain ſought for. And becauſe he ſeldom went to London, where he might have the help of large compaſſes and other inſtruments for drawing the arches of very big circles, he was forced to betake himſelf to ſuch ſhift as art would afford him, and invented many theorems, problems, and practices (ſuch as no man before that ever he could find had delivered) for the finding out of the interſections, and all and every points of all thoſe circles, by which he might draw the ſame, and divide them being drawn. ' About 30 years ſince (ſays he) I preſented one of them drawn with my own hand, to the truly Reverend Prelate Dr *Bylſon*, Biſhop of Wincheſter, by whom I was made Preſbyter. About five and twenty years ago I beſtowed one upon a noble Ladie, the wife of a worthy and learned Knight, then abiding near the place where I live, but ſince dwelling in Worceſterſhire; which Lady with ingenious neſſe and ſolertie more than feminine, took delight in the ſpeculation and uſe of the globe. And for her I writ many notes upon my inſtrument, the very ſame almoſt word for word, which many years after I ſent in a letter to *Elias Allen*, and are they which Delamain acknowledgeth to have ſeen, but ſlighteth. . . . . In the ſpring, 1618, I being in London went to ſee my honoured friend Maſter *Henry Briggs* at Greſham College; who then brought me acquainted with Maſter *Gunter*, lately choſen aſtronomy reader there*, and was at that time in Dr *Brooks* his chamber; with whom falling into ſpeech about his quadrant, I ſhewed him my *horizontal inſtrument*. He viewed it very heedfully, and queſtioned about the projecture and uſe thereof, often ſaying theſe words, *it is a very good one*. And not long after he delivered to Maſter *Briggs*, to be ſent to me, mine own inſtrument printed off from one cut in braſſe, which afterwards I underſtood he preſented to the right honorable the Earl of Bridgewater. And in his booke of the ſector printed ſix years after, among other projections ſetteth down this; herein ingenuous that he did not challenge it to himſelf (as our challenger doth), but not ingenuouſly enough acknowledging from whom he had it. But ſuch is the providence of God, I kept that very letter from Maſter *Briggs*, wherein he ſent me that print from Maſter *Gunter*, dated from Greſham College June 2, 1618, and the poſtſcript June 4, and which came to my hands June 10. In which letter are theſe words; *Maſter Gunter doth here ſend you the print of a horizontal diall of his drawing after your inſtrument*. This very letter hath been left by me in the hands of *Elias Allen*, above theſe two years, to be ſeen of any one that would require it . . . . : About two years after I had ſhewed that my inſtrument to Maſter *Gunter*, I beſtowed the very ſame individual one upon a young gentleman now a Baron, my very honorable and moſt entire friend, a man full of vertue, full of learning, full of all goodneſſe and true nobility, whoſe only defect and fault is an unquenchable thirſt after knowledge and good literature, who hath yet the very ſame in his cuſtody, and is at this preſent in London; whoſe honorable word and teſtimony will confirme, that he himſelf ſo many years ago knew the uſes of that inſtrument, and yet our challenger never unvayled it to him, nor doth preſcribe for ſo long time. In Michaelmas term 1627, I came to London, and *Elias Allen* having been ſworne his Majeſtie's ſervant, had a purpoſe to preſent his Majeſtie with ſome New-yeares gift, and requeſted me to deviſe ſome pretty inſtrument for him. I anſwered, that I have heard his Majeſty delighted much in the great concave diall at White-hall: and what fitter inſtrument could hee have than my horizontall, which was the very ſame repreſented in flat? And that I would upon the backeſide ſet the theories of the ſun and moon, and ſo by help of both ſides eclipſes might be calculated with great facility. He liked it well. The horizontal ſide was begunne by my direction. I was not long at home, but Maſter *Allen* being at a ſtand in his worke ſent to me for helpe; I writ him a large letter two ſheets of paper long; wherein I taught him the uſes of the inſtrument, eſpecially the horizontall, and afterward the fabric or delineation of it, and how to find the ſemidiameters and centers of the ſeverall circles both great and leſſer, and the way to divide them; which letter Maſter *Allen* yet keepeth, and is the ſame I ſpake of before, and which *Delamain* confeſſeth he ſaw.'

* Our author here miſremembered the circumſtance of the time of Mr Gunter's election, who was not choſen to the Greſham Profeſſorſhip 'till the ſubſequent year, 1619. Ward's Lives of the Greſham Profeſſors, p 78.

[*E*] *Even to the detriment of his fortune and family.*] In the latter part of his life, our author grew very ſenſible of this diſadvantage, as appears by his anſwer to the following letter, directed

To his worthy and much reſpected friend Mr *William Oughtred*.

S I R,

' Though I am a ſtranger to your perſon, yet I am well acquainted with the fame of your ſingular ſkill in the mathematicks, and hereupon have ſo farr preſumed, as to entreat your aſſiſtance for the geometrical ſolution of the incloſed diagram, which to you that have attained

(d) Ibid.

he called the more than Elyzian Fields of the mathematic sciences (*d*); wherein he became so eminent, that his house, we are told, was continually filled with young gentlemen who came thither for his instructions [*F*]. Lord Neper, in 1614, publishing at Edinburgh

tained the perfection of the analyticall art, perhaps will not appear difficult. But whether all that may be performed by algebraicall equations, may likewise be wrought geometrically, according to a linearye operation, I am not able to resolve, and therefore intreat to be instructed from you, the present proposition will happely conduce to that so much desired and long sought for problem, for the finding of two mean proportionalls between two extreames given, which having hitherto exercised the witte and endeavours of the most famous geometricians, I presume would not prove unworthy your paines, who by the general suffrages of all men, are deservedly reported the ablest mathematician that our age knows. Sir, I have beene beholding to Mr Elias Allen for the conveyance of this letter; and if you will vouchsafe me the favour at your best leisure to return me two or three lines in answere, and cause it to be left at Mr Allen's for me, I will rest very thankfull for the courtesye and ever remaine

Yours to be commanded in what I am able

London, this present 20 of June, 1642, Will. Price.'

To this letter Mr Oughtred sent the following answer.

June 26, 1642.

SIR,

'It is true that I have bestowed such vacant time as I could gaine from the study of divinitie, which is my calling, upon human knowledges; and amongst other, the mathematics; wherein the little skill I have attained being compared with others of my profession, who for the most part, contenting themselves only with their own way, refuse to tread these salebrous and uneasy pathes, maye peradventure seme the more. But now being in years and mindfull of mine end, and having payed dearly for my former delights, both in my health and state, besides the prejudice of such who not considering what incessant labour may produce, recon soe much wanting unto me in my proper calling, as they think I have acquired in other sciences: by which opinion not of the vulgar only I have suffered both disrespect and also hinderance in some small preferments I have aimed at. I have therefore now learned to spare my self, and am not willing to descend againe *in arenam*, and to serve such ungratefull muses. Yet, Sir, at your request, I have perused your problem, the effect whereof is this:' Datis, &c.

Mr Oughtred's complaint is justified by the following extract of a letter written to him signed W. Robinson. ...... 'And I protest unto you sincerely, wear I able as some, at whose hands you have merited exceedingly, (or to speak more absolutely) as able as willing, I would as freely give you 500 *l*. per Ann. as 500 *pence*. And I cannot but be astonished at this our age, wherein pelf and dross is made their *summum bonum*, and the best parte of man, while the true ornaments thereof, science and knowledge, are so slighted. I would, I say, it weare in my power as efficaciously as it is in my will, and there should not passe many days ere it weare donne. I make no question but my Lord Marshiall (3) is very noble, and intended really to you; but methinkes there was some neglect that so poor a favour had so bad successe. Had I interest about London (for I see, and indeed it is most convenient you should not be far from thence) I would do my best, which I will do notwithstandinge, though I can promisse nothing but my good will, which shall not be wanting to the utmost.'

(3) The Earl of Arundel.

[*F*] *His house was filled with such as came for his instructions*] Among others we have the names of Sir William Backhouse, Mr Stokes, Dr William Lloyd, Mr Arthur Haughton (4). This last published in 1660 an edition of *the circles of proportion and the horizontal instrument, &c. both invented, and the uses of both written in Latin* by W. Oughtred, Etonens. *Translated into English, and set forth for the public benefit by W. F.* [William Foster] *and now, by the author's consent, revised, corrected, and freed from all mistakes in the former edition, and also much amplified and explained by*, A. H. Gentleman: Oxford 1660, 8vo. Besides home pupils, our author's name and freedom to communicate brought him applications from other parts. To this purpose we have the following letter from the celebrated Mr John Hales of Eton, addressed to his very good friend Mr William Owtred, at his house in Aldbury.

(4) Dav. Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 608. edit. 1668.

'Good Mr Owtred.

'Since your being with us at Eton, I was but one three days absent, and then only fell out the opportunity of answering your letters, *eruditas, bone Deus! & perhumanas*; which by being at Oxford, I unfortunately mist. Now verilie, Sir, I must needs confesse, that such kindness, and so beneficiall upon so small acquaintance, I never receaved at the hands of any man, as I have at yours. Either your facility was great or your pains very much, who could in so short a space discharge yourself of so many queries. But howsoever I esteem your courtesye above all the rest. Amongst all the solutions which you sent me, none there was, which gave mee not full and sufficient satisfaction, (and so I persuade my self would have given to one of deeper skill than my self) one only excepted, and that is concerning the projectures of an oblique circle. I must confesse, I cannot well put by your demonstration, neither indeede, to speake plainly, do I throughly conceive of it, by reason, I doubt not, of my being unexperienced in these studies. For if I well conceive the nature of projection, which I take to be nothing else, but the representation of some shape and figure *in plano* accordingly as it appears to the eye, I do not see how your conclusion can be good, except it be granted, that there is no means to express an oblique circle according as it appears to the eye, which is against your own experience. For even in the universal astrolabe, there is one only circle fully and circularly projected into a strait line, all the rest are either ellipses, or else figures drawing near unto the nature of ellipses, composed of arches of circles, which I think indeed to be ellipses. For if so be every meridian in the universall planisphere be to bee projected as a circle, then why are they not indeede all circles; since that the astrolabe is nothing else, but the projection of all the rest of the meridians in the plaine of one? If I take upon me to dispute with you, it is but only to learne, and learne I cannot of you, except I betraye my ignorance unto you: and assure your selfe I will most shamefully confess it unto you, that I may receave information from you. But I would not wish you to trouble yourself about this businesss, for I am now upon going to Oxford, not to return to staie, till about twelve or fourteen daies before Christmas, about which tyme I understand by your father you are purposed to be here. For that private matter about which you wrote, I confess I must have thought more upon it, than ever I did in my life, but what the reasons are why I remaine irresolute, I will throughly acquaint you when I can speake with you. You shall receave by your manne your little Compendium of Triangles, by which I must confesse, I have found my selfe much eased. And now what is it that I can return you for all these exceeding curtesies? But I dont love to compliment; and if I mistake you not, you do not expect it. I praie let me bee remembred tho' unknowne to Mrs Owtrede; and so commending my love unto you, I commit you to God.

Your true, plaine

and loving friend

From Eton College this 7th of October, 1616. Jo. Hales.'

A scholar of Mr Hales's genius and modesty, does more than recompense the trouble of informing him. In such a case it may be truly said, that it is more pleasant to give than to receive. His mistake lay in misapprehending the nature of projection, wherein the circles on the sphere are not drawn so as they appear

burgh his *Mirifici Logarithmorum Canonis Descriptio, ejusque usus in utraque Trigonometria*, &c. it presently fell into the hands of Mr Briggs, then Geometry-Reader of Gresham-college

to the eye, but as they appear upon a plain, intersecting at right angles the visual rays, in proceeding from the eye to the circumference of the circle on the globe, the eye being placed at the end of the diameter. But Mr Oughtred was not always so happy; on the contrary, he was sometimes made to feel the greatness of his fame by the heaviness of the tax laid upon it, as will appear by the following letter.

' To the worshipfull my very lovinge friende Mr Owtreade.

' Worthy Sir,

' If yow be at leasure from your harvest affaires, I ' would once moore desier your helpe in trying the ' conclusion of the quadrature of the circle. By deepe ' consideration of the 4th chapter of Ezechiel, I doe ' finde a manifest figure of declaring of the quadrate ' thereof, with all the circumstances. The prophet is ' willed to take a tile, or (as the word in the Hebrew ' beareth) *album*, a wight table, *abacum*, or paper; and ' to wright thereon the name of the city *Hierusalem*, ' which signifieth the doctrine or vision of concorde: ' and it fitteth to the purpose of a circle made to ac-' corde with a right line, betweene whom ther hath ' alwaies been unreconcileable warr. The name *Hie-' rusalem* ירושלם containeth accordinge to the com-' mon wrighting 1146; but I finde also a secrett ' wrighting thereof in this manner פרושלם that is ' 80 moore added, and maketh the whole number ' 1226. And the wordes which follow, *dabis super ' eam* obsidionem, *ædificabis* turrim, *fundes* aggerem, ' *dabis* exercitus, *pones* arietes in circuitu, written in the ' Hebrew, and the whole number of consonants and ' vowels put together of these words maketh the same ' number of 1226. And according to the common ' sense of these wordes it signifiethe manifestly, a study ' of attaining the knowledge of the secrett thereof. He ' is bidden first to sleepe upon his left side 390 dayes, ' and to beare the iniquity of Israel; which signifieth ' the supposing of the quadrature to be triple of that ' number, which is a figure of the iniquity of Israel, ' as that number is unequall to the circle. Then he is ' willed to sleep on his right side fourty dayes, and to ' beare the iniquity of Juda. The wordes *quadraginta ' dies* in the Hebrew (detracting the number of the ' vowels from consonants) make 2479, which is the ' diameter given by the first operation, and is notwith-' standing unequall, though lesse so than the former. ' He is also bidden to take an yron grate to putt be-' tweene him and the citty, that is the square of sevens ' made in the manner of a grate, as a mesolabium be-' tween the circle which is besieged, and the right ' line which is brought into it. Then he is com-' manded to go about the siege, and not to stirr to the ' examining of the fraction, before he hath perfected and ' gone over the 390 partes. Also he is willed to take ' certaine puls, and to make a breade of them for the ' number of the dayes 390. By which is meant the ' composition of all those wordes together into one ' sentens, which signify in the Hebrew, the drawing of ' a line of syphers; and the number of the line is expres-' sed by the weight of the water, which he is to drink, ' that is one 6 part of an hin which is 12, the hin contain-' ing 72. Afterwards he is willed to cutt the hayre of ' his head and bearde: the two wordes containe the ' beginning of the fraction of 653, after the 6 place ' 3⌊141592⌊653. He is also to divide them into ' three equall parts, and to cast all of them away, save ' only a little part, and that is one unitt, and yet of ' that to cast away somewhat. That little residew, ' wich must stand in the 7 place, is signified by an in-' ward reading to be $\frac{20}{30}$, for the unities are supposed to ' be 30 a peece. So that in the 7 place, it seemeth ' the stay should be of fractions to come to an ende, ' that the whole proportion of this diameter 390 to the ' circle 1226, should be 3⌊141592 $\frac{20}{30}$, which cutteth ' between $\substack{7\ \text{minus}\\ 6\ \text{plus}}$ in the seventh place. Now the rea-' son which moveth me to hope for somewhat out of ' this place is, that it is evident, that the way of Ar-' chimedes and Ceulin can never possibly come to an ' ende in the operation to make a certaine stay: For ' their ground being the multiplication of an inscript ' figure, by his polygones to come to the nature of a ' circle, it can never be effected. For the last polygon ' figure which can be imagined, must be compounded ' of right lines which part two angles. Therefore ' those lines may be again divided into lesser without ' end, according to the rules of philosophy: therefore ' they must always end between *plus* and *minus*. More-' over, suppose the trew proportion of the circle weare ' propounded by God, it must of necessity be either ' lesse than Ceulin's, or equal, or moore. If it be ' lesse or equall it can't be [the trew one] because these ' proportions are defective from the periphery, as ' may be proved demonstratively. Againe, if it ex-' ceed an unittie, it cannot be [the trew proportion] ' by the same demonstration. Therefore of necessity ' it must exceede Ceulin's, wherseover it should chance ' to fall, and yet not an unite. Therefore this is my ' desier, that you would take so much paynes for me, ' as to trye, whether by Algebra it be possible to over-' throwe this supposition of the perfect proportion ' abovenamed. For whereas Ceulin hath $\substack{7\ \text{minus}\\ 6\ \text{plus}}$ in ' the seven place, the unite being supposed to be a ' denary, this division of the unite into thirty, cutteth ' a middle betweene 18 which is as 6 and 21 which is ' as 7. And whereas mention was made of a mesola-' bium in the square of seavens, I find this use thereof, ' that the square of seavens containing ⌊6 latera 175 ' a part, and in all in the 49 places 1225; ther is but ' one unite differens from the circle 1226, which is ' reconciled by adding of 20 days to every one of the ' 16 sides of the squar, being supposed to consist of ' yeares; which fraction making 320 dayes, is in grosse ' taken for a year. So that altho every side, consisting ' of 175 yeares and 20 dayes, be heterogeneall in ' things from the semidiameter of 390 yeares, it is ho-' mogeneall in number. And I finde that the life of ' Abraham, which was 175 whole yeares, contayned ' 20 dayes over, as I can demonstrate by a secrett ' readinge. So that this formall reconciliation not ' reall, of the square of seavens unto the circle of 1226, ' is made by adding of a 20 to the making of a just ' proportion to become thereby a figure of the quadra-' ture of 390 to 1226, by adding the fraction of 20 in ' the 7 place. But to leave all questions which may ' arise about the premisses, I only desire you would try, ' if by Algebra you may disprove this determinate ' fraction of $\frac{20}{30}$ in the seventh place, for the just pro-' portion of the diameter 390 unto 1226. For Ceulin's ' operation doth not infringe it, for all his subalterne ' fractions added to the 6 place in the scale, doth not ' amount to another unite, that it should exceede $\frac{20}{30}$, ' and his operation onely proceedeth by proportion, ' that as 390⌊2479 maketh the proportion 3⌊141592, ' so 390⌊347921 maketh the proportion 3⌊14159265, ' and so proceedeth by the way of proportion conti-' nually to come to a lesser fraction.

' I entreat you most earnestly, that so soone as your ' leisure will serve, you will take pain herein, and ' send me the operation, which you make. For al-' though it seemeth to me, that ther being no mesola-' bium known, which may be as a logicall medium to ' prove or disprove this proposition, saving only the ' method of Ceulin which cannot do it; yet I desire ' to be satisfied by your experiens, not by my owne ' guesse. And so wishing you all happines, I rest

Your most loving friend

Goldsmithes Alley in
Red-Crosse-Street the
27th of August, 1633.

Wm. Alabaster.'

Among all the rare mysteries of the Jewish Cabala, I do not remember that any adept therein had smelt out this of squaring the circle before Mr Alabaster. This letter is certainly a curiosity, viewed either in the light

college in London; and that gentleman forming a design to perfect his Lordship's plan, consulted Mr Oughtred upon it (*e*), who probably wrote his treatise of Trigonometry about this time [G]; and, in prosecuting the same subject, he invented, not many years after, an instrument, which he called the *Circles of Proportion*. This was published at the same time and upon the same occasion with the horizontal abovementioned. All such questions in Arithmetic, Geometry, Astronomy, and Navigation, as depended upon simple and compound proportion, might be wrought by it; and it was the first sliding-rule

(*e*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 549. 2d edit. Lond. 1721.

light of a cabalistical or mathematical production. The unfathomable depth of the first being equally amazing, with the unmeasurable shallowness of the latter. Nothing indeed but ocular demonstration could make it credible, that any one should know Van Ceulin's number 3⌊14159265, &c. and be acquainted with the operation or manner of it's production, and acknowledge that it continually comes to a lesser fraction, should yet be so totally lost in the profundities of cabalistic science, as not see that it did infringe his pretended demonstration, since the decimal fraction ⌊141592653, &c. in infinit. must needs be lesser than ⌊141592 $\frac{20}{30}$, or ⌊1415926666 in infinit. and consequently 3⌊141592 $\frac{20}{30}$, must needs exceed the true or exact proportion of the diameter to the circumference: Accordingly we do not find that Mr Oughtred thought this address worthy his notice, notwithstanding he esteemed the subject of the quadrature not unworthy of further enquiries. As appears by his answer to the following letter inscribed thus.

'To the Reverend and much honoured friend Mr Oughtred.

SIR,

'By the small yet favourable conversation you have 'been pleased sometymes heretofore to bestow upon 'mee, I am encouraged to request as much more thereof 'as your other occasions and studyes of greater moment 'may (att least missively if not personally) permitt; 'and for an entrance into such intercourse, I make 'my self an object to your further courtesye, intreat'ing that your exchange of a paper may returne mee a 'relation of the most material uses, whereunto an ex'act quadrature of a circle is appliable, therewithal to 'refresh my late hard study and labour to attayne an 'ability to expose before the authoritie of your judg'ment an infailible demonstration thereof, when with 'convenience and privacy your desirable presence 'shall comfort and honour

Your friend in assured affection

and submissive

London Octob. 26, 1645.

Reverend servant,

Robert Keylway.'

To this Mr Oughtred wrote the following answer.

Worthy Sir,

'There was indeed left at my house a letter divers 'days after the date thereof, but I neither knew by 'whom it was brought, neither was there any direc'tion, whither I should returne my answere. Besides 'I have had shewd unto me divers overtures of such as 'have attempted that mystery of art, that have in 'trial failed. And we know that Orontius, and Joseph 'Scaliger, and Longomontanus, great masters in that 'science, have rather made demonstration of their he'roical endeavour, than of the conquest they proposed. 'And to say the truth, I have held the disquisition is 'infeasible, because altho' no doubt there may be a 'righte line equal to a circulare, yet they being hete'rogeneous, ther cannot in art be any due comparison 'betweene them; for comparatio is *homogeneorum*. We 'have out of Archimedes's grounds both by Van 'Ceulen and his follower Willebroorde Snellius, soe nere 'an equation of a right line to a nicetie, that if the 'whole universe were sand there would not be the 'difference of one graine, and yet we cannot say the 'exact quadrature is by them delivered. Neyther will 'it serve to those yet undiscovered uses, which the 'proper and genuine equation (such as I conceive it 'must be) will no doubt afforde; as namely the men'suration of segments of circles, spheres, cylinders, and 'cones, with the *frusta* thereof; the solution of the 'problems in the second book of Archimedes *de sphera* '*& cylindro*, which now are only soluble by cubical 'equations; the measuring of *menisci & arbeli* and 'other figures composed either of right lines and 'circles, or of different circles, all which would be 'most excellent discoveries, and plus ultras in art. 'And I should also thence expect a facile and ready 'way for the proportion of *subtenses* in a circle to their 'circumferences. These and many other abstruse *adyta*, 'hitherto almost despaired of, may I suppose by your 'magisterial invention tanquam *Mercurii caduceo*, be 'set open. Sir, this is the effect of all I am able to 'answer to your desire, unless I more fully knew the 'manner of your way. I speake this the rather, and 'am induced to a better confidence of your perfor'mance, by reason of a new geometric analytical art 'or practice found out by one Cavalieri an Italian, of 'which above three years since, I receaved information 'by a letter from Paris, wherein was prelibated only a 'small taste thereof, yet so that I divine great enlarge'ment of the bounds of the mathematical empire will 'ensue. I was then very desirous to see the author's 'own book, while my spirits were more free and light'some, but I could not gett it in France. Since being 'more stept into yeares, daunted and broken with the 'sufferings of these disastrous times †, I must con'tent myself to keep home, and not put out to any 'foraine discoveries. Thus with thankful acknowledge'ment of your so noble favour, to deigne me worthy 'the communication of such a secret, I rest ready to 'doe you all service, which may be within the power 'of,

† This complaint of our author seems to confirm Mr Lilly's remark mentioned in the text.

Your humble servant,

the true honourer of your wo th,

W. O.'

[G] *Probably drew up his trigonometry about this time.*] This is collected from the method of that treatise which is seen in the title, as follows: *Trigonometria, hoc est modus computandi triangulorum latera & angulos ex Canone Mathematico traditus & demonstratus, una cum tabulis sinuum, tangentium, & secantium, &c.* It is evidently formed upon the plan of Lord Neper's canon, but as Mr Oughtred could not be ignorant that his intimate friend Mr Briggs had undertaken to complete his design, and applied himself at this time wholly to it; therefore, this treatise of our author's seems to have been wrote only for his own use. Mr Briggs's scheme being, after his death, compleated by Mr Gellibrand, Astronom. Prof. at Gresh. Here then we see abundant reason, why our author should not readily yield to the intreaties of several gentlemen his scholars, who (Mr Lloyd (5) tells us) did not without much ado prevail with him to have it published. It came out in the year 1657; and a translation of it was printed at London the same year, in 4to. with this title, *Trigonometrie*; or *the manner of calculating the sides, and angles of triangles, by the mathematical canon, demonstrated by William Oughtred, Etonens.* What we have here advanced, seems to be farther confirmed by a letter sent to Mr Oughtred, from which the following extract is taken. 'I have procured your Trigonometrie to be written over in a fair hand, which when finished, I will send you, to know if it be according to your mind; for I intend (since you were pleased to give your assent) to endeavour to print it with Mr Briggs his tables, and so soon as I can get the Prutenic tables, I will turn those of the sunne and moon, and send them to you—signed, Richard Stokes.'

(5) Memoirs, ubi supra.

[*H*] *Gives*

rule that was projected for those uses, as well as that of gauging. However, Mr Oughtred modestly disclaimed any extraordinary merit in it, and next to Lord Neper and Mr Briggs expresly gives the honour of the invention to Mr Edmund Gunter [*H*]. In 1631,

[*H*] *Gives the honour of it to Mr Edmund Gunter.*] In the apolegetical epistle cited above (6), Mr Oughtred confesses he had not so good a claim against all men for the circles of proportion, as for his horizontal instrument, tho' against Mr Delamain, he had *, '*the honour of the invention* (says he) *next to the Lord of Merchiston, and our Master Briggs, belongeth (if I have not been wrongly informed) to Master Gunter, who exposed their numbers upon a streight line; which being once done, was there any such masterie to bring the same line about a circle? and what doth this new instrument (call it the* circles of proportion *or call it the* ring, *or what other name you list) ought else, but only bowe or inflect Master Gunter's* line *or* ruler? 'The manner how I fell upon it was thus: I have in 'my study and practice of the Mathematicks, been not 'a little conversant in calculation. And that I might 'both facilitate the labour and try the work, I invented 'many solerties and compendiations in logistica for the 'one, and framed divers kinds of instruments and mechanical practices for the other; that when I should 'find the performance *in both ways not to disagree, I might be assured of my just diligence in numerary computation. Among other instruments I much liked the same line or ruler; only this defect I found, that it required many times too great a pair of compasses, which would be hard to open, apt to slip, and troublesome for use. I therefore first devised to have another ruler with the former, and so by setting and applying one to the other, I did not only take away the use of compasses, but also made the worke much more easy and expedite, when I should not at all need the motion of my hand, but only the glancing of my sight, and with one position of the rulers, and view of mine eye, see not one onely, but the manifold proportions incident unto the question intended. But yet this facility also wanted not some difficulty, especially in the line of tangents, when one arch was in the former mediety of the quadrant, and the other in the latter; for in this case it was needfull, that either one ruler must be as long againe as the other; or else that I must use an inversion of the ruler, or regression. By this consideration I first of all saw, that if those lines upon both rulers were inflected into circles, that of the tangents being in both doubled, and that these two circles should move one upon another, they with a small thread in the center to direct the sight would be sufficient with incredible and wonderful facility to worke all questions of trigonometrie, both right lined and spherical and according to this my speculation, above twelve years agoe, I with mine own hand made me two such circles, which I have used ever since as my occasions required.* 'In the long vacation 1630, I shewed both the rulers 'and the circle to *William Forster* somewhat prematurely 'then (for the desire I had to lead him on the right 'way of art I intended) at my parsonage house, as in 'his epistle before his translation he doth himself testify. 'To whom exhorting me to publish them, I said I 'would not appear to the world in such toyes; but if 'hee would take the paines to translate some rules 'I had written, into English, we would bestow upon 'Elias Allen (if hee shall think they may be benificial 'to him) both these circles of proportion, and also 'another instrument consisting of two half circles, most 'plainly and easily giving the prostaphæreses of the 'planets according to the theory of *Copernicus* (which 'I have had fairly drawne with mine owne hand above 'these twenty yeares) which might be set upon the 'other side of the plate, and would together make up 'the most complete instrument for all astronomie that 'ever yet to my knowledge came forth. And of this 'intire instrument, at my coming up to London in 'Michaelmas term following to attend my service (7), 'I did accordingly make a most free donation to Elias 'Allen by the engagement of my promise.' ... In 1636. There was printed at London, in 8vo. Our author's *description, and use of the double horizontal diall.* And in 1652, at the end of the English edition, of H. Van Etten's *Mathematical Recreations*, printed at London, there was published a tract entitled *The description of the double horizontal diall, whereby not only the hour of the day is shewn, but also the meridian line is found: and most astronomical questions, which may be done by the globe, are resolved. Invented and written by* William Oughtred. In the year 16$\frac{49}{50}$, he received some hints for improving this instrument in a letter, the extract of which relating to this subject, is as follows. . . . . 'Amongst other instruments (which are good helps but 'ill masters) why might you not be persuaded to publish the description of that mentioned by you elsewhere, for the ready supputation of the places of the 'planets as a backside to your double horizontal, which 'though particular, might in its chiefest use of finding 'the meridian line be made (as I think) generally by 'fixing it on a moveable foot, and then being elevated or 'depressed according to the different elevation of the 'pole, and turned about at the same angle, till the 'double shadow point out the same hour, standing thus 'in the meridian, be made use of for the protraction of 'the houre-lines, upon any plaine without respect had 'to its situation, by a thread passing from the center of 'the horizontal diall thro' the intersection of the hour 'spaces, continued to any plain whatsoever.—signed 'John Twysden.'

In the treatise of the circles of proportion, Chap. ix. concerning gauging, our author (if it be his) has inserted a tart reprehension of Mr Gunter, who (says he) in his second book of the Cross-staffe, cap iv. pretending to shew the manner of gauging wine-vessels, beginneth with these words: '*The vessels which* are here measured, are supposed to be cylinders, or reduced into cylinders by taking the meane between the diameter at the head, and the diameter at the bounge after the usual manner. And according to this supposition he teacheth to find a gauge point, for a gallon of wine, in that his imagined cylindrical vessel. Because his words are cautelous, we must a little examin them; for if his way be true, my rule before set downe tho' grounded upon demonstration, cannot stand. Well then, that reduction of a wine-vessel into a cylinder, is either true or false, if it be true, what need those ambiguities of *vessels, which are here measured, and are supposed to be, &c. after the usual manner?* If false why is it not noted, but delivered as a rule to confirm an errour, and what meaneth the *meane between the diameter at the head, and the diameter at the bounge?* Is it the meane arithmeticall or geometricall. If it be the first. I say that the vessel cannot truely be reduced to a cylinder by such a meane diameter. For seeing it is most apparent, that such a vessel is greater in the middle, than at the ends, the boords or sides thereof, shall from the middle to the ends goe either streight, and so the vessel shall as before, I said, and is commonly taken for a truth, be a *sphæroides* having the two ends equally cut off. If it be considered as two segments of cones: the measure by that meane diameter or middle section is quite false, as hath been demonstrated in the former chapter, sect. 16, 17, and will be given less than the true content, although the sides go streight: much more then, if the sides go arching; for that convexnesse must needs yield a greater capacity. And therefore in neither can that manner of gauging be true. Againe, if the *meane diameter* be understood to be the mean proportional between the two diameters it is much more false, for between any two numbers, the meane geometricall, is lesse than the arithmetical.'——In this remark our author indirectly recommends his own improvement of the gauging-rod, concerning which Sir Charles Cavendishe writes to him thus: 'I thank you for your little 'book, but especiallie for the waie of calculating the 'divisions of your gauging rod. I wish both for theyr 'owne sakes and yours, that the citizens were as 'capable of the acutenes of this invention, as they are 'commonly greedie of gaine, and then I doubte not 'but they would give a better recompense, than I doubt 'now they will.'——Upon the whole it appears, that the invention of the sliding-rule, was owing to Mr Oughtred.

The treatise of navigation added to his circles of proportion, was deservedly admired at that time: concerning which, Mr W. Robinson in the letter above cited, writes to him as follow. 'I am glad 'you have perused *Snellius*, who indeed pleased me 'exceedingly; and I thought in the readinge of him, 'a more

(6) In the note [*D*].

* This Delamain was very famous for making ring-dials. One made by him for King Charles I. was much valued by his Majesty, who, on the morning before he was beheaded, ordered it to be given to the Duke of York, with a book shewing it's use. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 702.

(7) This service was to instruct the Earl of Arundel's son, for which purpose his Lordship had set apart a chamber in his own house at London. Dedication of the Clavis.

1631, our author published at London, in a small octavo, *Arithmeticæ in Numeris & Speciebus Institutio: quæ tum Logisticæ tum Analyticæ atque totius Mathematicæ Clavis est* [*I*]. Vieta having discovered the method of Specious Arithmetic, and publishing it in 1590, Mr Oughtred, in this performance, made several remarkable improvements therein; particularly he gave an easy and general rule for the solution of quadratic equations, which is so compleat, as not to admit of being farther perfected, and has been transcribed without any alteration in the elementary treatises of Algebra ever since (*f*). In an introductory institution, his design did not carry him to consider eqations of a higher order in the same view; notwithstanding some observations which he made here concerning them, led Dr Wallis (*g*) to the invention of a like formula for the resolution of cubics. In general, there were found to be so many excellent theorems, several of which were entirely new, both in Algebra and Geometry, comprized in this little manual, that it was universally esteemed, both at home and abroad, as a surprizingly rich cabinet of mathematical treasures, of which the author had the pleasure to receive several testimonies in letters addressed to himself [*K*]. The general plan of it has been since followed by the very best authors upon the subject (*h*); but Mr Oughtred, it must not be denied, affected a brevity which was

(*f*) Another by Mr Harriot was published in the same year, and these two have been the standard rules from that time. See Wallis's History of Algebra.

(*g*) See his Algebra, chap. 46.

(*h*) Sir Isaac Newton, in his Arithmetica Universalis, and lately in Mr Maclaurin's Algebra, printed in 1748.

'a more exact way (if instruments and artists be both 'exact) could not possibly bee taken, than by angles 'taken with a very lardge quadrant, and so great an 'artist and logisticke as *Snellius* was. Upon your 'letter I borrowed your newe booke, (but I intend to 'take your courtesye offer of one of them from Mr 'Allen) and find your way pag. 23, to be exceeding 'good (and indeed a curious good waye) but why in 'your letter you should rather wishe the plaine table 'I do not see; yett I confesse my ignorance therein, 'being only a book speculator (such is the condition of 'my life) and no practitioner, because I am restrained, 'may well hide the reason from me, and therefore do 'I submitt. In assigninge of a degree, I find this dif- 'ference betwixt you and Snellius, that he makes a 'degree to contain 353325 $\frac{785}{1000}$ English feete, you 'only 351120; the difference is 2185 $\frac{785}{1000}$, which 'though not much in a whole degree, yet I marvaile 'how it should happen betwixt two such good artists. 'The way by the height of a hill and a tangent, which 'is Maurolycus's way, I did not propose as to relye 'upon it in practice; but supposing Snellius his observa- 'tions to be exact, I thought to try the earth's diame- 'ter being already given, and the height of a hill also 'suppose to be 7920 feete that is a mile and $\frac{1}{2}$ in the 'perpendicular (a height heigh enough), yett it will not 'hitt, but eyther varyeth the angle at the center, or 'the diameter given by Snellius; yet I dare not dis- 'trust Snellius his way, it is so demonstrative. Your 'booke of navigation delighteth me exceedingly, and 'I doubt not but to finde in it (for my time of perusal 'hath yett beene but shorte) the way of the shipp ex- 'actly taught and some things extraordinary, seeinge 'as I perceive you have reade Snellius his *Typhus Batavus*, which was the best (that I had reade) before I 'reade yours; and seeinge you have layde open so much 'of the arte alreadye, I could wishe wee might see a '*Typhus Aldeburiensis* come from the Archimedes there- 'of, for verily I thinke *omne bonum mathematicum* 'may come from thence, if so you please.'——In the same letter, Mr Robinson makes some remarks upon trigonometry which is the subject of the 13th chapter of the circles of proportion. 'As you have brought a 'symbolicall kinde of expression (which is verye neate 'and good) and wishe also that the decimall fraction 'weare common (and if the decimall integer weare 'brought in also, but that it would make shrewde 'havock among the tables, extant to divide a whole 'circle into ten) it would be easye; but if the division 'remaininge which is now currant, I would have 'Snellius his names of *complementum* and *residuum* 'brought in; the one beinge *data peripheriæ ad quadrantem differentia*; the other, *excessus semicirculi ad 'datam peripheriam*; small things I confesse, yet pro- 'per and distinct: whereas, *complimentum* and *semicirculum* is a circumlocution, and it is better, that dis- 'tinct thinges, have distinct names. I am not ignorant 'that yourselfe hath given a touch of this pag. 94. ch. 'xiii. of your trigonometrie, but the word *excess* you 'seem to use in a different sense.'

[*I*] *Published in a small Octavo, Arithmeticæ——Institutio—quæ—clavis est.*] About the year 1628, the Earl of Arundel living then at West Horsely, though he afterwards bought a house at Aldbury, sent for Mr Oughtred to instruct his son Lord William Howard in the Mathematicks (8). The *Clavis* was first drawn up for the use of this young nobleman. In the preface to the third edition, our author explains his own design and method, in very elegant Latin, as follows. '*Conscripsi olim in familia illustrissima nuper Comitis Arundeliæ & Surriæ, cum ex filiis ejus alteri in disciplinis 'Mathematicis exponendis deservierim, ordinem quendam, 'qui mihi ad mysteria mathematica videbatur appositissimus, ut studiosorum qui ipsum secuturi sunt animi 'scientiis illis, non leviter & superficie tenus tingantur, 'sed intime & radicitus imbuantur, hunc meum ordinem 'multorum virorum doctorum, maxime vero nobilissimi 'illius eruditissimiq;* Dni Caroli Cavendish, *hortatu in 'publicum sub titulo* Clavis Mathematicæ *primo emisi. 'Tractatus quidem ille, non methodo (sicut vulgo sit) 'synthetica per theoremata atque problemata longo verborum ambitu descriptus, sed via inventionis analytica '(ita ut tota sit quasi demonstratio continua nexibus 'firmissimis compaginata) & non tam verbis quam re- 'rum speciebus depictus, primo adspectu difficultatem pe- 'perit in multis, qui forma tradendi inusitata territi, 'chimæram aut sphyngem aliquam imaginabantur: ve- 'rum si quis præjudicii hæc terriculamenta adspernatus, 'attente præsentique animo hanc viam ingrediatur, rem 'videbit maxime facilem & conspicuam. Namque speciosus hic atque symbolicus modus nec memoriam verbo- 'rum multiplicitate torquet, nec phantasiam rerum multarum comparatione, atque dijudicatione onerat ac dis- 'trahit; sed operationis atque argumentationis totius 'processum conspectui repræsentans; theorema denique 'profert non uni tantum genti intelligendum, sed omnium 'quotquot sunt ubique terrarum nationum linguis (modo 'de notis* (9), *constet) efferendum.*'

Animi quidem mei sensus & votum tum in prima clavis meæ formatione, tum in secunda limatione sive potius nova fabricatione fuit, ut mathesios studiosis quasi Ariadnes filum porrigerem, quo ad intima harum scientiarum adyta deducantur, & ad optimos antiquissimosque authores Euclidem, Archimedem, Appollonium Pergæum, *magnum illum geometram,* Diophantum *ac reliquos facilius penitiusque intelligendos dirigantur; eorumque non propositiones modo addiscant, quod plerisque Mathematicis scientiæ quasi culmen est & fastigium; sed etiam percipiant qua solertia, quibus æquationum, interpretationum, comparationum, reductionum, conversionum, atque disquisitionum molisminibus,* prisci *illi heroes scientiam hanc pulcherrimam ornaverint, auxerint, invenerint.*—He proceeds to (10) declare the method he took in inventing the materials from which the Clavis is compiled; and concludes thus, *Hinc tandem non nisi plurimorum annorum usu atque experientia præceptorum illa qualiscunque seges emersit.*

[*K*] *Testimonies in letters addressed to himself.*] Mr William Gascoigne, in a letter to our author, dated from Middleton, near Leeds [in Yorkshire] December 2d, 1640; writes thus:

Sir,

Amongst the mathematical rarities these times have afforded, there are none of that small number I (a late intruder into these studies) have yet viewed, which so fully demonstrates their author's great abilities as your Clavis, not richer in augmentation than valuable for contraction *.

How much it was esteemed abroad, the author was informed in the following letters. Mr Charles Cavendishe concludes his letter above cited (11) thus. He [Mr Derand] writes also that your Clavis is in great estima- tion

(8) See the dedication to the Clavis, edit. first.

(9) Our author uses a way of notation invented by himself in many particulars.

(10) See note [*A*].

* This compliment serves to usher in a request to our author for his trial and opinion of Mr Gascoigne's then newly invented micrometer.

(11) In the preceding remark.

was always found too close for beginners [*L*]. The second and third editions were promoted by the first Mathematicians of that age, some of whom thought it no disparagement

tion amongst the Mathematicians at Paris. dated Welbeck, Feb. 11, 1635.

Mr John Twysden, in his letter cited in the same remark, addresses himself in these words:

'Worthie Mr Oughtred,

'The profit I formerly received by the first edition 'of your *Clavis Mathematica*, as also from your other 'workes, made me not ignorant what might be expec'ted from your pen, which, with the character he re'ceived from yours and my noble friend Sir Charles 'Cavendish, then at Paris, of your second edition of 'the same piece, made me at my return to England, 'speedily to get, and diligently peruse the same. 'Neither truly did I find my expectation deceived, 'having with admiration often considered how it was 'possible, (even in the hardest things of Geometry) to 'deliver so much matter in so few words; yet with 'such demonstrative clearnesse and perspicuity; and 'hath often put me in mind of learned Mersennus his 'judgment (since dead) of it, that there was more 'matter comprehended in that little book, than in '*Diophantus* and all the Ancients. Sir, as I hold it 'below an ingenuous spirit to flatter where worth is 'not, so do I think little less than robbery to keep 'back from you the knowledge of that estimation is 'put upon your person and book, in forrain parts; 'which I wish heartily might serve as an encourage'ment to set you forward in the publication of things 'of the like nature; of which (as I heare) you are 'not unfurnished: that putting together all done by 'you, both in the Latine and English tongue, the two 'most famous sciences of Geometry and Astronomy, 'both for solid precepts, and instrumental practice, 'might receive (for the honour of our nation) from 'yours, more than from one hand whatsoever.' dated Feb. 18, 1649-50.

[*L*] *Found too close for beginners*] This remark is justified by the following letters sent to the author upon that subject.

In a letter cited above, dated June 11th, Mr Robinson writes to Mr Oughtred concerning his *Clavis* thus: 'I shall longe exceedinglye till I see your *Clavis* turn'ed into a picklock; and I beseech you inlardg it and 'explaine it what you can, for we shall not need to 'fear either tautology or superfluity; you are natu'rally concise, and your cleare judgment makes you 'both methodical and pithye; and your analytical 'way is indeed the only way.'

In another letter dated Lincolne, July 2, 1636; Mr Robinson writes to Mr Oughtred purely upon this subject as follows:

'Reverend Sir,

'I will once againe earnestly intreate you, that you 'bee rather diffuse in the setting forth your English '*Mathematicall Clavis*, than concise; consideringe, 'that the wisest of men noted of olde, and said, *Stultorum infinitus est numerus*. Those arts cannot be 'made too easy; they are so abstruse of themselves, 'and men eyther so lazy or dull, that their fastidious 'wits will take a loathinge at the very entrance of 'these studies, unlesse it be sweetened with plainesse 'and facilitye, brevitye maye well argue a learned 'author, that without any excess or redundance, ei'ther of matters or wordes, can give the very sub'stance and essence of the thinge treated of; but it 'seldom makes a scholler; and if one be capable, 'twenty are not; and if the master sum up in brife 'the parts of his own longe labours and travailes, it 'is not easy to imagine the scholars can with less la'boure than their maister dive into the depth thereof. 'I am not of their opinion that would have mysteries 'in the world (divine mysteries which God himself 'hath locked from us excepted); for if ignorance is 'the punishment and consequence of sinne, and it be'hoves us to take away from others this vaile, which 'sinne hath drawne between our eyes and the truth of 'things, so shall men imitate angells, every superior 'illuminatinge and perfecting his inferiour, which re'doundeth to the honour and dignity of them both, 'but more of the giver than receiver. The abysse of 'these sciences is inexhaustible, and much is lost that 'our auncestors knewe, much yett unknowne to ei'ther, and therefore all the helpe that human wit or 'industrye can afford us, all little enough; and when 'all is done, there will be a *terra incognita* for mathe'maticians of after ages to faile unto. Thus, Sir, 'you see, I am free and bold, because lovinge and 'confident, and that you will be pleased so to take it, 'I will count it pardon sufficient; and whatsoever 'issues from you as a child of your braine, I desire it 'may lodge with mee, wheare it shall have the best 'wellcome that affection can give it.

'Your loving and true friende,

Lincolne,
July 2, 1636. 'William Robinson.'

Mr John Twysden concludes this letter to our author cited in note [*H*] in these words.... 'But to re'turn whence I have digressed: amongst many other 'excellent rules in your *Clavis*, I cast my eye upon 'that example of the first rule of doubling, &c. the 'angle of a rectangle triangle opposite to the base, but 'must confess, could never performe by it what I 'sought; as by the second I ever did. The result 'of my work according to both your rules, you will 'find hereto annexed, in which I am bold to begge 'your judgment, where my fault may be, or a farther 'explication of the same, being assured of your civi'lity and goodnesse, and glad also to snatch any occa'sion to renew that little acquaintance I formerly have 'had of you by our casuall meetinge at Mr Allen's in 'the Strand, by whose meanes I send this, and who 'will do me the favour to return your answer hereun'to, if you shall please to send it him directed to Sir 'Roger Twysden's hous at East-Peckam in Kent for 'me.'

Mr Oughtred likewise received advice to the same purpose from Mr Stokes, who also was puzzled at some things in the Clavis, through the extreme shortness of the demonstrations, as appears from the following letter, an extract of which (relating to another subject) we have already given in note [*G*].

'To my ever honoured tutor, Mr William Oughtred.'

'Honoured Sir,

'Since I left you, I have recollected as much as my 'journeys before, and necessary exercises after my re'turn to Cambridge would permitt me, those notions 'I receaved from you. The first thing I did was to 'follow your counsel, in perfecting myself in the pro'jection and Trigonometrie, which I thinke, Sir, I 'do now fully understand. Some other things also I 'have reviewed, but find more occasion to acknow'ledge my engagements to you for your clear instruc'tions, than to trouble you with many doubts. Yet 'some things there are, Sir, which presuming upon 'your goodnesse, and the encouragement you gave 'me, I shall desire to be satisfied in, as Clavis, page '100 (12). *Quare theorema primum de mensurando* (12) In the third edition. '*frusto coni sit* $\frac{355}{452} Aq \llcorner\times \frac{355}{452} AqT - \frac{355}{452} EqT$ '$=$ *triplo frusto*. I doe not understand, Sir, why 'you say $\frac{355}{452}$, not $\frac{355}{113}$, when I suppose you meane 'the area multiplied in the height, and as before 'tis, 'say $\frac{355}{113} Rq =$ *area circuli*. Pray, Sir, shew me 'what I have misapprehended, and wherein my errror 'lyes. In pag. 1. *Archimed. de Sph. & Cylind.* §. 11. '$\frac{\pi}{\delta} Mq$ is proved $= \frown$*coni*, because it is $= \frac{\pi}{\delta} AO$ 'in *KO*; but that the semiperipher. into the side of a 'cone is $= \frown$, I know not how to demonstrate. 'Another thinge which troubles me is in pag. 37. *de* '*sol. reg.* where the superficies (4) is 4⌞618628; the 'soliditie but 0⌞513216, which seems lesse than the 'superficies, I must humbly crave your assistance, Sir, 'to bee satisfied in these; and if I trespasse not too 'much upon you, how in Clavis, p. 108. the dupli'cation of an angle differs from the bisection, since 'the radius alters nothing.——Sir, my acknowledg'ment of what I owe to you, is all I shall further

'adde;

ment even to correct the prefs. To thefe editions our author added a treatife of the refolution of adfected equations in numbers. Here too it muft be owned, the ground was firft broke up by Vieta, but in a very different way; Mr Oughtred's method was his own invention, and if it was thought too tedious and intricate for general and ready ufe (*i*), yet it cannot be denied at the fame time, that the fubject is of a very perplex and abftrufe nature. So much at leaft is confeffedly due to his merit on the fubject of the genefis of powers, that fome obfervations he made upon it, furnifhed the great inventor of the binomial theorem with the ground-work of that unparallelled invention. So that it is no wonder that the Clavis became the ftandard book made ufe of by tutors, for inftructing their pupils in the Mathematics in the univerfities, efpecially at Cambridge (*k*), and that fome parts of it were made the fubject of the geometrical lectures at Grefham-college in London (*l*). Notwithftanding all his mathematical merit, Mr Oughtred, about the year 1646, was in danger of a fequeftration by the Committee of and for Plundered Minifters. In order to which, feveral articles were depofed and fworn againft him, material enough, as it is faid, to have fequeftred him; but upon his day of hearing, William Lilye, the famous Aftrologer, applied himfelf, as he tells us, to Sir Bulftrode Whitlocke, and all his old friends, who in fuch numbers appeared in his behalf, that though the chairman and many other Prefbyterian members were active againft him, yet he was cleared by the majority. The truth is, continues this writer, he had a confiderable parfonage, and that alone was enough to fequefter any moderate judgment; befides, he was alfo well known to affect his Majefty (*m*). In reality, his merit was fo much neglected, and his fituation made fo uneafy at home, that his friends procured feveral invitations to him from abroad, to live either in Italy, France, or Holland; but he chofe to ride out the ftorm at Aldbury, which, indeed, moft probably blew over his head for the moft part without any great hurt to him (*n*).

It has been already obferved, that Mr Oughtred well knew the juft value of the Ancients, and formed himfelf upon thofe excellent exemplars; but this is to be underftood only in refpect to the accuracy, concifenefs, and perfpicuity, of their method: for he neither thought it neceffary, nor of any real advantage to Geometry, abfolutely to confine the demonftrations in the fublimer parts of the fcience (as the Ancients, and particularly Archimedes (it is well known) did) to the principles laid down in the Elements. On the contrary, in his expofition of the theorems of Archimedes on the Sphere and Cylinder (*o*), he condemns the rigid ftrictnefs of that author, which obliged him to make ufe of arguments *ex abfurdo*. Thefe he rejects, as not entirely fatisfactory; and affuming it for a poftulatum, that a circle is a plane, and that a fphere is a folid figure of infinite fides (*p*); by the help of that ftep he gives (for the moft part) affirmative and direct

(*i*) Sir Ifaac Newton, in his Method of Fluxions, fays, the tedioufnefs of Mr Oughtred's method put him upon inventing one more eafy.

(*k*) It was firft introduced there by Seth Ward.

(*l*) Mr Rooke, Geometry Profeffor, read his lectures upon the fixth chapter of the Clavis. Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 827.

(*m*) Will. Lilye's Hift. of his own Life and Times, p. 59. edit. 1715. where he ftiles Mr Oughtred the moft famous Mathematician then of Europe.

(*n*) David Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 608. Lond. 1688.

(*o*) Annexed to the third edition of the Clavis, Tractat. vi.

(*p*) The infinitefimal method of Mr Leibnitz is grounded upon this poftulatum.

'adde; onlie I muft defire your acceptance of an *Hierocles* upon *Pythagoras*, which I have fent with this 'letter from him, who fhall alwayes, as his dutie 'binds, pray for you, and remaine,

Coll. Regal. Cantab. 'SIR,
Feb. 6, 1654-5.

'Your obliged honourer,

'Richard Stokes.'

Mr Oughtred fent the following anfwer to thefe queries:

'Your firft quæfite is, why (in pag. 100. *de menfurando frufta coni*) I fay not $\frac{355}{113} Rq$, but $\frac{355}{452} Dq$? 'The reafon is, becaufe in the fcheme, the lines *A* 'and *E* (fides of the quadrate bafes) are the diameters 'of infcribed circles, which are the conic bafes, and 'not the radii or femidiameters. Nowe becaufe Dq '$= 4Rq$, the area of the circle, fhall be $\frac{355}{113} + \frac{+Dq}{4}$ 'that is $\frac{355}{452} Dq$.

'Your fecond quæfite is, why (in pag. 1. *Archimed. de Sph. & Cylind.*) *femiperipheria bafis coni in latus æquetur fuperficiei conicæ*; that is, $\frac{\pi}{\delta} AO + KO$ '= ⌒? The reafon is evident, becaufe the fuperficies 'of an equilateral cone is a fector of a circle inflected 'round, the center being the vertex. But the area of 'the whole circle is equal to the half ambite multiplied by the radius (nempe $\frac{\pi}{\delta} RmR$): wherefore 'the area of a fector fhall be equal to half the arch cut 'out multiplied by the radius.

'Your third quæfite is why (in page 37 de folid. 'reg.) the number of the fuperficial meafure is ftill 'greater than the number of the folide content? the 'reafon is moft perfpicuous, becaufe the one is reconed in *unciis quadratis*, the other in *cubicis*.

'Your fourth quæfite is, why (*in anguli tum duplicatione tum fubduplicatione, p.* 100.) the æquation 'whereby it is folved, is the very fame in both? but 'in the numerous refolution you will find a maine difference, according to that which is fought in both, 'noted with a ftreight line over the head.

'But let this be remembered, that, whoever will 'rightlie ftudy my booke, that it may be a *Clavis* to 'him, he muft be *attentus, operans, conftanterque per ipfa veftigia infequens; non enim ofcitantibus fcripfi, fed vere mathefæos candidatis. Preffa funt magis quam brevia.*

Dr Wallis, in his Hiftory of Algebra, fpeaking of our author's brevity, has given an illuftrious inftance of his own contrary diffufenefs; he fays that 'though 'when Vieta firft introduced this way of fpecious 'Arithmetick, it was then more neceffary (the thing 'being new) to exprefs the terms made ufe of in 'words at length; yet when the thing was once received in practice, Mr Oughtred, (*who affected brevity, and to deliver what he taught as briefly as might be, and to reduce all to a fhort view*) contented himfelf with fingle letters inftead of thofe words.' He afterwards proceeds to vindicate the *Clavis* from the charge of obfcurity, alledging that the author's words are full, though not redundant; and concludes in commending it in the character of a fhort *Synopfis*, and in that view it has not wanted it's admirers. About the year 1710, Mr Jones (afterwards W. Jones, Efq;) publifhed a *Synopfis palmariorum mathefeos*, in which he has even exceeded Mr Oughtred in the clofe package of his matter, how much foever he fell fhort in furnifhing his cabinet with any new treafures of his own invention in the fcience. This gentleman ufed a commendable diligence in collecting and preferving all the remains of the moft eminent Englifh Mathematicians, and the letters cited in this article were had from his mufæum; where there was a copy of the *Clavis* with notes throughout, in the hand-writing of Mr John Greaves, Profeffor of Aftronomy at Oxford.

[*M*] *Thefe*

direct demonstrations of those theorems. In this manner did Mr Oughtred break into the sublime Geometry, through a passage that had not been attempted by the Ancients. Indeed, the truth of his Postulatum tho' certain, yet is not so evident as to be free from exception. However, the tediousness of the indirect demonstrations of the Ancients set other eminent wits, about the same time, at work, to find out a method of passing from right to curve lines, in a more direct way. These openings by Cavallerio in *the Method of Indivisibles*, and Wallis, in his *Arithmetica Infinitorum*, our author saw, was exceedingly delighted with the prospect, and prayed heartily for the perfect discovery [*M*]; which was fully completed a few years after his death, by Sir Isaac

[*M*] *These openings our author saw, and was exceedingly delighted with the prospect.*] We shall give an instance of this in these two letters, the first of which was wrote in answer to the following:

'To the Reverend, and my much honoured friend, 'Mr Outredd.

'Sir,

'By the small, yet favourable conversation you 'have been pleased to bestow upon mee, I am en-'couraged to request as much more thereof as your 'other occasions and studyes of greater moment may '(att least missively, if not personally) permitt. And 'for an entrance into such intercourse, I make my-'selfe an object to your further courtesie, entreating 'that your exchange of a paper may return mee a 'relation of the most materiall uses, whereunto an 'exact quadrature of a circle is appliable; there-'withall to refresh my late hard study and labour to 'attayne an ability to expose before the authority of 'your judgment an infallible demonstration thereof, 'when with conveniencie and privacy your desireable 'presence shall comfort and honour

'Your friend in assured affection,

London, Oct. 26, 1645. 'And in submissive reverence,

'Servant,

'Robert Keylway.'

Mr Oughtred's answer;

'Worthy Sir,

'There was indeed left at my house a letter diverse 'dayes after the date thereof, but I neither knew by 'whom it was brought, neither was there any direc-'tion whether I should return my answeere. Besides I 'have had shewd unto me diverse overtures, of 'such as have attempted that mystery of art, that 'have in tryal failed. And we know that Orontius 'and Joseph Scaliger, and Longomontanus, great 'masters in that science, have rather made demon-'stration of their heroical endeavours, than of the 'conquest they proposed. And to say the truth, I have 'held the disquisition is infeasible, because although no 'doubt there may be a right line equal to a circu-'lare, yet they being heterogeneous, ther cannot in 'art be any due comparison between them; for *com-'paratio* is *homogeneorum*. We have out of Archi-'medes's grounds both by Van Ceulen, and his fol-'lower Willebrode Snellius, so nere an equation of a 'right line to a nicete, that if the whole universe 'were sand, there would not be the difference of one 'graine; and yet we cannot say the exact quadra-'ture is by them delivered Neyther will it serve to 'those yet undiscovered uses which the proper equa-'tion (such as I conceive it must be) will no doubte af-'ford; as namely the mensuration of segments of cir-'cles, spheres, cylinders, and cones, with the *frusta* 'thereof; the solution of the problemes in the second 'book of *Archimedes de sphæra & cylindro*, which 'now are only soluble by cubical æquations; the 'measuring of *menisci* and *arbeli*, and other figures 'composed eyther of right lines and circles, or of 'different circles; all which would be most excellent 'discoveries and *plus ultras* in art. And I should also 'thence expect a facil and ready way for the propor-'tion of *subtensæ* in a circle to their circumferences. 'These and many other abstruse *adyta*, hitherto al-'most despaired of, may, I suppose, by your magi-'sterial invention, *tanquam Mercurii caduceo*, be set 'open. Sir, this is the effect of all I am able to answer to your desire, unless I more fully knew 'the manner of your way. I speake this the rather, 'and am induced to a better confidence of your per-'formance, by reason of a new geometric-analytical 'art, or a practise found out by one *Cavallieri* an 'Italian, of which above three yeares since I receaved 'information by a letter from Paris, wherein was præ-'libated only a small tast thereof, yet so that I divine 'great enlargement of the bounds of the mathemati-'call empire will ensue. I was then very desirous to 'see the author's owne booke; while my spirits were 'more free and lightsome, but I could not gett it in 'France. Since being more stept into years, daunt-'ed and broken with the sufferings of these disastrous 'times, I must content myself to keep home, and 'not put out to any forrain discoveries. Thus, with 'thankful acknowledgment of your so noble favour, 'to deigne me worthy the communication of such a 'secret, I rest ready to do you all service which may 'be within the power of

'Your humblest servant,

'The true honorer of your worth,

W. O.'

The other letter to the same effect, was addressed to Mr [afterwards Dr] Wallis, upon occasion of his dedication to our author of his *Arithmetica Infinitorum*; dated July 19th, 1655.

'Most honored Sir,

'I have, with unspeakeable delight, soe farr as my 'necessary businesses, the infirmnesse of my health, 'and the greatnesse of my age (approaching nowe to 'an end) would permitt; perused your most learned 'papers, of several choice arguments which you sent 'me, wherein I do first with thankfullness acknow-'ledge to God the Father of Lightes, the great light 'he hath given you, and next gratulate you even with 'admiration, the clearnesse and perspicuitie of your 'understanding and genius, who have not only gone, 'but also opened a way into those profoundest my-'steries of art unknown, and not thought of by the 'Ancients. With which your mysterious affections, I 'am the more affected, because full twenty yeares 'agoe, the learned patrone of learning Sir Charles 'Cavendish shewed me a paper written, wherein some 'few excellent new theoremes, wrought by the way, 'as I suppose, of Cavallerio; which I wrought over 'againe more agreeably to my way. The paper 'wherein I wrought it, I shewed to many, whereof 'some took copies; but my owne I cannot find. I 'I mention it for this, because I sawe therein a light 'breaking out for the discovery of wonders, to be re-'vealed to mankind in this last age of the world; 'which light I did salute as afarre off, and nowe at 'a nerer distance embrace in your prosperous begin-'nings. Sir, that you are pleased to mention my 'name in your never-dying papers, that is your noble 'favour to me, who can adde nothing to your glory, 'but only my applause, and prayer that God by you 'will perfect these happy beginnings soe propitiously 'advanced to his glory; which is the harty de-'sire of

'Your loving friend,

'W. O.

It must be observed, that the dedication of the *Arithmetica Infinitorum*, was not only due to Mr Oughtred's superior merit in general, but Dr Wallis had some particular obligations to him on the subject of that treatise, as appears from the two following letters.

Isaac Newton, in the Method of Fluxions. Mr Oughtred died in 1660, about the time of the restoration of King Charles the Second [*N*], and was interred in the chancel of the church of Aldbury. Mr David Lloyd *(q) gives us the following short character of him: That* ' *he was as facetious in Greek and Latin, as solid in Arithmetic, Geometry, and the Sphere of all Measures, Musick, &c. exact in his style as in his judgment; handling his tube and other instruments at eighty, as steadily as others did at thirty; owing this, as he said, to temperance and archery; principling his people with plain and* solid truths, as he did the world with great and useful arts; advancing new inventions in all things but religion; which, in it's old order and decency, he maintained secure, in in his privacy, prudence, meeknefs, simplicity, resolution, patience, and contentment.' He had one son, whom he put apprentice to a watch-maker [*O*], and wrote a book of instructions in that art for his use; but we have not been able to learn any thing either of the name or family of his wife. He left behind him a great number of papers upon mathematical subjects, and in most of his Greek and Latin mathematical books there were found notes in his own hand-writing, with an abridgment of almost every proposition and demonstration in the margin (*r*). These books and manuscripts came into the hands of his friend Sir Charles Scarborough (*s*) the Physician, the latter were carefully looked over, and all that were found fit for the press were printed in one volume 8vo [*P*], at Oxford, 1676; under this title *Gulielmi Oughtredi Etonensis quondam collegii Regalis in Cantabrigia Socii Opuscula Mathematica hactenus inedita.* This collection contains the following pieces. I. *Institutiones Mechanicæ.* II. *De variis corporum generibus gravitate & magnitudine comparatis.* III. *Automata.* IV. *Quæstiones Diophanti Alexandrini libri* iii. V. *De*

(*q*) Memoirs, ubi supra.

(*r*) These are now in the musæum of the late Will. Jones, Esq; F. R. S.

(*s*) He had been one of Mr Oughtred's pupils at Aldborough. See his article.

' To my much honoured friend Mr William Oughtred.

Sir,

I have herewith sent you a trifle of my own (an observation of a solar eclipse of last year) not worthy your acceptance; yet such as the respect which I ow you, commands me to present unto you, having nothing better to render; and to assure you, that

I am,

Sir,

Oxford, Feb. 5th, 1654-5.

Yours in all observance

John Wallis.'

Sir, if your occasions may permit, I should most earnestly desire your help in the solution of the problem insuing; which, if not from yourself, I know not whence to expect. The use which I shall be able to make of it, will be worth some pains; which makes me the more bold to trouble you with it, and crave your pardon for that presumption.

Expositis quantitatibus *A, B, C, D, E, F,* &c. quarum rectangula sint $AB = 1$, $BC = 2$, $CD = 3$, $DE = 4$, $EF = 5$, &c. quæritur quanta sit *A, B, C, D, E, F,* &c.

' Sir,

' In that of mine to you, sent together with an account of an eclipse observed at Oxford last summer (which I hope is come to your hands) I made bold to propose a problem which then came newly to my mind (though that in order to which I proposed it, had been longer thought of) which, as I remember, was to this purpose.....Wherein if you can do mee the favour to help mee out, it will be a very great satisfaction to mee; and, if I don't delude myself, of more use, than at first view it may seem to bee. Sir, I doubt I presume too much upon your goodnesse in offering you this trouble, wherein I must crave your pardon. If your occasions will permit you to bestow some thoughts thereon, you will thereby very much oblige,

' Sir,

' Your very affectionate friend,

' And humble servant,

' John Wallis.'

Excester-col. in Oxford, Feb. 28, 1654-5.

' Mr Oughtred's solution, as set down at the bottom of the foregoing letter, is as follows: *Esto A* ' *numerus aliquis sive integer sive fractus puta* 3, ' *Rectangula sunt* 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, *&c. Dividatur unumquodque per unum ex lateribus suis ut habeatur alterum.* ' *Latera autem sunt A, B, C, D, &c.*

$$\begin{array}{ccc|ccc|ccc|ccc|ccc|}
\frac{3}{1} & \frac{1}{1} & \frac{1}{3} & \frac{1}{3} & \frac{2}{1} & \frac{6}{1} & \frac{6}{1} & \frac{3}{1} & \frac{1}{2} & \frac{1}{2} & \frac{4}{1} & \frac{8}{1} & \frac{8}{1} & \frac{5}{1} & \frac{5}{8} \\
A & \times & B & B & \times & C & C & \times & D & D & \times & E & E & \times & F \\
 & 1 & & & 2 & & & 3 & & & 4 & & & 5 &
\end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{ccc|ccc|l}
\frac{5}{8} & \frac{6}{1} & \frac{48}{5} & \frac{48}{5} & \frac{7}{1} & \frac{35}{48} & \&c. \\
F & \times & G & G & \times & H & \\
 & 6 & & & 7 & &
\end{array}$$

[*N*] *Died in* 1660, *about the time of the Restoration of King Charles the Second*] Collier, in his Dictionary, tells us, that Mr Oughtred died about the beginning of May, 1660; for, that upon hearing the news of the vote at Westminster, which passed May 1. for the restoration of King Charles the Second, he expired in a sudden extasy of joy. But Mr David Lloyd in his Memoirs asserts, that our author, having a strong persuasion upon principles of art, much confirmed by the scheme, of his Majesty's return in 1660 (sent his Majesty some years before by the Bishop of Avignon), that he should see the King restored, he saw it to his incredible joy, and had his *dimittis* a month after, viz. June 30, 1660, and in the 86th year of his age (13). Mr Aubrey's account in his Natural History and Antiquities of Surrey, differs from both the former: He tells us that Mr Oughtred was interred in the chancel of the church of Aldbury June 15th, 1660; anno ætatis 88 and odd days.

(13) Mr Lloyd's account of our author's age is plainly no more than a hear say story, and therefore what he advances of Mr Oughtred's giving into the astrological humour of those times, is probably grounded upon no better authority than the friendship already mentioned to be shewn to him by Lilye the Astrologer.

[*O*] *One son which he put apprentice to a watchmaker.*] In 1675, there was printed at London, in 8vo. a treatise intitled *Horological Dialogues* by Mr John Smith; to which is added an *appendix, wherein is contained a method of calculating all numbers for watches, written originally by that famous mathematician,* Mr William Oughtred, *and now made publick by* J. S. of London, Clock-maker. In the preface Mr Smith says, that ' the method following was many years since ' compiled by Mr Oughtred, for the use of some ingenious gentlemen his friends, who for recreation at the ' university, studied to find out the reason and knowledge of watch work; which seemed also to be a ' thing with which Mr Oughtred himself was much affected, as may in some part appear by his putting ' out his son to the same trade, for whose use, as I am ' informed, he did compile a larger tract.'

[*P*] *All that were fit for the press, were printed in one volume,* 8vo.] In the preface to this collection, the editors write thus. ' *Cum incidimus in manuscripta* ' *exemplaria Cl. Oughtredi visi sumus tyronibus non inutilem operam nec in mathesi magis exercitatis ingratum* ' *præstituti, si ex iis nonnulla typis mandaremus Quapropter cum alia essent mutila, alia prelo haud ita* ' *idonea,*

V. *De Triangulis planis rectangulis.* VI. *De Divisione superficierum.* VII. *Musicæ elementa.* VIII. *De Propugnaculorum munitionibus.* IX. *Sectiones Angulares.* In the year 1660, Sir Jonas More annexed to his Arithmetick, then printed at London in 8vo, a treatise, intituled, *Conical Sections; or, the several Sections of a Cone: being an Analysis or methodical Contraction of the two first Books of Mydorgius, and whereby the Nature of the Parabola, Hyperbola, and Ellipsis, are very plainly laid down.* Translated from the papers of the learned William Oughtred.

'*idonea, ea tantum excerpsimus; quæ propter usum & ' varietatem tum luce publica tum Oughtredi nomine non- ' indigna viderentur. Quorum pleraque cum eo animo ' scripsit, ut iis quos institueret subservirent, non possunt ' juvenes melius hisce studiis initiari, quam si Oughtredi ' genio se assuefacerent. . . . . Nonnulli tractatuum quos ' nunc proferimus aliorum laboribus debentur, sed majori ' legentium utilitate in compendium redacti; thesauri enim, ' quos ipsi authores eruebant, ab Oughtredo accepere nitorem ' & usum; qui nunquam quicquam alienum tractaverit, ' de quo non ipse author maxime gloriaretur, si ut suum ' possit vindicare.*' P

OUTRAM, or OWTRAM [William], a very learned English Divine in the XVIIth century, was born in Derbyshire, in the year 1625 (*a*). About the year 1641, he was admitted into Trinity-college in Cambridge, where he took the Degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1645; and, by his Epitaph, seems to have been Fellow of that college, as he was afterwards of Christ's [*A*]. In this last he took the Degree of Master of Arts in 1649, and that of Doctor in Divinity in 1660 (*b*). His first preferment was in Lincolnshire (*c*); afterwards he became Rector of St Mary Woolnoth in London, which he resigned in 1666 (*d*). On the 30th of July, 1669, he was installed Archdeacon of Leicester, having been collated thereto by Dr William Fuller, Bishop of Lincoln (*e*). The 30th of July, 1670, he was also installed Prebendary of Westminster (*f*); and was some time Rector, or Minister, of St Margaret's, Westminster (*g*). He was an accomplished Divine in all respects; a nervous and accurate writer; and a great master of the oriental and other learned languages, as appears by his excellent book *Of Sacrifices* [*B*]. He was a constant and a very good preacher (*h*); and twenty Sermons of his were published after his decease [*C*]. He dyed August 23d, 1679, aged 54, and was buried in Westminster-abbey, where a Monument was erected to his memory (*i*) [*D*]. His character, as drawn up by Dr Gardiner, is given below in the note [*E*].

(*a*) See his age below, at the time of his death; and his Epitaph.

(*b*) From the University-Registers.

(*c*) See his Epitaph.

(*d*) Newcourt's Repertorium, Vol. I. p. 463.

(*e*) Survey of the Cathedrals, &c. by Br. Willis, Esq; Vol. II. p. 71, 115.

(*f*) Newcourt, as above, p. 922.

(*g*) From his Epitaph.

(*h*) Ibid.

(*i*) From his Epitaph. See also Dart's and Crull's Antiquit. of Westminster-abbey.

[*A*] *And, by his Epitaph, seems to have been Fellow of that college, as he was afterwards of Christ's.*] The words of the Epitaph are.——*Coll. apud Cantab. S. & individ. Trinitatis & Christi socius.*

[*B*] *By his excellent book* Of Sacrifices.] The title of it, is *De Sacrificiis Libri duo; quorum altero explicantur omnia Judæorum, nonnulla Gentium profanarum Sacrificia; altero Sacrificium Christi. Utroque Ecclesiæ Catholicæ his de rebus Sententia contra Faustum Socinum, ejusque sectatores defenditur.* London, 1677. 4to. It is divided into two books: In the first whereof, he treats, Of the Origin of Sacrifices; of the places for sacrificing, and of the Tabernacle and Temple of the Jews; Of the first Priests, and of the several Jewish Priests [—Under which he observes, that the priesthood among these was hereditary; and, that Moses having consecrated Aaron's sons, their descendants were not consecrated or anointed. The same custom, he adds, prevailed among their Kings; for the heads only of the respective families that sat on the Jewish throne, or of whose succession there was any doubt, were anointed.—] Next, he treats at large of the Jewish Sacrifices, and of the several customs and circumstances attending them: Then of vicarious punishment, and of piacular or expiatory Sacrifices, in opposition to the Socinians notion of them. In the second book, he treats of the Priesthood of Christ; which he affirms to be according to the order of Melchisedek; and of Christ's consecration thereto. Then he proves, that Christ is a Priest properly so called: That his sacrifice is an expiatory sacrifice, which takes away the sins of mankind: That his death is a vicarious punishment, or, that he suffered for, and in the stead of, sinful men. Lastly, he treats of Christ's Oblation of himself in heaven; and of his Intercession there, as our Mediator.

[*C*] *And twenty sermons of his were published after his decease.*] He could never be prevailed upon, either by the Intreaty of his Friends, or the Authority of his superiours, (though very much urged by both) to publish any of his Sermons in print. But, not many months after his deceafe, a forward bookseller published *Six Sermons* under his name; pretending, that they had been taken many years since from the Author's mouth in short hand. In order therefore to do right to his memory, his relations caused *Twenty* Sermons of his to be published *from the Author's own Copies*, by the Reverend Dr James Gardiner afterwards Bishop of Lincoln; a second edition of which came out in 1697. 8vo. (1).

(1) See Dr Gardiner's Preface to our author's Sermons.

[*D*] *Where a Monument was erected to his memory.*] With this inscription. *Prope jacet* Gulielmus Owtram S. T. P. *ex agro Derby; Coll. apud Cantab. S. & individ. Trinitatis & Christi Socius, hujus Eccl. Canonicus, & Leicester Archidiaconus, Theologus consummatus & omnibus numeris absolutus, Scriptor nervosus & accuratus, Concionatur egregius & assiduus; primo in agro Lincoln, postea London, & tandem apud S. Margaret Westmon' ubi confecit postremum vitæ suæ cursum magnâ cum laude nec minori fructu: Sed in tantis laboribus & animi contentione dum sacrarum literarum & sanctorum Patrum studio ardebat, ut in Renum dolores inciderit, quibus diu afflictus & tandem fractus, æquissimo animo e vitâ discessit August 23, A. D.* 1679, *postquam impleverat annum,* 54. i. e. 'Near this place lyeth ' William Owtram D. D. born in Derbyshire, Fellow ' of Trinity and Christ's colleges in Cambridge, Canon ' of this Church, and Archdeacon of Leicester, a compleat Divine in all respects, a nervous and accurate ' writer, an excellent and constant preacher, first in ' Lincolnshire, afterwards in London, and at length ' at St Margaret's Westminster, where he spent the ' latter part of his life with great applause and no less ' success: but in so great labours, and intenseness of ' mind, in the study of the holy Scriptures and the Fathers, that he grew much distemper'd with the stone; ' with which being long afflicted, and at length worn ' out, he ended his life with the utmost composure of ' mind, August 23, 1679. having compleated his 54th ' year.'——His widow lived 42 years after him; not dying till October 4, 1721.

[*E*] *His character, as drawn up by Dr Gardiner, &c.*] He gives, in the Preface to our Author's Sermons, the following Character of him. 'His extraordinary skill in *Rabbinical Learning*, and the use and ' service of it to the Confirmation and Illustration of ' the Christian Theology, he has made appear to the ' learned World some years since with great propriety ' and accuracy of style, in his book *De Sacrificiis:* ' wherein he hath also given a proof of his profound ' skill in the highest points of the divine wisdom. But ' what his abilities were in other parts both of divine ' and humane knowledge, he had not leisure enough ' from his ministerial labours, to let the world know. ' Nor have I ability to make it sensible how great they ' were; or to represent the *Gravity, Sobriety, Simplicity, Truth* and *Plainness* of his Conversation; ' his *Devotion* to God, and his *Charity* to the neighbourhood, especially the sick and afflicted; His in-

' defatigable

'defatigable *Industry* in his private studies, as well as 'in the publick offices of his profession, and his *Readiness to impart* and communicate the effects of his 'mighty pains and industry to his friends; His *Civility*, 'and *Beneficence*, to learned foreigners; His *Respect* 'and *Reverence* to his superiors; together with his '*Humility* and *Candor* to his equals and inferiors: 'Which excellent Vertues, as they rendred him very 'valuable and useful to the world whilst he was alive; 'so they will imbalm his memory now he is dead.' C

OWEN [JOHN], one of our most noted English Epigrammatists, was born at Armon in Caernarvanshire; and educated at Wykeham's school near Winchester, under Dr Thomas Bilson. In 1584, after two years probation, he was admitted perpetual Fellow of New-college in Oxford (*a*): and, May the 2d 1590, took the degree of Bachelor of Law (*b*). But, quitting his Fellowship the year following, he went and taught school at Trylegh near Monmouth. About the year 1594, he became Master of the free-school at Warwick, founded by King Henry the Eighth; in which station he distinguished himself by his perfect knowledge in the Latin tongue, especially by his poetical genius. But it was in that kind of poetical wit, which by the best Critics is called false wit [*A*], namely Points and Epigrams; though too much adopted in our largest and most famous schools. In one respect he was *a true Poet*, namely, he was always Poor: But he met with a kind Patron, in his countryman and relation Dr John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, and Lord-Keeper of the great Seal, who chiefly supported him. He had great expectations from an uncle: unluckily for him, that uncle being a Papist, or at least Popishly affected, took offence at some verses of his against Popery [*B*], and struck him out of his will. For the same reason, his Books were put into the Romish *Index Expurgatorius*. His Epigrams are divided into Twelve Books, and were published at several times [*C*]. They were in general so well liked, that most of them have been translated more than once into English [*D*]. He dyed in 1622, and was buried in St Paul's Cathedral, London, at the charge of Bishop Williams abovementioned: who caused a monument to be erected to his memory, on a pillar next to the consistory-stairs, with his effigies, a shoulder-piece in brass, crowned with laurel (*c*); and an Epitaph as set down below (*d*) [*E*]. Several of his contemporaries bestowed the highest encomiums upon him, as appears by their verses prefixed to most editions of his Epigrams.

(*a*) Wood, Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. L. ii. p. 144. & Athen. edit. 1721. Vol. I. col. 471.

(*b*) Idem Fasti, Vol. I. col. 139.

(*c*) Wood, Ath. as above.

(*d*) Sir W. Dugdale's Hist. of St Paul's.

[*A*] *Which by the best Critics is called false wit.*] The true nature of *Wit* hath been so accurately explained by the most ingenious Mr Addison, that it is sufficient to refer to his excellent Papers on that subject, in the Spectator (1). He doth not indeed mention himself the Epigram, among the species of False Wit; but he shews sufficiently his opinion of it, by quoting the following passage from Mr Dryden (2). 'Segrais has distinguished the Readers of Poetry, according to their capacity of Judging, into three 'classes. In the lowest form he places those whom he 'calls *Les Petits Esprits* (3), such things as are our 'upper-gallery-Audience in a play-house; who like 'nothing but the Husk and Rind of Wit, prefer a 'Quibble, a Conceit, an Epigram, before solid sense 'and elegant expression: These are Mob-readers. If '*Virgil* and *Martial* stood for Parliament-men, we 'know already who would carry it. But though they 'make the greatest appearance in the field, and cry 'the loudest, the best on't is they are but a sort of 'French Huguenots, or Dutch Boors, brought over in 'herds but not naturalized; who have not lands of 'two pounds *per annum* in Parnassus, and therefore are 'not privileged to poll.' In another place, Mr Dryden doth yet more fully manifest his contempt for Epigrams, when he uses these words (4), 'from *Virgil* 'to *Owen's Epigrams*...... that is from the top to 'the bottom of all Poetry.' The learned Father Rapin entertains the same opinion of that kind of Poetry. 'L'Epigramme, says he, est de tous les ouvrages de 'Vers que l'Antiquité ait produit le moins considerable: 'elle ne laisse pas d'avoir sa beauté. Cette beauté 'consiste ou dans un tour delicat, ou dans un mot 'heureux.——C'est une des espéces de Vers ou l'on 'réüssit peu: car c'est un coup de bonheur que d'y 'reüssir. Une Epigramme vaut peu de chose: quand 'elle n'est pas admirable, & il est si rare d'en faire 'd'admirables, que c'est assez d'en avoir fait une en 'sa vie (5).' i. e. The Epigram is, of all the pieces of Poetry produced by the Ancients, the most inconsiderable. It hath notwithstanding its beauty. And that beauty consists either in a delicate turn, or a lucky expression.——'Tis one of those kinds of Verse, which few succeed in: for it is a lucky hit to succeed in it. An Epigram is despicable, when it is not Excellent. And it is so uncommon a thing to make excellent ones, that it is sufficient if a man hath made One good one in his whole life.

(1) No's 58—63.

(2) No. 62.

(3) See the Preface to his French Translation of Virgil's *Æneis*, at the beginning.

(4) Dryden's Dedication, prefixed to his Juvenal, p. 20. edit. 1713, 12mo.

(5) Reflexions sur la Poetique. edit. Amst. 1693, p. 210.

[*B*] *Took offence at some Verses of his against Popery.*] Many of that kind are scattered about the book, the most noted of which is this.

An Petrus fuerit Romæ, sub judice lis est:
Simonem Romæ nemo fuisse negat.

'i. e. Whether St Peter was ever at Rome, is a dis'puted point: That Simon [by which he means Si'mon Magus, the inventor of Simony] was there, no 'body denies.'

[*C*] *And were published at several times.*] The three first Books were published at London, in 1606. 8vo. and the remainder at four different times (6).

[*D*] *Most of them have been translated more than once into English.*] John Vicars, Usher of the School in Christ's hospital London, having selected several of the best, translated them into English verse, and had them printed at London in 1619. 8vo.——Thomas Pecke of the Middle Temple Gent. translated also 600. of them into English verse, which were printed with Martial *De Spectaculis*, or of the Rarities to be seen in Rome, and with the most select Epigrams of Sir Thomas More: To which is annexed a *Century of Heroick Epigrams* &c. All published, under the general title of *Parnassi puerperium*. London 1659. 8vo. Thomas Harvey englished likewise all or most of them (7). A Spanish translation of them was printed at Madrid, in 1674 and 1682, two volumes 4to. and a French one at Paris, in 1709, 12mo.

[*E*] *And an Epitaph.*] Which Epitaph is in these words.

Parva tibi statua est, quia parva tibi statura, supellex
Parva, volat parvus magna per ora liber.
Sed non parvus honos, non parva est gloria, quippe
Ingenio haud quicquam est majus in orbe tuo.
Parva domus texit, templum sed grande; Poetæ
Tum verè vitam, quum moriuntur, agunt,

i. e. Thou hast a little statue, because thy stature was little, thy furniture little, and thy little book is in every one's mouth. But thy honor is not little, nor thy glory, for there is nothing greater in the world than thy wit. A little house covered thee, but now a great Temple; Poets truly live, when they dye. C

(6) See Wood Ath. as above.

(7) Wood, as above.

OWEN [Dr JOHN], a learned Divine among the Independents (*a*), was of Welsh extraction [*A*], and second son of Mr Henry Owen, who, after an academical education at Oxford, first taught school at Stoken-church, and became at length Vicar of Hadham near Watlington in that county, where our author was born in 1616 (*b*). Being a boy of an extraordinary genius, his friends resolved to give him a liberal education; and in that view, putting him under the care of that celebrated schoolmaster, Mr Edward Sylvester, at Oxford (*c*), he made so quick a proficiency, that he was admitted into Queen's college in that university in 1628, at about twelve years of age. His father having a large family, could not afford him any considerable maintenance; but he was liberally supplied by an uncle, one of his father's brothers, a gentleman of a fair estate in Wales; who having no children of his own, designed to make him his heir. Thus supported, he pursued his studies with incredible diligence, allowing himself for several years not above four hours sleep in a night; so that, by the additional help of the directions and assistance of the famous Dr Barlow, who was his tutor, he made a considerable progress in the academical learning. At the same time he took care of his health, by using such recreations occasionally, as were proper for a robust constitution as his was; such as leaping, throwing a bar, ringing of bells, and the like hardy exercises. He did not want ambition; and the prospect of his uncle's estate raised his views even to some eminence in Church or State, to either of which he was yet indifferent (*d*) He took his first degree in Arts June 11, 1632, and commenced Master on the 27th of June, 1635 (*e*); but being soon after dissatisfied with the new regulations, enjoined the university by the statutes of Archbishop Laud their Chancellor *, he refused to comply thereto. This being observed, his friends forsook him, as infected with Puritanism (*f*); and, from the resentment of the Laudensian party, his situation in the college became by degrees so uneasy, that he was forced to leave it in 1637. This blow, which, indeed, seems to have wanted nothing but the form of an expulsion, was esteemed a suffering for conscience sake; and in that temper he gave way to some unfavourable thoughts of the Church establishment (*g*). However, his uncle's supplies being discontinued, something was to be done for a support. He therefore took Priests Orders from the Bishop of the Diocese, and was made Chaplain to Sir Robert Dormer, of Ascot in the parish of Great Milton, near the place of his nativity, being tutor also to that gentleman's eldest son. He afterwards became Chaplain to John Lord Lovelace, of Hurley in Berkshire, and was in that service at the breaking out of the civil wars, when he openly avowed the cause of the Parliament (*h*). This conduct was so vehemently resented by his uncle, a zealous Royalist, who had maintained him at the college, that he absolutely discarded him, settled his estate upon another, and died without leaving him any thing. Lord Lovelace, however, though siding with the King, yet continued to use his Chaplain with great civility; but going at length to the King's army, Mr Owen left his house, and coming to London, took lodgings in Charter-house-yard, where he was a perfect stranger, and shortly became a perfect convert to the principles of the Nonconformists (*i*). Not long after this, and while he continued at the Charter-house, he wrote his book, called *A Display of Arminianism*. The subject was artfully chosen, and the piece coming out in 1642, met with such an acceptation as made way for his advancement: The committee for purging the Church of scandalous ministers paid such a regard to it, that Mr White their chairman soon after sent a special messenger to our author, with a presentation to the living of Fordham in Essex; and he had not long exercised his ministry here, when he married a gentlewoman, in whom he was very happy (*k*), and she brought him several children (*l*); but the doctor outlived them all. He had been at Fordham about a year and a half, when, upon a report that the sequestred incumbent was dead, the patron, who had no kindness for Mr Owen, presented another to the living. But care was taken to provide a residence for our author in the same neighbourhood. The Earl of Warwick being patron of the church of Coggeshall, a market-town about five miles distance, very readily gave him that living. Hitherto he had followed the Presbyterian way; but he had not been long at Coggeshall, when he declared on the side of Independency (*m*), and he formed a church at Coggeshall upon the congregational principles, according to his own light, which continued long a flourishing church, and subsisted in a good condition so lately as the year 1721. But this change, as might be expected, was ill relished by several of the Presbyterian ministers, one of whom particularly reproached

(*a*) He is sometimes stiled the Prince, the Oracle, and the Metropolitan of that sect. A Letter to a Friend, concerning some of Dr Owen's Principles and Practices. Lond. 1670, 4to.

(*b*) Memoirs of the Life of Dr Owen, prefixed to a Collection of his Sermons, Tracts, &c. Lond. 1721, fol. p. 311.

(*c*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 737.

(*d*) He acknowledged afterwards, that being naturally of an aspiring mind, affecting popular applause, and very desirous of honour and preferment, he applied himself very close at this time to his studies, to accomplish those ends. Life of Dr Owen, ibid.

(*e*) Wood's Fasti, Vol. I. col. 254 and 261.

* These statutes were confirmed by the King's Commissioners in 1636. See Dr Pococke's article.

(*f*) His father was a strict Puritan. Life of Dr Owen, ibid.

(*g*) Id. ibid.

(*h*) Ath. Oxon. ubi supra.

(*i*) Life of Dr Owen, p. iv, v.

(*k*) Nothing more is known of her than that her name was Mary. See the third epitaph of the Doctor, subjoined to the Memoirs of his Life, where she is celebrated as an excellent housewife. Rei domesticæ perite studiosa, rebus Dei domus se totum addicendi copiam illi [consorti] fecit gratissimam.

(*l*) Quatuor iisq; indolis optimæ. i. e. Four, and those very hopeful ones. Ibid.

(*m*) He published a Defence of this change in two 4to. volumes. See an Enquiry into Evangelical Churches, 1681. and True Nature of Gospel Churches, 1689.

[*A*] *He was of Welsh extraction*] His pedigree is derived from Lewis Owen of Kwyn near Dollegelle, Esq; who was lineally descended from a younger son of Kewelyn ap Gwrgan, Prince of Glamorgan, Lord of Cardiffe, the last family of the five regal tribes of Wales (1). This gentleman inherited an estate of about 300 pounds per annum, was Vice chamberlain and Baron of the Exchequer in North Wales about the middle of the reign of Henry the Eighth, and continued so through the reigns of Edward the Sixth and Queen Mary, 'till the 8th of Queen Elizabeth. He was High-Sheriff of Merionethshire, and in his return from Montgomery assizes, fell in among some outlaws, being several brothers, called the *Gwillird Cochion*, i. e. *the Red-Cross*, at a place called Dugoed near Mowthwy, and was shot through the head with an arrow. A plain cross was erected to his memory upon the place, of which no remains are now to be seen, only the gate which the assassins had blocked up to obstruct his passage, is to this day called *Llidiart Croes y Baron*, i. e. *The gate of Baron's Cross*. Griffith, the fifth son of this gentleman, had a daughter Susan, who marrying Humphrey of the same family in another line, had fifteen sons, the youngest of which, Henry, was father to John, the subject of this article.

(1) Lewis Dym's Collection of Records relating to the Antiquities of Wales.

reproached him very rudely for it, which was answered in a much handsomer manner (*n*). His fame began now to spread through the city and country; and the Independent party prevailing, he was sent for to preach before the Parliament on one of their fast days, April 29, 1646. He printed this sermon under the title of *A Vision of unchangeable Free Mercy, in sending the means of Grace to undeserving Sinners* [*B*]; and having therein stirred up his audience to compleat the establishment of Independency, he annexed to it *An Essay for the Practice of Church-Government in the Country*, pleading for liberty of conscience, and moderation towards persons of different perswasions (*o*). When Colchester was besieged in 1648, Fairfax quartering some days at Coggeshall, became acquainted with our minister; and, upon the surrendry of the town to the Parliament's forces, he preached the thanksgiving sermon there on that occasion, as he did another at Rumford, for the deliverance of the committee who had been imprisoned (*p*). He was again required to preach before the House of Commons, January 31, 1648-9, the next day after the death of King Charles. His text was Jer. xv. 19, 20. the conduct of which discourse deserves to be recorded as a perpetual monument of his address and skill in Court sermons. He appeared before a numerous assembly; it was a critical juncture, and he was not ignorant of the temper of his principal hearers; he was then a rising man, and to justify the late action was the infallible road to preferment; but he managed it so artfully, that neither could his friends make any just exception, nor his enemies take advantage of his words another day (*q*). He was ordered again to preach before them, April 19, 1649, when he gave so great satisfaction, that he was afterwards frequently called to the like service *; particularly February 28th that year, being the day of humiliation and prayer on occasion of the intended expedition to Ireland (*r*). Cromwell, who had never heard Mr Owen preach before, was present at this discourse, and was extremely pleased with it. Our preacher designed to go to his cure at Coggeshall within two days, but thought himself obliged to make his compliments to Fairfax. While he was waiting for admission, in comes Cromwell, who at sight of him came up directly to him, and laying his hands in a familiar way on his shoulder, said, *Sir, you are the person that I must be acquainted with.* Mr Owen modestly replied, *That will be much more to my advantage than your's. We shall soon see that*, says Cromwell; and taking him by the hand, led him into Fairfax's garden, and from that time contracted an intimate friendship with him, which lasted as long as Oliver's life. At present, acquainting him with the intended expedition into Ireland, he desired his company to reside there in the college at Dublin; and Mr Owen objecting his charge at Coggeshall, Oliver wrote to that church for their leave. Accordingly he went to Dublin, not with the army, but more privately, and on his arrival took up his lodgings in the college, preaching there, and overseeing the affairs of that eminent school of learning. Here he staid half a year, and then returned by Cromwell's leave to England, and went to Coggeshall. He had scarce time to breathe here, before he was called to preach at Whitehall; and, on the seventeenth of September, 1650, Cromwell, now become General, procured an order of Parliament for Mr Owen to go into Scotland *. He staid at Edinburgh about half a year, and then returned once more to his congregation at Coggeshall; but this was the last visit he made there, and it happened to be a very short one: for he was promoted to the Deanery of Christ-Church in Oxford, by an order of Parliament on the 18th of March this year. The first intelligence he had of it was by one of the weekly news-papers, where he read, '*The House taking into consideration the worth* '*and usefulness of Mr John Owen, Student of Queen's-college, Master of Arts, has ordered* '*that he be settled in the Deanery of Christ's-college in Oxford, in the room of &c.*' and soon after he received a letter from the principal students of that college, signifying their great satisfaction in the choice made of him by the Parliament, and desiring his presence among them (*s*). With the consent of his church he went to Oxford, and settled there in 1651. Cromwell was now their Chancellor; and, on the ninth of September the following year, 1652, he nominated our Dean his Vice-chancellor, and he was soon after appointed one of the Visitors of the University; and being not yet returned from Scotland, he likewise constituted his Vice-chancellor, together with Dr Wilkins, Warden of Wadham-college; Dr Goddard, Warden of Merton; Dr Goodwin, President of Magdalen; and Peter French,

(*n*) Viz. Mr Dean Cawdry, Minister of Billing in Northamptonshire, with whom our author had a dispute upon schism.

(*o*) However, he could not forbear to use virulent expressions against the Presbyterians. In the preface he says, I desire to provoke none; more stings than combs are got of a nest of wasps, &c.

(*p*) These two sermons were printed under the title of *Ebenezer*, &c. sermon 30. in the collection published in 1721.

(*q*) Thus says the writer of his Life, p. viii. but Mr Wood tells us, that it was burnt, together with the dedication, in the schools quadrangle at Oxford by order of the Convocation, July 21, 1683.

* The whole tenour of these discourses are a conspicuous proof of the truth of Mr Wood's remark, that he had a wonderful knack of making the then transactions of the three kingdoms to be an edifying comment on Daniel and the Revelations.

(*r*) His text was Rom. iv. 20. He staggered not at the promise of God through unbelief, &c. There are several sermons on this text, intituled, The Strength of Faith, added in the last mentioned Collection, which complete the Doctor's design upon this subject.

* Joseph Caryl, author of the Commentary upon Job, was to go thither by the same order. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 758.

(*s*) His Life, p. ix, x. and Ath. Oxon. ubi supra.

[*B*] *He published his sermon, entitled, A Vision of Free Mercy, &c.*] This was the first time of his appearance in the pulpit before that assembly, and he published it with the following dedication in elegant Latin: *Amplissimo Senatui inclytissimo pop. Anglicani conventui, ob prisca Anglo-Britannorum jura strenue & fideliter asserta; libertatem patriam (nefariis quorundam molitionibus pæne pessundatam) recuperatam; justitiam fortiter* ἴσως, ἐπιεικῶς, ἀπροσωπολήπτως, *administratam;* ἀρχὴν *in ecclesiasticis* ἀντιεροτυραννικὴν *dissolutam, ritus pontificios, novitios, antichristianos abolitos; privilegia plebis Christianæ postliminio restituta; potissimum protectionem Dei O. M. his omnibus aliisque innumeris consilio, bello domi, foras, gratiose potitam; toto orbe jure meritissimo celeberrimo, toti huic insulæ æterna memoria recolendo, viris illustribus, clarissimis, selectissimis, ex ordine Communium in suprema curia Parliam. congregatis. Concionem hanc sacram, humilem illam quidem, ipsorum tamen voto jussuque prius coram ipsis habitam, nunc luce donatam, D.D.C.* JOANNES OWEN. Here he compliments them for asserting the rights, and recovering the liberty, of their country; for their impartial administration of justice; for abolishing the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and restoring the privileges of the Christian people; and chiefly on having obtained the divine protection in all their proceedings. Topics which were the common theme of the sectaries in those times, but by none cooked up in such a masterly elegance of Latin style.

[C] *He*

French, Canon of Christ-Church; his Commissioners or Delegates during his absence (*t*). By this office he had it in his power to shew his dislike to the habits and other forms required by the Laudensian statutes in a more effectual manner, without hurting himself; and he exerted himself to the utmost of that power; but therein he was now opposed by the Presbyterians [*C*]. He was created Doctor of Divinity by diploma, December 3, 1653 (*u*), and on the tenth was presented to the Parliament, with several others, to be sent Commissioners, by three in a circuit, for ejecting and settling ministers according to some rules then prescribed; but that project not taking effect, Commissioners were appointed by Cromwell for approbation of publick preachers, whereof our Dean was one of the chiefs; and in the following year, the commission being issued for ejecting scandalous, &c. ministers and schoolmasters, he was appointed, among others, a Commissioner for the county of Oxford (*w*). In the Protector's Parliament, which met September 3, 1654, our Vice-chancellor offered himself a candidate for the university, and, to remove the objection of his being a Divine, 'tis said he renounced his Orders, and pleaded that he was a meer layman. Accordingly he was returned, but his election being questioned by the Committee of Elections, he sat only a short time in the House (*x*). He was continued in the post of Vice-chancellor for five years *; and, notwithstanding the many avocations occasioned by that as well as his other offices just mentioned, he found time to prosecute his studies; and besides preaching every other Sunday at St Mary's, and often at Stadham and other places in the country (*y*), he wrote some excellent books, as will be seen presently by the list of his Works. Richard Cromwell succeeding his father as Chancellor in 1657, our author was removed from the Vice-chancellorship, as he was also from Richard's favour, when he became Protector upon the death of Oliver [*D*] the following year. This blow came from the Presbyterians, who also procured him to be excluded from St Mary's pulpit (*z*); which was resented by him with so much indignation, that he set up a lecture in another church, saying, *I have built seats at Mary's, but let the Doctors find auditors, for I will preach at Peter's in the East*; and so he did, and great numbers flocked to him (*aa*). In the mean time, he was one of the oracles of that assembly of the Independent faction, which met in October this year, 1658, at the Savoy, and had a principal share in drawing up a Confession of their Faith and Order, in opposition to the Presbyterians [*E*]. But all these contests beginning to vanish, at the dawn of the Restoration

(*t*) Wood's Fasti, Vol. II. col. 98.

(*u*) Ib. col. 104.

(*w*) The rest were T. Goodwin and Thankful Owen, Presidents of Magdalen and St John's; S. Wells and J. Taylour, Ministers of Banbury and Brughton; Chr. Rogers, Ambr. Upton, Peter French, Hen. Wilkinson, Ralph Button, Hen. Cornish, Canons of Christ-Church; Edw. Stanton, and R. Harris, Presidents of Corpus-Christi and Trinity colleges; Fr. Howell of Exeter-college; Mr Brice of Henley. &c. Athen. Oxon. ubi supra.

(*x*) Ibid. and col. 739.

* His speeches on his admission every year, are further proofs of his excellent command of the Latin tongue. They are printed among his Tracts, &c. ubi supra.

(*y*) His Life, p. xii.

(*z*) He was charged with having a principal hand in working the ruin of Richard. Reliq. Baxter. B. I. P. i. p. 101. and P. iii. p. 42. which he positively denies in his Answer to A Slanderous Libel, &c. Compleat Collection, &c. p. 615, & seqq. See also his Life, p. xix.

(*aa*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 739.

[*C*] *He was opposed by the Presbyterians.*] Mr Wood tells us, that he dressed himself in quirpo, like a young scholar, with powdered hair, snakebone band-strings, or band-strings with very large tassels, lawn band, a large set of ribbons pointed at his knees, and Spanish leather boots, with large lawn tops, and his hat mostly cocked (2). This was apparently done in despite to the Presbyterian party. However, he would not suffer authority to be slighted when there was occasion to exert it. For instance, at an act before the Terræ Filius begun, the doctor stood up, and told him in Latin, he should have liberty to say what he pleased, provided he would avoid profaneness and obscenity, and personal reflections. The Terræ Filius began, and soon transgressed in all these particulars. Upon which the doctor having several times desired him to forbear, to no purpose, at length sent the beadles to pull him down; and when the scholars hindered them, the doctor resolved to pull him down himself. His friends disswaded him, apprehending the scholars might do him some mischief; but he replied, I will not see authority thus trampled on, and pulling him down, sent him to bocardo *, the scholars standing at a distance, amazed to see his courage and resolution (3). Nor was he less careful of the discipline. Once attending, as is usual, the publick disputations in Lent, observing a scholar of Queen's college to perform his part excellently well, he called him, and finding his circumstances to be mean, he gave him forty shillings to encourage him in his studies, and he afterwards made a very considerable figure in the world, frequently mentioning the doctor's kindness with gratitude. He also took some poor scholars into his family, and maintained them at his own charge; and one of these was tutor to his children, who afterwards became an excellent schoolmaster (4). In justice to our Vice-chancellor, it must be also observed, as an instance of his moderation, that though he was often urged to it, yet he never molested the meeting of the Royalists at the house of Dr Willis the Physician, where divine service was performed according to the liturgy of the Church of England ||, not far from our Vice chancellor's lodgings at Christ-Church (5). In his office also of Commissioner for ejecting scandalous ministers, he frequently over ruled his brethren in favour of such Royalists as eminently deserved it †.

(2) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 738.

* The town prison.

(3) His Life, ubi supra, p. xi.

(4) The doctor made a good trial of his abilities, for the scholar having brought him an excellent Latin epistle, he ordered him to make another in the next room by himself, which he did, not unequal to the former. Id. ibid.

|| See Bishop Fell's article.

(5) Ibid. but this writer is mistaken in saying the Vice-chancellor has several livings in his gift, and that he disposed of them to Presbyterians. These livings are not in the gift of the Vice-chancellor alone, but of the whole Convocation.

† Particularly in the case of Dr Edw. Pococke. See his article.

[*D*] *Upon Oliver's death.*] The doctor's behaviour on this occasion is utterly inexcusable, if we may believe Bishop Burnet, who tells us that Dr [afterwards Archbishop] Tillotson, happening to be at Whitehall on a fast-day of the houshold, about a week after Oliver's death, he went out of curiosity into the presence-chamber, where the solemnity was kept; and saw there on one side of the table the new Protector, placed with the rest of his family, and on the other six preachers, among whom were Dr John Owen, Dean of Christ-Church in Oxford; Dr Tho. Goodwin, President of Magdalen-college; Mr Jos. Caryl, and Peter Sterry; with whose sallies of enthusiasm Tillotson was much disgusted; God being in a manner reproached with the late Protector's services, and challenged for taking him away so soon. Dr Goodwin, who had pretended to assure them in a prayer a very few minutes before he expired, that he was not to die, had now the confidence to say to God, 'Thou hast deceived us, and we are deceived.' And Mr Sterry praying for Richard, used these indecent words next to blasphemy, 'Make him the brightness of the father's glory, and the express image of his person (6).' As no particular expression of Dr Owen's is mentioned, it is probable nothing equal to them escaped from him at this time; however, what is here asserted in general of his boldness, will not want credit, after the perusal of his sermon on the death of Ireton, whom he canonizes for a saint, and sets him upon a level with the Prophet Daniel (7).

[*E*] *He had a hand in penning the Confession of Faith at the Savoy*] Mr Baxter mentioning this Savoy confession, writes as follows: 'The Independents gathered a synod at the Savoy, and there, among their articles of faith, laid down two points expresly contrary to Scripture. 1. That is it not faith but Christ's righteousness that we are justified by, whereas it is both. 2. That Christ's righteousness imputed is our sole righteousness. I asked some yet living, why they consented to these, and they said it was Dr Owen's doing (8).' But he is cleared from this aspersion, by a certificate signed by George Griffith, who was scribe to that assembly (9). The method of proceeding there was thus: There was a committee of such as were judged most eminent, viz. Dr Tho. Goodwin, Mr Phil. Nye, Mr Will. Bridge of Yarmouth, Dr Owen then

(6) Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 82, 83. fol. edit.

(7) It is printed in the Collection, p. 415, & seqq. Lond. 1721, fol.

(8) Baxter's Catholic Communion defended, P. v. p. 8.

(9) It is printed in the doctor's Life, p. xx, xxi.

Restoration in 1659, he was ejected from his Deanery in the latter end of that year (*bb*). However, he had taken care to provide himself a comfortable retreat at Stadham, having a little before purchased a good estate with a handsome house upon it (*cc*). To this he retired, and held a meeting in private, where he preached, and many of his disciples went from Oxford to hear him; 'till, being several times silenced by some soldiers of the militia, and sorely threatned, that congregation was broke, and our teacher obliged to move from place to place, 'till at length he went to London (*dd*). All this time he was not idle, but employed his talents in preaching as he had opportunity, and he also wrote several valuable and useful books. One of these (*ee*) coming to the hands of Lord Chancellor Clarendon, he was so much pleased with it, that he sent for him by Sir Bulstrode Whitelocke, and acknowledging the service done to the Protestant religion by this book, assured him that he had deserved the best of any English Protestant of late years, and made him an offer to prefer him in the Church, if he would conform; but the doctor refusing that condition, persisted in the practice of holding conventicles. In which, however, he met with so much trouble, that he had some thoughts of going to New-England, having received an invitation from his brethren there; and in 1665 he made preparations for the voyage. But the plague breaking out this year, and the fire of London happening in the next, the publick attention was so wholly engaged by these dreadful calamities, that the laws against the Dissenters were suffered to sleep for some time; and not long after came out the royal indulgence, and licences were granted to all that desired them for publick assemblies, all penal laws being suspended. Whilst the liberty continued, our doctor was assiduous in preaching, and many persons of quality and eminent citizens resorted to him. But upon the proclamation for suppressing unlawful conventicles, March 10, 1667, the doctor went to visit his old friends at Oxford, and to attend some affairs of his own estate not far from thence. At the same time he did not forbear to exercise his function in preaching to some of his party, which was not managed so privately as to escape being observed; and, upon intelligence of the house where he lay, some troopers of the militia came, and knocking at the door, the mistress of the house boldly opened it, and prevented them, by asking if they sought for Dr Owen; to which being answered they did, she told them he went from her house that morning betimes: upon which they immediately rode off. In the mean time the doctor, who she thought had been gone, as he told her he intended, rose out of bed, and taking horse in a field near the house, rode straight to London. Fresh invitations were now given him to go to New-England, but he did not think proper to leave his native country (*ff*), where he still continued to employ the press, which produced several more valuable books of his writing both learned and practical. In 1671, when the bill to prevent and suppress seditious conventicles was depending before the Lords, our author was desired to draw up some reasons against it, and the paper was laid before the Lords by several eminent citizens and gentlemen of distinction (*gg*); but the act passed, all the Bishops being for it except two, viz. Wilkins of Chester, and Rainbow of Carlisle. However, the doctor's moderation and learning drew the admiration and respect of several persons of honour and quality upon him, who very much delighted in his conversation; particularly the Earls of Orrery and Anglesey, the Lords Willoughby of Parham and Berkeley, and Sir John Trevor, one of the Principal Secretaries of State; and, what is much more, even King Charles himself and the Duke of York paid a particular respect to him. When the doctor was drinking the waters at Tunbridge, the Duke of York being there, sent for him into his tent, and several discourses passed between them about conventicles and the dissenters; and, after his return to London, the King sent for him, and discoursed with him about two hours together, assuring him of his favour and respect, and telling him he might have access to him as often as he would. At the same time his Majesty was pleased to assure the doctor, how much he was for liberty of conscience, and how sensible of the wrong that had been done to Dissenters; and as a testimony thereof, gave him a thousand guineas to distribute among those who had suffered most by the late severities. The doctor could do no less than accept the royal bounty with thanks, and he faithfully applied it to that purpose (*hh*). The Doctor had some friends also among the Bishops, particularly Dr Wilkins of Chester, and Barlow of Lincoln *, formerly his tutor [*F*]. It is not to be wondered, that a life filled up with so many

(*bb*) He was succeeded by Dr J. Reynolds, afterwards Bishop of Norwich. Life of Dr Owen, p. xvii.

(*cc*) Ath. Oxon. where last cited, and his Life, p. xxii.

(*dd*) Ibid. ibid. London was no doubt the best hiding-place.

(*ee*) Viz. His Animadversions on *Fiat Lux*, and A Vindication of it.

(*ff*) Ibid. p. xxv, xxvi.

(*gg*) It is inserted in the Compleat Collection, &c. p. 588. intituled, The State of the Kingdom, with respect to the present Bill against Conventicles.

(*hh*) His Life, p. xxix. Hereupon it was reported, that he was in pension to serve the papal interest, against which he defended himself in the preface to his first part of his Enquiry into the Original of Evangelical Churches.

* Mr Wood tells us, that he had made use of his interest in Cromwell to serve Barlow. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 739, 740.

then of Oxford, Mr Jos. Caryl, and Mr Will. Greenhill, who drew up the heads of the Confession. The synod, which consisted of about two hundred pastors and messengers of churches, being in the interim employed in hearing and determining such causes as were laid before them. The particular heads of the confession considered and agreed upon by the committee, were every day brought into the assembly, and read by Mr G. Griffith. This Confession was soon after printed and published, and translated into Latin by Hoornbeck (10), and by others into several other languages (11).

[*F*] *Bishop Barlow was his friend.*] Yet we are told, that he failed him upon a special occasion. The case was this: John Bunyan [author of the Pilgrim's Progress] had been confined to a jayl twelve years, upon an excommunication for nonconformity; now there was a law, that if any two persons will go to the Bishop of the diocese, and offer a cautionary bond, that the prisoner shall conform in half a year, the Bishop may release him. Dr Owen being desired to give his bond in Bunyan's behalf, readily consented; which being carried to the Bishop, his Lordship professed he was ready even to strain a point for the doctor, but that this being a new thing, he desired time to consider of it. Being waited on again about a fortnight after, he said, that indeed he was informed he might do it; but the law providing, in case the Bishop refused, application

(10) Id. ibid.

(11) See our author's Account of the Grounds and Reasons upon which Protestant Dissenters desire their liberty; in the beginning. Compleat Collection, &c. p. 592.

many labours should decline under the weight of infirmities, which now began to grow upon him. Some few years before he died, he was often ill, and sometimes kept his bed and chamber; yet, whenever he was able to sit up, he would be continually writing, when not prevented by company. But his infirmities growing upon him, he went to Kensington for the benefit of the air, and lived there some time [*G*]. From thence he removed to Ealing, to a house of his own, where he finished his course, on the 24th of August, 1683, in the 67th year of his age. From Ealing his corpse was carried to the burying-ground in Bunhill-fields, the hearse being attended with a great number of noblemens and gentlemens coaches, with six horses each, and many gentlemen on horseback (*ii*). He was interred in a new vault towards the east end of that burying-place, over which was erected an altar-monument of free-stone, with an epitaph in Latin composed by Mr Tho. Gilbert (*kk*) of Oxford, which with two others is annexed to the Memoirs of his Life. He left behind him a mournful widow, who had been married to him about seven years, a gentlewoman of a considerable family, being daughter (*ll*) of —— Michell, Esq; of Kingston-Russell in Dorsetshire, and widow of Thomas Doyley his neighbour, younger brother of Sir John Doyley, of Chesilhampton near Stadham, Bart. She was a person of very good sense and judgment, truly religious, and very tender and affectionate to the doctor. She survived him many years, and was interred in the same vault which she had erected for him (*mm*). As to his person, his stature was tall, his countenance grave and majestic, and withal comely; he had the aspect and deportment of a gentleman, suitable to his birth. His character is represented very differently, according to the affections of the designer (*nn*). Mr Wood, after having not spared his conduct in many respects, declares as of his own knowledge, that, to speak impartially, he was a person well skilled in the tongues, Rabbinical learning, and Jewish rites and customs; that he had a great command of his English pen, and was one of the most genteel and fairest writers who have appeared against the Church of England *. That his person was proper and comely, and he had a very graceful address in the pulpit, an eloquent elocution, a winning and insinuating deportment, and could by his oratory, in conjunction with some other outward advantages, move and wind the affections of his admiring auditory almost as he pleased (*oo*). And the writer of his life observes, that in his manners he was very affable, and courteous, familiar and sociable, and that the meanest persons found an easy access to his converse and friendship; jesting with his acquaintance, but with sobriety and measure; a great master of his passions, especially that of anger. He was, continues this writer, of a serene and even temper; his carriage was genteel, in nothing mean. He was generous in his favours. He kept a correspondence with several learned foreigners, and particularly the famous Anna-Maria Schurman †. He was well acquainted with men and things, and would give a shrewd guess at a man's temper and designs upon the first acquaintance. He could on all occasions, without any premeditation, express himself well and pertinently on any subject. He was a faithful and loving husband, a tender father, a good master, a prudent governour, and a very dutiful peaceable subject. His character as to learning, as before by Wood, so by this writer, is apparently drawn from his writings, when we are told, that besides his mastery in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, tongues, that he was a great Philosopher, and also well read in the Civil Law; a great Historian, especially in Church history, and thoroughly versed in all the Greek and Latin poets. An excellent Divine, well skilled in Polemical Divinity. To conclude, the course of this memoir confirms this writer's remark, that his labours both in writing and preaching, and other services peculiar to his function, as a Minister of the Gospel and Pastor of a Church, were incredible (*pp*); and the same memoir gives credit to Mr Wood's remark, that in doing these services to others, he did not neglect the care of his own interest (*qq*). We shall give a list of his Works below [*H*].

(*ii*) Life, p. xxxiii. Mr Wood says his body was first conveyed to a house in St James's, where resting for some time, was on the fourth of September attended to the burying-ground by about 20 mourners, and 67 coaches that followed. Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 747.

(*kk*) Ibid. p. xxxvi. This Gilbert made Dr T. Goodwin's epitaph; and was the common epitaph maker for Dissenters, being one himself. Wood's Fasti, Vol. II. col. 104.

(*ll*) Her name was Dorothy. See the third epitaph at the end of his Memoirs, p. xxxviii. Mr Wood observes, she was young when married to him, and is said to have been a good nurse to him in his old age. Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col 748.

(*mm*) His Life, p. xxxiii.

(*nn*) See several of these in Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 740.

* See Dr Stillingfleet's and Mr Dodwell's remarks, in Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 740, 741.

(*oo*) Ibid. and p. 741.

† See an account of this celebrated enthusiastic lady, in Bayle's Dictionary, Vol. V.

(*pp*) His Life, p. xxxiii, xxxiv.

(*qq*) Mr Wood's words are, that he took all occasions to enjoy the comfortable importances of this life. Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 740

tion should be made to the Lord-Chancellor, who thereupon should issue an order to the Bishop, to take the cautionary bond, and release the prisoner. Now, continued he, you know what a critical time this is, and I have many enemies; I would desire you to move the Lord-Chancellor in the case, and upon his order I will do it. And when it was replied, that this method would be more expence than Bunyan could supply, yet the Bishop refused to do it upon other terms; which at last was done, and the poor man released, but little thanks to the Bishop, notwithstanding he still kept a familiarity with the doctor (12).

(12) His Life, p. xxx.

[G] *He lived some time at Kensington.*] 'One day as he was coming from thence to London, two informers seized upon his coach and horses in the Strand, upon which a mob quickly gathered about him. But Sir Edmundbury Godfrey happening to come by, seeing a mob asked the matter; and being a Justice of Peace, ordered the informers and the doctor to meet him at a Justice of Peace's house near Bloomsbury-square upon a day appointed, and he would get some other of his brethren to be there to hear the cause. They met accordingly, and Sir Edmund being in the chair, upon examination they found the informers had acted illegally, and discharged the doctor not without reprimanding them; after which he was no more disturbed by them (13).'

(13) Ibid. p. 32.

[*H*] *A list of his Works.*] Those in folio are, 1. Of the Saints Perseverance. Oxon. 1654. 2. An Exposition on the Epistle to the Hebrews, in 4 vols. Lond. 1668, &c. 3. A Discourse of the Holy Spirit. 1674. 4. A Compleat Collection of his Sermons, and several Tracts [in number eleven] &c. to which is prefixed Some Memoirs of his Life, &c. 1721.

Quarto. 1. A Display of Arminianism. 1643. 2. The Duty of Pastors and People distinguished. 1644. 3. *Salus Electorum Sanguis Iesu*, &c. 1648. 4. Of the Death of Christ. 5. *Vindiciæ Evangelicæ*, &c. in answer to J. Biddle. 1655. 6. Of Communion with God, &c. 1657. 7. Θεολογούμενα: *sive de Natura, Ortu, Progressu, & Studio, Veræ Theologiæ*. 1661. 8. An Exposition of cxxx. Ps. 1660. 9. The Doctrine of Justification, &c. 1677. 10. The Glorious Mystery of the Person of Christ, &c. 1679. 11. The Grace and Duty of being spiritually minded. 1681. 12. An Enquiry into the Original, &c. of Evangelical Churches. 1681. 13. The True Nature of a Gospel Church, &c. 1689. 14. A Review of the Annota-

tions of Grotius. 1656. 15. A Discourse concerning Liturgies, &c. 1662. 16. Indulgence and Toleration considered, &c. 1667. 17. A Peace Offering, &c. ibid. 18. The Church of Rome no safe Guide. 1679. 19. Some Considerations about Union among Protestants. 1680. 20. Vindication of the Nonconformists from Schism. 1686. 21. An Account of the Nature of the Protestant Religion.

Octavo. 1. Two Catechisms. 1645. 2. *Eshcol*, or Rules for Church Fellowship. 1648. 3. *Diatriba de Justitia Divina*. 1653. 4. Of the Mortification of Sin in Believers. 1656. 5. A Discovery of the true Nature of Schism. 1657. 6. A Review of the true Nature of Schism, &c. ibid. 7. Of the Nature and Power of Temptation. 1658. 8. A Defence of Cotton against Cawdry. ibid. 9. *Exercitationes quatuor pro S. Scripturis*. ibid. 10. The Divine Original and Authority of the Scriptures. 1659. 11. A Primmer for Children. 1660. 12. Animadversions on *Fiat Lux*. 1662. 12. Vindication of them. 1664. 13. A Brief Instruction in the Worship of God. 1667. 14. The Nature of indwelling Sin. 1668. 15. Truth and Innocence vindicated, in a Survey of a Discourse on Ecclesiastical Polity, 1669. 16. A Brief Vindication of the Doctrine of the Trinity (14). ibid. 17. Of the Sabbath, &c. 1671. 18. Of Evangelical Love, Church Peace, and Unity. 1673. 19. A Vindication of his Book of the Communion with God against Dr Sherlock. 1674. 20. The Nature of Apostacy, &c, 1676. 21. The Reason of Faith in the Scriptures. 1677. 22. The Ways and Means of understanding the Mind of God in the Scriptures. 1678. 23. An Humble Testimony to the Goodness and Severity of God, &c. 1681. 24. The Work of the Holy Spirit in Prayer. 1683. 25. Meditations on the Glory of Christ, &c. Part I. 1681. 26. Part II. 1691. 27. Of the Dominion of Sin and Grace. 1688. 28. Two Discourses of the Work of the Spirit. 1693. 29. Evidences of the Faith of God's Elect. 1695.

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(14) Our author was perfectly orthodox in this point, being a defender of Athanasius, and is cited as a learned writer by Dr Waterland on that subject.

PARKER

P.

PARKER [Matthew], the fecond Proteftant Archbifhop of Canterbury, in the XVIth century, a man of great merit and learning, was born Auguft 6th, 1504, in the parifh of St Stephen's, within the city of Norwich (*a*). He had the misfortune to lofe his father [*A*] when he was only twelve years of age; but his mother took a very particular care of his education [*B*]. About the beginning of September 1520, he was admitted into Corpus-Chrifti, or Bennet-College in Cambridge; of which Houfe he was chofen Scholar or Bible-Clark the 20th of March following. And applying himfelf clofely to his ftudies, took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1523 (*b*); but, according to others, in 1524 (*c*). In April 1527, he was ordained Deacon, in June Prieft, and in September, created Mafter of Arts, and chofen Fellow of his college. By this time he had rendered himfelf fo confpicuous for learning, that he was one of thofe eminent fcholars who were invited from Cambridge, to furnifh and adorn the magnificent foundation of Cardinal Wolfey's [now Chrift's-Church] college in Oxford: but by the perfuafion of his friends he ftayed where he was, diligently following his ftudies. And having, within five or fix years, read over the Fathers and Councils, and rendered himfelf an accomplifhed Divine, he became a licens'd, and frequent Preacher, at Court, at St Paul's-crofs, and other public places and occafions (*d*). In 1533, or 1534, he was made Chaplain to Queen Anne Bolein; who had fo much regard and efteem for him, (he being a zealous promoter of the Reformation) that, a little before her death, fhe gave him a particular charge, to take care of her daughter Elizabeth, that fhe might not want his pious and wife counfel. July 14th, 1534 (*e*), he commenced Bachelor in Divinity. And being prefented, on the 4th of November enfuing, by the favour of the Queen his miftrefs, to the Deanry of Stoke near Clare in Suffolk, he was inftalled the 13th of the fame month. At this place he founded a Grammar-fchool, and made new ftatutes for the college. March 1ft, 1537, after the Queen's death, King Henry took him into his own fervice, and made him one of his Chaplains: as he was afterwards to King Edward the Sixth (*f*). During the rebellion that broke out that year, he preached at Clare, againft Popifh Superftitions, for which he was articled againft by fome of his neighbours; but his own vindication was fo fatisfactory to the Lord Chancellor Audeley, that he bid him go on, and not fear fuch enemies (*g*). On the 1ft of July 1538, he was created Doctor in Divinity. And, October 28th, 1541, inftalled Prebendary of the fecond ftall in the cathedral of Ely, having been nominated thereto by King Henry the Eighth, in his new charter for that cathedral. In 1542, he was prefented by the Chapter of Stoke to the Rectory of Afhen in Effex, conveniently fituated both for Cambridge and Stoke. He held this living not full two years, but refigned it April 30, 1544, and the next day was prefented to the Rectory of Birlingham All-faints in his own county of Norfolk; which he refigned October 1ft, 1550 (*h*). December 4th, 1544, upon the King's letters commendatory to the college [*C*], dated November 30th, he was chofen Mafter of Corpus-Chrifti, or Bennet-college,

(*a*) Matthæus.

(*b*) Life of Matth. Parker, &c. by J. Strype, fol. Lond. 1711, p. 2, &c.

(*c*) Lives of the Proteftant Bifhops, &c. by J. Le Neve, Lond. 1720, 8vo. p. 3.

(*d*) De Antiquit. Eccl. Brit. fub titulo Matthæus.

(*e*) Mr Le Neve fays, that according to an old Regifter it was in 1535.

(*f*) Matthæus.

(*g*) Strype, as above, p. 11, 12.

(*h*) Idem, p. 13, 25. and J. Le Neve, as above, p. 5. The latter places this refignation wrong, viz. under the year 1547.

[*A*] *He had the misfortune to lofe his father.*] His father, *William Parker*, was a citizen of Norwich, and by trade a Calender of ftuffs. He lived in good reputation and plenty, and was a Gentleman, bearing for his coat of Arms, in a field gules, Three Keys erected; and being grandfon of Nicholas Parker, principal Regiftrary of the Archbifhop of Canterbury.—His mother was *Alice*, of the worfhipful family of the *Monins* of Suffolk, but originally from Kent (1).

(1) Life by Strype, as above, p. 2, 3, 4.

[*B*] *His mother took a very particular care of his education.*] The induftrious J. Strype hath been fo very particular, as to preferve the names of the feveral Mafters for his education in divers faculties. His firft Mafters, for *Reading* were, one Benis Rector of St Clement's in Norwich, and one Pope a prieft;——for *Writing*, one Prior clerk of St Benedict's;——for *Singing*, Love a prieft, and Manthorp clerk of St Stephen's;—and for *Grammar-learning*, his Schoolmafter, or rather private Tutor, was W. Neve (2).

(2) Strype, &c. p. 4.

[*C*] *Upon the King's letters commendatory to the College.*] Thofe letters are very much to Dr Parker's honour, as appears from the following extract.——'We therefore, for the zele and love we bear to the 'Advancement of good Letters, defieringe to fee yowe 'furnifhed of fuch a Governor, as in all pointes may 'feme worthie of that roome; have thought good by 'thes owre letters, to commende unto yowe oure wel be-'loved Chaplain Doctor *Parker*; a Man as wel for his 'approved Learning, Wifedom and Honeftie, as for his 'fingular Grace and Induftrie in bringing upp Youth 'in Vertue and Learning, fo apt for the Exercife of the 'faide Roome, as is thought very harde to finde the 'like for al refpects and purpofes (3).'

(3) Appendix to Archbifhop Parker's Life, Book i. No. 5.

college, to which he afterwards became a ſpecial benefactor, and compiled for it a new book of ſtatutes (*i*). January 25, 1544-5, he was elected Vice-Chancellor of the Univerſity, which office he diſcharged afterwards in the year 1549. The 22d of September 1545, he was preſented by his college of Corpus-Chriſti, to the Rectory of Landbeach in Cambridgeſhire, to which he was admitted Dec. 1. Notwithſtanding all his endeavours to the contrary (*k*), he loſt his Deanery of Stoke by the diſſolution of that college, April 1, 1547; but, in conſideration of his merit, he had a yearly penſion of 40 *l.* ſettled on him, in lieu of it, and a promiſe of the Deanery of Lincoln. In the ſame year, on the 24th of June, he married Mrs Margaret Harleſtone [*D*], daughter of Robert Harleſtone of Mattiſhal in Norfolk, Gent. (*l*). Happening to be in Norfolk, in 1549, during Ket's rebellion, he had the reſolution to go to the rebels camp; and, preaching to them out of the Oak of Reformation, took an opportunity to exhort them to temperance, moderation, and ſubmiſſion to the King. In January 1550-51, he was put into a commiſſion for correcting and puniſhing ſome Anabaptiſts [*E*], newly ſprung up in the kingdom. And, the February following, preached a funeral Sermon for Dr Martin Bucer, Regius Profeſſor of Divinity in Cambridge (*m*). June 1, 1552, he was preſented by King Edward the Sixth to the Prebend of Coringham, or Coldingham, in the cathedral church of Lincoln; and being nominated, a few days after, by his Majeſty, to the Deanery of the ſame church, he was elected July 30, and inſtalled the 7th of October following (*n*). Thus he lived in great reputation and affluence, under King Henry the Eighth and Edward the Sixth. But, upon Queen Mary's coming to the Crown, he was reduced to low circumſtances, and ſuffered much; though ſtill contented and chearful: for, in the ſecond year of her reign, he was deprived of all his preferments [*F*], of which the pretence was his being married. And having ſo heartily eſpouſed the Reformation, which rendered him obnoxious, he was fain to abſcond, and to retire privately into Norfolk among his friends, with his wife and family. He was often and diligently ſought for, yet by ſhifting from place to place, without, however, going out of the kingdom, he eſcaped thoſe bloody times, and was reſerved for better days. One time, narrow ſearch being made in order to take him; he receiving notice of it, fled in the night in great diſtreſs, and got ſo dangerous a fall from his horſe, that he never recovered it. During this retirement, he turned the Book of Pſalms into Engliſh verſe (*o*); and wrote a Defence of the marriage of Prieſts (*p*). Queen Elizabeth's acceſſion, in 1559, made a great change in his condition: for, he not only became free from all fear and danger, but was exalted to the higheſt ſtation in the Engliſh Chuch, to the Archbiſhopric of Canterbury. A ſtation for which he was looked upon as the fitteſt man, his great prudence, courage, conduct, learning, and experience, being wanting and neceſſary, for the Reformation that was now to be ſet on foot, and carried on with the utmoſt vigour. He was ſo far from ſeeking that high dignity, that it ſeems he earneſtly avoided it (*q*). In the mean time, he was appointed one of the Viſitors of the Univerſity of Cambridge (*r*). And he privately addreſſed the Queen, to diſſuade her from exchanging the temporal revenues of Biſhopricks for Impropriations, as ſhe was impowered to do by act of Parliament, upon a vacancy; which was a very unequal exchange. He likewiſe adviſed her, to remove crucifixes and lighted tapers out of churches, particularly out of her own chapel (*s*). Having been elected Archbiſhop Auguſt 1, 1559, by the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, he was confirmed, December 9, in the church of St Mary le Bow;

(*i*) Strype, as above, p. 13, 14, 15. and Matthæus.

(*k*) Vide Matthæum, & Godwin de Præſulibus.

(*l*) Strype, p. 21, 22, 23. and J. Le Neve, p. 7. and Godwin de Præſulibus.

(*m*) Strype, p. 27—29.

(*n*) Strype, p. 30. and Appendix to Book i. No. 9. and Survey of the Cathedrals, &c. by Br. Willis, Eſq; Vol. II. p. 78, 170.

(*o*) 'Pſalterium 'verſu metrice 'linguâ vulgari:' as his own words are. See Appendix, as above, p. 15.

(*p*) Strype, as above, p. 31, 32, 33. and Matthæus.

(*q*) See Strype, p. 35, &c.

(*r*) Idem, p. 43.

(*s*) Idem, p. 44, 46. See alſo p. 96.

[*D*] *He married Mrs Margaret Harleſtone.*] He was then in the 43d year of his age, and ſhe aged 28. Her father was a pious promoter of the Reformation; and of an ancient family, ſeated both in Suffolk and Eſſex. She and Dr Parker had entertained a great liking for one another, about the ſpace of ſeven years; but were hindered from marrying by the bloody ſtatute of King Henry VIII. which made the marriage of the clergy felony. That obſtacle being removed by the acceſſion of King Edward VI, they married; and lived very happily 23 years together: She proving an excellent wife, as well as an excellent woman, very obedient, indulgent, and obſervant of her huſband. Frugal in his private condition, and in his public, doing whatever was for his credit aud dignity (4). Biſhop Ridley, who uſed to viſit her huſband at Cambridge, took ſo much notice of her charming behaviour, that he was heard once to aſk, *Whether ſhe had a ſiſter like her?* She dyed Auguſt 17, 1570, in the 51ſt year of her age; and was buried in Lambeth-church (5). By her will, ſhe bequeathed fifty ſhillings a year for ever, to the pariſh of Mattiſhal, her native place. The Archbiſhop had by her four Sons. 1. John, born May 5, 1548, who married Joanna daughter of Richard Cox, biſhop of Ely; and was knighted July 23, 1603. His poſterity was ſeated at Sittingbourn. 2. Matthew, born Aug. 27, 1550; who dyed an infant. 3. Another Matthew, who married Frances daughter of William Barlow, biſhop of Chicheſter; and dyed in Dec. 1574. 4. Joſeph, who dyed very young (6).

(4) Matthæus.

(5) Ibid.

(6) Strype, as above, p. 23, 24, 306, 474, 512, &c. and Appendix, p. 3, 15, 16.

[*E*] *For correcting and puniſhing ſome Anabaptiſts.*] Mr Strype gives us this account of their opinions. 'They would not baptize their children; held as the 'Arians in the doctrine of the Godhead, and as Pelagius in the doctrine of Free-will and Predeſtination: 'All theſe came under the denomination of Anabaptiſts. Many alſo adminiſtred the Sacraments in other 'manner than was preſcribed by the Book of Common-'Prayer (7).'

(7) Idem, p. 27.

[*F*] *He was deprived of all his preferments.*] According to his own account, 'In Decemb. 1553. he 'reſigned his Maſterſhip of Corpus-Chriſti-College to 'Laurence Moptye, whom in a kind of neceſſity he 'choſe his ſucceſſor. April 2, 1554, he was deprived 'of his Prebend of Ely, and Rectory of Landbeach. 'May 21, ſo he was of his Deanry and Prebend of 'Lincoln.'——'After that, adds he, I lived pri-'vately; ſo joyful in my conſcience before God; and 'ſo neither aſhamed nor dejected, that the moſt ſweet 'leiſure for ſtudy, to which the good providence of 'God recalled me, gave me much greater and more 'ſolid Pleaſures, than that former buſy and dangerous 'kind of Life ever afforded me.' *Poſtea privatus vixi, ita coram Deo lætus in Conſcientiâ meâ; Adeoq; nec pudefactus nec dejectus; ut dulciſſimum otium Literarium, ad quod Dei bona providentia me revocavit, multo majores & ſolidiores voluptates mihi pepererit; quam negotioſum illud & periculoſum vivendi genus unquam placuit* (8).

(8) Strype, as above, p. 31, 32. and Appendix to Book i. No. 9.

[G] *And*

Bow; and consecrated, the 17th of the same month, in Lambeth-chapel, by William Barlow, late Bishop of Bath and Wells, and then elect of Chichester, John Scory, late Bishop of Chichester, and then elect of Hereford, Miles Coverdale Bishop of Exeter, and John Hodgkin suffragan Bishop of Bedford *(t)* [*G*]. The Romanists invented afterwards a tale, that he had been consecrated at the Nag's-head inn, or tavern, in Cheapside [*H*]: but that story hath been so thoroughly confuted by our English authors and others, and withal disproved by many Catholics [*I*]; that, to believe it now-a-days, requires more even than the Faith of a Papist. Archbishop Parker being thus constituted Primate and Metropolitan of the Church of England, took care to have the several sees filled with learned and worthy men, and well affected to the Reformation: and soon after performed his metropolitical visitation of the several Dioceses *(u)* [*K*]. In 1560, he and the Bishops of London and Ely addressed the Queen, to enter into the blessed state of wedlock *(w)*; but she chose to reign alone. He likewise, and some other Bishops, exhorted her to remove images entirely out of churches, which she was inclined to retain *(x)*. By his encouragement it was, that a free-school was founded, in 1563, at Sandwich in Kent; and he likewise recovered the stipend of the School-master of Stoke near Clare *(y)*. In 1564 he compleated the reparation and building of his palace at Canterbury, the expence whereof amounted to above 1400 pounds *(z)*; and, about the same time, founded a free-school at Rachdale in Lancashire *(a)*. One of his main designs and endeavours, was to introduce into this Church an Uniformity both in habits and ceremonies; but he met therein with great opposition from that wicked great man the Earl of Leicester, and some other courtiers; and from the whole bulk of the Puritan faction, who have severely reviled him upon that account *(b)*. June 24, 1567, he founded three Grammar-Scholarships, or Exhibitions, in Bennet-college [*L*]. And again, in May 1569, he founded five more Scholarships

(t) Reg. Parker. Strype, p. 52, &c. and Matthæus. Append. to Parker's Life, p. 151. and Godwin de Præsulibus in Matt. Parker.

(u) De Antiquit. Britannic Ecclesiæ, edit. 1729, p. 541, &c. Strype, as above, p. 65—75, &c.

(w) Strype, as above, p. 82. and Appendix, p. 27.

(x) Idem, p. 96. and Annals of the Reformat. Vol. I. ch. 18.

(y) Strype, p. 138.

(z) Idem, p. 174.

(a) Idem, p. 182. Matthæus.

(b) Strype, p. 151—173, 181, 184—188, 194—199, 211—231, 241—243, 325.—and D. Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, Vol. I. throughout.

[*G*] *And consecrated the 17th of the same month, by William Barlow, &c.*] There were two Commissions issued out for his Confirmation and Consecration. The first, dated Sept. 9, was directed to Cuthbert [Tunstall] bishop of Durham, Gilbert [Bourn] bishop of Bath and Wells, David [Pole] bishop of Peterborough, Antony [Kitchen] bishop of Landaffe, William Barlow, bishop, and John Scory bishop (without mentioning their Sees). This first Commission not taking place, whether because some of those Bishops being Papists refused to act, or for some other reasons unknown; a second Commission, dated Decemb. 6, was directed to Antony Kitchen bishop of Landaff, *William Barlow* once bishop of Bath and Wells now elect of Chichester, *John Scorye* formerly bishop of Chichester now elect of Hereford, *Miles Coverdale* some time bishop of Exeter, *John* [*Hodgkin*] Suffragan bishop of Bedford, John [Salisbury] Suffragan bishop of Thetford, and John Bale bishop of Ossory in Ireland (9). The four, whose names are printed in Italic, consented to act.

[*H*] *The Romanists invented afterwards a tale, that he had been consecrated at the Nag's head, &c.*] The first inventor, or at least original reporter, of this story, was Thomas Neale, some time Chaplain to Bishop Bonner (10). And it was retaled afterwards by Antony Champney, Thomas Hardyng, Henry Fitz-Simons; the author of the *Legacy to the Protestants*, and others (11). ——But this notorious and improbable falsehood hath been fully confuted by the learned *Francis Mason*, B D. Archdeacon of Norfolk, in his *Vindication of the Church of England concerning the Consecration and Ordination of the Bishops &c* (12). published afterwards in Latin by Sir Nathaniel Brent:——by Ap. *Bramhall*, in his *Consecration of Protestant Bishops vindicated:* to which is subjoined the Record of our Archbishop's consecration (13):——and of late, by the most candid Father P. F. *Le Courayer*, in his *Defence of the Validity of the English Ordinations* (14). So that the Reader will excuse us, if we do not swell this note with a Fact so well known, and so effectually proved; but refer him to those very learned Authors.

[*I*] *And withal disproved by many Catholics.*] Mr Fr. Mason abovementioned hath left a Memorandum to that purpose, at the end of a copy of his *Vindication*, &c. which he deposited in Merton-college Library.—— 'Whereas Mr Fitz-herbert hath lately sent a book 'from Rome against the most Reverend Bishop of Ely, '[Lancel. Andrews] to which he hath annexed an 'Appendix concerning the Records and Registers by 'me produced, desiring that some of their discreet 'Catholics might view and consider whether they be 'true, or counterfeit: Know therefore, that upon the '12th of this present May, an. 1614, his Grace of 'Canterbury sent for Mr Colleton the Arch-priest, 'Leake a secular priest, as also one Jesuit called La-'thwait &c. and shewed unto them the Register and 'other Records of his predecessor *Matth. Parker*, 'which they perused over and over, and found that the 'said Parker was consecrated in Lambeth-Chapel (and 'not at the Nags-head in Cheapside) by certain Bishops 'that had been ejected in Queen Mary's reign, &c (15).' ——This fact Bishop Godwin lays a great Stress upon (16); and adds.——*Ab his igitur* (Fairclotho, Lathwaito, Collitono, Leako, *imò &* Kellisono, Fitzherberto, *ac aliis Romano-catholicæ religionis professoribus*) *harum rerum a me de* Parkeri *referuntur consecratione, veritas, si vel pilum boni viri habeant, confirmabitur.*

[*K*] *And soon after performed his metropolitical visitation of the several Dioceses.*] He found in several Dioceses the Churches most miserably serv'd; as appears from one instance, namely the Diocese of Ely: the Bishop whereof certified, That of the whole Sum of the Cures in his dioces, which was 152 parsonages and vicarages, and other cures, there were duly serv'd but only Fifty two cures. That there were thirty four benefices vacant; thirteen that had neither Rectors nor Vicars; and fifty seven enjoyed by non-residents (17). ——And how ignorant some of the Clergy were, Mr Strype has given us a sample, in a letter of one Walter Tempest, curate of Cripplegate London, to Mr Peerson the Archbishop's Chaplain, who had puzzled him with the word *Function*, in one of the visitations. The letter is in these words. 'To the 'beloved in the Lord Jesus, Mr *Persie*. Know you, 'that whereas your Mastership said, I knew not what 'this word *Function* meant, I being *Pauperes Spiritus* 'to a quick apposing, it may please you to understand, 'that I take it for my utilitie. And whereas the Pro-'phet David saith, *Impulsus eversus sum, ut caderem*; 'I may say for lack of good memory, and a pregnant 'wit, I was overseen in making mine answer. And 'the Prophet saith furthermore, *Et Dominus suscepit* '*me*. And I wil pray *quotidie*, that the Lord may 'encreaše me in my *Function*, and great charge. For 'I am Curate over Three thousand and more of Gods 'sheep. And therefore my *Function* is not to sleep and 'be sluggish, but to wait on my office, to discharge as 'I am charged, in teaching and governing; and to 'exercise myself to do my duty, if I were worthy before 'the Lord. For he saith, *Gratuitò recepistis, gratuitò* '*date*. So I must blow the Trumpet against ungodly, 'or els the Lord will require the Bloud of the people 'at my hand, because the office and *Function* is mine. 'Therefore my suite to my Lords Grace and to you, 'is to have a les thing towards my Living. *Scrip-* '*tus te viginti quinque die Mencis Junus.*' Anno 1569.

Per me *Walterus Tempest*,
Curatus in Ecclesie Sci *Egidii* extra
Cripplegate Civitas *Londoniencis* (18).

[*L*] *June 24, 1567, he founded three Grammar-Scholarships, or Exhibitions, in Bennet-college.*] By his Indenture

(9) Conventiones, &c. published by Rymer, Tom. XV. p. 541, 549. See also Strype, p. 54.

(10) See Wood Ath. Vol. I. col. 250.

(11) Strype, as above, p. 59, &c. Godwin de Præsulibus Cantuar. in Matt. Parker.

(12) Lond. 1613, fol.

(13) See the article BRAMHALL.

(14) English Translation, Lond. 1725, 1728, 3 vols, 8vo.

(15) Wood, Ath. Vol. I. col. 463.

(16) De Præsulibus, sub Matt. Parker.

(17) Strype, as above, p. 72.

(18) Strype, as above, Append. No. 20. p. 34.

Scholarſhips [*M*]; and, the Auguſt following, two other Scholarſhips, and two Fellowſhips [*N*], in the ſame college. And, in July 1568, obtained alſo of the Queen, for that college, the Advowſon of St Mary Ab-Church in London (*c*); for which he gave in exchange the Rectory of Penſhurſt in Kent. This laſt-mentioned year, came out the Great Engliſh Bible, commonly called *The Biſhops Bible*; which was put out chiefly through the Archbiſhop's procurement and care (*d*). In 1570, he repaired the great hall at Lambeth, covering it with ſhingles; and made the long bridge into the Thames near the palace. He alſo made the Regent-walk, leading from the weſt of St Mary's church in Cambridge to the public Schools, paving it, and building a brick wall on each ſide (*e*). In 1571, he gave handſome preſents of plate, and other benefactions, to ſeveral colleges in that univerſity, and in particular founded one Scholarſhip in Trinity-hall, for the ſtudy of the Law (*f*). The ſeventh day of September, 1573, he magnificently entertained Queen Elizabeth at Canterbury (*g*), as he had entertained her ſeveral times before [*O*]. Taking umbrage at the Prophecyings ſet up in ſeveral dioceſes, particularly in that of Norwich, he endeavoured to ſuppreſs them, which expoſed him to freſh cenſures from the Puritans: and made them uſe their utmoſt efforts to ruin him at Court (*h*). Towards the end of the year 1574, he gave a hundred volumes to the library of the univerſity of Cambridge; whereof twenty-five were valuable manuſcripts; and added further benefactions to his favorite college of Corpus-Chriſti (*i*) [*P*]. At length being arrived to the 72d year of his age, and finding himſelf in a declining condition; April the 5th, 1575, he ſigned his Will, wherein he bequeathed Legacies and Gifts to ſeveral perſons and places [*Q*]. He dyed the 17th of May following, of the ſtone and ſtrangury; and was buried with great ſolemnity [*R*], in his own private chapel, within his palace at Lambeth (*k*). His magnificent, as well as generous, and charitable diſpoſition, is ſufficiently manifeſt

(*c*) Strype, p. 253, 270, 290, 291.

(*d*) Idem, p. 272. See alſo p. 399, &c.

(*e*) Idem, p. 305, 332, 483.

(*f*) Idem, p. 337, &c.

(*g*) Idem, p. 440, &c.

(*h*) Id. p. 460, &c. 477, &c.

(*i*) Id. p. 484—487.

(*k*) Strype, p. 493, &c.

denture of that date, he gave 200 *l.* to the city of Norwich: for which they were to grant an Annuity of 10 *l.* to the ſaid college: And the Maſter and Fellows thereof were to beſtow 8 *l.* of the ſaid 10 *l.* to theſe uſes, and none other; that is, towards the uſe and Exhibition of Three Grammar-Scholars, to be found within the ſaid college: to be from time to time nominated and appointed by the Maior and his ſucceſſors, with the aſſent of the moſt part of the Aldermen, out of the Schools at, or in the city of Norwich, or Aleſham in Norfolk. The remaining 40 s. were to be laid out in four ſermons, and other uſes. This Annuity is paid out of the manor and farm of Hethehilde, in the county of Norfolk (19).

[*M*] *And again, in May 1569, he founded five more Scholarſhips.*] Of theſe *five*, he ordered, by his Indenture dated May 22, that *Two* ſhould be ſent from the free-ſchool in Canterbury; and procured for their Salaries yearly, ſix pounds thirteen ſhillings and four pence, payable out of the rents of Eaſt-bridge-hoſpital. The revenues whereof he had by his pains and diligence greatly augmented.——By another Indenture dated 31. May, he obtained of the Queen, out of certain tenements in Long Ditch, within the pariſh of St Margaret's Weſtminſter, an annual clear rent of Eight pounds thirteen ſhillings and four pence; for the maintenance of *Three* Scholars; *Two* to be taken out of the *tenants* ſons of Canterbury cathedral, in Suffolk and Norfolk, where that church has farms and poſſeſſions: and *One* from the county of Lincoln, of the cathedral whereof the Archbiſhop was once Dean (20).

[*N*] *And the Auguſt following, two other Scholarſhips, and two Fellowſhips.*] For that, and other charitable uſes, he payed 320 *l.* to the Mayor and Commonalty of Norwich. In conſideration of which, by their Indenture dated Aug. 6, they granted to the college, an Annuity of Eight pounds, out of the meſſuages, lands, &c. they had, in right of their corporation: For the maintenance of two Fellows called *The Norwich Fellows*; and alſo of two Grammar Scholars, to be ſent out of Norwich, Wymondham, or Aleſham.——He alſo expreſſed his further good will, this year, to his Native city of Norwich, by preſenting, as a new-year's gift, to the Maior, Sheriffs, and citizens, a Baſon and Ewer, whole gilt, weighing 175 ounces (21).

[*O*] *As he had entertained her ſeveral times before.*] Sir John Harrington relates (22), That the Queen uſed 'often to come to his houſe, in reſpect of her favour 'to him, that had been her Mother's Chaplain. Being 'once above the reſt greatly feaſted; at her departing 'from thence, the Archbiſhop and his Wife being together, ſhe gave him very ſpecial thanks, with gratious and honourable termes. And then looking on 'his Wife. "And you (ſaith ſhe) Madam I may not "call you, and Mrs I am aſhamed to call you; ſo as "I know what to call you, but yet I do thank you." Sir John adds, that the Queen 'miſliked marriage in 'Biſhops.'

(19) Idem, p. 253.

(20) Strype, as above, p. 290.

(21) Idem, p. 290, 291.

(22) Briefe View of the State of the Church of England, edit. 1653, p. 4.

[*P*] *And added further Benefactions to his favorite college of Corpus-chriſti.*] He payed 500 *l.* clear money to the Maſter and Fellows, for the encreaſe of the Commons of the Fellows and Scholars. And granted to a Regiſtrary, or Bible Clerk, whom he founded, his whole Commons, with one Chamber among the Norwich Scholars. He gave to that college likewiſe 100 *l.* the produce of which, viz. five pounds *per annum*, was for keeping a fire in the common Hall, yearly, from Novemb. 1, to February the 2d on Sundays, and other times when there was no wonted allowance by the college (23). And, finally, to crown all, he gave them, (beſides many printed Books,) *his choice and invaluable collection of Manuſcripts*, which are preſerved in their little Library to this day (24).

[*Q*] *Wherein he bequeathed his Legacies and Gifts to ſeveral Perſons and Places.*] He gave then, (and before in the year 1571,)——To his College of Corpus-Chriſti, 327 ounces of Plate, and upwards——To Gonvil and Caius college, 97 ounces——To Trinity-hall, 113 ounces, and twenty ſix Books——And to Doctors Commons in London, 70 ounces of Plate.——To the Maior and citizens of Canterbury, 100 *l.* to be lent to poor Tradeſmen. To the Poor of Croidon and Lambeth 30 *l* &c (25).

[*R*] *And was buried with great ſolemnity.*] The particulars of the ceremonial may be ſeen in Mr Strype's Life of our Prelate (26). His bowels being put into an urn were laid in Howard's Chapel in Lambeth church, but his body was interred June 6, in the Chapel belonging to his palace at Lambeth; under an altar-tomb erected by himſelf (27). There it reſted quietly 'till 1648. when Col. Scot, one of the regicides, having got poſſeſſion of part of that palace, and wanting to turn the Chapel into a hall, or dancing room, he cauſed the tomb to be demoliſhed, as ſtanding in the way. The corpſe being dug up was found encloſed in fear-cloth in many doubles in a leaden coffin. Scot opened the fear-cloth to the fleſh, and found the body as freſh as if lately dead, and then privately tumbled it into a hole near an out-houſe where poultry was kept, and ſold the coffin to a plummer. After the Reſtoration, Sir William Dugdale having private notice given him of this inhuman proceeding, acquainted Archbiſhop Juxon with it, in the year 1661, who procured an order from the Houſe of Lords, to examine one Hardy concern'd in the fact: and he diſcovering, after ſome time, where he had laid the body, it was brought into the Chapel, and buried juſt above the Litany-deſk, near the ſteps aſcending to the Altar, on the ſouth ſide of which it formerly lay. The old Monument was again reſtored: a ſhort inſcription was put over his grave (28): and another on a braſs plate affixed to the monument, ſaid to have been compoſed by Archbiſhop Sancroft (29).

(23) Strype, p. 339.

(24) Idem, p. 501, 518, &c.

(25) Strype, as above, p. 337, &c. 521, &c. and Appendix, No. 100.

(26) P. 495, &c.

(27) *Strype*, as above, p. 494, &c.

(28) *Corpus Matthæi Archiepiſcopi hic tandem quieſcit.* Here at length reſts the body of Archbiſhop Matthew.

(29) Strype, as above, p. 498, &c. Aubrey's Hiſtory and Antiquities of Surrey, edit. 1719, Vol. V. p. 275, &c. Vide De Antiq. Britan. Eccleſiæ, edit. S. Drake, pag. penultima.

[*S*] Of

nifest from what hath been said of him in this article. As to his other virtues; he was pious, sober, temperate; modest even to a fault, being upon many occasions over-bashful; unmovable in the distribution of justice; a great patron, and zealous defender, of the Church of England, against the attacks both of Puritans and Papists; in which he acted with great stoutness and resolution, it being his rule *in a good cause to fear no body*; notwithstanding he is for that censured by some, as having too much roughness, and want of courtship *(l)*. Among his other valuable episcopal qualities, he was a frequent Preacher *(m)*; and given to hospitality without profusion or offence; his family and entertainments, though large, being conducted with the utmost decency, elegance, regularity, and sobriety *(n)*. Of his Learning, the several Books published by him are a sufficient evidence [*S*]. Particularly, he was a great lover and preserver of Manuscripts, and other Antiquities; and a hearty encourager, if not the first reviver, of the study of the Saxon tongue in this kingdom. He recovered many books in that language, which would otherwise have been inevitably lost; and some of them were published by himself, or his direction *(o)*. The best Antiquarians in his time *(p)*, had the honor of standing in the number of his most intimate friends and acquaintance.

(*l*) See Strype, p. 504, 524, 525, 527.

(*m*) See Strype.

(*n*) Idem, p. 502, 503.

(*o*) Idem, p. 528—536.

(*p*) Lord Burghley, J. Stow, W. Lambarde, J. Bale, &c. Strype, p. 536, &c.

[*S*] *Of his Learning, the several Books published by him are a sufficient evidence.*] They were as follows. 'I. A Defence of Priests Mariages, Established by the 'Imperial Lawes of the Realm of *England*: Against a 'Civilian naming himself *Thomas Martin*, Dr of the 'Civil Lawes, going about to disprove the said Ma-'riages, lawful by the eternal Word of God, and by the 'High Court of Parliament: Only forbid by foreign 'Lawes, and Canons of the Pope, coloured with a 'Visor of the Church. Which Laws and Canons were 'extinguished by the Parliament, and so abrogated by 'the Convocation in their Synod by their Subscrip-'tions.' Printed in 1562, without his name. II. Ælfric, [Abbot of St Albans about the year 996,] his Saxon Translation of a Latin Homily, intituled, 'A 'Sermon of the Paschal Lamb, and of the Sacramental 'Bodie and Blood of Christ, written in the old Saxon 'Tongue before the Conquest, and appointed in the 'reign of the Saxons to be spoken unto the People at 'Easter, before they should receive the Communion. 'Or, A Testimony of Antiquity, shewing the Antient 'Faith of the Church of England, touching the Sa-'crament of the Body and Blood of the Lord, here 'publickly preached, and also received, in the Saxons 'time, above 700 years ago.' With Two Epistles of Ælfric (30). III. The world is also obliged to him, for the publication of four of our best English Historians; *Matthew of Westminster*, *Matthew Paris*, *Asser's Life of King Ælfred*; and *Thomas Walsingham*. ——*Matthew of Westminster* he published in 1570. fol. under this title, *Flores Historiarum per Matthæum Westmonasteriensem collecti, Præcipuè de rebus Britannicis ab exordio mundi usque ad Annum Domini*, 1307. With a large preface. IV. *Matthew Paris* was published by him in 1571. fol. and intituled, *Matthæi Paris Monachi Albanensis Angli Historia major*. V. And the Life of King Ælfred, by John Asser Bishop of Sherbourne, came out in 1574. intituled, *Alfredi Regis res gestæ ab Asserio Shirburnensi Episcopo conscriptæ*. Printed in Saxon letters, the same as the original manuscript was written in; on purpose to bring gentlemen to the knowledge and study of the Saxon tongue. To which is subjoined, *Historia Brevis Thomæ Walsingham ab Edwardo primo ad Henricum quintum*; with his *Ypodigma Neustriæ vel Normanniæ*. i. e. 'The His-'tory of Thomas Walsingham from Edward I. to 'Henry V. with his Account of Normandy.' VI. It was through his advice and encouragement, that the learned John Foxe published *King Ælfred's Saxon Translation of the Gospels*; and *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, 1571. 4to (31). VII. Another considerable work of his, was, The Lives of his Predecessors Archbishops of Canterbury, intituled, *De Antiquitate Britannicæ Ecclesiæ & Privilegiis Ecclesiæ Cantuariensis, cum Archiepiscopis ejusdem* LXX. London 1572. fol. Tho' London is put in the title-page, it is said to have been printed at Lambeth, where the Archbishop had workmen of all sorts. He caused only a few copies to be printed, which he occasionally distributed amongst his friends. 'Tis very remarkable, that there are hardly any two copies alike (32); and most of them want the account of his own life, he having, out of modesty, caused it to be suppress'd, whilst he lived. Mr Strype has therefore inserted it in the Appendix to our Archbishop's Life.——A wretched Edition of that book was printed again at Hanaw in 1605, full of faults and imperfections. But, a very beautiful and elegant one was at length reprinted at London, in 1729, folio. by Samuel Drake, D. D. Fellow of St John's college, Cambridge; adorn'd with the figures of the several Archbishops monuments, and other Sculptures, exquisitely performed. Some have ascribed this work to John Josceline, our Archbishop's Secretary, or Chaplain, a very learned Antiquarian. But what share Josceline had in it, was only this, That he made collections for it out of ancient Historians: and the digester and compiler of them was the Archbishop himself *. This is undeniable from two Letters of the Archbishop published by Dr Drake (33), and Mr Strype (34); wherein he calls that work, 'My BOOK '*of my Canterbury predecessors*.'——*my small Travels* '——*my pore collection*, &c.' C

(30) Strype, as above, p. 237, 238, 531.

(31) See Strype, p. 530.

(32) S. Drake, Præfat. ad suam editionem.

* See Strype, Life, &c. p. 416, &c.

(33) At the end of his Preface to that book.

(34) Life of our Archbishop, Appendix, No. 89.

PARKER [SAMUEL], Bishop of Oxford in the XVIIth century; a man of some learning, and no contemptible writer, but who lessened his own character by rendring himself too much subservient to the measures of King Charles and King James the Second's Courts; was born at Northampton in September 1640. His father was John Parker, Esq; bred up to the Law; a Sub-committee-man during Oliver's usurpation; afterwards a Serjeant at Law; and appointed in 1659 one of the Barons of the Exchequer [*A*]. Samuel

[*A*] *His father was John Parker, Esq;*] Of him Andrew Marvell gives the following account; which, as the reader will observe, is mixed with a great deal of satire and ill-nature.—'He was bred toward the 'law, and betook himself, as his best practice, to be 'a Sub-committee man; or, as the stile ran, one of 'the Assistant-committee in Northamptonshire. In 'the rapine of that employment, and what he got 'by picking the teeth of his Masters, he sustained 'himself, till he had raked together some little estate. 'And then, being a man for the purpose, and that 'had begun his fortune out of the sequestration of the 'estates of the King's party, he, to perfect it the 'more, proceeded to take away their lives; not in the 'hot and military way, (which diminishes always 'the offence) but in the cooler blood, and sedentary 'execution of an high court of justice. Accordingly, 'he was preferred to be one of that number, that 'gave sentence against the three Lords, *Capel*, *Holland*, and *Hamilton*, who were beheaded. By this 'learning in the law, he became worthy of the de-'gree of a Serjeant, and sometimes to go to the cir-'cuit, till for misdemeanor he was petitioned against. 'But for a taste of his abilities, and the more to re-ingra-'tiate himself, he printed, in the year 1650, a very 'remarkable book, called, *The Government of the People of England, precedent and present the same. Ad subscribentes confirmandum, dubitantes informan-* '*dum,*

Samuel was educated in Grammar-learning in his own native town, Northampton; and being fit for the university, in Midsummer-term, 1656, was admitted into Wadham-college [*B*] in Oxford (*a*). He took there the degree of Bachelor of Arts, February 28, 1659-60 (*b*). But being then a zealous Presbyterian, or Independent, and much discountenanced upon that account by the Warden Dr Blandford, he removed to Trinity-college. Upon the Restoration, he was for a while at a stand, and caballed among the opposers of Episcopal government; 'till being converted by the arguments and prevailing advice of Dr Ralph Bathurst [*C*], senior Fellow of Trinity-college, he became as warm a member of the Church of England as any (*c*). July 9, 1663, he proceeded Master of Arts, as a member of Trinity-college, and a grand compounder (*d*). Entering soon after into Orders, he resorted frequently to London; became Chaplain to a Nobleman; and very free in drolleries and reflections upon his old friends the Puritans. In the year 1665 he was elected Fellow of the Royal Society: and published about the same time some Physico-Theological Essays [*D*], which he dedicated to Dr Sheldon Archbishop of Canterbury. He published also, in 1666, A Free and Impartial Censure of the Platonick Philosophie [*E*]. About Michaelmas 1667, the Archbishop, to whom he had made himself known by

(*a*) Wood Ath. edit. 1721. Vol. II. col. 814.

(*b*) Idem, Fasti, Vol. II. col. 124.

(*c*) Wood, Ath.

(*d*) Idem, Fasti, col. 151.

'dum, opponentes convincendum*: and underneath, '*Multa videntur quæ non sunt; multa sunt quæ non* '*videntur.* Under that engraven two hands joined, 'with the motto, *Ut uniamur*, and beneath a sheaf 'of arrows with this device, *Vis unita fortior*; and 'to conclude, *Concordiâ parvæ res crescunt, discordiâ* '*dilabuntur* (1)'— A. Wood adds, that, 'By virtue 'of a return dated June 21st, 1655, he, by the name 'of John Parker of the Temple, one of the Commissioners for the removing obstructions at Worcester-house in the Strand near London, was the next day 'sworn Serjeant at law, Oliver being then Protector. 'About the 18th of January 1659, he was appointed 'by the Parliament one of the Barons of the court of 'Exchequer, but being soon after removed thence, 'before or at the Restorarion of King Charles the 'Second, we heard no more of him afterwards, only 'that he was again regularly made Serjeant at law, by 'the Lord Chancellor Hyde's recommendation, at the 'first call after the Restoration (2).'

(1) Rehearsal transprosed, Part 2. p. 67. edit. 1674.

(2) Ath. as above, col. 814.

[*B*] *Was admitted into Wadham-college.*] A. Marvell, in the same strain, as above, says, That 'in a 'short time he entered himself into the company of 'some young Students, who were used to fast and 'pray weekly together, but for their refection fed 'sometimes on a broth, from whence they were commonly called *Gruellers*; only it was observed, that 'he was wont still to put more graves than all the rest 'in his porrage. And after that he picked acquaintance, not only with the brotherhood at Wadham-college, but with the sisterhood too at another old 'Elizabeth's, [one Elizabeth Hampton in Halywell, 'an old crooked maid, who followed the trade of a 'laundress, and had frequent meetings in her house 'for the Presbyterian party, especially for those that 'were her customers,] where he trained himself up 'in hearing their sermons and prayers, receiving also 'the sacrament in the house, till he had gained such 'proficience, that he too began to exercise in that 'meeting, and was esteemed one of the pretiousest 'young men in the university (3).' Bishop Burnet observes also, to the same purpose (4), that he 'was a 'violent Independent at the time of the Restoration, 'with a high profession of piety in their way. But 'he soon changed, and struck into the highest form 'of the Church of England; and wrote many books 'with a strain of contempt and fury against the Dissenters, that provoked them out of measure.'

(3) Rehearsal, as above, p. 69. and Wood Ath. col. 814, 815.

(4) Hist. of his own Time, Vol. II. p. 398.

[*C*] *By the arguments and prevailing advice of Dr Ralph Bathurst.*] He makes a thankful acknowledgment of it, in a Dedication to the Doctor, in these words (5).—— 'I will not be so troublesome as to remind you of the retaile of your Obligations, yet 'there is one, whose peculiar matchlesness obliges me 'to as peculiar an acknowledgement. For, *to your* '*prevailing advice, Sir, do I owe my first rescue* '*from the Chains and Fetters of an unhappy Education*, than which 'twas impossible either for you to 'have conferred, or for me to have received a greater benefit, there being no Perfection to be valued 'at so high a Rate as a true Freedome and Ingenuity of mind: 'Tis this, that distinguishes Churches 'from heards. And those men that have laid aside 'the free and impartial use of their Reasons, are just 'as fit for Religion as sheep and oxen, for they differ 'only in this, that the one are brutes without Reason, and the other brutes with it. How could the 'Scythian have sacrificed Rational Beings, had he not 'first sacrificed his Reason; or the Egyptian adored 'irrational Creatures, had not himself been one.'

(5) Epistle Dedicatory to his Free and Impartial Censure of the Platonick Philosophy.

[*D*] *And published about the same time some Physico-Theological Essays.*] They were written in Latin, and published under this title, *Tentamina Physico-Theologica de Deo: sive Theologia Scholastica, ad Normam Novæ & Reformatæ Philosophiæ concinnata.* Lond. 1665, 4to. A great part of them was transmitted afterwards, into another book published by him in 1678, and intituled, *Disputationes de Deo & Providentiâ divinâ.* 1. *An Philosophorum ulli, & quinam Athei fuerint.* 2. *A rerum finibus Deum esse demonstratur.* 3. *Epicuri & Cartesii Hypotheses de Universi Fabricatione evertuntur.* 4. *Mundum neque prorsus infectum, neque necessitate factum; sed solo Opificis consilio extructum fuisse demonstratur.* 5. *A generis humani Ortu, & Corporis humani structurâ, Deum esse demonstratur.* 6. *Contra Scepticorum & Academicorum disciplinam, potissimum Ciceronis de Quæstionibus Academicis libros, & Cartesii Meditationes Metaphysicas disputatur.* Lond. 4to.———The *Tentamina* were attacked, or answered, by N. Fairfax, M. D. in his treatise, *Of the Bulk and Selvedge of the World.* But they were most depreciated by Andrew Marvell (6), who calls them 'a tedious transcript of our author's 'Common-place book, wherein there is very little of 'his own, but the arrogance, and the unparallelled 'censoriousness that he exercises over all other writers; 'beside his undutiful inveighing even then, against the '*vesicles of the earth* for meer bubbles.'—He also finds fault with our author's 'rough and scabbed Latin, and his faults and grammar; to omit his usual 'volume and circumference of periods, which though 'he takes always to be his chiefest strength, yet indeed like too great a line, weakens the defense, and 'requires too many men to make it good.'

(6) Rehearsal, as above, p. 72.

[*E*] *A free and impartial Censure of the Platonick Philosophie.*] This was comprized in a Letter written to his friend Mr Nath. Bisbie. And, shortly after, he published a second letter to the same Gentleman, being 'An Account of the Nature and Extent of the 'divine Dominion and Goodnesse, especially as they 'refer to the Origenian hypothesis concerning the Preexistence of Souls, together with a special Account 'of the vanity and groundlessness of the Hypothesis itself.' Oxon. 1666, 4to. The design of these two Pamphlets, as he says himself (7), is, 'To give an 'account of two Passages in his *Tentamina Physico-* '*Theologica*; The one out of the last chapter of the 'first Book, in which he exclaims against the *Platonick* '*Philosophy*, as an ungrounded and fanatick fancy; 'The other out of the last Chapter of the second 'Book, where disputing against those that assert the 'necessity of the world's *Eternal Existence*, He was 'occasionally obliged, to glance upon the two grand 'Attributes of God's *Dominion* and *Goodness*.'—In the first, he considers the *Platonick Philosophie* in all its parts, of Morality, Logick, Physick, and Natural Theologie. I. As to their *Morality*, he thinks 'it 'may challenge a signal preheminence upon several 'accounts: Namely, 1. In that the Rules and Directions it prescribes are sober and practicable; it 'does not flatter men with romantick degrees of happiness, upon fond and fantastick principles, but 'complies

(7) Account of the Platonick Philosophie, p. 2.

by the Dedication of his Eſſays, appointed him one of his own Chaplains; which put him into the road of great preferment (*e*). He was inſtalled Archdeacon of Canterbury in June 1670, in the room of Dr William Sancroft (*f*): and, the 26th of November following, had the degree of Doctor in Divinity conferred upon him at Cambridge, when William Prince of Orange was entertained there. The 18th of November, 1672, he was inſtalled into one of the Prebends of Canterbury; and was collated alſo by the Archbiſhop, about the ſame time, to the Rectories of Ickham and Chartham in Kent (*g*). Being a man full of ſatirical vivacity, and conſiderably learned (*h*), he wrote, about this time, ſome books, wherein he ſeverely reflected upon the Preſbyterians [*F*]; which engaged

(*e*) Wood Ath. col. 815.

(*f*) Somner's Antiq. of Canterbury with Battely's Addit. edit. 1703, Part ii. p. 160.

(*g*) Wood Ath. col. 815.

(*h*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own time, edit. 1753, 8vo. Vol. I. p. 365.

'complies with the conditions of *human life*, and 'neither promiſes nor deſignes greater proportions of 'felicity, than our preſent capacities will allow of. 'A 2d thing for which the Platoniſts were valuable 'above all other Philoſophers, is the innocent Gayety 'and Pleaſantneſs of their humours. For, both in 'their principles and lives, there was nothing but 'what was calm and chearful. The 3d good quality of the Platoniſts, was their valuing *Good-nature* 'at ſo high a rate, which, though it be a conſtitution 'no leſs virtuous and excellent, than 'tis charming and 'amiable, yet the eſtimate they ſet upon it was proportionable to its real value. Whence reſulted that 'exceeding delight they took in the Society of ingenious and ſweet-natured young gentlemen, upon 'which ſcore they profeſt themſelves as great votaries 'to the *Celeſtial Venus*, as common mortals are to the '*Earthly one*, for their Amours were not kindled by 'luſt and petulency, (they being profeſſedly the moſt 'generous contemners of Women in the World) but 'were pure and cleanly enough to become Angels 'and ſeparated ſouls, *Plato*'s love laws forbidding to 'court any other objects than abſtracted and intellectual beauties. A 4th preheminence of the Platoniſts, 'is their readineſs and ability in the ſmaller morals, 'by which he means their ſkill in all the *Arts of behaviour and converſation*.'

II. His cenſure of their *Logick*, is, 'That as Plato's manner of arguing is more ſuccinct than the tedious way of ſyllogiſing, ſo 'tis not leſs ſure and evident; for what diſcourſe can proceed with greater 'evidence and conviction, than after you have explained the terms of the queſtion, and agreed with 'your adverſary about the matter debated of, to propoſe to him ſome principles ſo clear and palpable, 'that they ſhall either preſuppoſe or enforce his aſſent, 'and from thence to lead him by *induction* through 'a ſeries of propoſitions depending upon, and orderly 'deduced from, your firſt *proleptick principles*; till he 'is fairly brought, or unawares betrayed into an 'unavoidable neceſſity of aſſenting to the truth you 'aſſert.' Which is the method that Plato pretends to. But he obſerves, That Plato's reaſonings either bottome upon uncertain and inevident principles; or elſe are circular.

III. With regard to Plato's *Natural Philoſophie*. It 'will, ſaith he, be ſufficiently diſplay'd and 'diſparaged too, by telling you, that in its main 'ſtrokes it accords with the *Ariſtotelean Philoſophie*;' a parallel between them hath been aſſerted and demonſtrated by ſeveral Authors, and the retail of inſtances may be ſeen in them. But 'in groſs they agree 'in one principle, by which alone they ſolve all the 'appearances and productions of Nature. For, as 'Ariſtotle reſolves all *phænomena* into his *Forms*, 'which he ſtarts from the boſome of *Matter*; ſo 'Plato ſolves all by the *Soul of the Univerſe* and '*Ideas*, which in Greek are all one with *Forms*.'

IV. Next, he comes to the *Platonick Theologie*, which he divides into *Speculative* and *Practical*. And under the *Speculative*, he cenſures, 1. Their way of reſolving knowledge into 'its *firſt and fundamental* '*Principles*; that is, their ſuppoſing, that the Truth 'of all Beings conſiſts in a conformity to their *Archetypal* Ideas. 2. Their ſerious endeavouring to 'know and define the notions of *abſtracted Eſſences*; 'and deſpiſing all ſenſible Knowledge. 3. Their affecting a myſterious *obſcurity* and *abſtruſeneſs*, thereby to render their notions more ſolemn and venerable. 4. His next accuſation is, that, inſtead of 'pure and genuine Reaſon, they abound ſo much 'with gaudy and extravagant *Phancies*, with rampant '*Metaphors* and pompous *Allegories*. 5. Another 'Miſcarriage, is, that they employ much of their 'contemplations in things altogether uncertain and 'unſearchable.'—But when he comes to conſider the *Practical* Theologie of the Platoniſts, he repreſents it in the moſt amiable light. 'Its main deſign, 'ſaith he, is to perfect and dignifie human Nature, ''tis conſonant to our natural Reaſons, complies with 'our natural Neceſſities, relieves our natural Wants. 'It conſiſts in living up to our Faculties, and acting 'as becomes Rational Beings; in clearing the Soul 'from prejudices and prepoſſeſſions, and purſuing 'Truth with an honeſt and impartial Simplicity: 'in following the conduct of Reaſon, and being confident in its guidance, ſeeing the condition of him 'that does ſo is as ſecure, as 'tis certain that *Infinite Goodneſs* cannot be angry with him, that has endeavoured with all faithfulneſs and diligence to know 'and do his duty. It reſides in the mind and ſpirit, 'not in Cuſtomes and bare Ceremonies.—It produces 'a ſweet and gracious Temper of mind, that cauſes 'an univerſal benevolence and kindneſs to mankind. 'It makes us affable, humble, courteous, charitable, 'moderate, prudent, unpaſſionate. It conſiſts of love, 'candour, ingenuity, clemency, patience, mildneſs, 'and all other inſtances of good nature. It deteſts 'nothing more than a peeviſh, froward, moroſe, uncivil, paſſionate, furious, talkative, fanatick zeal. 'It begets a true Liberty and Freedome of ſpirit. It 'exempts us from all effeminate fears and ſcruples, and 'begets the greateſt ſerenity and chearfulneſs of mind. 'It inſtructs us to dread no evil from God, but to look 'upon Him as an infinitely gracious and benigne Being, that deſigns nothing more than the happineſs 'and perfection of his creatures,' &c. (8) with much more to the ſame excellent purpoſe. Towards the end, He diſproves 'The ſuppoſed Agreement between Moſes and Plato:' and concludes with An Account of the Platonick *Trias*, or Trinity.

(8) P. 48, 49.

In his annexed 'Account of the Nature and Extent 'of the Divine Dominion and Goodneſſe.' &c. he hath ſome paſſages, which were ſoon after confuted by the excellent Author of '*Deus Juſtificatus*: or, The 'divine Goodneſs vindicated and cleared, againſt the 'Aſſertors of Abſolute and Inconditionate Reprobation (9).' The firſt is, 'that the Divine Right and 'Dominion over the creatures, could not be founded upon the benefits of Creation, but upon the *abſolute unlimitedneſs of his Power*, becauſe God was 'from all eternity inveſted with a Power of doing 'any thing that was not miſbecoming his divine Perfections, and therefore He acquired not any new 'Right from his Creation, but only made objects to 'exerciſe his eternal Right upon (10).'—The ſecond paſſage reflected upon, is, that 'the Idea of God 'conſiſts mainly in Dominion and Sovereignty; the 'notion of him in Scripture never refers to his Eſſence, 'but always to his Power and Empire; and the names by 'which he is there expreſſed do not ſo much denote his 'Nature, as his ſupream and almighty Prerogative (11).'

(9) Lond. 1668, 8vo.

(10) P. 22.

(11) P. 25.

[*F*] *He wrote about this time ſome books wherein he ſeverely reflected upon the Preſbyterians.*] They were the following ones. I. 'A Diſcourſe of Eccleſiaſtical Polity, wherein the Authority of the Civil Magiſtrate over the Conſciences of Subjects in matters 'of external Religion is aſſerted.'

An Anſwer was written to it, intituled, *Inſolence and Impudence triumphant: Envy and Fury enthron'd: the Mirror of Malice and Madneſs, in a late Treatiſe entituled,* A Diſcourſe of Eccleſiaſtical Polity, &c. *or the lively Portraicture of S. P. limn'd and drawn by his own hands, &c. being in ſhort a Collection of ſome of his intemperate Revilings and prophane Satyrs, &c.* Lond. 1669. Dr Owen publiſhed alſo an Anſwer to it, bearing this title, *Truth and Innocence vindicated; in a Survey of* a Diſcourſe concerning Eccleſiaſtical Polity, &c. Lond. 1669, 8vo. Whereupon Dr Parker publiſhed, II. 'A Defence and Continuation of Eccleſiaſtical

gaged him in a sharp contest with Andrew Marvell. In 1681, he published, A Demonstration of the divine Authority of the Law of Nature, and of the Christian Religion [*G*]: and some other pieces, in this year [*H*], and in the years 1683, 1684, 1685 [*I*]. In the

'clesiastical Politie (against Dr Owen) Together with 'a Letter from the Author of *The Friendly Debate*.' [Dr Patrick] Lond. 1671, 8vo. His other pieces wherein he reflected upon the Presbyterians, were, III. 'Toleration discussed, in two Dialogues.' Lond. 1670, 4to. IV. 'A Discourse in vindication of Bishop *John Bramhall* and the Clergy of the Church of England, from the Fanatic Charge of Popery: together with some Reflections upon the present State of Affairs, &c.' This was published by way of Preface to Archbishop *Bramhall's Vindication of himself and the Episcopal Clergy from the Presbyterian Charge of Popery, as it is managed by Mr* Baxter, *in his Treatise* of the Grotian Religion. Lond. 1672, 8vo. This Discourse, or Preface, was reprinted by itself in 1673, 8vo. There is in it a great deal of raillery against Dr John Owen's doctrine and writings; especially against some passages of his book of *Evangelical Love, Church peace*, &c. and much said in defence of that sharper way, which he [Dr Parker] took in his former Answer to the Doctor, and somewhat against *Baxter's Grotian Religion discovered*. The Nonconformists finding themselves extremely galled, and looking upon Dr Parker as a forward, proud, ambitious, and scornful person (to use A. Wood's expressions) their buffooning champion, *Andrew Marvell*, took him to task, on purpose to clip his wings. He published, therefore, a book, written in imitation of the Duke of Buckingham's Rehearsal transpos'd; and intituled, *The Rehearsal Transprosed: or, Animadversions upon a late Book, entitled,* a Preface, shewing what Grounds there are of fears and jealousies of Popery. 1672, 8vo. wherein he styles the Doctor all along Mr Bayes. V. Dr Parker published an Answer to it, which he named, 'A Reproof to the Rehearsal transpros'd, in a Discourse to its Author.' Lond. 1673, 8vo. And five more Answers were published by others (12). Mr Marvell replied in, *The Rehearsal transpros'd. The Second Part. Occasioned by two Letters: The first printed by a nameless author, intituled,* A Reproof, &c. *The second Letter left for me at a Friend's House, dated Nov.* 3, 1673, *subscribed* J. G. &c. Lond. 1673. 8vo. Dr Parker did not reply again.—Mr A. Wood's Remarks, upon that occasion, deserve to have a place here (13). 'The Reader, saith he, is to note, that this Pen-combat exercised between our Author and *Marvell*, was briskly managed with as much smart, cutting, and satyrical wit on both sides, as any other perhaps of late hath been, they endeavouring by all the methods imaginable, and the utmost forces they could by any means rally up, to blacken each other's cause, and to set each other out in the most ugly dress: their pieces in the mean while, wherein was represented a perfect trial of each other's skill and parts in a jerking, flirting way of writing, entertaining the Reader with a great variety of sport and mirth, in seeing two such right cocks of the game so keenly engaging with sharp and dangerous weapons. And it was generally thought, nay, even by many of those who were otherwise favourers of *Parker*'s cause, that he (*Parker*) thro' a too loose and unwary handling of the Debate (tho' in a brave, flourishing and lofty stile) laid himself too open to the severe strokes of his sneering Adversary, and that the odds and victory lay on *Marvell*'s side: Howsoever it was, it wrought this good effect upon our Author, that for ever after it took down somewhat of his high Spirit, insomuch that tho' *Marvell* in a second part replied upon our Author's *Reproof*, yet he judged it more prudent rather to lay down the cudgels, than to enter the lists again with an untowardly combatant so hugely well vers'd and experienc'd in the then but newly, refin'd Art (tho' much in mode and fashion almost ever since) of sportive and jeering buffoonry. And moreover it put him upon a more serious, sober, and moderate way of writing in other good Treatises, which he since did set forth, and which have proved very useful and beneficial to the publick'—Bishop Burnet speaks much to the same purpose (14).—'The most virulent of all that writ against the Sects was *Parker*. . . . After he had for some years entertained the Nation with several virulent books, writ with much life, he was attacked by the liveliest droll of the age, who writ in a burlesque strain, but with so peculiar and so entertaining a conduct, that, from the King down to the tradesman, his books were read with great pleasure. That not only humbled Parker, but the whole party: For the author of the Rehearsal Transprosed had all the men of wit (or, as the French phrase it, all the Laughers,) on his side.'

(12) See Wood Ath. Vol. II. col. 817.

(13) Athen. col. 818.

(14) Hist. of his own Time, ubi supra.

Burnet observes elsewhere (15), that King Charles the Second, 'being so true judge of wit, could not but be much taken with the best satyr of the time; and saw that *Bays*'s wit, when measured with another's, was of a piece with his virtues, and therefore judged in favour of the *Rehearsal Transprosed:* this went deep, and gave occasion to the single piece of modesty, with which he [Dr Parker] can be charged, of withdrawing from the Town, and not importuning the press for some years, since even a face of brass must grow red, when it is so burnt, as his was then.' But the wit of it is now lost.——To return; VI. Another book published by our Author, about this time, against the Presbyterians, was, 'A free and impartial Enquiry into the causes of that very great Esteem and Honour the Nonconformist Ministers are in with their Followers.' Lond. 1673, 8vo.

(15) Enquiry into the Reasons for abrogating the Test, &c. p. 2.

[*G*] *In* 1681, *he published, A Demonstration of the divine Authority of the Law of Nature, &c.*] He says, in the Preface, that 'this Treatise was written in pursuance of a former in the Latine tongue;' viz. his *Tentamina Physico-theologica*, &c. The chief Adversary he opposes, is T. Hobbs: And, in the course of the work, he gives an account of the Platonick and Peripatetick Morality, out of Tully (16); reconciles Josephus and St Luke about the Tax of Cyrenius, and the death of Herod Agrippa; vindicates the famous testimony of Josephus concerning our Saviour, from the exceptions of Tanaquil Faber, and other Criticks; asserts the testimony of Phlegon concerning the Eclipse at the Passion; clears Pontius Pilate his Narrative concerning our Saviour to Tiberius, and Tiberius his opinion of it; and endeavours to prove the story of Agbarus genuine (17).

(16) P. 139, &c.

(17) P. 215, &c.

[*H*] *And some other pieces in this year, &c.*] He published, in 1681, 'The Case of the Church of England briefly stated, in the three first and fundamental Principles of a Christian Church. 1. The Obligation of Christianity by divine Right. 2. The Jurisdiction of the Church by divine Right. 3. The Institution of Episcopal Superiority by divine Right'. Lond. 8vo.

[*I*] *And in the years* 1683, 1684, 1685.] In 1683, he published, 'An Account of the Government of the Christian Church in the first six hundred years. Particularly shewing, 1. The Apostolical Practice of diocesan and metropolitical Episcopacy. 2. The Usurpation of Patriarchal and Papal Authority. 3. The War of two hundred years between the Bishops of Rome and Constantinople, of universal supremacy.' Lond. 8vo.—— In 1684, he published, 'Religion and Loyalty: or, a Demonstration of the Power of the Christian Church within itself. The Supremacy of Sovereign powers over it. The Duty of Passive Obedience, or Non-resistance, to all their Commands. Exemplified out of the Records of the Church and the Empire, from the Beginning of Christianity, to the end of the reign of Julian.' ——And in 1685. 'Religion and Loyalty. The second Part. Or the History of the concurrence of the Imperial and Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction in the Government of the Church, from the beginning of the reign of Jovian to the end of the reign of Justinian' Lond. 8vo. The first part is dedicated to King Charles the Second, under the title of, 'An Address to his Majesty from the primitive Church;' and begins thus: 'The whole Christian World being both alarm'd and amazed at the late barbarous Conspiracy against the sacred Lives of Your Majesty, and Your Royal Brother (18): And Your Majesty having upon that occasion been over-whelm'd with numberless Addresses

(18) The Plot called The Protestant Plot, in 1683.

the beginning of the year 1685, he resigned his Prebend of Canterbury in behalf of his friend Dr John Bradford *(i)*. To his great mortification, he had obtained no additional preferment, or promotion, since the year 1672 *(k)*. But King James the Second, to whom he had rendred himself very acceptable, nominated him to the Bishopric of Oxford, vacant by the death of the excellent Dr Fell: and he was accordingly consecrated at Lambeth, October 17, 1686 *(l)*; being allowed to hold with it the Archdeaconry of Canterbury in commendam *(m)*. He had shewed himself all along too complaisant and obsequious to the Court, but this high dignity entirely gained him over, and made him ready even to sacrifice his religion to his ambition [*K*]. However, to reward his obsequiousness, he was not only made a Privy-Counsellor *(n)*, but also by a royal mandamus was constituted President of the rich college of St Mary Magdalen in Oxford [*L*]. Notwithstanding

(i) Wood, Ath. col. 815.

(k) See Burnet's Enquiry into the Reasons for abrogating the Test, &c. p. 2.

(l) Gazettes, No. 2182.

(m) Wood Ath. as above.

(n) Rapin's Hist. Vol. II. fol. edit.

'dresses and Protestations of Loyalty from your dutiful Subjects of the Church of England: I thought it not improper or unseasonable to consult the Records of the best and purest times of our Religion for precedents of this loyal Practice, and after an accurate, diligent, and impartial Enquiry, I dare in their names declare to Your Majesty and all the Christian world, their infinite abhorrence of all Treasonable and Rebellious Attempts against all Sovereign Powers whatsoever, as the rankest contradiction to their Christian Faith, and the boldest Blasphemy against their own Sovereign Lord. So that though your Majesty were as much an Enemy as you are a Patron and Protector of the Church, whoever shall at any time, or upon any pretence, offer any Resistance to any of Your Royal commands, must for-ever renounce his Saviour, the four Evangelists, and the Twelve Apostles, to join with Mahomet, Hildebrand, and the Kirk, set up the pigeon against the dove, the scimeter against the cross, and turn a Judas to his Saviour, as well as a Cromwell to his Prince'—— In Part the Second, there is (what one would not look for in such a work) a long and elaborate Proof of the Spuriousness of *Procopius's Anecdota*, or Secret History (19).—It was upon occasion of these Books that Bishop Burnet makes the following reflections (20) 'He [Dr Parker] had exalted the King's Authority in matters of Religion in so indecent a manner, that he condemned the ordinary form of saying the King was under God and Christ, as a crude and profane expression; saying, that though the King was indeed under God, yet he was not under Christ, but above him. Yet not being preferred as he expected, he writ after that many books, on design to raise the authority of the Church to an independence on the civil power.'

(19) From page 426. to the end.

(20) Hist. of his own Time, Vol. II. p. 398.

[*K*] *And made him ready even to sacrifice his religion to his ambition.*] This we have attested in two Letters written about that time. In the first, sent from a Jesuit of Liege to a Jesuit of Fribourg, and dated 2 Feb. 1688, N. S. is this passage.... 'The *Bishop of Oxford* himself seems to be a great favourer of the Catholick Faith; he proposed in council, whether it was not expedient, that one College at least in Oxford should be allowed the Catholicks, that they might not be forced to be at so much charges, in going beyond sea to study? but it is not yet known what answer was made. The same Bishop having invited two of our Noblemen, [i. e. Roman Catholicks] with others of the Nobility, to a feast, drank the King's health to a certain heretical Lord there, wishing his Majesty good success in all his undertakings Adding also, that the Religion of the Protestants in England, did not seem to him in a better condition, than Buda was before it was taken; and that they were next to Atheists that defended that Faith.'—— In the other letter, which is from the Jesuit Father *Edward Petre*, a privy counsellor to King James, directed to Father *La Chaise*, and dated Feb. 9 are these words.... 'The *Bishop of Oxford* has not yet declar'd himself openly; the great obstacle is his wife, whom he cannot rid himself of: His design being to continue Bishop, and only change communion; as it is not doubted but the King will permit, and our Holy Father confirm: tho' I do not see how he can be farther useful to us in the Religion he is in, because he is suspected, and of no esteem among the Hereticks of the English Church; nor do I see that the Example of his Conversion is like to draw many others after him, because he declar'd himself so suddenly If he had believed my counsel, which was to temporize for some longer time, he would have done better; but it is his Temper, or rather Zeal, that hurried him on' These two Letters were first printed in 'A Third Collection of Papers relating to the present Juncture of Affairs in England, &c.' (21) and the first of them hath been inserted afterwards in Echard's, and in Rapin's Life of King James the Second, and other Lives of that Prince.

(21) Lond. 1689, 4to. p. 10, &c.

[*L*] *But also by a royal mandamus was constituted President of St Mary Magdalen college in Oxford*] There is an excellent account of that whole transaction, in a pamphlet printed in 1688, 4to. and intituled, 'An impartial Relation of the whole Proceedings against St Mary Magdalen college in Oxon, in the year of our Lord 1687; containing only matters of fact as they occurred.' The substance of which is as follows: Dr Henry Clark President of that college dying on or about the 31st of March 1687, the Vice-President called, on that day, a meeting of the Fellows in the Chapel, in order to appoint a day for the election of a new President; and the 13th of April was then unanimously agreed on, with power to prorogue the election to the 15th as they should see cause, beyond which time it was not in their power to defer the same. Accordingly, a citation, or præmonition, was fixed upon the Chapel-door of the college, signifying the day, and summoning all the absent Fellows to repair home to the ensuing election, as their statutes directed. The Court hearing of this vacancy, and wanting to make that noble college a seminary for Jesuits (22), issued, on the 15th of April, a mandate to the Fellows, requiring them forthwith to elect and admit one Anthony Farmer M. A. President of their college. The Fellows hearing of that mandate, drew up a petition to the King, April 9, wherein they represented to his Majesty, That the said Mr Farmer was a person in several respects uncapable of being their President, according to their founder's statutes: and earnestly besought his Majesty, either to leave them to the discharge of their duty, and consciences, according to his late gracious Toleration, and their founder's statutes; or to recommend such a person who might be more serviceable to him, and the college. But the King's Answer was, That he expected to be obeyed. The mandate being delivered to the Fellows, April 11, by Rob. Charnock, one of their own body (the same that was afterwards executed for being in a plot against King William) they did not comply with it; Mr Farmer being unqualified for the Presidentship, as he had never been Fellow of that college, nor of New-college, in which are the only persons capable of being chosen by their statutes; and moreover, being a man of an infamous character. Therefore, April 15, the utmost time they could defer the Election according to their statutes, they proceeded to a regular election, and chose for their President John Hough, B. D. a Fellow of their college; the same who was afterwards the most worthy Bishop of Oxford, of Lichfield and Coventry, and lastly of Worcester. The Court highly incens'd at this proceeding, cited, on the 28th of May, the Vice-President and Fellows, to appear before the Privy Council at Whitehall the 6th of June following At which time their Answer and Reasons not being allowed, Mr Hough's election was declared void, and he was removed from the Presidentship the 22d of June. But, on the 27th of the same month, the Fellows presented to the Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Affairs, such convincing reasons why they elected not Farmer, and such strong certificates of his repeated and avowed Immoralities, that even the Court grew quite ashamed of him, and dropt him.—They set up next

(22) 'I have gain'd a very great point, in persuading the King to place our Fathers in Magdalen college in Oxon, &c. Father Petre's Letter, as above, p. 18.

withstanding which, he became so contemptible, and his authority in his diocese was so very insignificant, that when he assembled his Clergy, and desired them to subscribe an Address of Thanks to the King, for his *Declaration for Liberty of Conscience*, they all unanimously refused (*o*). The last effort he made to serve the Court, was, his publishing 'Reasons for abrogating the Test [*M*].' But, full of shame and vexation at seeing his ill-laid

(*o*) Complete History of England, Vol. III. edit. 1719, p. 490. note (c).—Burnet says, 'that he got but 'one single Clergyman to concur with him 'in it.' Hist. of his own Time, Vol. II. p. 426.

next Bishop *Parker* for the Presidentship, and sent this Mandate to the Fellows. "*James Rex.* Trusty and "well-beloved, We greet you well: Whereas the "place of President of our college of St Mary Mag-"dalen is now void, our will and pleasure is, That "we do hereby authorize and require you forthwith, "upon receipt hereof, to admit the Right Reverend "Father in God *Samuel* Lord Bishop *Oxon*, into the "said place of President, to hold and enjoy the same, "with all the rights, &c. thereunto belonging, any "statute or statutes, custom or constitution to the "contrary, in any wise, notwithstanding, wherewith "we are graciously pleased, and do accordingly here-"by *Dispense* in his behalf: And so, expecting your "ready Obedience herein, we bid you farewell."—Dated Aug. 14th, 1687.——The Bishop thereupon wrote a Letter to the senior Fellow of the college; wherein he says, - - - - - 'I am indisposed, as I have 'been for some time, and not in a condition as yet to 'travel; and therefore my request to you is, That 'upon receipt of the King's pleasure, you would do 'me the favour to admit me by proxy, (i. e.) ei-'ther the next senior Fellow under yourself, resident, 'or either of my Chaplains, Mr William Wickins, or 'Mr Thomas Collins, whom I depute in my stead, 'which is as valid in law, as if I were present myself; 'and is the most usual and customary practice.' But the Fellows desired to be excused from obeying that mandate; as carrying in it a breach of their Founder's statutes, and a deliberate perjuring of themselves.—The King being on his progress, shortly after, and coming to Oxford, sent an order to the Fellows to attend him, Septemb. 4, at Christ-church; where this very *unkingly* Dialogue passed between him and them. '*King.* What's your name, are you Dr *Pud-'sey? Dr P.* Yes, may it please your Majesty. *K.* 'Did you receive my letter? *Dr P.* Yes, Sir, we 'did. *K.* Then you have not dealt with me like 'Gentlemen, you have done very uncivilly by me 'and undutifully. . . . Here they all kneeled, and Dr 'Pudsey offered a petition, which his Majesty refused 'to receive: And said, *K.* Ye have been a stubborn 'turbulent college, I have known you to be so these '26 years: You have affronted me in this. Is this 'your Church of England Loyalty? One would won-'der to find so many Church-of-England-men in such 'a business. Go home, and shew yourselves good 'members of the Church of England. Get you gone; 'know I am your King, I will be obey'd; and I 'command you to be gone: Go, and admit the Bi-'shop of *Oxon* Head, Principal; What d'ye call it—'of the college.' (One that stood by, said President) 'I mean President of the college. Let them that re-'fuse it look to it; they shall feel the weight of their 'Sovereign's displeasure.—The Fellows going out of 'the lodgings were call'd back.—*K.* I hear you have 'admitted a Fellow of the college, since you receiv'd 'my Inhibition, &c.—*After some discourse upon that* head; *he went on thus.*—'Get you gone home, I 'say again; go, get you gone, and immediately re-'pair to your Chapel, and elect the Bishop of *Oxon*, 'or else you must expect to feel the weight of my 'hand.—The Fellows offered again their petition on 'their knees.—*K.* Get you gone, I will receive no-'thing from you, till you have obey'd me, and ad-'mitted the Bishop of *Oxon*.——Upon which they 'went immediately to their chapel, Dr Pudsey pro-'posing whether they would obey the King, and elect 'the Bishop of *Oxon*? They answered in their turns, 'They were as ready to obey his Majesty in all things 'that lay in their power, as any of the rest of his 'subjects: But the electing the Bishop of *Oxon*, be-'ing directly contrary to their statutes, and the posi-'tive oaths they had taken, they could not apprehend 'it in their power to obey Him in this matter.'—The King, unable to get his will that way, ordered a Royal Visitation of Magdalen college; which began Octob. 21. And, in the course of it, on the 25th Mr Wickins, as proxy for Bishop Parker, was installed in the chapel. Immediately after which, the Commissioners conducted him to the President's lodgings, where knocking three times, and the door not being opened, they return'd to the common room, and commission'd one of the King's messengers, and a tipstaff, to fetch a smith to force it open, which was done in the Commissioners presence.— The issue of the whole is well known; namely, the Deprivation, or Suspension, of almost all the members of the college.

[*M*] *Reasons for abrogating the Test.*] This book was licensed by the Earl of Sunderland, Secretary of State, Decemb. 10, 1687, and was published the 16th of the same month. The whole title of it, is, 'Reasons for abrogating the Test, imposed upon all Mem-'bers of Parliament Anno 1678, Octob. 30, in these 'words: I A. B. do solemnly and sincerely, in the 'presence of God, profess, testifie, and declare, That 'I do believe that in the Sacrament of the Lord's 'Supper there is not any Transubstantiation of the 'Elements of Bread and Wine into the Body and 'Blood of Christ, at, or after the Consecration there-'of by any person whatsoever: And that the Invo-'cation or Adoration of the Virgin Mary, or any 'other Saint, and the Sacrifice of the Mass, as they 'are now used in the Church of Rome, are supersti-'tious and idolatrous. First written for the Author's 'own satisfaction; and now published for the bene-'fit of all others whom it may concern.' Lond. 1688, 4to. Now the Reasons he gives why the Test ought to be repealed, are, 1. 'Because it doth 'not only diminish, but utterly destroy the natural '*Rights* of *Peerage*, and turns the *Birthright* of 'the English *Nobility* into a *precarious* Title: So 'that what was in all former ages only forfeited by '*Treason*, is now at the mercy of every *Faction* or 'every *Passion* in Parliament. 2. Because of its dis-'honourable *Birth* and *Original*; it being the first-'born of *Oats*'s plot, and brought forth on purpose 'to give *credit* and reputation to the *Perjury*. 3. Be-'cause of the *incompetent Authority* by which the law 'was enacted: It is a law of an *Ecclesiastical* nature, 'made without the authority of the *Church*, contrary 'to the practice of the Christian world in all ages, 'and indeed to our Saviour's own commission, who 'settled all power of government, and especially the '*Legislative* (which is the highest act of it) upon the 'officers of his own kingdom; so that for any other 'Order of Men, to assume the exercise of any such 'Authority to themselves, is no less than to depose 'him from his throne, by *disowning*; *neglecting*, and '*affronting* his commission to his *Catholick Church*. 4. 'Because of the *Uncertainty* and *Falshood* of the mat-'ters contained in the Declaration itself; as First, '*That there is no Transubstantiation in the Sacrament* '*of our Saviour's Body and Blood.* And secondly, '*That the Invocation of Saints and the Mother of God* '*is Idolatry.*——Now, (adds he) to oblige the whole 'Nobility of a Nation to swear to the Truth of such '*abstruse* and *uncertain* Propositions, which they nei-'ther *do*, nor *can*, nor indeed OUGHT, to understand; 'and this upon penalty of forfeiting the privileges of 'their *Birth right*, is such a monstrous and inhumane 'piece of Barbarity as could never have enter'd into 'the thoughts of any man, but the *infamous Author* 'of it, neither into his (as malicious as his nature 'was) but in his fierce pursuit of Princely blood; 'for that was the only design of all his actions after 'the starting of the *Otesian* villainy (of which this 'test was the first Sacrament) to pursue and hunt down 'the Heir of the Crown; which all the world knows, 'and is now satisfied, he sought by numberless Per-'juries, tho' by nothing more than this Test, by 'which he stript his *Royal Highness* of the guards of 'his most faithful friends; and when he was left 'alone, it was an easy matter to come to his person, 'and in him to the *Monarchy*; so that the very next 'thing that followed immediately upon it, was the '*black Bill* of *Exclusion*.'——The design of the rest of the Book, is to endeavour to palliate, varnish over, or represent in false colours, the most absurd, senseless and irrational doctrine of *Transubstantiation*; and to

ill-laid projects unsuccessful, and being undoubtedly self-condemned for his apostacy; he dyed, with a broken heart, at the President's lodgings in Magdalen-college, March the 20th, 1687-8, and was buried, on the 24th of the same month, in the outer chapel of the college (*p*). Mr Collier says (*q*), that our author 'was very considerable for his parts and learning, and had a very good pen.' But others do not give him so favourable a character. 'He was, says one (*r*), a man of no judgment, and of as little virtue, and as to religion rather impious. He was covetous and ambitious; and seemed to have no other sense of religion but as a political interest, and a subject of party and faction. He seldom came to prayers, or to any exercises of devotion; and was so lifted up with pride, that he was become insufferable to all that came near him. There was an entertaining livelines in all his books: but it was neither grave nor correct.' *Parker*, says another author (*s*), 'has but few readers at this day, being a high-flown affected writer, entirely devoted to the Court, and scarce notable for any thing besides smart satyrical expressions.' When King James the Second ascended the throne, he was one of the Romish mercenaries, and prostituted his pen in the defence of Transubstantiation, and the Worship of Saints and Images; in which cause having but ill success, and falling into contempt with all good men, trouble of mind threw him into a distemper, of which he soon died unlamented.' He left a son named *Samuel*, who was a learned and ingenious man, and a writer [*N*].

(*p*) Wood, Ath. as above, col. 820.

(*q*) Supplement to his Great Historical Dictionary.

(*r*) Burnet's History, as above, Vol. I. p. 365. and Vol. II. p. 399.

(*s*) Dr Nicholls Defence of the Church of England, edit. 1715, 8vo. p. 169.

to impose upon the Reader, by boldly affirming, 'That the ancient Fathers, from age to age asserted the *real* and *substantial* presence in very high and expressive terms (23);' and, That Christian writers since, and even the Protestants, have plainly asserted and maintained the same Doctrine; which is well known to be false in general.—He likewise takes great pains to excuse, and explain away, the shameful Idolatry practised in the Church of Rome. And, in the conclusion, he gives it as his opinion, 'That Idolatry made the Plot, and that the Plot made Idolatry, and that the same Persons made both (24).'—Several Answers were made to this extravagant piece: and, among the rest, these following. 1. 'An Enquiry into the Reasons for Abrogating the Test imposed on all members of Parliament, offered by *Sa. Oxon*.' By G. Burnet D. D. Lond. 1688, 4to. Dr Burnet gives us the reasons why he engaged in this answer (25). 'This [Bishop *Parker*'s book against the Tests] raised such a disgust at him, even in those that had been formerly but too much influenced by him, that, when he could not help seeing that, he sunk upon it. I was desired to answer his book with the severity that he deserved: And I did it with an acrimony of stile, that nothing but such a time, and such a man, could in any sort excuse.' 2. 'An Answer to the Bishop of Oxford's Reasons for abrogating the Test, &c. by a Person of Quality;' was also published in 1688, 4to. 3. And Another Answer written by *John Philips*, nephew to Milton the poet, and intituled, 'Samuel, Lord Bishop of Oxford his celebrated Reasons for abrogating the Test, and Notions of Idolatry, answered by Samuel, Archdeacon of Canterbury.' 4. Also another, which had this title, 'The Reasonableness of the Church of England's Test and Justness of her Reformation asserted, in answer to the Bishop of *Oxon's* fallacious Reasons, and precarious assertions against it.' &c. 5. Mr *Goodwin*, a Dissenting Teacher, answered part of it, in a treatise, wherein he proved, that 'Transubstantiation *was* a peculiar Article of the Roman Catholick Faith, which was never owned by the antient Church, or any of the Reformed.' 6. As did likewise Mr *Wake*, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, in 'A Discourse concerning the Nature of Idolatry, in which a late Author's true and only notion of Idolatry is considered and censured.'

(23) P. 13.

(24) P. 135.

(25) Hist. of his own Time, as above, Vol. II. p. 461.

Besides all the Books abovementioned, Bishop Parker wrote, 'A Discourse sent to the late King *James*, to persuade him to embrace the Protestant Religion; with a Letter to the same purpose.' Published in 1690, 4to. Part of it is inserted among Sir Leoline Jenkins's Letters (26). Likewise he left in manuscript, a History of his own Time, which was published in 1726, 8vo, with this title, *Reverendi admodum in Christo Patris* Samuelis Parkeri, *Episcopi non ita pridem* Oxoniensis *de rebus sui temporis Commmmentariorum Libri quatuor, e Codice manuscripto ipsius Authoris manu castigato nunc primum in lucem editi*. Two English translations of it were soon after published, one of which was done by the Rev. Tho. Newlin, some time Fellow of Magdalen college Oxon.

(26) Vol. II. p. 690.

[*N*] *And a writer.*] He published, An English Translation of 'Tully's Five Books *de Finibus*, or Moral Ends.' Lond 1702, 8vo. An Abridgment of the Ecclesiastical Histories of Eusebius, Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret; Lond. 1729, 4to. *Bibliotheca Biblica*, or a Commentary on the Five Books of Moses, extracted chiefly from the Fathers. Published at Oxford in Numbers, 4to, &c. C

PATRICK [Symon], one of our late most pious and most learned English Divines, and successively Bishop of Chichester and Ely; was born at Gainsborough in the county of Lincoln, September 8, 1626 (*a*). His father was a Mercer of good credit in that place, who designing his son for a scholar, sent him to school to one Mr Merryweather, an excellent Latinist, as appears by his translation of Sir Thomas Browne's *Religio Medici* (*b*). He was admitted Sizar June 25th, 1644, into Queen's-college in Cambridge, of which he was elected Fellow March 1, 1648 (*c*): and took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1647, that of Master in 1651, as likewise that of Bachelor of Divinity in 1658 (*d*). Having received Holy Orders about 1651 [*A*], from Joseph Hall Bishop of Nowich, at Higham, where he had retired after the loss of his Bishopric; he was soon after taken as Chaplain into the family of Sir Walter St John of Battersea, who gave him that living about the beginning of the year 1658 (*e*): upon which his Fellowship was declared void (*f*). In 1661, he was elected Master of Queen's-college; notwithstanding, and in opposition to, the Court's recommendation of Mr Antony Sparrow for that place; but the affair being brought before the King and Council, was soon decided in Mr Sparrow's behalf (*g*), and some of the Fellows, if not all, that had sided with Mr Patrick, were ejected (*h*). Upon the deprivation of Dr Thomas Manton, Mr Patrick was presented by William Earl

(*a*) Survey of the Cathedrals, &c. by Br. Willis, Esq; Vol. II. p. 365. and Life of Archbishop Tillotson, by Dr Birch, p. 214.

(*b*) From MS. memoirs.

(*c*) From the college-books; and Willis, as above.

(*d*) From the University Registers.

(*e*) Memoirs, as above, and Kennet's Register and Chronicle, edit. 1728, fol. p. 42.

(*f*) From the college-books.

(*g*) Kennet, p. 596.

(*h*) Wood, Fasti edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 166.

[*A*] *About* 1651.] It must have been about that year. For he preached a Sermon, at the funeral of Mr John Smith, Fellow of Queen's college, who dyed August 7, 1652, and was buried in the Chapel of that college.

[*B*] Mr

Earl of Bedford to the Rectory of St Paul's Covent-garden [*B*], and instituted September 23, 1662 (*i*). He became very useful in that then polite parish, by his excellent instructions and good example: and, what endeared him very much to his parishioners, he continued amongst them all the time of the great plague in 1665. Nay, we are told, that out of a special regard to them, he civilly refused the Archdeaconry of Huntingdon, which was offered him, lest it should take him off too much from his cure (*k*). Having sufficient reasons for dislike to his old college; when he wanted to proceed in Divinity, he entered himself in Christ's-church-college in Oxford. And there, June 27, 1666, was incorporated Bachelor of Divinity, as he was at Cambridge; and, the fifth of July following, admitted Doctor in Divinity (*l*). About that time, he was Chaplain in ordinary to his Majesty. On the 17th of July 1672, he was installed Prebendary of Westminster; and was some time Sub-dean of that church (*m*). His next promotion was the Deanry of Peterburgh, into which he was installed August 1, 1679 (*n*). Here, as in all his other stations, he did all the good in his power; and set up weekly communions (*o*). He also compleated and published the History of the Church of Peterburgh, which had been compiled and left in MS. by Symon Gunton [*C*]. In 1680, he was offered the great living of St Martin's in the Fields, by the Lord Chancellor Finch [*D*]; but he refused it, on account of the difficulties attending that large cure, and the true love and esteem he had for his parishioners of St Paul's Covent-garden (*p*). During King James the Second's reign, he was one of those eminent champions, who defended the Protestant Religion against the violent attacks of Popery. The King, in order to gain over, or at least to mollify him, sent for him; and, after some very civil discourse, desired him to remit of his zeal against his Church, and quietly enjoy his own Religion. But the Doctor answered with a suitable resolution, That he could not give up a religion so well proved as that of the Protestants (*q*). In 1686, he and Dr Jane had a conference with two Romish Priests, in the King's presence, who was desirous of bringing over the Earl of Rochester to Popery [*E*]: but that conference, instead of perverting the Earl, served only to confirm him the more in the Protestant faith (*r*). Dr Patrick opposed also, to the utmost of his power, the reading of his Majesty's Declaration for Liberty of Conscience. And he assisted Dr Tenison, in setting up a school at St Martin's, to confront the Popish one, opened at the Savoy, for seducing the youth of the town into Popery (*s*). He had also a great

(*i*) Newcourt's Repertorium, &c. Vol. I. p. 707.

(*k*) General Dictionary, from Memoirs communicated by the late Dr Knight.

(*l*) Wood, Fasti, as above, and Catalogue of Graduats.

(*m*) Wood, ibid. and Le Neve's Fasti, &c. p. 373.

(*n*) Le Neve, p. 341.

(*o*) See his Treatise of the Necessity and Frequency of receiving the holy Communion.

(*p*) General Dictionary, as above.

(*q*) Ibid.

(*r*) Complete Hist. of England, Vol. III. edit. 1719, p. 451.

(*s*) Ibid. p. 508.

[*B*] *Mr Patrick was presented by William Earl of Bedford to the Rectory of St Paul's Covent garden.*] For this *unexpected* favour, he makes his acknowledgments to his generous Patron; in the Dedication of his Paraphrase on the Book of Job, to his Lordship. Which begins thus. 'My Lord, Though I have not 'pursued the design, which I have long had in my 'thoughts, of making some publick acknowledgment 'of my obligations to your Lordship, for placing me, '*when I thought not of it*, in this station which I hold 'in Covent-Garden: yet I have onely deferred it, till 'the most proper opportunity, as it seems to me, for 'this small expression of my gratitude.'

[*C*] *He also compleated and published the History of the Church of Peterburgh, which had been compil'd by Symon Gunton.*] The author, Symon Gunton, was a native of, and Prebendary of Peterburgh, Vicar of St. John's in the same city, and also Rector of Fiskerton near Lincoln. He dyed in 1676 (1). Having left in manuscript the History of the Church of Peterburgh, our learned Dean published it in 1686. fol. With a large *Supplement*, from page 225, to 332, containing a fuller account of the Abbots and Bishops of Peterburgh, than had been given by Mr Gunton.

(1) Kennet's Register, &c. p. 218. and Willis, as above, p. 516.

[*D*] *In 1680, he was offered the great living of St Martin's in the fields by the Lord Chancellor Finch.*] For this favour, undoubtedly, it was that he made the following handsome acknowledgment to his Lordship, in the Dedication of the second volume of The Psalms paraphras'd. '——It is so unusual in this Age, to 'confer Benefits unsought, *especially such as your Lordship was pleased lately to think me worthy of*; that I 'ought to have the higher esteem, not merely of your 'Lordship's singular kindness to me, but chiefly of 'that noble principle of Vertue in your mind from 'whence it purely flowed.'——

[*E*] *In 1686, he and Dr Jane had a Conference with two Romish Priests, &c.*] The occasion of that Conference is thus related. 'Great endeavours were used, to bring Laurence Hyde Earl of Rochester, Lord High-Treasurer, in King James's reign, to embrace Popery; but in vain. At length, his Lordship being prest and fatigued by the King's intreaties, told his Majesty. "That to let him see it was not through "any prejudice of education, or obstinacy, that he "persevered in his Religion, he would freely consent "to hear some Protestant Divines dispute with some "Popish Priests, and promis'd to side with the con- "querors." Thereupon the King appointed a Conference to be held at Whitehall, at which his Majesty and several persons of honour were present with the Earl of Rochester. The Protestant Champions, were, Dr *Patrick*, and Dr William Jane, [the two Chaplains then in waiting.] Those on the Popish side, were one Gifford, a Doctor of the Sorbonne; and Mr Tilden, who having turn'd Papist at Lisbon, went under the name of Dr Godden: And the subject of their dispute was, *The Rule of Faith*, and, *The proper Judge in Controversies*. This Conference was very long; and at last the Romish Doctors were press'd with so much strength of reason and authority against them, that they were really put to silence. Whereupon the Earl of Rochester openly declared, "That the Victory the "Protestant Divines had gain'd, made no alteration in "his mind, being beforehand convinc'd of the Truth "of his Religion, and firmly resolv'd never to forsake "it." The King going off abruptly, was heard to say, he never saw a bad cause so well, nor a good one so ill maintain'd (2).'——Bishop Burnet adds the following circumstances. 'That the King desired of the 'Earl, he would suffer himself to be instructed in religion. He answered, he was fully satisfied about 'his religion. But upon the King's pressing it, that 'he would hear his priests, he said, he desired then to 'have some of the English clergy present, to which 'the King consented: only he excepted to Tillotson 'and Stillingfleet. Lord Rochester said, he would 'take those who should happen to be in waiting; for 'the forms of the Chapel were still kept up. And 'Doctor Patrick, and Jane were the men.—— 'Patrick (adds Burnet) told me, that at the conference 'there was no occasion for them * to say much. The 'Priests began the attack. And when they had done, 'the Earl said, if they had nothing stronger to urge, 'he would not trouble those learned Gentlemen to say 'any thing: For he was sure he could answer all that 'he had heard. And so answered all with much heat 'and spirit, not without some scorn, saying, were 'these grounds to persuade men to change their religion? This he urged over and over again with great 'vehemence. The King, seeing in what temper he was, 'broke off the conference, charging all that were pre- 'sent to say nothing of it (3).'

(2) Complete History of England, Vol. III. p. 451.

* Viz. Dr Patrick and Dr Jane.

(3) Burnet's Hist. of his own Time, edit. 1753, 8vo. Vol. II. p. 382, 383.

[*F*] He

great share in the Comprehension projected by Archbishop Sancroft (t) [F]. At the Revolution, being justly considered as one of the chief ornaments of the Church of England, he was advanced to the Bishopric of Chichester, vacant by the death of Dr John Lake; and consecrated October 13, 1689 (u). Soon after, he was appointed one of the Commissioners for reviewing the Liturgy (w) [G]: and employed, with others of the new Bishops, in settling the affairs of the Church of Ireland. On the second of July, 1691, he was translated to the Bishopric of Ely, vacant by the deprivation of Dr Francis Turner for refusing to take the oaths (x). He discharged all Episcopal functions with the utmost application, zeal, and integrity: and, at the same time, did very great service to his See; not only by procuring a fee-farm rent of one hundred pounds a year, to be settled upon himself and successors, out of Hatton-garden [H], and the messuages thereupon erected (y): but also by obtaining an act of parliament to lease the manor house and demesne lands of Downham in the isle of Ely, and for clearing himself and others from dilapidations there (z). He likewise made great improvements at his palace at Ely. But, in the mean time, he was improving in a more lasting manner, and greatly benefitting, the *whole world*, by his most excellent writings; of which a general account is given below [I]. He dyed at Ely, May the 31st, 1707, in the eighty-first year of his age (a): and was

(t) Bishop Wake's Speech at the Tryal of Dr Sacheverell.

(u) Le Neve, as above, p. 59.

(w) Complete Hist. as above, Vol. III. p. 590.

(x) Willis, as above, p. 365.

(y) Private Acts 3 and 4 Will and Mar. Parl. 2. Sess. 3. Act. 2.

(z) Private Acts 9 Will. III. Parl. 3. Sess. 3. Act. 2.

(a) From his Epitaph.

[F] *He had also a great share in the Comprehension projected by Archbishop Sancroft*] The best account of that Comprehension is given in a Speech of Dr Wake, then bishop of Lincoln, and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, at the Tryal of Dr Sacheverell; of which the substance follows....... Archbishop Sancroft, says he, 'foreseeing some such revolution, 'as soon after was happily brought about, began to 'consider, how utterly unprepared they had been at 'the Restoration of King Charles II. to settle many 'things to the advantage of the Church, and what a 'happy opportunity had been lost, for want of such a 'previous care, as he was desirous should now be taken, 'for the better and more perfect establishment of it. '——And he at the same time was considering, what 'might be done to gain the Dissenters, without doing 'any prejudice to the Church. The scheme was laid 'out, and the several parts of it were committed, not 'only with his approbation, but likewise direction, 'to such of our Divines of the Church, as were thought 'the most proper to be intrusted with it. His Grace 'took one part to himself; another part was committed to Dr *Patrick*. The reviewing of the daily service, and the communion book, was referr'd to a 'select number of divines, of whom Dr Sharp, afterwards Archbishop of York, and Dr *Patrick* were 'two. The design was, to improve and inforce the 'discipline of the Church, to review and inlarge the 'liturgy, by correcting some things, and adding others, '&c (4).'

(4) Speech in the House of Lords, at the opening of the impeachment against Dr Sacheverell. Lond. 1710, p. 4.

[G] *He was appointed one of the Commissioners for reviewing the Liturgy.*] And, as he had an excellent Talent in the Devotional way, he revis'd the Collects throughout the whole course of the year; most of them being made anew and render'd more suitable to the Epistles and Gospels of the day. This he perform'd with so much Elegance and Purity of stile, with so much pious force and ardor, as nothing could tend more to excite Devotion in the minds of the hearers, and to raise up their Souls to God (5).

(5) Dr Nichol's's Introduct. to the Defence of the Church of England, edit. 1715, 12mo. p. 117.

[H] *Out of Hatton-garden*] In 1579, Queen Elizabeth prevailed upon R. Cox, bishop of Ely, to grant to Sir Christopher Hatton a long lease of Ely-house in Holbourn. And though the house was recovered again, yet part of the precincts remained to the Hatton-family; and have been, to their great advantage, built upon, and several streets erected, known by the name of Hatton-garden (6).

(6) Willis's Survey, as above, Vol. II. p. 339.

[I] *By his most excellent Writings, &c.*] They were all designed for the service of piety, vertue, and true religion: But as they are many and various, I shall range them, for the reader's ease, under these four heads. I. Miscellaneous, comprehending the first published by him. II. Sermons. III. Tracts against Popery. IV. Paraphrases, and Commentaries, upon the holy Scriptures.——I. The Miscellaneous. 1. '*Mensa Mystica*; or, A Discourse concerning the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. In which the ends 'of its Institution are so manifested; our Addresses to 'it so directed; our Behaviour there, and afterward 'so composed; that we may not lose the Benefits 'which are to be received by it; with several Prayers 'and Thanksgivings inserted to make it of more use.' To it is added, '*Aqua Genitalis*, a Discourse concerning Baptism. First delivered in a Sermon at Alhallows 'Lumbard-street, Octob. 4, 1658. Into which is 'since inserted a brief Discourse to persuade to a Con'firmation of the Baptismal Vow.' London, 1658. 8vo. '2. The Hearts Ease: Or a Remedy against 'all Troubles. With a consolatory Discourse, parti'cularly directed to those who have lost their Friends 'and dear Relations. By Symon Patrick, Preacher 'at Battersea.' London, 1659. 12mo. A second edition came out in 1660. and a fifth, *enlarged*, in 1682. To the eighth, are added Two Papers, written in the time of the Plague in 1665. 3. 'Jewish Hy'pocrisy, a Caveat to the present Generation. Where'in is shewn both the false and the true way to a Nation's 'or Person's compleat Happiness from the sickness and 'recovery of the Jewish state. Unto which is added, a 'Discourse upon Mic. 6. 8. [preached before the late 'Lord Mayor and Aldermen at Paul's] belonging to 'the same matter.' By Symon Patrick B. D. Minister of the word of God at Battersea. London, 1660. 4. 'The Parable of the Pilgrim: written to a Friend.' London, 1668. 4to. 5. 'An Exposition of the Ten 'Commandments.' London, 1668. 8vo. 6. 'A 'friendly Debate betwixt two Neighbours, the one 'a Conformist, the other a Nonconformist, about 'several weighty matters. Published for the benefit of 'this city. By a lover of it, and of pure religion.' It was licensed Nov. 7, 1668. The first and second parts were published in 1669. 8vo. and the third in 1670. The publication of this work having given great offence to the Nonconformists, the Author added a Preface to the 6th Edition, in 1684. wherein he explains his design in the following words....' As it 'was written to take down the pride and insolence, 'wherewith the Nonconformists began at that time to 'treat us, and to persuade men to conform themselves 'to the established orders; so to give them withall a true 'notion of religion; to preserve them from being 'abused with phrases; to instruct them in many parts 'of their Christian duty; to inform them wherein 'Christianity doth chiefly consist, and what will make 'them thoroughly good; and, particularly, how ne'cessary a part of Christian piety it is, to obey the 'public laws, which no way contradict the laws of 'God; and to live in unity with their Christian bre'thren. What is to be done also for the restoring 'of this Unity, is here declared.——But tho' (adds 'he) these and such like things are the whole scope of 'this Book, yet the Author of it hath been loaded 'with many hard censures and unjust reproaches, as if 'he had done the greatest wrong, not only to them, 'but to true Religion.'.... Judge Hale in particular, 'as Mr Baxter tells us (7), was pleased to express so 'great a dislike of the *Debate*, and the *Ecclesiastical* '*Polity* (8), "as tending to the injury of Religion it"self, that he wished the Authors would openly pro"fess, that they *wrote for themselves*, and no more "abusively pretend it was for Religion." But it must 'be remembred, that wise and good men are wont 'sometimes to over-shoot themselves, when they are 'angry; and that they are never more apt to be so, 'than when those beloved schemes which they have 'been long in drawing, and of which they have en'tertained an high opinion, are rejected and torn in 'pieces.... This is all the fault, that I can think of, 'wherewith this Author (9) can be justly charged. 'He

(7) Second Defence of Nonconformity, &c. p. 188.

(8) This was written by Dr Sam. Parker.

(9) Viz. Dr Patrick himself.

was buried in his cathedral. A monument was soon after erected to his memory, with an

'He was not then, nor is now, for that project of 'Comprehension in favour of which every body knows 'Sir M. Hale was strongly prepossessed. The *Debate*, 'as he angrily calls it, lay in the way of that, and lay 'cross to it. But as for his charge of the Author's '*writing for himself*, I can demonstrate, that as things 'then stood, it was impossible (unless we will suppose 'him to have been a fool) he should have any such re'spect to secular advantages, which he might thereby 'reap, save only the preserving himself by preserving 'the government; which he was bound to do as a 'member of this church and kingdom, which he loves 'unfeignedly, and whose present constitution he will 'always endeavour steadfastly to uphold. For they, 'whom he opposed, had too much power, he knew 'very well, at that time to obstruct him in such a de'sign; and as they used all their interest to depress 'him, so they had such an influence, I can prove, 'upon some who are now dead and gone, that by 'their means they did actually keep him down a long 'time from rising at all in the world. Which he the 'more contentedly endured, because he had the testi'mony of his conscience, that this book was not con'trived to serve any worldly interest; but, quite con'trary, notwithstanding any prejudice it might do him 'in this world, faithfully to represent unto men the 'truth, as it is in the Lord Jesus. Which could not 'be done indeed, without exposing the follies, nay in'sincerity sometimes, of some persons, who would be 'thought the only, or the most sincere lovers of him. 'But in exposing them, Religion is so far from being 'injured, that it is rescued from the contempt, which 'must necessarily fall upon it, if they pass without con'troul for the most religious people.'——Such is the Apology the learned Author makes for himself. To which may be added, That exposing nonsense, cannot prejudice Good-sense and true Religion.——And as the Nonconformists were daily attacking the Church of England, where could be the fault in defending it? But our learned Author's crime, was, *That he defended it too well*, in the opinion of his adversaries.——To return to the rest of his works: He published, 7. 'The 'Christian Sacrifice. A Treatise shewing the Neces'sity, End, and Manner of receiving the holy Com'munion: Together with suitable Prayers and Medi'tations for every month in the year; and the princi'pal Festivals in memory of our Blessed Saviour. In 'four parts.' Lond. 1671. 8vo. 8. 'The Devout 'Christian instructed how to pray and give Thanks to 'God: or, a Book of Devotions for Families and for 'particular Persons, in most of the Concerns of hu'mane Life.' Lond. 1672. 9. 'Advice to a Friend.' Lond. 1677. 12mo. 10. 'Jesus and the Resurrection 'justified by Witnesses in heaven and in earth. In 'two parts.' Lond. 1677. 8vo. 11. 'The glorious 'Epiphany, with the devout Christian's Love to it.' Lond. 1678. 8vo. 12. 'The Truth of the Christian 'Religion: In Six Books. Written in Latin by Hu'go Grotius. And now translated into English, with 'the Addition of a Seventh book against the present 'Roman Church.' Lond. 1680. 8vo, 13. 'A Book 'for Beginners: or a Help to young Communicants, 'that they may be fitted for the holy Communion, 'and receive it with profit.' Lond. 14. 'Search the Scriptures. A Treatise shewing that all 'Christians ought to read the holy Books; with Di'rections to them therein. In three parts. Lond. '1685.' 12mo. 15. 'A Treatise of Repentance and 'Fasting, especially of the Lent-Fast.' Lond 1686. 12mo. 16. 'A private Prayer to be used in difficult 'Times.' Composed in 1687, when persecution was expected by all who stood firm to the Protestant religion. 17. 'A Thanksgiving for our late wonderful Deliver'ance.' i. e. the Revolution. Lond. 1689. 8vo. 18. 'A Prayer for perfecting our late Deliverance.' 1689. 8vo. 19. 'A Prayer for Charity, Peace, and 'Unity, chiefly to be used in Lent.' Lond. 8vo. 20. 'A Prayer for the King's success in Ireland.' 1690. 8vo. 21. 'A Letter to his Clergy;' [at his primary visitation of the diocese of Ely] dated April 20, 1692. Lond. 4to. 22. 'The Work of the Mi'nistry, represented to the Clergy of the diocese of 'Ely, 1698. 23. 'The Dignity of the Christian 'Priesthood, directed to his Clergy on his fourth 'triennial visitation.' 1701. 24. 'An Exhortation 'sent to the Clergy of the Diocese of Ely, before his 'fifth triennial visitation, 1704. With a Discourse on 'Rev. xvi. 9. upon occasion of the late terrible storm 'of Wind, 1703.' 12mo. 25. 'An Exhortation to 'the Clergy of the diocese of Ely, at his Sixth trien'nial Visitation.'——II. Sermons. 1. A Sermon preached at the funeral of Mr John Smith, late Fellow of Queen's-college in Cambridge, who departed this life, Aug 7, 1652, and lyes interred in the chapel of the same college. With a short account of his life. Printed with Mr Smith's *Select Discourses*. 1660. 4to. 2. Divine Arithmetick: Or the right Art of numbering our Days. Being a Sermon preached June 17, 1659, at the funerals of Mr Samuel Jacombe, B. D. Minister of the Gospel at St Mary Woolnoth in Lombard-street, and lately Fellow of Queen's college in Cambridge. By Symon Patrick Minister of the Gospel at Battersea in Surrey. Lond 1659. 4to. 3. A Sermon at the funeral of Mr Thomas Grigg, Sept. 4, 1670. on Corin. v. 9. Lond. 1670. 4to. 4. A Sermon preached before the King, on St Stephen's-day. Printed by his Majesty's special command. Lond. 1676. 4to. 5. *Angliæ Speculum*: A glass that flatters not; presented to a country-congregation at the late solemn Fast, April 24th 1678, in a parallel between the kingdom of Ireland and England. 4to. Wherein the whole nation is desired to consider our sin, and our danger 4to. 6. A Sermon preached at St Paul Covent-garden on the late day of Fasting and Prayer. Nov. 13, 1678. 4to 7. A Sermon preached at St Paul Covent-garden on Advent-Sunday, 1678. 4to. 8. A Sermon preached before the King, on the Second Sunday in Advent, Dec. 8, 1678. 9. A Sermon preached before the Lord Mayor, &c. at Guild-hall Chapel, Octob. 31, 1680. Lond. 8vo. 10. Christ's Counsel to his Church, in two Sermons preached at the two last Fasts, April 11, 1679, and Dec. 22, 1680. Lond. 4to. 11. A Treatise of the Necessity and Frequency of receiving the holy Communion; with a Resolution of Doubts about it: in three Discourses, begun upon Whitsunday, in the Cathedral Church of Peterburgh, 1684, to press the observation of the fourth Rubrick after the Communion-office. 12mo. 12. A Sermon preached on St Mark's day, 1686, in the Parish Church of St Paul's Covent-garden. 13. A Discourse concerning Prayer, especially of frequenting the daily Publick Prayers. In two parts. 12mo. 14. A Discourse of profiting by Sermons. Lond. 4to. 15. A Sermon preached in St James's Chapel before the Prince of Orange, Jan. 20, 1688, on Isaiah ii. 6. 4to. 16. A second part of the Sermon preached before the Prince of Orange, on the same Text, preached in Covent-garden. 4to. 17. A Sermon preached before the Queen, March, 1688, on Coloss. ii. 15. 4to. 18. A Sermon against Murmuring, preached at Covent-garden in Lent, 1688-9, on 1 Cor. x. 10. 19. A Sermon against Censuring, preached at Covent-garden in Advent, on 1 Cor. iv. 10. 20. A Fast-Sermon before the King and Queen, April 16, 1690, on Proverbs xiv. 34. 21. A Thanksgiving Sermon before the House of Lords, Nov. 26, 1691, for the reducing of Ireland, and the King's safe return, on Numb. x. 9. 22. A Sermon preached before the Lord Mayor, and Aldermen, &c. on Easter-monday, 1696. on 1 Tim. ii. 8. 23. A Sermon preached before the House of Lords, Nov. 25, 1696, on Dan. iv. 5. After his decease, were published, Fifteen Sermons upon Contentment and Resignation to the will of God. As also two Sermons on the Ministration of Angels. With a Prayer at the end of each Discourse, suitable to the particular subject of it. Never before printed. Lond. 1719. 8vo, In the Preface it is said, That '*they were composed in the prime of the Author's years, and very fairly written out by himself in one volume.*'——III. The Tracts against Popery, written by our learned Author. 1. Reflections upon the Devotions of the Romish Church. Lond. 1674. 8vo. 2. A Discourse about Tradition; shewing what is meant by it, and what Tradition is to be received, and what Tradition is to be rejected. Lond. 1683. 4to. 3. The Pillar and Ground of Truth: A Treatise, shewing that the Roman Church falsely claims to be that Church, and the Pillar of that Truth mentioned by St Paul 1 Tim. iii 15. In three parts. Lond. 1687. 4to. 4. A Sermon preached upon St Peter's day on Matt. xvi. 18. Printed at the desire

an inscription [*K*]. This pious Prelate was one of the learnedest men, and one of the best writers, in his time. His style is even and easy, his compositions rational, and full of sound and good sense. But his talent in the Devotional way especially, was most excellent; truly affecting and sublime; free from the unnatural flights, indecent familiarities with the Supreme Being, and that fulsom enthusiasm, which abound in the composures of most Ascetics. His Paraphrases and Commentaries on the holy Scriptures, are also excellent in their kind; and the most useful of any ever published in the English language. Bishop Burnet ranks him among those many worthy and eminent Clergymen in this nation, who deserved a high character, and were indeed an honour to the Church, and to the age in which they lived (*b*).

(*b*) Hist. of his own Time, Vol. II. edit. 1753, 8vo. p. 90.

sire of some that heard it. With some enlargements. Lond. 1687. 4to. 5. The Virgin Mary misrepresented by the Roman Church, in the Traditions of that Church concerning her Life and Glory, and in the Devotions paid to her as the Mother of God. Both shewed out of the Office of that Church, the Lessons on her Festivals, and from their allowed Authors. Part I. wherein two of her Feasts [her *Conception*, and *Nativity*] are considered. He promised a 2d *part*, but we do not find that it was ever published. 6. An Examination of Bellarmine's second Note of the Church, viz. *Antiquity* 1687. 4to. 7. The Texts, which Papists cite out of the Bible for the proof of their Doctrine, *Of the Supremacy of St Peter, and the Pope, over the whole Church*, examined. In two parts, 4to. 8 An Answer to a Book spread abroad by the Romish Priests, intitled, *The Touchstone of the Reformed Gospel*; wherein the true Doctrine of the Church of England, and many Texts of the Holy Scriptures, are faithfully explained. Lond. 1692. 8vo.——IV. Paraphrases and Commentaries upon the holy Scriptures. 1. The Book of Job paraphras'd. Lond. 1679. 8vo. 2. The Book of Psalms paraphras'd with Arguments to each Psalm, two volumes 8vo. Lond. 1680. 3. The Proverbs of Solomon paraphrased: with the Arguments of each Chapter which supply the place of a Commentary. Lond. 1683. 8vo. 4. A Paraphrase upon the Books of Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Solomon. With Arguments to each Chapter, and Annotations thereupon. Lond. 1685. 8vo. These Paraphrases have been reprinted several times in 8vo. as also in two volumes 4to. and one volume folio. 5. A Commentary on the first Book of Moses called Genesis. Lond. 1695. 4to. The preface is dated April 10, 1694 It was afterwards, followed with Commentaries upon the rest of the Historical Books of the Old Testament, to the end of Esther: The whole being comprized in nine volumes in 4to. They were reprinted in two volumes folio, 1727.——Our learned Author undertook also a part of the new *Book of Homilies*, projected by Archbishop Tillotson. His share in that work, was to examine carefully the Gospels and Epistles for the whole year, to see how they agreed with this scheme, and to select such other portions of the Gospels and Epistles, as might agree better with all the parts of it, and to prepare Collects for them. In which work he made a good progress (10).——To him, likewise, the world is indebted for the publication of '*Reliquiæ Raleighanæ*; being Discourses and 'Sermons on several subjects;' by Walter Raleigh D. D. 4to. Lond. 1679 (11).

[*K*] *With an inscription.*] It is said to have been composed by Dr Leng, afterwards Bishop of Norwich, and is in these words.

M. S.
Reverendi admodum in Christo Patris
Simonis Patrick
Per biennium Cicestrensis
Per xvi annos Eliensis Episcopi:
Ad hos amplissimos Dignitatis gradus
Propter eximia erga Ecclesiam ac Rempublicam merita
Ab optimis Principibus Gulielmo & Maria evecti:
Cujus Pietatem insignem, Mores sanctissimos,
Ingenium elegans, acre, copiosum,
Præclaram in omni Literarum genere scientiam,
Abunde testantur Dicta, Facta, Scripta ipsius omnia;
Præsertim eruditissimi & luculentissimi in S. S. Scripturam
Commentarii,
Quovis Elogio majores, quovis Marmore diuturniores.
Vir, si quis alius, Candore & Charitate vere Christianâ,
Constantiâ Animi invictâ,
Æquitate nullo partium studio inclinatâ.
In optimis Artibus colendis promovendisq;
In negotiis maximi momenti gerendis,
In universis vigilantissimi Episcopi muneribus explendis,
Ad extremum usq; spiritum perpetuus & indefessus.
Cumulatis jam vitæ omnibus officiis,
Pientissimus Senex placide Animam Deo reddidit
xxxi. Maij.
A. D. MDCCVII. Anno Ætat. LXXXI (12.)

(10) See Bishop Burnet's Preface to his Essay towards a new Book of Homilies, Lond. 1713, 8vo.

(11) Wood, Ath. Vol. II. col. 96.

(12) Le Neve's Monumenta Anglic. ab ann. 1700, ad ann. 1715, p. 124.

C

PEARSON, PIERSON, or PEIRSON [JOHN], a most learned English Divine, and Bishop of Chester, in the XVIIth century, was the son of Mr Robert Pearson, Rector of Creake and Snoring in Norfolk, by Elizabeth, one of the daughters of Dr Vaughan, successively Bishop of Bangor, Chester, and London (*a*). He was born at Creake (*b*), or at Snoring, February 28, 1612-13 (*c*), and sent in May 1623 to Eaton-school, from whence he was elected into King's-college, Cambridge, April, 1632 (*d*) [*A*]. In 1635 he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and that of Master in 1639 (*e*), being Fellow of the college: but it seems he resigned his Fellowship soon after, and continued in the college in quality of a Fellow-commoner (*f*). December 30, 1639, he was collated by Bishop Davenant to the Prebend of Netherhaven in the church of Sarum (*g*). In 1640, he was made Chaplain to the Lord Keeper Finch (*h*); who gave him a Living [*B*] in Suffolk. Upon the breaking out of the civil war, he became Chaplain to George Lord Goring, whom he attended to Exeter, and other parts of the West. About the year 1643,

(*a*) Jer. Collier's Supplement to the Historical Dictionary; and Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, Part ii. p. 67.

(*b*) So Walker hath it; and Wood Ath. Vol. II. col. 1159.

(*c*) See the General Dictionary, Vol. VIII. p. 235.

(*d*) Ibid.

(*e*) From the University Registers, communicated by Dr W. R.

(*f*) General Dictionary, as above.

(*g*) J. Walker, as above.

(*h*) J. Collier's Supplement, as above.

[*A*] *From whence he was elected into King's-college in Cambridge in April*, 1632.] J. Walker says it was in 1630 (1), and A. Wood in 1631 (2); which last seems the most probable, according to the time that he took his Bachelor of Arts degree.

[*B*] *Who gave him a living in Suffolk.*] The authors of the General Dictionary say, that it was *the Living of Torrington* in Suffolk. There is no such living as *Torrington* in Suffolk. There is, indeed, in Norfolk, and in the Crown's gift, the Vicarage of *Terrington* in the Deanry of Lynn: and this last perhaps was the living which was given to Mr Pearson. ——But, after all, there is great reason to question, whether he had such a Living till the year 1661, when, by virtue of the Lady Margaret's Professorship, he became possess'd of the Rectory, or Sine-cure, of Terrington in Norfolk, which was annexed to that Professorship by King James I. Aug. 26, 3°. *regni* (3).

(1) Ubi supra.

(2) Athen. Vol. II. col. 1159.

(3) Catalogue of the Professors by T. Baker.

[*C*] *His*

1643, he was appointed Minister of St Clement's East-cheap, London (but by whom doth not appear), vacant by the deprivation of Mr Benjamin Stone (*i*); and there preached those Sermons, which he framed afterwards into his most excellent Exposition of the Creed (*k*) [*C*]. In May 1657, he, and the learned Mr Peter Gunning, had a dispute with two Papists, on the subject of Schism; a false, adulterated, and imperfect copy of which was published at Paris in 1658 [*D*]. On the Restoration of King Charles the Second, his merit and great learning being his best recommendation, he was collated August 17, 1660, by William Juxon Bishop of London, to the Rectory of St Christopher's behind the Royal Excange (*l*): September 5th he was created Doctor in Divinity (*m*); and installed, September the 22d following, into the fifth Prebend in Ely-cathedral; which he exchanged, October 17, 1661, for the first Prebend in the same church (*n*). The 26th of September, 1660, he was installed Archdeacon of Surrey (*o*): and November 30. following, made Master of Jesus-college in Cambridge; which Mastership he quitted in April 1662 (*p*). In the year 1661, he was one of the Commissioners, and chief managers, at the Savoy-Conference; wherein he acquitted himself with great applause (*q*) [*E*]. He was also one of the learned Divines, appointed for examining and reviewing the Common-Prayer (*r*); and for publishing a new Latin translation of it (*s*). The 28th of June, 1661, he was appointed Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, and proved a singular ornament to the chair (*t*). Upon the death of Dr Ferne, he was admitted, April 14, 1662, Master of Trinity-college in the university just now mentioned (*u*); whereupon, he resigned, in the August following, his Prebends of Ely and Netherhaven, and his Rectory of St Christopher's (*w*). Having continued about ten years Master of that college, with great reputation; he was deservedly advanced to the Bishopric of Chester, vacant by the death of the very learned Dr Wilkins, and consecrated February 9, 1672, holding with it in commendam the Archdeaconry of Surrey, and the Rectory of Wigan in Lancashire (*x*). Having enjoyed his Bishopric upwards of thirteen years, he dyed July 16, 1686, and was buried, without the least inscription or grave-stone, within the communion-rails of his own cathedral (*y*). He had, in his life-time, given 250 pounds towards the rebuilding of St Paul's cathedral, London (*z*). And in his Will, dated January 2, 1677, which had a codicil added to it, dated June 18, 1685, he gave some legacies to the Poor, &c. (*a*) [*F*]. He published only a few things [*G*], but they are excellent in their kind, and shew a great deal of learning and

(*i*) Walker, as above, p. 52. and Wood Ath.

(*k*) See the Dedication of that book to the Parishioners of St Clement's East-cheap.

(*l*) Newcourt's Repertorium, Vol. I. p. 325.

(*m*) From the University Register, and Kennet's Register and Chronicle, &c. p. 251.

(*n*) Survey of the Cathedrals, &c. by Br. Willis, Esq; Vol. II. p. 377, 385.

(*o*) J. Le Neve's Fasti. &c. p. 293.

(*p*) Kennet's Register, as above, p. 886, 887.

(*q*) See the Commission in the Accompt of the Proceedings of the Commissioners, Lond. 1661, 4to. and Kennet's Register, p. 433, 502, 506, 508, 551.

(*r*) Kennet, p. 579, 584.

(*s*) Idem, p. 671.

(*t*) Idem, p. 485. Catalogue of the Professors by T. Baker, B. D. before his edition of the Lady Margaret's funeral Sermon, 1708.

(*u*) J. Le Neve's Fasti, p. 437.

(*w*) Kennet, p. 740, 752. and Newcourt, and Walker, as above.

(*x*) Survey of the Cathedrals, &c. by Br Willis, Esq; Vol. I. p. 336.

(*y*) Ibid.

(*z*) Walker, as above.

(*a*) Willis, ubi supra.

[*C*] *His most excellent Exposition of the Creed.*] It was first printed at London in 1659. 4to. and reprinted many times since in folio with improvements. The twelfth Edition came out in 1741. He dedicated it, 'to the right worshipfull and wel beloved the Parishioners of St Clements East Cheap;' and he tells them in that dedication....... 'Some years have passed, since I preached unto you upon such Texts of Scripture as were on purpose selected in relation to the *Creed*, and was moved by you to make those meditations publick. But you were pleased then to grant what my inclinations rather led me to, that they might be turned into an Exposition of the Creed itself.'——This learned Exposition is an accomplish'd Work, for Style and Method. And the repeated Editions of it, are a sufficient indication of its value. But, as it is almost in every one's hands, we need say nothing further in its praise.

[*D*] *Had a Dispute with two Papists .... an imperfect Copy of which was published at Paris in* 1658.] It was printed under this title, 'Schisme Unmaskt: Or, A late Conference betwixt Mr Peter Gunning, and Mr John Pierson, Ministers, on the one part, and two Disputants of the Roman profession on the other: wherein is defined both what Schisme is, and to whom it belongs. With a brief Recapitulation; wherein at one view may be seen, the whole Drift of this Conference, for such as want either Learning to reach, or Leisure to read the whole Tract. And all is concluded with a Decision of the main Question, whether Protestants, or those of the Roman Church, be Schismatiques.' One of the Roman Catholic Disputants went under the several names of *Spencer*, *Tyrwhit*, and *Hatcliffe*: The other was a Physician.——As for the adulterations and omissions in the Edition, Mr T. Smith gives the following account (4). 'The Romanist who put forth an edition [of it,] hath so changed, transposed, added, diminished, and made of it what he list, that I believe it will be as soon owned for your (I mean not J. S. but H. D's) Conference, as Mr *Pearson's*, or Mr *Gunning's*. I must now tell you further, that that relation cannot expect to be regarded by Mr P. or any sober person, which is disclaimed and disowned by three of the four, who were disputants, viz. by both the Protestants, and half the Papists. But chiefly I must intreat you to consider, whether the inserting above 200 lines at a time, as a part of the conference, which never was part of it, besides all professed additions; secondly, whether the leaving out whole sheets of the Protestants, which the Papists thought too hard to answer; and thirdly, the scarce suffering any one argument and answer of both to come together, but casting usually parts of the same paper of Mr G. many score leaves asunder one from another, be not a scandal, that any Christian would desire might be covered with silence?'——This Conference was reprinted at Oxford, in King James the Second's reign, under this title, *The Schism of the Church of* England *demonstrated, in four Arguments formerly proposed by Dr* Peter Gunning *and Dr* John Pearson, &c. But Dr William Saywell, Master of Jesus College in Cambridge, animadverted upon it, in a pamphlet intituled, *The Reformation of the Church of England justified*, &c. Cambridge 1688. 4to.

(4) In his book, intituled, 'A Gagg for the Quakers, with an Answer to Mr *Denn's* *Quaker no Papist*.' Lond. 1659.

[*E*] *Wherein he acquitted himself with great applause.*] And this, even in the judgment of Mr Richard Baxter, who was one of the most prejudiced and stiff opponents. 'Dr *Pearson* (saith he) and Dr Gunning did all their work, but with great Difference in the Manner. Dr *Pearson* was their true Logician and Disputant, without whom, as far as I could discern, we should have had nothing from them, but Dr Gunning's passionate Invectives mix'd with some Argumentations. He disputed accurately, soberly and calmly (being but once in any passion) breeding in us a great respect for him, and a perswasion that if he had been independent, he would have been for Peace, and that if all were in his power, it would have gone well: He was the Strength and Honour of that Cause which we doubted whether he heartily maintained (5).'

(5) Life of R. Baxter, fol. Book I. P. iii.

[*F*] *He gave some legacies to the Poor*, &c.] He gave twenty pounds to the Poor of St Oswald's in Chester city; twenty pounds to Great Snoring Poor, in his native county of Norfolk; and a hundred pounds to his nephew Dr Thane, then Archdeacon of Chester (6).

(6) Willis, ubi supra.

[*G*] *He published only a few things.*] Besides his *Exposition of the Creed*, he was author of, 1. *A Preface*, to the 'Golden Remains of the ever memorable Mr *John Hales* of Eaton college.' Wherein, as he declares,

and judgment, particularly his Vindication of St Ignatius's Epistles [*H*]. Some pieces of his were published after his decease [*I*]. As to his Character; He was a very good preacher;

declares, he speaks no more, than 'his own long 'experience, intimate acquaintance, and high veneration grounded upon both, did freely and sincerely 'prompt him to.' II. 'No Necessity of Reformation of the publick Doctrine of the Church of England, with a Vindication of it in Answer to Dr Burges his Word, by way of postscript.' Lond. 1660. 4to. III. He was one of the Editors of the *Critici Sacri*, or Collection of Critics and Commentators upon the Bible, nine volumes folio, as appears by the Epistle to the Reader, which is subscribed by *John Pearson* Archdeacon of Surrey; Ant. Scattergood Canon of Lincoln; Francis Gouldman Rector of South Okendon in Essex; and Richard Pearson Fellow of King's college. IV. He wrote the learned Preface, *Præfatio Parænetica*, to J Field's Edition of the Septuagint, Cambr. 1665. 12mo. which is subscribed with the two Letters J. P. V. In 1667, he made a Funeral Oration upon the death of Matthew Wren, Bishop of Ely (7). And preached, in 1658, in the Church of St Michael Royal London, a Sermon at the funeral of John Cleveland the poet (8). But we do not find, these two were ever made public. VI. He printed, 'A 'Sermon preached before the King upon the 19th of 'March 1671, on Ecclef. xii. 14. Published by his 'Majesty's special command.' Lond. 1671. 4to. VII. He compiled the Annals of St Cyprian, *Annales Cyprianici, sive tredecim Annorum, quibus S. Cyprianus inter Christianos versatus est; Historia Chronologica.* Printed with Bishop Fell's beautiful Edition of St Cyprian's works. Oxon. 1682. folio. VIII. He left in manuscript very large Additions to *Hesychius's Greek Lexicon*: Which are, or lately were, in the possession of Mr Thomas Osborne, Bookseller in Gray's-inn, London (9). IX. Some of his Verses, upon K. Charles I. having the Small-pox, in 1632; and the Death of Anne Dutchess of York in 1671; are printed in the Cambridge Collections made upon those occasions. We shall present the Reader with some of them, as the Books are very scarce, in order to shew our learned Author's talent for Poetry.

(7) See David Lloyd's Memoires, &c. p. 612.

(8) Cleveland's Life.

(9) See Vol. II. of his Catalogue, for the year 1753, p. 84. No. 6076. and Vol. I. of his Catalogue for the year 1754, p. 492. No. 4801.

Soteria ad Regem.

Ecce novus nostras venit natalis ad aures,
Carole magne, tuus: nec enim quis computet annos
Transmissos. Nasci populo commune, renasci
Taliter, inque novos semper revirescere soles,
Non nisi Regis erat, qui plurima cura Deorum est,
Et quem perpetuis sustentat Jupiter astris.
Quis tibi nunc animus, morbo circundatus isto
Audisti Regum cum funera dira duorum?
Funera non terræ motu, non illa cometâ
Præmonstranda fatis, rapidi licet ætheris omnes
Unum confertim igniculi glomerentur in astrum.
O quam terrarum tunc Mars (jam, credo Deorum)
Spectandus rutilis cecidit Gustavus in armis!
O quam (syderibus quamvis prius ortus iniquis)
Magnus sydereos fugit Fredericus in orbes!
Cum tales animas ad sedes ire beatas
Vidisti, poteras contemnere, Carole, lucem,
Et mortem sperare lubens (10).——

(10) Academiæ Cantabrigiensis in Exanthemata Regia, p. 28, 29.

[*H*] *Particularly his Vindication of St Ignatius's Epistles.*] The title of it is, *Vindiciæ Epistolarum S. Ignatii. Autore Joanne Pearson Presbytero. Accesserunt Isaaci Vossii Epistolæ duæ adversus David Blondellum.* Cantabr. 1672. 4to. This Book was occasioned by the Controversy that was agitated, in the last century, concerning Episcopacy. Such as wrote in favour of it, having urged the Authority of *Ignatius's* Epistles; their Adversaries, unable to elude the force of them, thought fit to reject them in the gross, as *All forged and spurious.* So did D. Blondel, and J. Daillé in particular: The former in his Treatise, *De Episcopis & Presbyteris*; and the latter in his work, *De Scriptis quæ sub* Dionysii Areopagitæ, & Ignatii Antiocheni *nominibus circumferuntur Libri duo: Quibus demonstratur, illa subdititia esse, diu post Martyrum, quibus falsò tribuuntur, obitum ficta.* Now there having been Fifteen Epistles published under S. Ignatius's name, three in Latin, and twelve in Greek; our learned Author rejects the Latin ones as spurious; admits five of the Greek ones to be of doubtful authority; and asserts the Genuineness and Authenticity of the Seven other Greek Epistles, mentioned by Eusebius. With him concurs the learned L. E. Dupin, in his *Nouvelle Bibliotheque des Auteurs Ecclesiastiques* (11).

(11) Under the title S. Ignace.

[*I*] *Some pieces of his were published after his decease.*] They were published by his nephew, Dr John Thane, Archdeacon of Chester, in 1688. 4to. under this title, *V. Cl.* Joannis Pearsonii, *S. T. P.* Cestriensis *nuper Episcopi, Opera Posthuma Chronologica* &c. *viz. De Serie & Successione primorum* Romæ *Episcoporum Dissertationes duæ: Quibus præfiguntur Annales Paulini, & Lectiones in Acta Apostolorum. Singula prælo tradidit, edenda curavit & Dissertationis novis Additionibus auxit* H. Dodwellus, *A. M. Dublinensis: Cujus etiam accessit De eâdem Successione usque ad Annales Cl. Cestriensis Cyprianicos, Dissertatio singularis.* The first part is the *Annals of St Paul*, from his conversion to his death; i. e. from the year 34 to the 68th of Christ, according to the vulgar æra. Next follow *five Lectures* upon the Acts of the Apostles, being undoubtedly some of those he read as Lady Margaret's Professor. And then comes what is most curious in the book; namely, Two Dissertations concerning the Order and Succession of the first *Bishops of* Rome. In the first; he begins with observing, That the most antient Ecclesiastical Writers do not distinguish the Times, either by the years of Christ, of the Roman Emperors, the Consuls, or the like. Nay, that none of them happen to mention an Emperor and a Pope together, and in the same subject, as contemporaries. And, that both Popish and Protestant Chronologers acknowledge the great Obscurity of those early times (12). Two Catalogues of the Popes have been transmitted down to us; One by Eusebius in his Ecclef Hist. Lib. v. C. 12. and the other by the Latin Writers: Each of them hath the years of the several Popes annex'd; but with a wonderful diversity; and, according to our learned Author, they deserve no manner of credit in the two first centuries. The Successions of the Bishops, in the Churches founded by the Apostles, were carefully kept; as is evident from the Fathers of the second and third centuries, and even of the fourth, arguing from thence for an uninterrupted succession. But the Day of each Bishop's Death was not therein mention'd, till after the middle of the 3d century: when the Hereticks endeavouring to break the chain of Apostolical tradition, Pope Fabian appointed notaries to collect the exact dates of the Martyrdoms, or deaths of the first Bishops of Rome. In Chap. vi. he enquires, whether St Peter and St Paul founded the Church at Rome? And, after observing, That it cannot be prov'd from Scripture, whether St Peter was, or was not, at Rome; He makes it out from several passages of the antientest Christian Writers, That St Peter was actually at Rome. The remainder of this Dissertation is chiefly employed in confuting the writings of Salmasius and Blondel against Episcopacy: In the course of which, he shews, that the *Babylon* mentioned in St Peter's Epistle (13), *was Babylon in Egypt.* For it could not be Babylon in Assyria; since it lay in ruins, and had ceased for many years being the capital of the Assyrian Empire; which honour devolved first upon *Seleucia*, and afterwards upon *Ctesiphon*, as it was in St Peter's time.——In the second Dissertation, he examines particularly the Catalogue of the Bishops of Rome; and proves, that Cletus and Anacletus are one and the same person; that Linus dyed in the Apostles time; &c. He takes a good deal of pains to fix the times of Clement, Euaristus, Alexander, Xystus, and Telesphorus. And occasionally confutes the notion entertained by Salamasius and Blondel, Of several Bishops, or Presbyters, being together, and at the same time, at Rome.——These Dissertations are written with that accuracy and judgment, that they have been admired and quoted by the most curious and learned men in foreign countries (14).

(12) Dissertat. prima, p. 1, &c.

(13) 1 Eph. ch. v. 13 ver. Vide p. 44, &c.

(14) See Echard's Hist. of England, edit. 1720, p. 1082.

preacher; a perſon of great judgment, and general learning; particularly, very accurate and exact in Chronology, and throughly acquainted with the writings of the Fathers, and Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory (*b*). To which Biſhop Burnet adds (*c*), that he 'was in all reſpects the greateſt Divine of the age: a man of great learning, ſtrong reaſon, and of a clear judgment. He was a judicious and grave preacher, more inſtructive than affective; and a man of a ſpotleſs life, and of an excellent temper. His book of the Creed is among the beſt that our Church has produced.' *But adds Burnet*, 'He was not active in his Dioceſe, but too remiſs and eaſy in his Epiſcopal function, and was a much better Divine than a Biſhop. He was a ſpeaking inſtance of what a great man can fall to: for his memory went from him ſo entirely, that he became a child (*d*) ſome years before he died.'

(*b*) Collier's Supplement to his Hiſtorical Dictionary.

(*c*) Hiſtory of his own Time, edit. 1753, 8vo. Vol. II. p. 396, 397. Biſhop Huet, to whom he communicated various Readings on ſome parts of Origen's Works, from the Stockholm and Venice Libraries, gives him an excellent character. *Commentarii de Rebus*, &c. p. 355.

(*d*) N. B. the word *again* is omitted.

He had a younger brother, named RICHARD, born at Creake, and educated at Eaton-ſchool. From whence being elected to King's-college in Cambridge in 1646, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1650, afterwards that of Maſter, and was alſo Fellow of the college. In the year 1659, he was candidate with Mr Croune for the Rhetoric Profeſſorſhip in Greſham-college, which was carried by the latter. And in 1662, he was appointed Under-keeper of the royal library at St James's. October 8, 1667, he was choſen Law-profeſſor at Greſham-college. In 1669, he went out Doctor of the Civil Law at Cambridge, when the Prince of Tuſcany viſited that univerſity. He dyed at Cambridge Auguſt 5, 1670. He was a moſt excellent Scholar, a moſt admired Grecian, and a great Traveller; and dyed, as was vulgarly reported, a Roman-Catholic (*e*).

C

(*e*) Wood, Ath. as above, and Mr Ward's Lives of the Profeſſors of Greſham-college, p. 249, &c.

PELL [JOHN], an eminent Mathematician, was deſcended of an ancient family in Lincolnſhire, whence this branch having removed ſome time into Suſſex, our author had his birth in that county, on the firſt of March, 1610, at Southwyke, of which place his father, Mr John Pell, was then Miniſter; but he did not live to ſee his ſon above ſix years of age, who, after that loſs, was put to a Grammar-ſchool, then newly founded at Stenning in the ſame county. Being a youth of a ſurprizingly forward genius, he paſſed through the ſchool in a few years, and was admitted of Trinity-college in Cambridge at the age of thirteen, as well skilled in the learned languages as moſt of thoſe who had ſpent ſeven years in the univerſity. In this ſituation he continued his ſtudies with unabated eagerneſs; an excellent habit of body rendered the uſual help of recreation unneceſſary, and it was very rarely that he ſuffered any to call him off from purſuing his ſole delight (*a*). In Mr Pell's genius two extraordinary talents were united, which rarely meet in the ſame perſon. To a wonderful facility in learning languages, was joined a peculiar turn to the Mathematics; inſomuch, that, at the age of eighteen, he drew up a *Deſcription and Uſe of the Quadrant, written for the uſe of a friend, in two books*; and the ſame year he held a correſpondence with the famous Mr Henry Briggs, upon the ſubject of Logarithms (*b*). In 1630, he wrote *Modus ſupputandi Ephemerides Aſtronomicas (quantum ad motum Solis attinet) paradigmate ad ann.* 1630 *accommodato* (*c*). And *A Key to unlock the Meaning of Johannes Trithimius, in his Diſcourſe of Steganography*; which he imparted to Mr Samuel Hartlib and Mr Jacob Homedæ (*d*). Having taken his degree of Bachelor of Arts at the uſual period, he proceeded to that of Maſter this year, when he left Cambridge; and making a viſit to Oxford, was incorporated in the ſame degree in that univerſity in 1631 (*e*). He was now twenty-one years of age, remarkably handſome in his perſon, and in great reputation and eſteem for his literary accompliſhents; being, beſides Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, maſter of the Arabic, Italian, French, Spaniſh, and High and Low Dutch, languages; and was alſo much talked of, on account of his skill in the Mathematics. Theſe united accompliſhments of perſon and parts, recommended him to Miſs Ithamaria (*f*), the ſecond daughter of Mr Henry Reginolles of London, whom he married the following year, on the third of July, and by her became the father of four ſons and as many daughters. He ſeems, indeed, to have been inclined early to a married ſtate; otherwiſe, with ſuch uncommon literary merit, he could not have failed of meeting with all the encouragements for continuing in his college which that Society could give him; but theſe he abſolutely declined, never offering himſelf a candidate either for a Scholarſhip or Fellowſhip there (*g*). In the mean time, his fondneſs for the Mathematics grew daily ſtronger. On the ſeventh of June, the year before his marriage, he wrote *A Letter* to Mr Edmund Wingate *on Logarithms*; and, October 5th the ſame year, he drew up *Commentaries in Coſmographiam Eſtedii.* March 6, 1633-4, he finiſhed his *Aſtronomical Hiſtory of Obſervations of Heavenly Motions and Appearances*; and on the 10th of April following, his *Eclipticus Prognoſta, or the Eclipſe Prognoſticator, or Foreknower of Eclipſes; teaching how by calculation to foreknow and foretel all ſorts of Eclipſes of the heavenly lights.* In 1634, he tranſlated the *Everlaſting Tables of Heavenly Motions, grounded upon the Obſervations of all Times, and agreeing with them all, by Philip Lanſberg of Ghent in Flanders, and ſet forth by himſelf in Latin; now turned into Engliſh, and from the ſexagiſal to the decimal Subdiviſions, for the more eaſe in Calculations.* On the 12th of June the ſame year, he committed to writing, *The Manner of his deducing his Aſtronomical Tables out of the Tables and Axioms of* Philip Lanſberg. March 9, 1634-5, he wrote *A Letter of Remarks on* Mr Gellibrand's Diſcourſe mathematical, on the Variation of the Magnetic Needle; and,

(*a*) Wood's Faſti, Vol. I. col. 253.

(*b*) There is extant a letter of Mr Briggs to him upon that ſubject, dated at Merton-college October 25, 1628.

(*c*) That is, A Method of computing Aſtronomical Ephemerides (for the Motion of the Sun) by an example accommodated to the year 1630.

(*d*) Birch's Hiſt. of the R. S. Vol. IV. p. 444.

(*e*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*f*) She is ſometimes called Athamar. Birch, ibid.

(*g*) Wood, as before.

on the third of June following, another on the same subject (*b*). In reality, a cultivation of mathematical learning took up all his thoughts, so that he projected an extraordinary model for their further advancement [*A*]. This being communicated by him in October 1639, to Mr Theodore Haak, that gentleman sent it to Mersennus in France; who passing censure upon it, our author wrote a piece in it's defence; which, though it proved not to satisfy his antagonist [*B*], yet he had the pleasure of having it approved by Des Cartes in 1640 (*i*). His eminence in mathematical knowledge was now so great, that he was thought worthy of a Professor's chair in that science; and, upon the vacancy of one at Amsterdam in 1639, by the death of Hortensius, Sir William Boswell, the English Resident with the States-General, made use of his interest for Mr Pell (*k*), who succeeded to it as soon as it was concluded to be filled up, which, however, happened not 'till December 1643. He executed this charge with the highest applause of the Hollanders [*C*]; and the following year he published a refutation, in two folio pages, of Longomontanus's pretended quadrature of the circle; upon which occasion he obtained the suffrages of the best Mathematicians in Europe [*D*]: and the Prince of Orange founding his *Schola Illustris* at

(*b*) Birch, as before, from our author's papers in the archives of the Royal Society.

(*i*) Hooke's Philosophical Collections, Vol. V.

(*k*) Birch, from a MS. note of the doctor's.

[*A*] *He projected an extraordinary model for their further advancement.*] This paper being a curiosity in it's kind, we shall lay it before the reader. The general design is to promote the progress of these studies by, 1. Exciting a love for them. 2. To furnish the means for attaining them. 3. To facilitate and shorten the labour of attaining them. To obtain these ends, he proposes I. to write a *Consiliarius Mathematicus*, answering to these three questions. Qu. 1. What fruit or profit ariseth from the studies? 2. What helps are there for attaining it? 3. What order is to be observed in using those helps? To this purpose, it should contain, first, a plain and popular discourse of the extent of the Mathematics, with the profit that redounds first to the student himself, and then to the country, wherein there are many such grounded artists. 2. A catalogue of Mathematicians and their works in this order, first, A Synopsis of all the several kinds of mathematical writings, either extant in print or accessible manuscripts in public libraries, with several numbers set to every kind. 2. A Chronological Catalogue of all Mathematicians names of note, according to the order of time when their works first appeared. 3. A Catalogue of the writings themselves in the same order; after this manner, 1. The year. 2. The titles of the books, with the size and number of pages for references, as hereafter directed. 3. The year of the second edition. 4. The number of references to the Synopsis in the first page, by which numbers are known all the books of one sort upon any particular subject. 5. A Counsel directing to the best books in every kind, in what order, and how to be read, what to observe, what to beware, how to proceed, and keep all. 4. A Paraenesis: first to all those who have means and leisure, and a wit not unapt for these studies, to set upon them on account of their profitableness; of the pleasure of hunting out hidden truths; and of the great ease of attaining them now more than formerly, by reason of the many great helps therein. Secondly, to the rich and wealthy to encourage this sort of students, setting apart the choicest of them to perfect the inventions to which their genius leads them; especially to all Princes and States, whom it concerns, to take a course, that their dominions may be better furnished with this sort of studies. That the way may be made less laborious and costly, and that the mathematical geniuses may be discovered and assisted. To this end it would be good II. To erect a publick Library containing all those books, and one instrument of every sort that hath been invented, with sufficient revenue to buy one copy of all those printed yearly in other countries. And secondly, to maintain a Librarian of judgment, whose business may be to peruse all books of such subjects to be printed within that country, and suppress what is not according to art, that learners be not abused, and to admonish the writers if they bring nothing but stale stuff. Upon his credit to approve excellent inventions, and impartially to commend the inventors to the rewarders. To receive, record, and place, one printed copy of every book so perused, sent into the library well bound, at the author's or bookseller's charge; to resolve any student that enquires about any problems, whether it has been done already or no, fearing lest he should *actum agere*. To receive all manuscripts brought in by way of gift, legacy, or the like. To maintain correspondence abroad, to know what is printed there. To take notice of all his countrymen that are fit to be teachers. To keep a catalogue of all such workmen as are able and fit to be employed in making mathematical instruments, and working upon wood, magnets, metals, glasses, &c. To give a testimonial after examination to all sorts of practisers, as pilots, masters, land-meters, accomptants, &c. This he thinks the best course for making use of such helps as we have already, and for the obtaining better helps, it is proposed to employ fit artists. III. To write and publish these three new treatises, 1. *Pandectae Mathematicae*, comprehending whatever may be gathered out of all the mathematical books and inventions already made, or that may be inferred as consectaries therefrom, citing the ancientest author in which each proposition is found, and branding all later writers if they be taken stealing or borrowing without acknowledgment, or (which is worse) expresly arrogating to themselves another man's inventions. This would bring that great library into far less room to the saving of more labour, time, and cost, to all students, than men can yet well imagine, but because this also would be too great and cumbersome to carry about us; let there be composed, 2. A *Comes Mathematicus*, comprehending in a pocket-book the usefulest tables, and the precepts for their use, in solving all problems, whether purely mathematical, or applied to such practices, as mens various occasions may require; and, lastly, that this kind of learning also may be no longer confined to books, let there be composed, 3. A Mathematicus αὐτάρχης, or an Instruction shewing how any Mathematician that will take the pains, may prepare himself, so as to be able, without the help of books, to resolve any mathematical problem as exactly as if he had a complete library by him (1).

[*B*] *It was approved by Des Cartes.*] Mersennus's censure was dated the first of November. To this Mr Pell wrote an answer, dated the 21st of that month, and Mersennus rejoined in a reply dated December 10th, all in the same year, 1639, and these with Des Cartes's judgment and approbation dated February 8th, 1640, are printed with a Latin copy of the model in Mr Hooke's Philosophic Collections as above cited.

[*C*] *He read lectures with the greatest applause of the Hollanders.*] His colleague Gerard John Vossius, styles him a person of various erudition, and a most acute Mathematician, and greatly applauds his lectures upon Diophantus, read at Amsterdam (2). The greatest part of that author's six books of Arithmetick were found among Mr Pell's manuscripts, and from these papers it appears, that in August 1644, he was preparing a new edition of Diophantus, in which he would have corrected the translation, and made new illustrations. He designed likewise to publish an edition of Apollonius, but laid it aside in May 1645, at the desire of Golius, who was engaged in an edition of that writer, from an Arabic manuscript given him at Aleppo eighteen years before (3).

[*D*] *The suffrages of the best Mathematicians in Europe.*] That this controversy was entered into by our author in 1644, appears from what Mr Bayle has inserted from Mollerus, who (4), among other things concerning this attempt of Longomontanus, having observed that Dr John Pell, the chief antagonist this Danish Professor had, inserted in his work whatever the most excellent Mathematicians of the age had communicated to him, proceeds thus: *Quorum suffragia ac demonstrationes Theorematis, in cujus probatione*

(1) *Idea of the Mathematics*, subjoined to The Reformed School by John Dury. Lond. 1651, 4to.

(2) Vossius de Scientiis Mathematicis, cap. 10.

(3) Letters of Mr Pell to Sir Charles Cavendishe, in the Royal Society.

(4) In a work intituled, Ad Librum Alberti Bartholini de Scriptis Danorum posthumum Hypomnemata Historico-critica paucula ex plurimis selecta, p. 188. edit. 1699. Bayle's Dict. under the article Longomontanus.

at Breda in 1646, he invited Mr Pell in June to be Profeſſor of Philoſophy and Mathematics there, with the offer of a ſalary of a thouſand guilders per annum (*l*). Our author accepted this propoſal, and, upon removing to Breda, was eaſed of the philoſophical lecture, but filled the mathematical chair (*m*), as he had before done at Amſterdam, with great ſucceſs and reputation [*E*]; and bred up ſeveral ſcholars, who afterwards became eminent Algebraiſts. But his patron the Prince of Orange dying of the ſmall-pox in 1650, and a war between the Engliſh and Dutch breaking out in 1652 *, our author returned to England that year; and, in the beginning of 1654, was ſent by Cromwell, then Lord Protector, Agent (*n*) to the Proteſtant Cantons in Switzerland. In the diſcharge of this poſt, he ſeated himſelf at Zurich, where he had afterwards the title of Reſident, and was continued in that character 'till 1658, when, returning to England (*o*), he arrived ſo ſhort a time before the death of Cromwell, that he had no opportunity of an audience from his Highneſs (*p*). Whatever were the Protector's motives for employing him, it does not appear that he negotiated any affairs of moment; and 'tis ſaid, that while he was abroad, he did no ill ſervice to the intereſts of King Charles the Second and the Church of England (*q*). However that be, it is certain that after the Reſtoration he took Holy Orders from the hands of Dr Sanderſon, Biſhop of Lincoln; and, being ordained Deacon March 31, 1661, and Prieſt in June following, he was inſtituted, on the 16th of that month, to the rectory of Fobbing in Eſſex (*r*), with the chapel of Battleſden annexed, given him by the King (*s*). On the fifth of December following, he brought into the Upper Houſe of Convocation the Kalendar, reformed by him, with the aſſiſtance of Mr Sancroft, afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury. In 1663, he was preſented by Dr Sheldon, then Biſhop of London, to the rectory of Laingdon in Eſſex, to which he was inſtituted the 23d of July (*t*). He was created Doctor of Divinity about this time (*u*), and his patron being promoted the next month to the ſee of Canterbury, made him one of his domeſtic chaplains (*w*). This is generally a ſtep to higher preferment, and he might well flatter himſelf with the hopes of ſome dignity in the Church; but theſe were all cut off by his own imprudent conduct [*F*]. In the mean time, he made a diſtinguiſhed figure in the Royal Society, of which he was declared a Fellow March 20, 1663, ſoon after the ſecond charter was granted to that Body (*x*); and, purſuing his entirely beloved ſtudy, the Mathematics, he publiſhed in 1664, *An Exercitation concerning Eaſter*, in 4to. and the following year he aſſiſted Mr Brancker, in preparing for

(*l*) Idem, from a letter of Mr Pell to Sir Charles Cavendiſh from Amſterdam.

(*m*) His inaugural ſpeech was afterwards printed.

* Salmon's Chron. Hiſt. under theſe years.

(*n*) In his inſtructions he is called Ablegatus.

(*o*) His firſt ſpeech to the Deputies of Zurich was made in Latin, June 13, 1654, and that on his departure on the 23d of the ſame month, 1656. Birch, from our author's papers.

(*p*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*q*) Ibid.

(*r*) Newcourt's Repertorium.

(*s*) Kennett's Regiſter and Chronicle, p. 57?. where Fobbing is ſaid to be ſo unhealthy a ſituation, that ſeven curates had died there in the ſpace of 16 years.

(*t*) Newcourt's Repertorium.

(*u*) Wood, as before.

(*w*) Ibid.

(*x*) Birch's Hiſt. of the R. S. Vol. I. N. B. His name recurs not unfrequently in this and the following volumes of that Hiſtory, where he appears to have been a very uſeful member.

tione totius Controverſiæ cardo vertebdtur dubii, una cum Pelliana (in Joh. Pellii Controverſiæ de vera Circuli menſura inter Longomontanum &c. An. 1644 exortæ, Parte 1. Amſtelod. An. 1647) excuſa, occurrent. That is, Whoſe ſuffrages and demonſtrations of this doubtful theorem, on the proof whereof the hinge of the whole controverſy turned, together with thoſe of Pell, are to be found in part the firſt of the diſpute between John Pell and Longomontanus, in 1644, concerning the true quadrature of the circle, printed at Amſterdam in 1647, 4to *. It muſt be obſerved, that Longomontanus publiſhed a piece in 1645, 4to; which he intituled, Controverſia cum Pellio de vera Circuli menſura. In this piece was contained an anſwer to ſome of his antagoniſt's remarks concerning his falſe reaſoning; upon which our author perceiving that the point of the difficulty conſiſted in the proof of a ſingle theorem, he firſt drew up a demonſtration of it himſelf, and reſolved to propoſe the thing to all the able Mathematicians of his acquaintance, in order to know their opinions. The perſons who examined it, and ſent him their demonſtrations, were Meſſrs. de Roberval, Le Pailleur, Carcavi, Mydorge, and Father Merſenne in France, Lord Charles Cavendiſhe and Mr Hobbes of England, John Adolphus Feſſius, a Mathematician of Hamburgh, John Lewis, Wolzogen a free Baron of Auſtria, Gentleman of the Bedchamber to the King of Poland, Father Bonaventura Cavalieri an Italian, Profeſſor of Mathematicks at Bologna; Golius, Profeſſor of Mathematicks at Leyden, and one other Dutch Mathematician. Des Cartes alſo ſent him a ſhort demonſtration upon the ſame ſubject, to join, as Baillet obſerves, in concert with the greateſt Mathematicians in Europe, in that famous diſpute between Longomontanus and Pell. His refutation was dated Auguſt 1ſt, 1644, and concludes thus: *Abunde igitur ſufficit hæc unica pagella tot chartis librіſque aliquoties editis* (5) *refutandis; triumque horularum ſpatio noſtra premens veſtigia poſt paucu-las multiplicationes & diviſiones, tot annorum incredibiles Longomontani labores prorſus periiſſe videbis. Ita cenſeo Johannes Pellius Coritano-regnus, Anglus, Matheſeos in illuſtri Amſtelodamenſium Gymnaſio Profeſſor. Calendis Sextilibus, anno* 1644 (6). i. e. This ſingle page is abundantly ſufficient for refuting ſo many books and papers publiſhed and any one following our ſteps, will in three hours time ſee ſo many years incredible pains of Longomontanus entirely deſtroyed, only by a few multiplications and diviſions. So think I, John Pell &c.

* It is ſaid that Longomontanus boaſted even in his epitaph, that he had diſcovered the ſquaring of the circle, and that Gaſpar Bartholin wrote a congratulatory epigram to him on the occaſion. Ibid. p. 187.

(5) Longomontanus wrote five or ſix pieces upon it.

(6) Birch's Hiſt. of the R. S. Vol. IV. p. 545.

[*E*] *He filled the chair at Breda with uncommon merit.*] While he held this poſt, beſides others, he had William, Lord Brereton of Brereton in Cheſhire, for his pupil, who, being ſent by his grandfather George, Earl of Norwich, made an uncommon progreſs in Algebra under our author (7). His Lordſhip purſued this ſtudy as long as he lived. He was a great encourager of the Royal Society, of which he became an early member (8); and at his death, which happened in 1679, he left behind him the character of a good Algebraiſt, but an excellent Muſician, both in practice and theory, having compoſed ſeveral pieces in that faculty (9). It is obſervable, that his ſon William, Lord Brereton, excelled in the ſame art, but died lunatic, at Brereton, about the year 1720 (10). As Mr Pell reſided ſome years with his noble pupil at Brereton, ſome of his manuſcripts were left there, particularly, a demonſtration of the ſecond and tenth books of Euclid's Elements, and the Ψαμμίτης of Archimedes †, which probably were the ſubſtance of ſome of his lectures at Breda.

[*F*] *His imprudent conduct.*] It is the remark of Mr Wood, who tells us the doctor expected to be made a Dean, but that not being a perſon of activity, as others who mind not learning are, he could never riſe higher than a Rector. In concluſion, the Antiquary gives a better reaſon for it, when he acknowledges that the doctor was a ſhiftleſs man in worldly affairs, and that his tenants and relations dealt ſo unkindly by him, that they cozened him of the profits of his parſonage, and kept him ſo indigent, that he wanted neceſſaries, even ink and paper, to his dying day (11); and we ſhall ſee preſently that he was thrown into the King's-Bench priſon for debt. It is true, his friends were unpardonable, yet, at the ſame time, he himſelf was undeniably very blame-worthy; ſuch a conduct as is here repreſented, beſpeaks a weakneſs, which, though, on account of his learning, it might render him an object of compaſſion, yet rendered him alſo a very unfit perſon to fill any dignity in the Church.

(7) Wood's Faſti, ubi ſupra.

(8) See Birch's Hiſt. of the R. S. the three firſt volumes.

(9) Wood.

(10) From my own knowledge.

† Wood.

(11) Wood, where laſt cited.

[G] He

for the preſs *An Engliſh edition of Rhonius's Algebra* [G] (y); wherein he made ſeveral corrections, beſides large additions, which were publiſhed with that treatiſe in 1668. After this, he drew up *A Table of ten thouſand Square Numbers, namely, of all the Square Numbers between 0 and a hundred million, and of their Sides, which are all the whole numbers between 0 and ten thouſand, with an Appendix concerning the Endings of all Square Numbers.* Theſe tables were printed in 1672, in folio. But the inceſſant application which he gave to his ſtudies, for the improvement of mathematical enquiries, taking him off of the neceſſary attendance to his private affairs, ſome debts were contracted, which occaſioned him to be thrown more than once into the King's-Bench priſon. Being reduced at length to the greateſt indigence, Dr Whiſtler, in March 1682, invited him, then Cenſor and Regiſtrary of the College of Phyſicians (z), to his houſe. He continued with the doctor 'till June following, when the ill ſtate of his health requiring particular attendance, he was taken in by a grandchild he had living in St Margaret's church-yard, Weſtminſter, whence at laſt, being removed to the houſe of Mr Cothorne, Reader of the church of St Giles in the Fields, in Dyot-ſtreet in that pariſh, he died there December 12, 1685, and was interred by the charity of Dr Richard Buſby, head maſter of Weſtminſter-ſchool, and Dr John Sharp, Rector of St Giles's church, in the Rector's vault under that church (a a). The pieces publiſhed by our author have been mentioned in the courſe of this memoir; the fewneſs of them are eſteemed a mark of his modeſty, as being well able to have enlarged the number (b b), as appears in ſome meaſure from his manuſcripts; a great quantity of theſe came after his death into the hands of Dr Buſby, which Mr Hook reporting to the Royal Society, February 10, 1685-6, he was deſired to uſe his endeavours to obtain them for the Society; but they continued buried under duſt, and mixed with the papers and pamphlets of Dr Buſby, in four large boxes, 'till June 1755, when Dr Birch, Secretary to the Royal Society, procured them for that body, by means of the Reverend Mr Richard Widmore, A. M. Librarian of the church of St Peter's Weſtminſter, from the truſtees of Dr Buſby. The collection contains, not only Dr Pell's mathematical papers, letters to him, and copies of thoſe from him, but likewiſe ſeveral manuſcripts of Mr Walter Warner, the Philoſopher and Mathematician, who lived in the reigns of King James the Firſt and Charles the Firſt (c c), and was particularly honoured in the mathematical republic, for the care and pains which he took to enrich it with the Algebra of Mr Harriot, whoſe juſt claim to ſeveral inventions and improvements in that excellent art, is clearly aſſerted againſt the pretenſions of Des Cartes by Dr Wallis, with the aſſiſtance and informations of Dr Pell (d d) [H], who is alſo ranked among the improvers

(y) The Latin title is Algebra Rhonii Germanici. Tigur. apud Bodmerum, 1659, 4to.

(z) Ward's Lives of the Greſham Profeſſors, p. 156. Mr Wood obſerves, that he, like Dr Pell, was a bad man, and that though he married a rich widow, and got a thouſand pounds a year by his practice, yet he died in debt. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 760.

(a a) Wood's Faſti, Vol. I. col. 254.

(b b) Wallis's Hiſt. of Algebra, ch. 57. in the beginning.

(c c) Birch's Hiſt. of R. S. Vol. IV. p. 545.

(d d) See Harriot's article, in this Work.

[G] *He made additions and illuſtrations to Rhonius's Algebra, &c.*] Mr Brancker having this book put into his hands in 1662, by a friend who deſired it might be tranſlated; he complied with that requeſt, and having finiſhed the tranſlation, got it licenſed for the preſs May 18th 1665, whither he ſent it, under the title of, An Introduction to Algebra, with orders to reprint the ſix leaves of the author's incompoſit numbers preciſely as they ſtood in the original. But being informed a little while after of Dr Pell, as a perſon worthy to be made acquainted with the deſign before he proceeded further in the impreſſion, and deſirous of it, he waited upon the doctor, 'who, ſays he, I 'found not only very able to direct me, but alſo very 'willing ſo to do as far as his leiſure would admit. 'He gave me diverſe cautions concerning the work, 'he ſhewed me the way of making the table of incompoſits, of examining and of continuing it as far 'as I would. He encouraged me to extend it to '100,000; telling me, that by the time I had calculated and printed that table, he hoped to be at leiſure to review ſome of Monſieur Rhonius's problems, 'and to work them anew, and that he would ſend 'them to me with leave to publiſh them or keep 'them by me.' Mr Brancker had accordingly finiſhed and printed that table, as alſo twelve ſheets of the book, when he received the doctor's alterations which begin with problem 24th, p. 100, all from thence being his work to the end, as is alſo page 79, 80, 81, 82, which he ſent laſt of all. So that inſtead of the firſt 124 pages of Rhonius, this hath juſt twice as many (12). The whole of Rhonius was not tranſlated (13); being left out of the Engliſh edition for theſe reaſons. Becauſe the firſt part, handling the taction of circles, was ſuperſeded by ſome epiſtles of Des Cartes upon that ſubject in the third volume of his poſthumous letters. The ſecond part, treating of the geometrical compoſition and delineation of equations, was borrowed from Des Cartes, and the ſubject was alſo treated by Sluſius in his Meſolabium in 1659, 4to. which book the author propoſed to reprint and inlarge that ſummer, viz. 1668. The third part contains about 105 theorems, about ſines, tangents, ſecants, &c. the doctrine whereof, together with what elſe is omitted in this Engliſh edition, and other conſiderable matters about equations was hoped from the pen of that excellent perſon (as Dr Pell is called) mentioned in the epiſtle to the reader (14). The truth is, Mr Brancker was in ſome doubt about the original performance, and therefore was deſirous before he proceeded further to have the opinion of the publick upon it (15); and it appears that Mr John Collins, before Dr Pell's deſign was known, ſent it to Dr Wallis, who examined the table of incompoſits, made a catalogue of amendments which he propoſed to have printed in a ſingle leaf at the end of thoſe made in page 198 (16), by Mr Brancker, to whom Mr Collins had alſo ſent a letter while the book was in the preſs, wherein he writes, that though he knew none who accounted the introduction a bad one, yet divers thought it might have been more plain, and ought to have been larger. As to himſelf, he ſays, he underſtood it fully upon reading it at Coventry in 1665, but that Dr Twiſden who had ſtudied (quodam modo) Algebra, as he believed, this twenty years, profeſſed he could not underſtand it. It ſeems Kerſey's Algebra was then ready for the preſs, which Collins mentions as an argument to be made uſe of by Mr Brancker to Dr Pell, to admit the firſt ſeven ſheets of his introduction inlarged out of Kinkhuyſen, to come out as Mr Brancker's tranſlation, as ſoon as poſſible, ſignifying, that the doctor might then take what time he pleaſed to ſupply the defect at the beginning, and to enlarge and complete the book (17). Thus we ſee the true motive for Mr Brancker's breaking off as he did. And the reaſon of Dr Pell's engaging in the deſign will be found, when the reader is told that Rhonius had been his ſcholar at Zurich (18), and that Mr Brancker, though a Devonſhire man, and bred at Exeter college in Oxford, yet at this time was particularly patronized by the Lord Brereton, who ſhortly after preſented him to the living of Tilſton in Cheſhire (19). Add to this, that he firſt ſaw Dr Pell at the ſaid nobleman's houſe (20).

[H] *The information of Dr Pell.*] The diſcovery made by this information concerning Des Cartes's Plagiariſm from Harriot's Algebra does particular honour to our country; and as the whole merit of it is entirely due to Sir Charles Cavendiſhe, a gentleman of ſingular worth

(12) Brancker's preface to the introduction.

(13) There were 8 or 9 ſheets remaining. Ibid.

(14) Account of the introduction, in Philoſ. Tranſ. No. 35.

(15) Preface to the book.

(16) Letter of Dr Wallis to Mr Collins, in General Dictionary, Vol. VIII. p. 253. (b).

(17) Id. Vol. X. p. 544.

(18) Wood's Faſti, Vol. I. p. 253.

(19) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 570.

(20) Letter to Mr Collins.

improvers of Algebra in the next place to Harriot [*I*], and 'tis certain he rivalled Oughtred both in diligence and in fondneſs for the art [*K*].

worth in all reſpects; and not only himſelf an excellent Mathematician, but a generous Mæcenas of the Engliſh Mathematicians in his time, eſpecially Mr Oughtred and Dr Pell (12). Some account ſhall be given of him here as follows. He was younger brother to Will. Cavendiſhe, the loyal Earl, Marquis, and Duke of Newcaſtle, as hath been already mentioned in this work. He was born, not improbably, about the year 1593 *, and from his youth inclined to learning and letters. He was knighted at Welbeck in Nottinghamſhire on the 10th of Auguſt, 1619 (22), when King James the Firſt did his brother the honour of lying there; and was returned for the town of Nottingham to the Parliament held in the 31ſt year of that King, as alſo to the other Parliaments in the 3d and 15th years of King Charles the Firſt (23). When the rebellion broke out he followed his brother's fortunes, and was with him in all the conſiderable actions of thoſe times, particularly in the battle of Marſton-moor, wherein he very much diſtinguiſhed himſelf. 'The Marquis of 'Newcaſtle, ſays my Lord Clarendon, with his brave 'brother Sir Charles Cavendiſh (who was a man of 'the nobleſt and largeſt mind, tho' the leaſt and moſt 'inconvenient body that lived) charged in the head 'of a troop of gentleman, who came out of York with 'him, with as much gallantry and courage as men 'could do (24).' After this, retiring to Hamburg (25) with his brother the Marquis, he ſhared in his hard fortunes; and being with him at Antwerp, was with difficulty prevailed on to return to England, notwithſtanding his eſtate had been under ſequeſtration from the time he left the kingdom; and if he had not returned, was to have been ſold. But he ſcorned to receive his eſtate from the uſurpers then in power, and choſe rather to have loſt it, than compounded for it. His brother, the Earl of Newcaſtle, was obliged to get Chancellor Hyde, then at Antwerp, to perſuade him to a compoſition, and nothing but his brother's neceſſities could prevail on him. His ſiſter, the Counteſs of Newcaſtle, who ſet out with him on his journey to England, relates, that the money they had was hardly able to defray their expences to London, and obliged them to ſtay in Southwark, where Sir Charles ſent for one that had been his ſteward, and giving him his watch to pawn, with that money paid their lodging there. From thence, they went into lodgings in Covent-Garden, and Sir Charles, by his agents, after ſome time agreed to pay 4500 *l.* for his eſtate; but the Parliament cauſing it to be ſurveyed again, made him pay 500 *l.* more, a larger ſum than others had paid for much greater eſtates (26). During the negotiation for this agreement, he and the Counteſs were reduced to great ſtreights, and it was ſome time before his rents could be received: but at length, with great difficulty, he borrowed 200 *l.* ſterling to ſend over to his brother at Antwerp, who had wrote to him from thence, that if he was not preſently relieved, he ſhould be ſtarved, his creditors being grown very impatient. His Lordſhip's eſtate being put up to be ſold at that time, Sir Charles endeavoured to ſave his two chief houſes, Welbeck and Bolſover, and for that purpoſe parted with ſome of his own lands, that they might not come into the enemy's hands; but before he could raiſe the money, Bolſover was ſold, and was begun to be pulled down, which obliged him to buy it at a far greater rate, than was firſt offered for it. After his ſtay in England for a year and a half, and the Counteſs his ſiſter obtaining no relief for her Lord, they both reſolved on returning to Antwerp, when he was ſeized with an ague which put a period to his life in the 63d year of his age (27), and was buried at Bolſover (28) the fourth of February, 1653; as he was never married, his eſtate fell in to his brother the Duke of Newcaſtle. His ſiſter, the Ducheſs of Newcaſtle gives this account of him. 'His death, ſays 'ſhe, was an extreme affliction to his brother the Earl, 'for they loved each other entirely. In truth he was 'a perſon of ſo great worth, ſuch extraordinary ci'vility, ſo obliging a nature, ſo full of generoſity, juſtice, 'and charity, beſides all manner of learning, eſpecially 'in the Mathematicks, that not only his friends, but 'even his enemies, did much lament the loſs (29).'

[*I*] *He is ranked next to Harriot.*] The advances made by the doctor in Algebra, are chiefly ſeen in his additions, &c. to Rhonius's Introduction already men-

(12) Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 672.

* See note (27).

(22) Philpot's Catalogue of Knights, p. 77.

(23) Willis's Notitia Parl. p. 193, 223, 234.

(24) Hiſt. of Rebellion, &c. Vol. IV. p. 503, 504, 8vo. edition.

(25) Whitelock's Memorials, p. 92.

(26) His eſtate was about 2000 *l.* a year, and they had received the rents of it for eight years when this compoſition was demanded. Lloyd's Memoirs, &c. p. 673.

(27) So it is printed in the Account of the Families of Cavendiſhe, &c. p. 25. edit. 1752, folio; which account, as it ſtands there, makes him elder brother to the Duke, who was born in 1592.

(28) Ex Regiſtr. Eccleſ. de Bolſover.

(29) Life of the Duke of Newcaſtle, p. 71 to 74.

tioned, in which he introduced the method, as it is called, of marginal working in that art. Thus, he firſt expounds in ſo many diſtinct lines all the data of given quantities of the queſtion, and againſt them all the quæſita or quantities ſought for on another margin, and if the quæſita exceed the data, he marks the overplus of the data with an *, which denotes the queſtion to be ſo far indeterminate. Then he proceeds, by arguing from theſe, to make new equations, which are ſtill ſeverally ſet down in diſtinct lines, numbering all the equations in a middle column, that they may be more commodiouſly cited. He alſo marks by ſhort indications in the remoter margin, from which of the precedent ſteps, and by what kind of argumentation, the equation which is adverſe to it is inferred (30). The advantage of this method is evident, and needs no other, nor indeed can it have, a better recommendation from authority, than it received from Sir Iſaac Newton, who makes uſe of it as the beſt in his *Arithmetica Univerſalis.* We muſt not omit likewiſe to obſerve, that beſides Oughtred's marks +, —, × :: =, √, for addition, ſubduction, multiplication, proportion, equality, and radicality, and theſe two of Harriot's >, <, for majority and minority, Dr Pell introduced ÷, @, ω, and ∴ for diviſion, involution, evolution, and ergo.

Theſe improvements regard the manner of an algebraical proceſs. Next, as to the matter, the doctor, in the piece laſt mentioned, firſt gave the ſolutions of ſeveral problems of Diophantus, ſome ſuch as Bachet, his famous commentator, either confeſſes he did not attain, or at leaſt left obſcure; and others, ſuch as Des Cartes and Schooten had left doubtful, as not being by them thoroughly underſtood. It is obſervable, that our author declines the *Exegeſis numeroſa* of *Vieta*, which following writers uſe for finding the roots of equations (31). And the perplexed nature of that *Exegeſis* was complained of both by Sir Iſaac Newton and Dr Halley †.

[*K*] *He emulated Oughtred in diligence and fondneſs for the art.*] This will be readily allowed by the reader, when he ſees the doctor's warm zeal upon this ſubject, in his model or idea of the Mathematicks already mentioned. 'As for the preſent 'idea, ſays he, I am ſo far from counting it merely 'impoſſible, that I ſee not why it might not be per'formed by one man without any aſſiſtants, provided 'he were not diſtracted with care for his maintenance, 'nor diverted by other employments. The excel'lency of this work, continues he, makes me wiſh 'mine own nation the honour of firſt undertaking 'and perfecting this deſign.' Nay, he is ſo ſanguine as to conceive he had ſome reaſon to hope it would be ſo; and that, from a perſuaſion that ſome might be found among the learned nobility and gentry, who would encourage it; though for his own part, he owns, he knew none ſuch, even ſuppoſing them convinced of the poſſibility and likelihood of it's being effected. He likewiſe, in proceeding, grounds his hopes on the ſame fond reaſoning, with regard to finding perſons able to compoſe the *three new treatiſes* (32). 'And, ſays he, I the rather believe that there are many 'ſuch, becauſe, for my own part, I am come to ſuch a 'confidence of my underſtanding the depth of that ſtudy, 'that were I to pen thoſe Pandects, I ſhould lay heavier 'laws upon myſelf, than I have mentioned; namely, 'firſt to lay down ſuch an exact method in the proceſs 'of making inventions, as from thence to deduce not 'only all that our anceſtors have done, or even thought 'on, but alſo all the mathematical inventions, theo'rems, problems, and precepts, that it is poſſible for 'the working wits of our ſucceſſors to light upon; 'and that in one certain unchanged order from the 'firſt ſeeds of Mathematicks to their higheſt and no'bleſt applications; not ſetting them down at random 'as others have done, ſo that they ſeem to have light 'upon their problems, as well as the ſolution of them, 'by chance, but in ſuch order that may ſhew them 'to have been found by one perpetual, conſtant, in'variable proceſs of art. For ſuch an art men may in'vent, if they accuſtom themſelves, as I have long 'done, to conſider, not only, the uſefulneſs of mens 'works, and the meaning and truth of their writings; 'but alſo how it came to paſs that they fell upon ſuch 'thoughts, and propoſed ſuch ends, and found out

(30) See an illuſtration of this method by proper examples in Dr Wallis's Hiſtory of Algebra, chap. LVII, LVIII, LIX, LX.

(31) Account of Rhonius's Introduction, &c. in Phil. Tranſ. No. XXXV.

† See Dr Halley's article.

(32) i. e. The Pandectæ Mathematicæ, the Comes Mathematicus, and Mathematicus αὐτάρκης.

'such means for them.' He then goes on to shew the particular use of the Pandects, and observes, that it is easily seen how to contract them into a pocket-book for ordinary use, as in the Comes Mathematicus; 'but, continues he, so to lay them up in one's head as 'to need no book at all (according to my Deside ra-'tum in the Mathematicus αὐτάρχης) will perhaps 'seem utterly impossible to most, no man that ever I 'heard of having proposed such a scope to himself 'before.. But perhaps they will conceive it more 'possible, if it please them to suspend their judgments, ''till they have considered what means may be used 'to fortify the imagination, to prompt the memory, 'to regulate our reason, and what effects may be 'produced by the uniting of these means, and the con-'stant exercising them.' Hence, upon the whole, to convince his friend that this scheme was not a mere chimæra, he declares, that the consideration of the incomparable excellency, unstained pleasure, invaluable profitableness, and undaunted possibility of the whole design, had prevailed so far with him, that notwithstanding all the discouragements that he had met withal, he had done more towards it than a bare idea (33). P

(33) Idea of Mathematics, &c. ubi supra.

PENN [William], founder of the flourishing colony of Pensylvania in North-America; and son of Sir William Penn, Knight, Admiral of England, and one of the commanders at the taking of Jamaica [*A*]. He was born the 14th of October, 1644, on Tower-hill, in the parish of St Catharine's London; his mother being Margaret, daughter of John Jasper, of Roterdam in Holland, Merchant. His first education was at Chigwell in Essex, where it is pretended he received the first impressions of his subsequent odd and enthusiastical notions [*B*]. Afterwards he went to a private school on Tower-hill, and had, besides, the advantage of a private tutor which his father kept in the house. In 1660 he was entered a Gentleman-Commoner of Christ's-Church in Oxford; and matriculated in October, that year, as a Knight's son. Here he continued two years, as we are told, and delighted much in manly sports at times of recreation (*a*). But, mean while, being influenced by the preaching of one Thomas Low, or Loe, a Quaker, he and some other students withdrew from the national form of worship, and held private meetings for the exercise of religion, where they preached and prayed among themselves. This giving great offence to the governors of the university, Mr Penn was fined

(*a*) Wood Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 1050. and Life of William Penn, prefix'd to Vol. I. of his Works, edit. 1726. fol.

[*A*] *Son of Sir William Penn, Knt. Admiral,— and one of the commanders at the taking of Jamaica*] We have the following account of Sir William, in his epitaph, in Redcliffe-church in Bristol, where he was buried That, 'he was born at Bristol, Anno 1621. '[but Mr Wood says, that it was at Mynety in Wilt-'shire (1).] son of Captain Giles Penn, several years 'Consul for the English in the Mediterranean; of the 'Penns of Penns-lodge in the county of Wilts, and 'those Penns of Penn in the county of Bucks, and by 'his mother from the Gilberts, in the county of So-'merset, originally from Yorkshire: addicted from 'his youth to maritime affairs: he was made Captain 'at the age of twenty one, Rear-Admiral of Ire-'land at twenty three, Vice-Admiral of Ireland at 'twenty five. Admiral to the Straits at twenty nine, 'Vice-Admiral of England at thirty one, and Gene-'ral in the first Dutch war at thirty two. Whence 'returning anno 1655, he was made a Parliament-'man for the town of Weymouth; 1660 made Com-'missioner of the Admiralty and Navy, Governor of 'the town and fort of Kinsale, Vice-Admiral of 'Munster, and a Member of that Provincial Council; 'anno 1664, was chosen Great Captain Commander 'under his Royal Highness, in that signal and most 'evidently successful fight against the Dutch fleet.' 'Then he took leave of the sea, but continued still 'his other employs, till 1669, at what time, through 'bodily infirmities, he withdrew; and with a gentle 'and even gale in much peace arrived, and anchored 'in his last and best port at Wanstead in Essex, the '16th of Septemb. 1670, being then but forty nine 'years and four months old.'——His Proceedings in America, we may observe, are here entirely past over in silence: But, in Thurloe's State-papers (2), we have these minutes of them; which we hope will not be disagreeable to the reader.—Adm. Penn gave this account 12 Sept. 1655, to Oliver's Council.——— 'Sailed from Portsmouth 26 Decemb. 1654.—29 'Jan. arrived at Barbadoes.—30 March shipped the 'army at Barbadoes, and sailed the next day.——— '6 April arrived at St Christophers.—The 12th, saw 'the island of Hispaniola.——13th, came before St 'Domingo: they agreed that Buller and Holdip 'should stay with Penn before St Domingo, and to 'land those men to the wind-ward of the town, but 'they could not, and so sent them to the river Hinde: 'the other part went with the Vice-Admiral and rere-'Admiral. Vice-Admiral landed the sea-regiment. 'The wind blew on the shore, that they could not 'look in H. bay, as they had resolved, and so went 'to the lee-ward.—14. Buller being sent, &c. said no 'landing at H. bay, but after they did land. Buller 'and Holdip's regiment being landed, marched over 'the river, and had order to go to a pass above near 'the town.——18. Ships plyed before St Domingo. 'The town shot through some of the ships, and they 'shot in the town.——19. Venables came on board, 'and said the Army was weary, and wanted water, 'and were retreated.——25. Army march'd up to-'wards the town: the ships were ready to assist them, 'and some ships to run into the town, and also some 'to run into the harbour. This 25th, the enemy fell 'on them, the M. G. was slain, and they retreated. '29. Gen. Venables retreated, and we went to him to 'Hinde-bay, where discoursed with commissioners 'and officers, where they resolved not to attempt fur-'ther, and desired to be transported to some other 'place. Reasons, because the soldiers betrayed them. 'After resolved for Hispaniola, but could get little 'intelligence.——May 3. army shipped.——4. the 'fleet met.——9. Saw Jamaica——10. Came on 'shore.——15. the Army was in treaty with some of 'the people, and articles were made. There were 'not above 12 or 14 hundred men, women, and chi-'dren upon the island: about 500 were men in arms. '—24. called our commanders together, having be-'fore spoken with G. V. and other officers, to know 'what was further to be done. They said the army 'was fit to attempt nothing. And finding that they 'were in no condition to proceed, the men being sick-'ly and the provision but little, we agreed that the 'station-ships go home, and the frigotts stay.—25. 'came out of Jamaica.—Aug. 31. arrived at Ports-'mouth.' - - - - At his coming to England, he writ to Oliver Cromwell, who returned him no answer (3). And, upon his first appearing before the Council, he was committed to the Tower, for leaving his command without licence, to the hazard of the Army (4). . . . He had been Vice-Admiral in 1654, and was made Admiral of the White in 1665.

(1) Athen. as above.

(2) Vol. IV. p. 28—30.

(3) Ibid. p. 6.

(4) Ibid. p. 55.

[*B*] *Where it is pretended he received the first impressions of his subsequent odd and enthusiastical notions*] At eleven years of age, being retired in a chamber alone, 'he was so suddenly surprized with 'an inward comfort and (as he thought) an ex-'ternal Glory in the room, *that he has many times 'said*, from that time he had the Seal of Divinity and 'Immortality, that there was also a God, and that 'the Soul of Man was capable of enjoying his Divine 'Communications.' This is A. Wood's account: which, by printing in Italics, he shews to have taken either from W. Penn's books, or some of his friends. —He says himself in his Travels *, that the Lord first appeared unto him, about the 12th year of his age, Anno 1656. And, betwixt that and the 15th, the Lord visited him, and gave him divine Impressions of himself.

* P. 170.

[*C*] *Severely*

fined for non-conformity; and continuing still zealous in his religious exercises, was at length expelled his college (b). Upon his return home in 1661, he was severely treated by his father [C] on the same account, who at last turned him out of doors; but his anger abating afterwards, he sent him to travel into France in company with some persons of quality, where he continued two years or upwards, and returned well skilled in the French language, and accomplished with a polite and courtly behaviour [D]. Then he was entered into Lincoln's-Inn, to study the Laws, where he remained 'till the plague began to rage in London (c). In 1666, his father committed to his care and management a considerable estate in Ireland, which occasioned his residence in that kingdom. But instead of going into the diversions there, he took to a serious and retired way of life; and, by the preaching of Thomas Loe abovementioned at Cork, was prevailed upon to profess himself publickly a Quaker [E], and constantly to attend their meetings: in one of which, he was apprehended, with many others, in November 1667, and imprisoned, but by writing a letter to the Earl of Orrery [F], was soon after discharged. His father hearing of his having embraced Quakerism, sent for him to England; and finding him too much fixed to be brought to a general compliance with the fashions of the times, seemed inclinable to have borne with him in other respects, provided he would be uncovered in the presence of the King, the Duke of York, and himself; but, after fasting and supplication, as we are told, he refused to comply, whereupon his father turned him out of doors a second time. However, he retained so much fatherly affection for him, that when he was imprisoned for being at the Quakers meetings, he would privately use his interest to procure his discharge (d). About the year 1668, he became a publick Preacher among the Quakers; and published his first piece, intituled, Truth exalted [G]; as also, soon after, The Guide mistaken [H]; and, The Sandy Foundation shaken [I]. Being, the same year, committed to the Tower of London for his opinions, he wrote there several treatises, particularly, his No Cross no Crown [K]. After seven months imprisonment,

(b) Life, &c. p. 1, 2.

(c) Ibid. and Wood, as above.

(d) Wood, as above, and Life, p. 2, 3, 4.

[C] *Severely treated by his father.*] He says, that he was whipp'd, beaten, and turn'd out of doors by him in 1662 (5).

(5) Travails, p. 170.

[D] *And accomplished with a polite and courtly behaviour.*] The author of his life adds, that 'a quite 'different Conversation had diverted his mind from 'the *Serious Thoughts* of Religion,' i. e. from Quakerism (6).

(6) Life, p. 2.

[E] *Was prevailed upon to profess himself publickly a Quaker.*] Other reasons were then assigned for his profession, as we learn from A. Wood (7). Namely, 'the loss of his Mistress, a delicate young Lady, that 'then lived in Dublin, or, as others said, because he 'refused to fight a duel.' But it is more probable, that he was thoroughly riveted in it, from the time of his seduction at Oxford by the said Tho. Low.

(7) Athen. col. 1050.

[F] *But by writing a Letter to the Earl of Orrery.*] That letter is express'd in a very sensible manner, as may appear by the following extract from it. . . . 'To the Earl of Orrery, Lord President of Munster. . . . The occasion may seem as strange as my 'cause is just: but your Lordship will no less express 'your charity in the one, than your justice in the 'other. Religion, which is at once my crime and 'mine innocence, makes me a prisoner to a Mayor's 'malice, but mine own Freeman; for being in the 'assembly of the people called Quakers, there came 'several Constables backt with Soldiers, rudely and 'arbitrarily requiring every man's appearance before 'the Mayor; and amongst others violently haled me 'with them. Upon my coming before him, he charged 'me for being present at a *tumultuous* and *riotous* assembly; and, unless I would give bond for my good behaviour, who challenge the world to accuse me justly with 'the contrary, he would commit me. I asked for his authority, for I humbly conceive, without an Act of 'Parliament, or an Act of State, it might be justly 'termed too much officiousness. His answer was, A 'Proclamation in the year 1660, and new Instructions 'to revive that dead and antiquated order. I leave 'your Lordship to be judge, if that Proclamation relates to this concernment. That only was designed 'to suppress Fifth-monarchy killing spirits; and since 'the King's Lord-Lieutenant, and yourself, being 'fully persuaded the intention of these called Quakers, 'by their meetings, was really the service of God, 'have therefore manifested a repeal by a long continuance of freedom. I hope your Lordship will not 'now begin an unusual severity, by indulging so much 'malice in one, whose actions favour ill with his nearest neighbours; but that there may be a speedy re- 'leasement to all, for attending their honest callings, 'with the enjoyment of their families, and not to be 'longer separated from both. And though to dissent 'from a national System imposed by authority, renders men Hereticks, yet I dare believe your Lordship's better read in reason and theology, than to 'subscribe a maxim so vulgar and untrue; for, 'imagining most visible constitutions of religious government suited to the nature and genius of a civil 'empire, it cannot be esteemed Heresy, but to scare 'a multitude from such enquiries, as may create divisions fatal to a civil policy; and therefore at worst, 'deserves only the name of disturbers. But I presume, my Lord, the acquaintance you have had with 'other countries, must need have furnished you with 'this infallible observation, that diversities of Faith 'and Worship contribute not to the disturbance of 'any place, where Moral Uniformity is barely requisite to preserve the Peace (8).'——

(8) Life, p. 2, 3.

[G] *Truth exalted.*] The whole title of this piece is as follows. 'Truth exalted: in a short, but sure 'Testimony, against all those Religions, Faiths, and 'Worships, that have been formed and followed in 'the darkness of Apostacy; and for that glorious 'Light, which is now risen, and shines forth, in 'the Life and Doctrine of the despised Quakers, 'as the alone good old way of Life and Salvation. Presented to Princes, Priests, and People, 'that they may repent, believe, and obey. By William Penn, whom Divine Love constrains in an holy 'contempt to trample on Egypt's glory, not fearing 'the King's wrath, having beheld the Majesty of 'Him who is invisible.' in three sheets, 4to. Lond. 1668; reprinted, with additions in 1671.

[H] *The Guide mistaken*] This was an answer to Mr Jonathan Clapham's book, intituled, 'A Guide 'to the true Religion.'

[I] *The Sandy Foundation shaken*] The rest of the title is, 'Or, those so generally believed and applauded Doctrines, of One God, subsisting in three 'distinct and separate persons, the impossibility of 'God's pardoning sinners without a plenary satisfaction, the justification of impure persons by an imputative Righteousness; refuted from the authority 'of Scripture-testimonies, and right Reason. By 'William Penn, jun. a builder on that foundation 'which cannot be moved.' Six sheets, 4to. Written against Thomas Vincent a Presbyterian Minister.

[K] *No Cross no Crown.*] The rest of the title of this, in the first edition, was, 'Or several sober Reasons against Hat-honour, titular respects, You to a 'single person, with the Apparel and Recreations of 'the times, in defence of the poor despised Quakers 'against the practice and objections of their Adversaries.' In 24 sheets, 4to. 1669. But, in the next edition,

imprisonment, he was released; and went, in September 1669, to Ireland, where he preached among the Quakers (*e*). Returning to England, and the Conventicle-act prohibiting the meetings of Dissenters under severe penalties, he was committed to Newgate in August 1670, for preaching in Grace-Church-street. But being tried for that offence, with William Mead, at the Sessions at the Old-Baily, they were acquitted by the Jury (*f*) [*L*]. On the 16th of September the same year, his father dyed; and, being reconciled to him, left him an estate of 1500 pounds a year in England and Ireland (*g*). About this time, he held a publick dispute concerning the universality of the Divine Light, with Mr Jeremy Ives, an eminent Baptist preacher, at West-Wicomb in Buckinghamshire. The fifth of February, 1670-71, Mr Penn was committed again to Newgate, for preaching at a meeting in Wheeler-street London, and continued a prisoner six months. After his discharge he went into Holland and Germany (*h*). He married, in the beginning of the year 1672, Gulielma-Maria, daughter of Sir William Springett, formerly of Darling in Sussex; and then went and settled with his family at Rickmansworth in Hertfordshire. The same year, he published a piece against Reeve and Muggleton [*M*]. In 1677, he travelled into Holland and Germany, in order to propagate Quakerism; and had frequent conversations with the Princess Elizabeth, daughter of the Queen of Bohemia [*N*], and sister to the Princess Sophia, grandmother to his present Majesty King George the Second (*i*). Upon his petition to King Charles the Second, and in regard to the memory and merits of his father in divers services, particularly in the sea-fight against the Dutch in 1665 under the Duke of York, he obtained a Patent, dated March 4, 1680-81: whereby was granted to him all that tract of land in America; bounded eastward on Delaware river from 12 miles northward of Newcastle to the 43d degree of northern latitude, and to extend five degrees in longitude from the said river; to be bounded northerly by the beginning of the 43d degree of northern latitude, and on the south by a circle drawn at twelve miles distance from Newcastle northward, and westward unto the beginning of the 40th degree of northern latitude, and then by a strait line westward to the limits of longitude abovementioned: erected into a province and seignorie, to be called Pensylvania (*k*). The design of it to be, to reduce the savage nations, by gentle and just manners, to the love of civil Society and the Christian religion; and to transport thither an ample colony, towards enlarging the English Empire and its Trade (*l*). Upon obtaining this grant, Mr Penn publish'd a Brief Account of the Province of Pensylvania, with the King's patent, and other papers [*O*]; describing the country, and proposing an easy purchase of lands, and good terms of settlement, for such as were inclined to remove thither. He published also, shortly after, the fundamental Constitutions of Pensylvania, in twenty-four articles [*P*]. And agreed, July 11, 1681, upon

(*e*) Life, p. 6, 7.

(*f*) Life, p. 15, 18.

(*g*) Wood, as above, col. 1051.

(*h*) Life, p. 36—43.

(*i*) Life, p. 50, &c.

(*k*) It was then a *Sylva*, or chiefly overgrown with *woods*; which gave occasion to the name.

(*l*) Dr Douglass's Summary, &c. Vol. II. p. 298, &c.

edition, the title was thus altered, 'No Cross no 'Crown. A discourse shewing the nature and discipline of the holy Cross of Christ; and that the 'denial of Self, &c.'

[*L*] *Being tried - - - - - at the sessions at the Old-Baily.*] An account of their Trial was published in 1670, under this title, 'The People's antient and 'just Liberties asserted, in the trial of *William Penn* 'and *William Mead*, at the Sessions held at the Old-'Baily in London, the first, third, fourth, and fifth 'of September 1670, against the most arbitrary pro-'cedure of that Court.' In eight sheets 4to. The Lord-Mayor, Sir Samuel Starling, being therein severely reflected upon, wrote a Vindication of himself, to which W. Penn replied.

[*M*] *He published a piece against Reeve and Muggleton*] The title of it was, 'The new Witnesses pro-'ved old Hereticks: or, Information to the igno-'rant; in which the Doctrines of *John Reeve* and '*Lodoick Muggleton*, which they stile Mysteries never 'before known, revealed, or heard of, from the 'foundation of the world, are proved to be mostly 'antient Whimsies, Blasphemies, and Heresies, from 'the evidence of Scripture, Reason, and several 'Historians, &c.' Lond. 1672. In this boook, W. Penn confutes the following notions of Reeve and Muggleton. 1. 'That God is not an infinite spirit in 'every place at all times, but is in the shape of a 'man; and that man, in respect of his body, is 'the image of God. 2. That God did not create 'the heavens and earth out of nothing, but the sub-'stance was with God from eternity. 3. That the soul 'of man is generated and begot by the man and wo-'man with the body; and that the body and soul 'are inseparable. 4. That the body and soul go to 'the dust, and rise together at the general resurrec-'tion. 5. That God descended with his body in 'the shape of a man, and dissolved himself into the 'Virgin's womb, and so brought forth himself a man, 'who, after he had lived to such an age, was cruci-'fied, and really died, or ceased to be either God or 'man, for three days and nights. 6. That God from 'all eternity, without any other inducement than 'his own pleasure, hath decreed some for sal-'vation, and some for damnation; contrary to which, 'all their obedience or rebellion shall be in vain, to 'alter his determination.'

[*N*] *And had frequent conversations with the Princess Elizabeth, &c.*] This Princess was Abbess of Hervorden, and a great admirer of Philosophy and Poetry. She wrote several letters to Mr Penn, which he inserted in his Travels; published in 1694, 8vo. with this title, 'An Account of W. Penn's Travails 'in Holland and Germany. Anno MDCLXXVII. for 'the service of the Gospel of Christ, by way of Jour-'nal. Containing also divers Letters and Epistles 'writ to several great and eminent Persons whilst 'there.' These Travels are inserted in his Life, p. 50—116.

[*O*] *A brief Account of the Province of Pensylvania, &c.*] This was printed at London 1681, in two sheets in folio; and reprinted in 1682 in quarto.—Different from this, was another *Brief Account of the Province of Pensilvania*; printed in half a sheet in folio, in a small character, and set at the end of 'The *Articles*, 'Settlement, and Offices of the free Society of Tra-'ders in Pennsilvania, agreed upon by divers Mer-'chants, &c.' Lond. 1682, in four sheets in folio, which articles were drawn up and published by Nic. More, James Claypole, and Philip Ford, Quakers. These Articles were twenty four in number, together with certain Laws to the number of forty, signed and sealed by the governor and freemen, or adventurers, in London, the 5th day of May, 1682.

[*P*] *In twenty four articles.*] The first article was in these words. 'In reverence to God, the Father of 'Light and Spirits, the Author as well as Object of 'all divine Knowledge, Faith, and Worship, I do, for 'me and mine, declare and establish, for the first fun-'damental of the Government of this country, that 'every person, that doth or shall reside therein, shall 'have and enjoy the Free Profession of his or her 'Faith

(m) Ibid. p. 302. upon certain conditions with the adventurers and purchasers (m). These were many single persons, and some families out of England and Wales, which went over about September. In order to secure them from any insults from the natives, he sent to them a Letter [Q], to conciliate their friendship; and appointed commissioners to treat with them, about settling the land, and to confirm a league of peace (n). In November 1681, he was elected member of the Royal Society (o). In 1682, he published The Frame of the Government of the Province of Pensylvania, and a Charter of Liberties and Privileges to the people; dated 25 April, 1682 (p). The 30th of August following, he embarked at Deal for Pensylvania, accompanied with many persons, especially Quakers (q): and, during his abode there, took all proper measures to cause his infant-colony to thrive and flourish. He planned, or laid out, his new town of Philadelphia in the most elegant manner [R]: and, the second of April, 1683, made some alterations in his first charter (r). In August following, he obtained from the Duke of York some lands [S], which were intermixed with those that had been granted him by the Crown (s). He returned to England in August 1684 (t). His friend King James the Second coming, soon after, to the Crown, he was admitted into a very great degree of favour with his Majesty: but it brought upon him the imputation of being a Papist [T]; and of promoting the bad designs of the Court,

(n) Life, &c. as above, p. 115, &c.

(o) Wood, as above, col. 1051.

(p) Douglass, as above, p. 300.

(q) Wood, as above.

(r) Douglass, p. 302.

(s) Id. p. 297.

(t) Life, p. 124. He arrived in England August 12.

'Faith and exercise of Worship toward God, in such 'way and manner as every such person shall in conscience believe is most acceptable to God. And so 'long as every such person useth not this Christian Liberty to licentiousness, or the destruction of 'others, that is to say, to speak loosely and profanely, 'or contemptuously of God, Christ, the holy Scriptures, or Religion, or commit any moral Evil or Injury against others in their conversation; he or she 'shall be protected in the enjoyment of the aforesaid 'Christian Liberty, by the Civil Magistrate.'

To the same purpose, was one of the Articles, in the Settlement or Frame of Government, mention'd in the foregoing Note, viz. 'That all persons living 'in this Province, who confess and acknowledge the 'One almighty and eternal God to be the Creator, 'Upholder, and Ruler of the world, and that hold 'themselves obliged in conscience to live peaceably 'and justly in civil society, shall in no wise be molested or prejudiced for their religious persuasion, or 'practice in matters of Faith and Worship; nor shall 'they be compelled at any time to frequent or maintain any religious worship, place, or ministry whatsoever (9).'

(9) Life, p. 122, 123.

[Q] *He sent to them a Letter.*] That letter was as follows.

'London the 18th of the 8th Month, 1681.

'My Friends,

'There is a great God and Power, that hath made 'the world, and all things therein; to whom you 'and I, and all people owe their Being and Well being, and to whom you and I must one day give an 'account for all that we do in the world. This great 'God hath written his Law in our hearts, by which 'we are taught and commanded to love and help, and 'do good to one another, and not to do harm and 'mischief one unto another. Now this great God 'hath been pleased to make me concerned in your 'part of the world, and the King of the country 'where I live, hath given me a great Province therein. But I desire to enjoy it with your love and consent, that we may always live together as neighbours 'and friends. Else what would the great God do to 'us, who hath made Us not to devour and destroy 'one another, but to live soberly and kindly together in the world? Now I would have you well observe, that I am very sensible of the unkindness and 'injustice that hath been too much exercised towards 'you by the people of these parts of the world, who 'have sought themselves, and to make great advantages by you, rather than to be examples of justice and 'goodness unto you, which I hear hath been matter 'of trouble to you, and caused great grudgings and 'animosities, sometimes to the shedding of blood, 'which hath made the great God angry. But I am 'not such a man, as is well known in my own country. I have great love and regard towards you; 'and I desire to win and gain your love and friendship by a kind, just, and peaceable life; and the 'people I send are of the same mind, and shall in all 'things behave themselves accordingly. And if in 'any thing any shall offend you, or your people, 'you shall have a full and speedy satisfaction for the 'same, by an equal number of just men on both 'sides, that by no means you may have just occasion 'of being offended against them. I shall shortly come 'to you myself, at what time we may more largely 'and freely confer and discourse of these matters. In 'the mean time I have sent my Commissioners to 'treat with you about land, and a firm league of 'peace. Let me desire you to be kind to them and 'the people, and receive these presents and tokens, 'which I have sent you as a testimony of my good 'will to you, and my resolution to live justly, peaceably and friendly with you.

'I am

'Your loving friend,

'W. Penn.'

By his kind and humane behaviour, Mr Penn so ingratiated himself with the native Americans, (or Indians, as they are very improperly named, for where is the river Indus in America?) that they have ever since express'd a great Veneration for his memory, and styled the Governor of Pennsylvania *Onas*, which in their language signifies a *Pen*. At the renewing of the Treaties with Sir William Keith the Governor in 1722, they call, more than once, William Penn a *good man*; and tell Sir William, *We esteem and love you, as if you were William Penn himself* (10).

(10) Historical Register, for 1723, No. 30. p. 107, 108. Life, p. 122.

[R] *He laid out his new town of Philadelphia, in the most elegant manner.*] It consists of eight long streets of two miles, and sixteen cross streets of one mile each, in length: cutting each other at right angles, with proper spaces for publick buildings; and the whole laid out with much exactness. But, the situation of it being at the confluence of two large fresh-water-rivers, Delaware and Schuyl-kill, That renders the inhabitants obnoxious to pleuritick, peripneumonick, dysenterick, and intermitting fevers. There are in it about 2076 houses; public buildings, ware-houses, and out-houses not included (11). Mr Penn caused, 'An Account of the City of *Philadelphia* in the Province of *Pennsilvania*, newly laid out, 'with a Portraiture or Platform thereof;' to be printed at the end of, his 'Letter to the Committee of 'the Free-society of Traders of the Province of Pennsilvania, residing in London, containing a general 'Description of the said Province, its Soil, Air, Water, &c.' Lond. 1682. This Letter it dated at Philadelphia 16 Aug. 1683.

(11) Douglass, p. 321.

[S] *In August following, he obtained from the Duke of York some lands.*] James, Duke of York, sold, 24 August 1683, to William Penn the elder, his heirs and assigns, the town of Newcastle alias Delaware, and a district of twelve miles round Newcastle. And, by another deed of sale, of the same date, made over to the said William Penn, his heirs and assigns, that tract of land from twelve miles south of Newcastle, to the Whore Kills, otherwise called Cape Henlopen, divided into the two Counties of Kent and Sussex; which, with Newcastle-district, are commonly known by the name of the three lower counties upon Delaware river (12).

(12) Douglass, p. 297.

[T] *But it brought upon him the imputation of being a Papist.*] The worthy Dr Tillotson, among the rest, having

Court, by his frequent attendance there [*U*]. Upon that account being, at the Revolution, suspected of disaffection to the Government [*W*], and looked upon as a Papist, or a Jesuit

having heard of it, and spoken of, and expressed his concern at the same, Mr Penn wrote to him the following letter.

'Worthy Friend,

'Being often told, that Dr Tillotson should suspect 'me, and so report me a Papist, I think a Jesuit; 'and being closely pressed, I take the liberty to ask 'thee, if any such reflection fell from thee. If it did, 'I am sorry one I esteemed ever the first of his robe, 'should so undeservedly stain me, for so I call it; and 'if the story be false, I am sorry they should abuse 'Dr Tillotson, as well as myself, without a cause. I 'add no more, but that I abhor two principles in religion, and pity them who own them: the first 'is, *Obedience upon authority without conviction*; and 'the other, *Destroying them that differ fron me for 'God's sake.* Such a religion is without judgment, 'though not without teeth. Union is best, if right; 'else charity; and, as Hooker said, *The time will 'come, when a few words spoken with meekness, and 'humility, and love, shall be more acceptable than volumes of controversies, which commonly destroy charity, 'the very best part of the true religion*; I mean not a 'charity that can change with all, but bear all, as I 'can Dr Tillotson, in what he dissents from me, and 'in this reflection too, if said, which is not yet believed by

Charing-cross, 22d of the 11th Month 1685-6. 'Thy Christian true friend, 'W. Penn.'

To which Dr Tillotson returned this Answer.

'Honoured Sir, January 26th, 1685.

'The demand of your letter is very just and reasonable, and the manner of it very kind; therefore in 'answer to it be pleased to take the following account The last time you did me the favour to 'see me at my house, I did, according to the freedom I always use, where I profess any friendship, 'acquaint you with something I had heard of a correspondence you held with some at Rome, and particularly with some of the Jesuits there. At which 'you seemed a little surprized, and after some general 'discourse about it, you said, you would call on me 'some other time, and speak farther of it. Since 'that time I never saw you but by accident and in 'passage, where I thought you always declined me; 'particularly at Sir William Jones's chamber, which 'was the last time, I think, I saw you: upon which 'occasion I took notice to him of your strangeness to 'me, and told him what I thought might be the reason of it, and that I was sorry for it, because I had a 'particular esteem of your parts and temper. The 'same, I believe, I have said to some others, but to 'whom I do not so particularly remember. Since 'your going to Pensylvania, I never thought more of 'it, till lately being in some company, one of them 'pressed me to declare, *Whether I had not heard something of you, which had satisfied me, that you were 'a Papist.* I answered, *no, by no means.* I told 'him what I had heard, and what I said to you, 'and of the strangeness that ensued upon it; but 'that this never went farther with me, than to make 'me suspect there was more in that report, which I 'had heard, than I was at first willing to believe; 'and that if any made more of it, I should look upon 'them as very injurious both to Mr Penn and myself. 'This is the truth of that matter; and whenever you 'will please to satisfy me, that my suspicion of the 'truth of that report I had heard was groundless, I 'will heartily beg your pardon for it. I do fully concur with you in the abhorrence of the two principles 'you mention, and in your approbation of that excellent saying of Mr Hooker's, for which I shall ever 'highly esteem him. I have endeavoured to make 'it one of the governing principles of my life, never 'to abate any thing of humanity or charity to any 'man for his difference from me in opinion, and particularly to those of your persuasion, as several of 'them have had experience. I have been ready upon 'all occasions to do all offices of kindness, being truly 'sorry to see them so hardly used; and though I 'thought them mistaken, yet in the main I believed 'them to be very honest. I thank you for your letter, and have a just esteem of the Christian temper 'of it, and rest

'Your faithful friend,

'Jo. Tillotson.'

Upon the receipt of this letter, Mr Penn writ the following answer to Dr Tillotson.

'Worthy Friend,

'Having a much less opinion of my own memory 'than of Dr Tillotson's truth, I will allow the fact, 'though not the jealousy. For besides that I cannot 'look strange where I am well used, I have ever 'treated the name of Dr Tillotson with another regard. I might be grave, and full of my own business. I was also then disappointed by the Doctor's; 'but my nature is not harsh, my education less, and 'my principle least of all. 'Twas the opinion I have 'had of the Doctor's moderation, simplicity, and integrity, rather than his parts or post, that always 'made me set a value upon his friendship, of which 'perhaps I am better judge, leaving the latter to men 'of deeper talents. I blame him nothing, but leave 'it to his better thoughts, if in my affair his jealousy 'was not too nimble for his chariry. If he can believe me, I should hardly prevail with myself to endure the same thought of Dr Tillotson on the like 'occasion, and less to speak of it. For the Roman 'correspondence, I will freely come to confession: I 'have not only no such thing with any Jesuit at Rome '(though Protestants may have without offence) but I 'hold none with any Jesuit, Priest, or Regular in the 'world, of that communion. And that the Doctor 'may see what a novice I am in that business, I know 'not one any where. And yet when all this is said, 'I am a Catholick, though not a Roman. I have 'bowels for mankind, and dare not deny others what 'I crave for myself, I mean, liberty for the exercise 'of my Religion; thinking faith, piety, and providence, a better security than force; and that, if 'truth cannot prevail with her own weapons, all others 'will fail her. Now though I am not obliged to this 'defence, and that it can be no temporizing now to 'make it; yet that Dr Tillotson may see how much 'I value his good opinion, and dare own the truth 'and myself at all turns, let him be confident, I am 'no Roman Catholick, but a Christian, whose Creed 'is the Scripture, of the truth of which I hold a nobler 'evidence, than the best Church-authority in the 'world; and yet I refuse not to believe the *Porter*, 'though I can't leave the sense to his discretion; and 'when I should, if he offends against those plain methods of understanding God hath made us to know 'things by, and which are inseparable from us, I must 'beg his pardon, as I do the Doctor's for this length, 'upon the assurance he has given me of his doing the 'like upon better information; which that he may 'fully have, I recommend him to my *Address to Protestants* from page 133 to the end, and to the four 'first chapters of my *No Cross no Crown*; to say nothing of our most inceremonious and unworldly way 'of worship, and their pompous cult; where, at this 'time I shall leave the business, with all due and sensible acknowledgments to thy friendly temper, and 'assurance of the sincere wishes and respects of

Charing-Cross, the 29th of the 11th month, 1686. 'Thy affectionate real friend, W. Penn.'

W. Penn wanting a further answer from Dr Tillotson, wrote to him a third letter, being as follows.

'Charing-Cross, 27th of the 2d month, 1686.

'Worthy Friend,

'This should have been a visit; but being of opinion, that Dr Tillotson is yet a debtor to me this 'way, I chose to provoke him to another letter by 'this, before I made him one. For though he was 'very

(u) Douglass, as above, p. 307.

a Jesuit in the disguise of a Quaker (u); he was examined before the Privy-Council December 10, 1688, and obliged to give security for his appearance the first day of the next term; which he did, and then was continued on the same security to Easter-term following, on the last day of which he was discharged. In 1690, when the French fleet threatned a descent on England, he was again examined before the Council, upon an accusation of holding correspondence with the late King James the Second, and imprisoned, or held upon bail, for some time, but released in Trinity-term. He was attacked a third

'very just and obliging, when I last saw him; yet 'certainly no expression, however kindly spoken, will 'so easily and effectually purge me from the unjust 'imputation some people cast upon me in his name, as 'his letter will do. The need of this he will better 'see, when he has read *the inclosed*, which coming to 'hand since my last, is, I presume, enough to justify 'this address, if I had no former pretensions. And 'therefore I cannot be so wanting to myself, as not to 'press him to a letter in my just defence; nor so uncharitable to him, as to think he should not frankly 'write what he has said, when it is to right a man's 'reputation, and disabuse the too credulous world. 'For to me it seems from a private friendship to become a moral duty to the public; which, with a 'person of so great morality, must give success to the 'reasonable desire of

'Thy very real friend,

'William Penn.'

As so earnest and just a Request could not well be rejected, Dr Tillotson therefore wrote this answer.

'SIR, April the 29th, 1686.

'I am very sorry, that the Suspicion, which I had 'entertained concerning you, of which I gave you 'the true account in my former letter, hath occasioned so much trouble and inconvenience to you: and 'I do now declare with great joy, that I am fully satisfied, that there was no just ground for that suspicion; and therefore, I do heartily beg your pardon 'for it. And ever since you were pleased to give me 'that satisfaction, I have taken all occasions to vindicate you in this matter; and shall be ready to do it 'to the person that sent you *the inclosed*, whenever he 'will please to come to me. I am very much in the 'country, but will seek the first opportunity to visit 'you at Charing-Cross, and renew our acquaintance, 'in which I took great pleasure.

'I rest,

'Your faithful friend,

'Jo. Tillotson (13).'

(13) Life, p. 126—129.

[U] *And of promoting the bad designs of the Court, by his frequent attendance there.*] W. Popple, Esq; Secretary to the Plantation office, hearing of those bad reports, wrote a long letter, October 20, 1688, to Mr Penn; wherein he tells him, how it was suggested, 'that he had been bred at St Omer's in the Jesuits 'college; that he had taken Orders at Rome, and 'there obtained a Dispensation to marry; and that he 'had since then frequently officiated as a Priest in the 'celebration of the Mass, &c.'—Whereupon Mr Penn wrote him an answer, dated from Teddington October the 24th, 1688. wherein he thus vindicates himself from those accusations. — — — — — — 'I say solemnly, that I am so far from having 'been bred at St Omer's, and having received Orders 'at Rome, that I never was at either place, nor do I 'know any body there; nor had I ever a correspondency with any body in those places; which is another story invented against me. And as for my officiating in the King's chapel, or any other, it is so 'ridiculous as well as untrue, that, besides that no body can do it but a Priest, and that I have been married to a woman of some condition above 16 years, 'which no Priest can be, by any dispensation whatever; I have not so much as looked into any Chapel 'of the Roman Religion, and consequently not the 'King's, though a common curiosity warrants it daily 'to people of all perswasions. And once for all, I do 'say, that I am a Protestant Dissenter, *and to that degree such*, that I challenge the most celebrated Protestant of the English Church, or any other, on that 'head, be he Layman or Clergyman, in public or in 'private.————To this let me add, the 'relation my father had to this King's service, his 'particular favour in getting me released out of the 'Tower of London in 69, my father's humble request 'to him upon his death-bed to protect me from the 'inconveniences and troubles my perswasion might expose me to, and his friendly promise to do it, and 'exact performance of it from the moment I addressed 'myself to him: I say, when all this is considered, 'any body, that has the least pretence to good-nature, 'gratitude, or generosity, must needs know how to 'interpret my access to the King. Perhaps, some 'will be ready to say, This is not all, nor is this yet 'a fault; but that I have been an adviser in other 'matters disgustful to the kingdom, and which tend 'to the overthrow of the Protestant Religion, and the 'Liberties of the People.—This is just as probable, as 'it is true that I died a Jesuit six years ago in America.—Is any thing more foolish as well as false, than 'that because I am often at Whitehall, therefore I 'must be the author of All that is done there, that 'does not please abroad? But supposing some such 'things to have been done, pray tell me, if I am 'bound to oppose any thing, that I am not called to 'do? I never was a member of Council, Cabinet, or 'Committee, where the affairs of the Kingdom are 'transacted. I have had no office or trust, and consequently nothing can be said to be done by me.—— 'And, unless calling at Whitehall once a day upon 'many occasions, or my not being turned out of no'thing (for that no Office is) be the evidence of my 'compliance in disagreeable things, I know not what 'else can with any truth be alledged against me.—— 'But alas! I am not without my apprehensions of the 'cause of this behaviour towards me, and in this I 'perceive we agree; I mean, my constant zeal for an '*impartial Liberty of Conscience*. But if that be it, 'the cause is too good to be in pain about. I ever 'understood that to be the natural right of all men; 'and that he that had a Religion without it, his Religion was none of his own. For what is not the Religion of a man's choice, is the religion of him that 'imposes it; so that Liberty of Conscience is the first 'step to have a Religion (14).'

(14) Life, p. 135, 136.

Notwithstanding this, 'Many suspected *all along in this reign*, that W. Penn was a concealed Papist. 'It is certain he was much with Father Petre, and 'was particularly trusted by the Earl of Sunderland. 'In 1686, he went over to Holland, to perswade the 'Prince of Orange to come into King James's measures, 'and had two or three long audiences of him upon 'that subject. The Prince readily consented to a toleration of Popery, as well as of the Dissenters, provided it were proposed and passed in Parliament. 'And he promised his assistance. But for the Tests 'he would enter into no Treaty about them. He 'looked on them as such a real security, and indeed 'the only one, when the King was of another Religion, that he would join in no counsels with those 'that intended to repeal those Laws that enacted them. 'So Pen's negotiation with the Prince had no effect. 'He was, adds Bishop Burnet, a talking vain man, 'who had been long in the King's favour. He had 'such an opinion of his own faculty of persuading, 'that he thought none could stand before it: though 'he was singular in that opinion: for he had a tedious 'luscious way, that was not apt to overcome a man's 'reason, though it might tire his patience *.'

* Burnet's Hist. of his own Time, 8vo. edit. 1753, Vol. II. p. 394, &c.

[W] *Suspected of disaffection to the Government.*] Mr Penn, and his fellow-sufferer W. Mead, running into different Parties, at the Revolution; such as sided with W. Penn, and were Anti-courtiers, or reputed Jacobites, came to be named Pennites: and those that joined W. Mead, and were for the Court and the Revolution, were denominated Meadites.

[X] Upon

a third time, and his name inserted in a proclamation July 18, the same year*; but was discharged the last day of Michaelmas term (w). However, he was deprived of the privilege of appointing a Governor for Pennsylvania, and Colonel Fletcher was put in by the Crown; 'till, upon Mr Penn's vindication of himself, he was restored to his right of government (x). He designed now to go over a second time to Pennsylvania, and published proposals in print for another settlement there; and had so far prepared for his voyage, that an order for a convoy was granted him by the Secretary of State, which was prevented by a fresh accusation against him, upon the oath of one William Fuller [X]. A warrant was granted for Mr Penn's apprehension, which he narrowly escaped at his return from George Fox's burial, January 16, 1690; upon which he concealed himself for two or three years (y). But A. Wood says, that, about the 13th of April, 1691, he was brought out of Sussex by a guard of horse, and on the 30th ordered to an outlawry (z). In the latter end of the year 1693, through the interest of the Lord Ranelagh, Lord Somers, and Sir John Trenchard, he was admitted to appear before the King and Council; where he represented his innocence so effectually, that he was acquitted (a). In 1695, he presented to the House of Commons a paper, upon occasion of a bill, for causing the solemn affirmation and declaration of the Quakers to be accepted, instead of an oath in the usual form. His wife Gulielma-Maria dying in February 1693-4, he married, on the 5th of March, 1695-6, Hannah, daughter of Mr Thomas Callowhill, and grand-daughter of Mr Dennis Hollister, a Merchant of Bristol, by whom he had four sons and one daughter. In 1697, whilst a bill against Blasphemy was depending in the House of Lords, he presented to that House, 'A Caution requisite in the considera'tion of that bill;' in which he advised, that the word Blasphemy might be so explained, as that no ambiguous interpretation might give occasion to malicious persons, to prosecute under that name whatever they should be pleased to call so: but the bill was dropt. In April 1698 he set out from Bristol, where he then lived, for Ireland; and the next winter resided at Bristol. In August 1699, himself with his wife and family embarked for Pensylvania. During his absence, some persons here in England endeavoured to undermine both his and other proprietary Governments, under pretence of advancing the prerogative of the Crown; and a bill for that purpose was brought into the House of Lords. But his friends, and the proprietors and adventurers here, represented the hardship of their case to the Parliament, and desired time for Mr Penn to come and answer for himself. Notice being sent over to him, he embarked in October, and arrived in England about the middle of December 1701 (b). Upon the accession of Queen Anne to the throne, he was in great favour with her, and often at Court; and for his conveniency took lodgings at Kensington, whence he removed to Knightsbridge, where he resided for some years. In 1706, he went and lived with his family in a convenient house near Brentford. But, in 1707, he had the misfortune of being involved in a law-suit with the executors of a person, who had been formerly his Steward. His cause (though many thought him aggrieved) was attended with such circumstances, that the Court of Chancery did not think proper to relieve him; upon which account he was obliged to live in the Old-Baily within the Rules of the Fleet, part of this and the following year, 'till the matter in dispute was accommodated (c). Then it was, I suppose, that he mortgaged the province of Pensylvania to Mr Gee and others for 6600 pounds (d). The air of London not agreeing with his declining constitution, he took, in 1710, a handsome seat at Rushcomb near Twyford in Buckinghamshire, where he resided the remainder of his life. In 1712, he was seized at distant times with three several fits, supposed to be apoplectic, by the last of which his understanding and memory were so impaired, as to render him incapable of publick action for the future (e). In 1713, he agreed to make over all his rights in Pennsylvania to the Crown, in consideration of 12000 pounds; but his infirmities hindered him from executing the instrument of surrender (f). He dyed July 30, 1718, in the 74th year of his age, and was interred, August the 5th following, at Jordans in Buckinghamshire, where his first wife and several of his family had been buried (g). He wrote several things; the chief of which, besides those already mentioned, are set down below in the note [Y].

* Bishop Burnet represents him as deeply involv'd in the Plot, with Lord Preston, Mr Ashton, and others. Hist. of his own Time, Vol. III. p. 95.

(w) Life, &c. p. 139, 140. Wood, as above.

(x) Douglass, p. 307.

(y) Life, p. 140.

(z) Athen. col. 1051.

(a) Life, p. 141.

(b) Life, p. 143, 144, 145, &c.

(c) Life, p. 147, 148.

(d) Douglass, p. 306.

(e) Life, p. 150.

(f) Douglass, p. 306.

(g) Life, p. 150.

[X] *Upon the oath of one William Fuller*] About the time of the discovery of the plot against King William, this Fuller being a prisoner in the King's-Bench, had a mind to turn evidence, and impeached several persons. But not being able to produce them, the House of Commons unanimously declared, on the 24th of February, 1691, 'That William Fuller is a noto'rious impostor, a cheat, and a false accuser; having 'scandalized their Majesties and their Government, abu'sed this House, and falsly accused several persons of ho'nour and quality.' And they farther resolved, 'That 'an Address be presented to his Majesty, to command 'his Attorney-General to prosecute the said Impostor.' Fuller was accordingly prosecuted, and sentenced to stand in the pillory; which ignominy he underwent with no modesty or remorse (15). He attempted to impose upon the House of Commons a second time, in 1701, for which he was imprisoned.

(15) Complete History of England, Vol. III. edit. 1719, p. 630, 631.

[Y] *He wrote several things, &c.*] The chief of them, besides those already mentioned, were, 'The 'great Case of Liberty of Conscience, once more 'briefly debated and defended, by the Authority of 'Reason, Scripture, and Antiquity: which may serve 'the place of a general Reply to such late Discourses, 'as have oppos'd a Toleration.' In 6 sheets, 4to. The dedication, To the Supream Authority of England, is dated from Newgate the seventh of February, 1670.——'A Seasonable Caveat against Popery. Or, 'a Pamphlet, entituled, An Explanation of the Ro'man-Catholick Belief, briefly examined.' In 8 sheets, 4to. The Address to the Protestant Reader, is dated, Penn, Buckinghamshire, the 23d of the 11th month, 1670.——'A Treatise of Oaths: containing several 'weighty Reasons why the People call'd Quakers, re'fuse to swear.' The Address to the King and great Council of England assembled in Parliament, is dated, London, the 25th of the third month, 1675.——'England's present Interest considered, with Honour 'to

'to the Prince, and Safety to the People.' In 6 sheets 4to. Lond. 1675.——'An Addrefs to Proteftants of 'all Perfwafions: more efpecially the Magiftracy and 'Clergy of England.' 1679; 4to.——'Some Fruits 'of Solitude, in Reflections and Maxims, relating to 'the Conduct of human Life.'——'A Brief Account 'of the Rife and Progrefs of the People, call'd Qua-'kers. In which their fundamental Principle, Doc-'trines, Worfhip, Miniftry and Difcipline, are plainly 'declared, &c.' Prefixed to Geo. Fox's Journal, in 1694. Reprinted feveral times fince by itfelf.——'Good Advice to the Church of England, Roman 'Catholic, and Proteftant Diffenter. In which it is 'endeavoured to be made appear, that it is their Du-'ty,' Principle, and Intereft, to abolifh the Penal 'Laws and Tefts.' Lond. 1687, 4to.——'The 'great and popular Objection againft the Repeal of 'the Penal Laws and Tefts briefly ftated and confide-'red, and which may ferve for an Anfwer to feveral 'late Pamphlets upon that Subject.' Lond. 1688, 4to.——He wrote alfo many controverfial pieces —— All his Works were collected together in 2 vols. fol. Lond. 1726, with his Life prefixed to the firft volume.

One of the hardeft Adverfaries he had, was George Keith, once of his perfuafion; who publifhed, 'The 'Deifm of William Penn, and his Brethren, deftruc-'tive to the Chriftian Religion, expofed, aud plainly 'laid open.' Lond. 1699, 8vo. C

PERROT [Sir JOHN], an eminent Statefman, and Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, was defcended of an ancient family, which came from Normandy to England with William the Conqueror, and was feated in Wales in the reign of Henry the Firft; when Stephen Perrot, marrying Eleanor, or Ellynor, daughter and fole heir of Marchion ap Rice, and Lady of Iftingfton in Pembrokefhire, became poffeffed of that manor; and from him, in the feventh defcent, Peter Perrot, Efq; by a marriage with Alice, daughter and heir to Sir Richard Harold of Haroldfton, Knt. in the fame county, brought that eftate alfo into the family; whence Thomas Perrot, in the fixth defcent from Peter, bore the title of Efquire of Iftingfton and Haroldfton (a); and marrying Mary, daughter and heir to James Berkley, Efq; fecond fon of Maurice Lord Berkley, had by her Sir John Perrot, Knt. the fubject of the prefent article, who was born in Pembrokefhire about the year 1527 (b). He was trained up in a way fuitable to his birth, according to the tafte and fafhion of thofe times, when literature had frequently no great fhare in a genteel education, martial and other exercifes being chiefly attended to, and feats of activity and chivalry moft efteemed. In thefe Mr Perrot took particular delight; and growing tall with his years, and to an extraordinary degree of ftrength and agility, he quickly diftinguifhed himfelf therein above his contemporaries. At the age of eighteen, he was fent to the Marquis of Winchefter, then Lord Treafurer of England, to compleat his education by the difcourfes and example of that able and experienced ftatefman; an excellent cuftom *, which had long been practifed, and ftill continued, though dropped not very many years after. In the houfe of this nobleman, among others fent thither with the fame view, he found the Lord Abergavenny, a youth of fo fierce and hafty a temper, that the fervants and gentlemen in the houfe were made very uneafy by him. Thefe perceiving Mr Perrot equal at leaft to his Lordfhip both in fpirit, ftature, ftrength, and courage, eafily contrived to breed a quarrel between them, which quickly came to blows. His Lordfhip found himfelf rather overmatched in ftrength, and had no advantage in height of ftomach; and the trial having made each fenfible of the other's abilities, they grew (as is not unufual in fuch cafes) into a kind of friendfhip; but this did not laft very long; for, having agreed to make a joint entertainment for their common acquaintance, they fell, on the day appointed, into fome difpute, and broke the glaffes (of which they had provided good ftore) about one another's ears, before the guefts came. However, the fame heroical fpirit happened to recommend Mr Perrot to the favour of his Prince. Among other follies incident to youth, he frequently indulged his genius with loofe women; and going for that purpofe, fhortly after this breach with Lord Abergavenny, to the Stews in Southwark, attended only with a page, he fell into a quarrel with two Yeomen of the King's guard, who both attacking him with their fwords, he made a very gallant defence, and being hurt in the fray, the news reached the ears of his Majefty, then hard by at Winchefter-houfe. Whereupon he fent for him, and enquiring his name and family (c), was much pleafed with the undifmayed boldnefs of his manner, and invited him to Court, not without intimating an intention to beftow fome place or preferment upon him. Mr Perrot did not want ambition, and took care not to neglect fo fair an opening. But thefe flattering hopes were prefently cut fhort by the death of Henry the Eighth, upon which he returned to the Marquis of Winchefter, 'till affairs were fettled at Court: when he again repaired thither, and fucceeded fo well with the young Prince, that he was pitched upon for one of the Knights of the Bath at his coronation. This honour, conferred on fuch an occafion, was always looked on as an earneft of further favour; and our young courtier made it his whole ftudy to deferve it, by a pliable conduct to the King's pleafure; and, as he took all opportunities of fhewing his valour, activity, ftrength, and expertnefs, in acts of chivalry, in tilts and tournaments, barriers, &c. King Edward conceived a great liking for him, which was not a little heightened too by the extraordinary comelinefs and dignity of his perfon. During thefe expectations, he attended the Marquis of Southampton in his ambaffage to France, to treat of a marriage between King Edward and the French King's daughter. The Marquis being a nobleman that took much delight in active fports and exercifes, was entertained agreeably to his humour by the French Monarch with hunting the wild boar. In the chace, a gentleman charging the boar with his chacing-ftaff, happened to mifs his aim, fo that the enraged animal was ready to run in upon him; when Sir John Perrot ftept inftantly to his refcue, and with a broad-fword which he then wore, gave the beaft fuch a ftroak, as well nigh parted the head

(a) In fourteen defcents half of them married heireffes, and had good inheritances by their matches. The Hiftory of that moft eminent Statefman Sir John Perrot, &c. p. 13. Lond. 1728, 8vo.

(b) He was 18 years of age in the 36th year of Henry VIII. Ibid. p. 24.

* Borrowed probably from the old Romans. Cicero was bred in that way. See his tract De Amicitia, in the beginning.

(c) He was generally fuppofed to be fprung from that King's loins. Cox's Hiftory of Ireland, fol. p. 387. edit. 1689, fol.

head from the shoulders. The French King, who stood in sight, came presently to him, and taking him by the middle, cried out *Beaufoile*. Sir John thinking the King came to try his strength, returned the address, by taking his Majesty in his arms, and lifting him a good height from the ground; at which the King shewed not the least displeasure, but, on the contrary, tried to draw Sir John into his service, by the offer of a good pension. To this our courtier answered very gallantly, in making proper acknowledgments for his Majesty's bounty and goodness, yet assuring him withal, that he had means of his own to support himself, and that he knew he served a gracious and a royal prince, who would not see him want any thing, and to whom alone he had vowed his service during life. It happened not to be long, before he had occasion to make a trial of his sovereign's kindness. Sir John always indulged himself in a course of jollity and pleasure, in the midst of which, his ambition led him to maintain such a degree of state and magnificence, as was above his fortune; but the consequence of that had no place then in his thoughts: and, after his return from France, he affected still more pomp, and lived at a higher rate than before; to support which, he was obliged to mortgage some of his estates; nor was that sufficient, notwithstanding these mortgages, he found himself in a little time involved in a debt of seven or eight thousand pounds. This impending ruin brought him to reflect, and he resolved upon a reformation; but how to raise such a sum as would enable him to discharge the debt, without such a retrenchment as would sink him beneath his proper dignity, and even into contempt, was the difficulty. Necessity is the mother of Invention; he did not want wit; and that prompted a stratagem, which he determined immediately to put into execution. Minding the time, he took a walk out of the court into a place where the King usually came about that hour: Here he began, as if by chance, a soliloquy, blaming his own folly, and bemoaning his condition, how unfortunate and unwise he was so to squander his fortune, having wasted a great part of that in a few years, which his ancestors had acquired and enjoyed for many. *And must I*, continued he, *be the man that shall overthrow my house, which hath continued so long? Better I had never been borne*; *What shall I do then to recover my estate?* Thus he went on, entering into a dispute with himself, whether he were best to follow the Court, or to leave the Court and follow the wars; since he found, that should he continue at Court, the King being young, and under government, if, upon his good deserts, his Majesty should be pleased to grant him any thing in recompence for his service, yet his governors, as the Lord Protector and the Privy-Council, might gainsay it, and so he should rather run into farther arrears, than recover his decayed fortune; but if he retired into the country, where he might live at less charge, or betake himself to the wars, where he might get some command, it would be a means to save his estate, and pay his debts. As he was thus debating the matter with himself, the King, as he had laid it, coming behind him, overheard most of what he said, and at length stepping up, *How now!* says his Majesty, *What 's the matter, that you make this great moan?* Sir John, in a seeming surprize, told the King that he did not think his Highness had been so near him. *Yes*, said his Majesty, *we heard you well enough*; *and have you spent your estate in our service? and is the King so young and under government, that he cannot give you any thing in recompence of your service? Find out somewhat, and you shall see whether the King has not power to bestow it upon you.* Sir John humbly thanked his Majesty, and shortly after discovered a *concealment* (*d*), which, upon his petition, was readily bestowed on him; so that he paid most part of his debts with it, and from this æra commenced a better husband of his revenues (*e*); and lived in the society of persons of the first rank, in peace and plenty, as long as King Edward's life lasted; but, upon the accession of Queen Mary, Sir John shared the common fate of those who professed the new religion, as it was then called. One Gaderne, his countryman, accused him of keeping certain Protestants, then called Heretics, at his house in Wales; particularly Alexander Nowell, afterwards Dean of Lichfield; his uncle Perrot, who had been tutor to King Edward in the Greek tongue; with some others. Upon this accusation, Sir John did not deny his religion, and was committed to the Fleet; yet having many friends, and being personally well liked by her Majesty, he obtained his discharge. There was now no room at Court for persons of his perswasion, and after some time he went to St Quintin, where he had a command under the Earl of Pembroke, being of the Council to his Lordship as President of Wales (*f*); and the Earl had a great value for him. But all ties of friendship, and every other relation, were consumed by the burning zeal for Popery in this reign. The President received a special charge from the Queen, to see that no Heretics [i. e. Protestants] should remain in Wales: with this order he acquainted his friend, who was then bedfellow to his son Sir Edward Herbert, desiring his assistance in putting it into execution; which Sir John refusing, as against his conscience, the Earl forbid him his house, and there ensued a quarrel, wherein from words they proceeded to blows, but were soon parted. However, this was not so privately done, or so secretly kept, but that the news presently reached the ears of the Queen, who was highly offended at it, and on his next coming to Court received him very coldly, and even looked on him with indignation (*h*). The business which brought him thither was a suit which he had at that time to her Majesty, for the Castle and Lordship of Carew, whereof he had already received a promise. In this exigence he was advised by some friends, and particularly his stepfather Sir Thomas Jones, to reconcile himself to the Earl of Pembroke, and by his means to pacify the Queen. But his high stomach would not suffer him to stoop to such a submission. Yet he found some

(*d*) Viz. of some estate or goods forfeited to the Crown. See the Act of Concealments passed in the precedent reign.

(*e*) Ibid. p. 33, & seq.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 40.

(*h*) Notwithstanding her Majesty's austere looks, he pressed so near as to tread upon some part of her train, and delivered his petition to her. Ibid. p. 40.

some other friends, who in a short time prevailed upon her Majesty to refer his suit to the Privy-Council, where the Earl of Pembroke, notwithstanding what had happened, speaking in his behalf (*i*), as a person of real worth, and well deserving of the boon, which might perhaps prove a means of reforming his religion, a favourable report was made to her Majesty; whereupon she confirmed her promise, and granted him the castle. Accordingly he took possession of it, and for the remainder of this reign resided in the country, much respected and particularly renowned for his expertness in arms, in the exercise of which he continued to give daily proofs of his extraordinary abilities. But as much delighted as he was in these feats, and pleased with the glory that attended them, yet his views were far from being terminated there. No sooner did Queen Elizabeth mount the throne, than our heroe was seen again at Court; where, presenting himself to her Majesty, he was very graciously received, and appointed one of the four Knights who carried the Canopy of State at her coronation (*k*). In the first year of her reign, Sir John was also one of the Knights pitched on to play a pageant at Greenwich, for the entertainment of the French Ambassador [*A*]. These kind of martial exercises were much encouraged by Queen Elizabeth, after the example of her royal progenitors, in proper incitements for breeding a race of heroes, to serve their country upon occasion in the wars. Upon this account we have seen Sir John Perrot enter upon the stage of life, through the applauses of Henry the Eighth, and then act the first scenes of it under the particular favour of Edward the Sixth; afterwards made a singular exception to the general maxim of extirpating Protestants as Heretics in the succeeding reign; and we shall now find Queen Elizabeth turning his talents to their proper use in the wars. The miserable state of Ireland called for his service; and, in 1572, her Majesty sent him thither with the character of Lord President of Munster, a province which then lay almost entirely desolate, and wasted by the rebellion of the Earl of Desmond and his accomplices. The President landed the first of March at Waterford (*l*), and in three days after James Fitz-Morris, the Earl of Desmond's Lieutenant, burned the town of Kylmallog, hanged the chief magistrate, and others of the townsmen as many as he could take, at the high cross in the market place, and carried away all the plate and wealth of the place. Sir John, therefore, hasted to Dublin, to take his oath of the Lord-Deputy Sir Henry Sidney, in order to present the rebels with a sharp and speedy war. At his return to Cork, about the 10th of April following, immediately assembling his troops, he went to Kylmallog; and, having provided for the return of the inhabitants, the repairing the town walls, and rebuilding the houses, he proceeded in pursuit of the rebels with so much expedition and spirit, that he brought James Fitz-Morris to swear fealty to the Queen and Crown of England, and reduced the whole province of Munster into as good a state of quiet and tranquillity as any part of Ireland, in little more than the space of a year. But in doing this, he had carried such a high hand over the Earls of Ormond, Clanryckard, Thomond, and the rest of the loyal noblemen and gentlemen of the Pale in these parts, that many complaints were sent to England of the abuse of his power by arbitrary and unwarrantable proceedings. He was no sooner certified hereof, than he determined to cross the water, in order to clear himself in person from the charge preferred against him; and accordingly, without waiting for leave, he took order for the government of Munster in his absence, and making up his accompts, he departed thence about the beginning of March, 1673; and arriving by a quick passage in England, he was admitted to an audience of the Queen; wherein having related to her the state of the country, the particulars of his service, and the cause of his coming over, with answer to such objections as had been made against him, her Majesty, contrary to the expectation of many, allowed of his proceedings, and commended

(*i*) Sir John always mentioned this goodness of the Earl with the highest gratitude. Ibid. p. 42.

(*k*) See the general histories of England.

(*l*) Ibid. p. 50.

[*A*] *He played a pageant*] Upon the death of the French King, Francis II who was slain at tilt (1), Queen Elizabeth being advertised of it, before the news reached the French Ambassador at her court, resolved to entertain him with this pageant. And as it is a remarkable instance of the manner of conducting these entertainments, we shall lay it before the reader, as follows: Tents being set up, and a banquet provided in Greenwich-park, her Majesty took the Ambassador to the place, where, as she passed through the park-gate, a page presented a speech, signifying, that there were certain Knights come from a far country, who had dedicated their services to their several mistresses, ladies for beauty, virtue, and other excellencies, as they deemed incomparable; and therefore they vowed to advance their fame through the world, and to try the combat with any such, as should dare to affirm, that they had any rivals in perfection. And hearing great fame of a lady which kept her court thereabouts, renowned both for her own excellency, and for the worthiness of many redoubted Knights, which she kept; they were come thither to try whether any of her Knights would encounter them, in defence of their mistresses honour. To this the Queen: Sir Dwarfe, you give me very short warning, but I hope your Knights shall be answered; and then looking about, she asked the Lord Chamberlain, shall we be outbragged by a dwarfe. No, an't please your Majesty, answered he, let but a trumpet be sounded, and it shall be seen, that you keep men at arms enough to answer any proud challenges. Thereupon the trumpet sounds, and immediately there issued out of the east-lane at Greenwich, divers pensioners gallantly armed and mounted. The challengers were, the Earl of Ormond, Lord North, and Sir John Perrot: Who presently prepared themselves, to run courses in the field against all comers. Among the defendants, one Mr Cornwallis, a tall gentleman, and a good man at arms, fell to the share of Sir John Perrot, who in the encounter, chanced to run him through the hose, and scar his thigh*, at which he expressing some resentment, provoked Sir John, and as they were both cholerick, they fell into a challenge, to run with sharp lances without armour, in the presence of the Queen; but her Majesty would not suffer it, and with good persuasions pacified and reconciled them, and so after some courses performed as usual, the combat ended; after which her Majesty invited the French Ambassador to the banquet, provided in a pavilion raised for the purpose, in the park. But his Excellency having in the interim, received the news of his master's unfortunate end, begged to be excused (2).

(1) Upon the rising of his beaver a launce run thro' it into his head. The consideration of such accidents as this was one, if not the chief, cause of laying aside these diversions. General histories.

* By the stumbling of his horse, or some other accident.

(2) Life of Sir John Perrot, p. 46—49.

[*B*] *He*

commended his endeavours, expressing a desire to have him return; but Sir John proposing several new regulations to be made, which were not approved by the Council [*B*], he begged leave to repair into the country for the recovery of his health; and obtaining it, returned to his own house in Wales. He had been there but a few years, when the Court receiving intelligence that James Fitz-Morris, since his submission, had been in Spain, and obtained a promise of ships and men to invade Ireland, and especially the province of Munster, Sir John was sent for, to take the command of a squadron to be sent to sea against him; and all things being got ready, he departed from London about August, and going thence by barge, attended with several of the nobility and gentry, as they lay against Greenwich, where the Queen kept her Court, Sir John, who had his

[*B*] *He proposed some regulations, which were not approved*] He intituled these necessary conditions, for the quiet maintaining of the state of Munster, and containing the several particulars following I. First of all, that her Majesty would write sharp letters to the Archbishops and Bishops of that province, to deal more carefully in their several charges, than hitherto they have done, in setting forth of God's word, in their several dioceses; and to cause the decayed churches, to be re-edified, placing in them good and meek ministers, by which their good example, the people will the sooner grow to know their duty to God, and perfect obedience to their prince. II. Also that the same Bishops, be injoined to pay from henceforth the first-fruits and twentieth part of all the spiritual livings, within each of their dioceses, which they themselves have hitherto detained in their own hands, although by the laws of the land, it ought to have come into her Majesties use; and that they accompt for so much thereof, as hath come into their hands, which will amount to no small sum. III. That the said Bishops, shall minister the oath generally unto all priests, within their several dioceses, and to deprive such as do or will refuse the same, placing others of honest behaviour in their rooms. IV. That forthwith a President be sent thither, being both valiant, wise, and sound of religion, with other qualities, meet for the place. V. That likewise a principal Justice be sent, learned and just, who with the second Justice, shall be enjoined to hold sessions twice a year, as in the several shires in England. VI. That there be sent two of the most honest attornies, out of the marches of Wales, to instruct the attornies there, in following the course of the said court. VII. That farther allowance of wages be made to those that will serve the President. VIII. To take into her Majesties hands all liberties within the said province, except of cities and towns corporate. IX. That Desmond be reduced into a county, adjoining to it part of Dooly; and all that is between the river of Mange, and the Earl of Clencarty's country; the same county to be called by some other name, as the Queen's county, or the like. X. That commissioners be appointed to make agreement between the Lords of Munster, and their freeholders, which myself have caused them to yield unto; and to tie those Lords to desist from their wonted exactions, and in case of non-compliance, such rents as the freeholders ought to pay to the said Lords, to fall by way of escheat into her Majesties hands. XI. That the surveyors be commanded to make a new survey of all her Majesties lands within the said province, that are not leased, and to rate the same reasonably; they having by a late survey of one Fitz-Williams been rated so high, that they have lain waste ever since, no man cultivating or manuring the same, to her Majesties no small loss and detriment. XII. That commissioners be appointed to view the liberties of all cities and towns corporate, within the said province, and what customs they have a right to by their charters. For that besides those, they take many others which have been given since to the province by act of parliament, to which they have no right. XIII. That there be appointed an auditor, and a receiver, within the said province, with reasonable fee assigned to each. XIV. That customers, comptrollers, and searchers, be appointed in all cities and port-towns, where her Majesty hath not given her whole customs, to receive all such customs due to her highness. XV. That all her Majesties lands not leased, be let to Englishmen, as near as may be. XVI. Since in effect, the like misorders which have been heretofore in Wales, were of late in Munster; the like ordinances may be established by parliament for Munster, as are in Wales; and also power may be given, to the Lord Deputy and council, to appoint commissioners for dividing shires into hundreds, and to assign the Lords in several seignories, what escheats shall belong to them, and to divide the seignories into manors, where Court Barons may be kept for the peoples ease, in determining small causes. XVII. That there be a base coin of i *d.* ii *d.* iii *d.* coined at Limeric, and to call in the half-faced groats, with other old coins, and the residue of the coin to pass as it does. To this purpose he laid down the value of the several coins, both of silver and base money, then current in Ireland, to be reduced. The names whereof were, the old half-face groat unclipt, containing 4 old King Henry's pence, which at the rate of 4 smulkins of rose pence, being base metal, allowed in value for every old penny, makes 16 smulkins, and allowing three of the same for every English penny, amount to v *d.* $\frac{1}{3}$ *d.* sterling. The half old groat makes ii *d.* and $\frac{1}{3}$ *d.* sterling. The old penny containing 4 base smulkins, makes i *d.* $\frac{1}{3}$ *d.* sterling. The old half-face groat, clipt, whereof are many in Ireland, is worth of our current money but iiii *d.* The old fresh groat whereof are many, and sandy stamps, viz. Three crowns, and a whole faced crown, each containing 9 of the said small smulkins makes iii *d.* sterling. The pieces coined by the late King Henry, Edward, Philip and Mary, for xii *d.* current money, and now called in by the name of a black-seston, at the value of current money iiii *d.* Another of like base money, coined in the said King's time, current in Ireland, by the name of a white groat, containing 4 base smulkins, makes i *d.* $\frac{1}{3}$ *d.* sterling. Another base piece coined in Henry VIIIth's time being current there, by the name of a red harp, holding in value, 3 of the said smulkins, makes ii *d.* sterling. XVIII. That the castle of Mayne, be re-edified at 200 marks charge, and the priory of Kylla be annexed to it, whereby it will maintain the captain and twelve men, and so command Kerry and the Earl of Clencarty's country. XIX. That 200 *l.* of the said base coin, be granted for fortifying Kylmallock, to serve as a fort and rendezvous for her Majesty's people, to assemble on occasion of any service required. XX. That 200 *l.* of the like coin, be allowed to build a wall about Dingle. XXI. That 1000 marks be allowed towards building the castle of Limerick, for a place of residence for the Deputy, or Lord President. XXII. That another house for the President, may be built at Cork. XXIII. That another small castle be built in Arlongh, called Balliny-Court, to clear that wood of the rebels. XXIV. That all offices of collector, comptroller of the import, with customers and searchers, within Munster, may be at the disposal of the President. XXV. That the lease of the parsonage of Dungarvan, may by some good means be reduced again into the hands of her Majesty, and the same, together with the abbeys, and other parsonages and lands belonging to her highness, may be annexed to the state of Presidency. XXVI. That if her Majesty will lend 6000 *l.* of the aforesaid coin, to such persons as shall give good security to repay it, at the end of four years; in consideration thereof, she shall have the great woods of Donfynnen, Arlongh, Kylhoghy, Connelagh woods, Glanfleske, the great wood, and other woods within that province, cut down; and therewith ships may be built at Youghall. XXVII. That her highness take order to pardon the Earl of Ormond's three brothers, and James Fitz-Morris, or otherwise to determine of them; and in my opinion, it was not amiss to grant them pardon for what is past. XXVIII. That some comfortable letter be written to Sir John Desmond, and that he be put in hope of having 100 *l.* lease, according to her Majesty's letters to the Deputy, in order to keep him faithful, as his service is necessary (3).

(3) Life of Sir John Perrot, p. 86 to 101.

[*C*] *He*

his thoughts much turned to gallantry, sent one of his gentlemen ashore with a diamond, in a token to Mistress Blanch Parry, ordering him on delivering it, to tell the lady, that a diamond coming unlooked for did always bring good luck with it; which the Queen hearing, sent Sir John a fair jewel, suspended on a white cypress, signifying, that as long as he wore that for her sake, she assured herself, that by God's blessing he should come to no harm. The message and jewel were received with the greatest joy by Sir John, who returned for answer to the Queen, that he would wear it for his sovereign's sake, and doubted not, with God's favour, to return her ships in safety, and either to bring the Spaniards (if they came in his way) as prisoners, or else to sink them in the sea. As he passed by in his barge, her Majesty looking out of her window, put out her hand, and shaked her fan towards him; which he returned, by making a low obeysance, while he put the scarf and jewel about his neck. The names of the ships and pinnaces in his squadron were, the Benenge, Sir John Perrot, Admiral; the Dreadnought, William Gorge, Vice-Admiral; the Foresight, Nicholas Gorge, Rear-Admiral; the Catys, Captain York; the Swiftsure, Captain Pierce; and the Seabright, Captain Ward (*m*). With these ships Sir John set out from Gyllingham to the Downs, and thence passing by Falmouth and Plymouth, arrived in Ireland, and continued cruizing upon the coast about Waterford, 'till the season was past for making any attempt upon the country; when understanding, by other intelligence, that the Spaniards had dropt their enterprize for that year, the Admiral returned with his fleet safe to England, and retired again to his seat in Wales. But in this retirement he was careful to keep up his interest at Court; to which end, on proper occasions, he gave his personal attendance there, and constantly held a correspondence with Sir Francis Walsingham, and some others in the Ministry, who frequently asked his advice upon the occurrences of the times; and, in 1582, being consulted concerning the best means for quelling the Earl of Desmond's rebellion in Ireland, and settling that kingdom in a more orderly state of government, he drew up a paper containing his opinion (*o*) thereon, which was so well approved, that, in 1583, he received a commission, appointing him Lord-Deputy of Ireland: and embarking with the Earl of Ormonde at Milford-haven, he arrived at Dublin in January that year. Notwithstanding the Desmond family became extinct, by the death of the fifteenth Earl of that title, the preceding year *; yet the state of Ireland was still far from being settled in any orderly course of subjection and government. On the contrary, in the greatest part of the country, especially in the North, the sword was more in use than the laws, and revenge more practised than peace; and this, notwithstanding the last war, had exhausted more treasure from the Crown of England, more English blood had been spent, and the lives of more worthy men lost in it, than all the wars in that country had consumed for two hundred years before. It had been observed, that one principal cause of these miseries grew partly from the corruption, and partly from the ignorance, of the governors. Sir John Perrot was therefore singled out as a person, whose experience of the country excluded the latter, and whose known integrity set him above any just suspicion of the former. Great consideration was also had of his active valour and undaunted spirit, which were deemed necessary to subdue the haughty refractoriness and untamed ferocity of the rebellious part of the kingdom. Agreeably to these expectations, our new Deputy, in this spirit, presently after the entrance upon his office, resolved to make a progress throughout the whole country, and visit each province in person; in order to settle the better disposed in a good course of peace and tranquillity, by hearing complaints and redressing grievances, and establish a regular government to reduce the rebellious and seditious by force: Nor is it denied, that he brought a new face upon the nation in a short time. But while he was solely intent upon effectuating this wished-for reformation, the rules of prudence and discretion had not been always observed. The Deputy was naturally of a very choleric and haughty spirit, and had imbibed very high notions of government, and was of opinion it ought to be administred with severity. In acting upon these principles, while he conquered the rebel lords, and brought them to a composition in the North, the performance whereof was secured by proper hostages, he gave great offence to the well-disposed [*C*], by behaving too magisterially, and assuming a too arbitrary power. Hence complaints were carried to England, which produced several checks for the past, and restraints for the future, sent to him by the Council; and these not being sufficiently regarded, the murmurs in Ireland grew louder, and the reprehensions from England stronger. Notwithstanding all these discontents on one hand, and rebukes on the other, confiding in the integrity and uprightness of his heart, and relying on the merit of his services, he continued the same course as far as he was able, 'till the displeasure taken thereat by the Queen [*D*] occasioned

(*m*) Ibid. p. 110.

(*o*) This is prefixed to an anonymous piece, intituled, The History of Sir J. Perrot's Government in Ireland, Lond. 1626, 4to.

* Cox's Hist. of Ireland, under the year 1582.

[*C*] *He gave offence to the well-disposed.*] Among other imprudent steps taken by him, it was none of the least, that in the first session of the first parliament, he proposed a suspension of the famous law called Poyning's act; this was done by him in order to pass more speedily some acts, which he thought necessary, *for the publick good of the country*, but it was opposed, by the gentleman of the Pale, who either mistook or mistrusted his intent, and threw it out at the third reading. And though upon a conference, they were persuaded to pass it, yet their jealousy returned, and they threw it out the second time (4).

[*D*] *The displeasure taken at this by the Queen*] Besides his attempt to repeal Poyning's act, the chief articles alledged against him, were, that he was severe, and forced the people to take the oath of allegiance and supremacy; that he pried into men's patents, and endeavoured to promote laws against recusants, carrying himself too magisterially in the government. This impeachment, was abetted by the Chancellor,

(4) This Parliament met April 6, 1585. Cox's History of Ireland.

(p) Cox, under that year.

occasioned his recal from the government in 1528 (p) [E]. Thus disgraced at Court, he sailed from Dublin to his castle of Carew in Pembrokeshire; where he arrived, attended with as gallant a troop of gentlemen and servants, and to as great a number as ever followed any Lord-Deputy out of Ireland (s). But he did not enjoy the sweets of his retirement very long; for, a charge of high-treason being preferred against him, he was taken into custody, and after being confined some time in the Lord-Treasurer's house, was committed prisoner to the Tower of London; whence, on the 27th of April, 1592 (t), he was brought to his trial before a special commission in Westminster-hall; where, after a most severe and cruel scrutiny made into his actions, words, and even thoughts, by a law afterwards repealed (u), he was found guilty, and received sentence of death on the 16th of June following [F]; in pursuance whereof, he was carried back to the Tower in order for execution. But this was respited by the Queen, who was so well perswaded of the injustice done to him, that she received the first news of his being found guilty with extraordinary emotion, crying out, *Have they indeed brought him in guilty, then, by my troth, they have found an innocent man guilty (w).* In this disposition her Majesty began to relent, and to be pacified towards him, and was often heard to applaud the rescript of Theodosius: *If any person speak ill of the Emperor through rashness and inadvertency, it is to be despised; if out of madness, it deserves pity; if from malice and aversion, it calls for mercy (x).* But while Sir John had these promising hopes of life [G], he fell into an illness, which put an end to all his troubles by a natural death in September this year. During the time of his tryal he made his Will (y); wherein, after having called God to witness his innocency, in regard to every article of the treasons laid to his charge, he addressed himself to the Queen in the following terms. 'But I cannot denie it (being lette by 'practice to doe the service I could have done for your Highnesse, or upon some sharp 'matter receaved) I have far otherwise than did become me written some fond and eger 'words, for the which I sorrowe in my harte and soul. Therfore upon the knees of my 'harte I ask your Highnesse forgivenesse, which is all the amendes I can now make.'— Concluding thus—'I send my sonne and my daughter, with their two little children, 'God's blessinge and myne, and praie them to serve God and their Prince faithfullie.' Accordingly the Queen restored his estate to his son Sir Thomas Perrot, to which, perhaps, she was the more inclined in respect to his wife, who was sister to the Earl of Essex (z). As these things made a great noise in those times, so the Deputy's character has been drawn at length by several hands, the substance whereof may be seen below [H].

(s) Ibid. p. 290.

(t) Another indictment was brought against him on the 15th of May. State Trials, Vol. I. p. 182.

(u) The chief evidence against him was a Popish Priest, who was under condemnation, and turned evidence in hopes of a pardon; which induced him to give a false oath, as he afterwards confessed, and repented of it on his death-bed. Cox, p. 388. and Sir John's Life, p. 293.

(w) Account of the Government of Sir John Perrot, in the introduction.

(x) His trial, in the conclusion. State Trials, Vol. I. p. 184.

(y) It is dated May 3, 1592, and is printed in the appendix to the History of his Life, p 306 to 315.

(z) Camden's Elizabeth, p. 647. Latin Edit. by T. Hearne.

Chancellor, who was also Archbishop of Dublin, whom the Deputy had disobliged, by endeavouring to appropriate the revenues of St Patrick's church (the leases of which, were mostly in the hands of him and his relations) to the new intended university. But that particular offence which effectuated his ruin, was some passionate words, which when some of the rebukes and affronts mentioned above, were put upon him, he spoke of the Queen; particularly having received some kind letters from her Majesty, after some ill usage that he resented, *Look ye*, says he, to the standers by, *now the Queen is ready to bepiss herself, for fear of the Spaniard, I am become her white boy again.* Several of his speeches in this kind, were told by his secretary Williams, who betrayed him (5).

[E] *He was recalled in* 1588.] Before his departure, he put into the castle of Dublin proper pledges, for the peaceable behaviour and submission of all the chieftains of the rebels in every county and province, throughout the kingdom. The names of these ringleaders, were, O'Neale, O'Donell, Mac Gwere, Feaugh Mac Hugh, Walter Bengh, Mac Gnyllic, O'Cane, O'Donelan. He likewise gave the city of Dublin a standing gilt bowl (which is always in the hands of the Mayor of Dublin, for the time being) with his arms engraven, and the parrot at top, and about the beak, this motto in Latin, *Relinquo in pace*, signifying, that he left the city, country, and people in peace (6). We shall mention one instance, in effecting this peace, as it shews his wit, and therefore is a part of his character, and that is a stratagem contrived by him to entrap the chief rebel O'Donell, just mentioned. To this purpose he prepared a ship loaden with sack, a wine which the Irish were fond of, to sail as near as possible to O'Donell's dwelling, where the Captain proffering his wines, the country people came presently aboard the ship, who, according to the instructions, had as much wine as they would for a taste, with this kind offer, that if O'Donell would come himself, he should buy the best wine at a reasonable rate. He came, and was used so courteously, that they gave him his full allowance, and finding him well fraughted, and the wind serving, they stowed him under hatches, and carried him to Dublin, where he was left in the castle, at the Deputy's departure (7).

[F] *Tried by a special commission, and condemned.*] The commissioners were, Lord Chamberlain, Lord Buckhurst, Sir Robert Cecill, Secretary Woolley, Mr Fortescue, the Master of the Rolls, Anderson, Chief Justice of the common pleas, Periame, Gawde and Fenner, Judges, and Rockeby, one of the masters of the court of requests. The principal articles of his indictment, was, holding a treasonable correspondence with Lord Viscount Balinglass and the Duke of Parma, in order to facilitate a Spanish invasion. Lord Balinglass was an Irish Peer, against whom an act of attainder had passed, being promoted by Sir John, in the second parliament of Ireland held under him, in 1586 (8). Denis O'Roughan a Popish priest, who was admitted evidence against him, and swore that he was employed by him to carry the treasonable letters from him, had been convicted of being concerned with one Bird, in forging and dispersing warrants under the Deputy's name, importing a general pardon to all priests, for all offences, in such a stile, as if the Deputy had been King of England (9). O'Roughan was afterwards pardoned by the Deputy and Council, in consideration of his renouncing the Romish religion, taking the oaths of allegiance and supremacy to the Queen, professing a hearty repentance, and promising to promote the reduction of Ireland, to the obedience of her Majesty, to the utmost of his power (10). All which favours were repaid in such a manner, as was at this time not unfrequently practised by the emissaries of the Romish church. *Tantum Religio potuit suadere malorum.*

[G] *Promising hopes of life.*] Possibly the consideration of his supposed consanguinity, might have some weight with the Queen; 'tis certain Sir John much resembled her father in his towering spirit, and claimed his descent from that prince; insomuch, that after he was condemned, he asked the Lieutenant of the Tower, *Whether the Queen would sacrifice her brother, to her overseeing adversaries* (11).

[H] *The Deputy's character is inserted below.*] The writers intimated above, are here cited in the margin (12). 'They represent Sir John to be a man in 'stature very tall and big, exceeding the ordinary 'stature of men by much, and almost equal to the 'mightiest men that lived in his time. His body 'was very compact and proportionable, through all 'the parts: as he did exceed most men in stature, so 'did he in strength. His hair was auburn, 'till it 'grew

(5) His Life, p. 201, 202. and Cox's History of Ireland, p. 387.

(6) Life of Sir John, &c. p. 283 to 287.

(7) Life, p. 278, 279.

(8) The act is printed at length in Sir John's Life, p. 252, &c. seqq.

(9) The Realm and Council of Ireland were termed His Realm and Council. Bird wrote the warrants, and O'Roughan signed them with the Deputy's name. Ibid. p. 231, & seqq. where the warrants and the proceedings upon them may be seen.

(10) Id. ibid.

(11) He meant Lord Chancellor Hatton, who he said came into the Court by the Galliard. Cox, p. 387.

(12) Viz. Camden in his Elizabeth, Sir Francis Newton, and David Lloyd in his Memoirs.

'grew grey in his elder years. His countenance full 'of majesty, his eye marvellous piercing, and carrying a commanding aspect, which, when he was 'angry, became most terrible; yet was equally 'amiable, when he was pleased or disposed to do a 'kindness. In this resembling Augustus Cæsar, who 'is said to have had so great a majesty in his eye and 'countenance, piercing like the sun-beams, that a 'soldier beholding him, could not stand it, but retired back, saying, he was not able to endure the 'brightness and majesty of his eyes. The conditions 'and qualities of Sir John Perrot's mind, were answerable, and kept a kind of correspondence with 'those of his body. The greatness of his mind and 'body strove which should grace him most; for he 'was of an undaunted spirit, never regarding his adversaries, were they never so many or so great. In 'time of danger he always shewed himself resolute and 'valiant. He had a very sharp wit, and was, as may 'be said, naturally wise; for though he were not 'learned in the sciences, yet would he give as good a 'reason for matters of experiment as most men. And 'as he had in him many excellent parts, as magnanimity, valour, ripeness of judgment, understanding 'of the modern languages, as the French, Spanish, 'and Italian, judgment in the wars, in home government, in foreign states, in courtly carriage, and in 'most matters that a man not professing learning 'could comprehend, so had he some defects. He was 'by nature very choleric, and could not brook any 'crosses, or dissemble the least injuries, although offered by the greatest personages, whereby he procured to himself many and mighty adversaries, who 'in the end, wrought his overthrow, although even ''till then, what by the justness of his cause, the 'clearness of his conscience, and resolution of his 'mind, he supported himself against all his adversaries, 'being many and great. In anger he would sometimes deal roughly and severely, even with them he 'loved best, but that being once pacified, he would 'easily forget his former displeasure; and as long as 'any man did contend with him, he would use all 'opposition he could by sword or by law, but if submission were offered by his inferior, or reconciliation 'by his equal, he would as easily receive it as any 'man. In passion, he was apt to swear too much, 'and was addicted to venery, being otherwise clear of 'any notable vice, in all the course of his life.' In 'his youth he was profuse and prodigal, but arriving 'to riper age, he grew frugal, and yet not so saving, 'but that he regarded his honour before his profit, 'and measured both by the ability of his estate, which 'he would not exceed, nor yet live under the highest 'countenance of his degree and calling: for he maintained the post rather of a nobleman, than of a 'Knight, for the space of forty years, in retinue, 'housekeeping, and all other respects. Yet did he 'manage his estate so providently, as he would make 'the most of his own with reason, and without injury 'to any, he improved his lands to a high rate, yet so 'as tenants might live on it and under him. He was 'very firm and faithful to his friends, and if any of 'them had done amiss or offended him, he would be 'sure to tell him of it in the sharpest manner; but if 'any other person interposed to aggravate the matter, 'he would hear it, and if he found cause, would shame 'his friend, otherwise he would answer for him as much 'as might be. He was very just and unspotted for bribery, which he could not abide in any man, nor 'ever was charged with it, by his greatest adversaries. 'In the administration of justice he was very upright, 'and void of all partiality, though his nearest kinsman 'were a party. Pirates he could never endure, but prosecuted them with all his power. To conclude, his 'virtues were many, and his faults were not to be excused or silenced. For besides those faults which have 'been already touched, he was high-minded, and made 'no account of any man, whom he thought did not 'affect him; neither could his heart be thoroughly 'humbled, until his last extreme disaster, which brought 'him home to himself, and unto God (13).

(13) Life of Sir John Perrot, p. 17 to 23.

PERSONS or PARSONS (*a*) [ROBERT], alias DOLEMAN, the first English Jesuit that ever set foot in England [*A*], was born in 1546, at Netherstowey near Bridgwater in Somersetshire. He was the middlemost of eleven children which were brought to his father, a Blacksmith of a fair character, by Mary his wife (*b*), whose fidelity to the marriage-bed has been much suspected in regard to this child [*B*]. However that be, he proved a boy of a ready wit and good memory; and having learned to read English, was taken notice of by the Vicar [*C*], who being much pleased with his promising genius, instructed him in the Latin tongue; and fitting him for the university, procured him to be admitted into Baliol-college in Oxford, whither he was sent in the latter end of the year 1523 (*c*). Being supported chiefly by the Vicar, he stuck close to his studies; and his temper and talents suiting [*D*], he acquired the reputation of being a smart disputant, a character of chief remark in the university at that time. Soon after he had proceeded Bachelor of Arts, which was May 31, 1568, he obtained a Fellowship in his college; and, at the end of the year of probation, being admitted Chaplain-Fellow (*d*), entered, as

(*a*) He wrote his name both these ways at different times. See several of his Works.

(*b*) Compare Foulis's History of Roman Treas. p. 500. Gee's Introduct. to the Jesuit's Memorial, p. 2. Athen. Oxon. Vol. I col. 306. with what is related by Parsons himself in his Manifestation of Folly, edit. 1602, fol. 89. b. p. 7.

(*c*) Ath. Oxon. as before

(*d*) The title is *Socius Sacerdos*, whence it is concluded he must have taken Orders. Foulis, ubi supra.

[*A*] *The first English Jesuit, &c.*] Mr Carte, indeed, tells us (1), that he was absolutely the first of the order that ever set foot in England. But we are informed by Father Ribadeneira, a Spanish Jesuit (2), that himself, together with Figueroa, came hither upon a mission in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign; but not having the language, found their design impracticable, and quickly took their leave without doing any thing. The Jesuit's order was founded in 1534; but though the founder Loyola himself, wrote a letter to Cardinal Pole, signifying how agreeable it would be to him to see some Englishmen in it, yet George Ware was admitted first of any of this nation, in 1562. It is true, he was followed by several others in a little time; but none were sent upon the mission to their own country before Parsons and Campion (3). William Good, a Somersetshire man, was sent to Ireland in 1562, but did not come into England.

[*B*] *His wife was suspected.*] Dr Sutcliffe, Dean of Exeter, tells us (4), that this love-intrigue of her's was with the Vicar or Parson of the parish; who, it seems, was held to be well-gifted this way, and who lay at her house. The secular Popish Priests assert also, that he was base born (5), but will have his natural father to be the Vicar of Stokersey in Somersetshire, and his name to be Cowbuck, or Cubbock; and the same is retained by Dr Thomas James, Keeper of the Bodleian Library at Oxford (6). This base birth is also agreeable to Camden's remark of him, That he was one of the dregs of the commonalty (7). Mr Wood, indeed, had been informed, that Parsons's Mother was a known grave matron, living divers years in flight and banishment for religion, and died therein very aged, at London, about the year 1599. But the scale is unanswerably turned against her, by the evidence of Archbishop Abbot; who observes, that before her son's removal from the college, the society had a certificate that he was a bastard (8).

[*C*] *The Vicar*] His name was John Hayward (9); who, according to Mr Wood, was a virtuous good Priest, had been a Canon Regular [i e. a Monk] in Devonshire, and thence became Vicar of Netherstowey about this time: and that his affection for our author had no other cause but the boy's good parts and disposition to learning (10).

[*D*] *His temper and talents suiting to disputations.*] As to his temper, Mr Camden, who knew him at the university, assures us he was a violent fierce natured man, of a rough behaviour (11), and the subtlety and shiftiness of his genius, is more than sufficiently evident from his writings.

(1) History of England, Vol. III. B. xix. p. 599.

(2) Hist. Soc. Jesu, l. i. c. 22.

(3) More's Hist. Missionis, &c. l. i.

(4) In his treatise intituled, Blessings on Mount Gerizim, p. 220 and 288.

(5) A Reply to a Libel called a Brief Apology, &c. p. 324. See also Bell's Anatomy, &c.

(6) In his Life of Parsons at the end of The Jesuits Downfal, p. 52. Oxf. 1612.

(7) Annals of Queen Elizabeth, anno 1602.

(8) See remark [*E*].

(9) Foulis's Life of Parsons in his Hist. of Roman treasons, p. 500.

(10) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 356.

(11) Eliz. B. II. p. 246.

[E] He

as is supposed, into Holy Orders. As the duties of this place obliged him to residence, he took pupils, and became the most eminent tutor there (e). But while he kept the young students under his care to an exact discipline, he privately indulged himself in the pursuit of some unwarrantable liberties (f). On St Luke's day, 1572, he succeeded to the office of Burser, and at that time testified an extraordinary zeal for the Protestant religion, changing a great many old books and manuscripts in the college library (g) for Protestant authors, and was the first that introduced those books there. December 2d this year, he proceeded Master of Arts, and completed that degree, by standing in the subsequent Act in July 1573 (h). After this, at the expiration of the Burser's office, which is annual, he defrauded the society of a considerable sum of money (i), by falsifying his accounts. However, no discovery being then made of it, he was appointed Dean for the following year 1574, but did not continue long either in that place or in the college; for, upon an enquiry into his past conduct, he thought proper to resign his Fellowship in February 1573-4 [E], and to take his leave of Oxford. Going to London, he staid there some

(e) Mr Gee, ubi supra, observes, that he had the greatest number of pupils; and Father More assures us, that he had three times the number of any other tutor. Mori Historia Missionis, &c. p. 39.

(f) Sutcliffe's Blessings on Mount Gerizim, p. 288. See also Rem. [E] note ||.

(g) Gee, p. 3.

(h) Wood, where last cited, and his Fasti, Vol. I. col. 106.

(i) Viz. of 100 marks. See rem. [E].

[E] *He resigned his Fellowship*] Our author's character being much interested in the manner and cause of this resignation of his, many disputes were raised about it. The fullest account of it is contained in the following letter of Archbishop Abbot to Dr Hussye, a copy of which is preserved in the place cited in the margin (12). 'You write unto me to know what is in 'record any way against Mr Parsons: and I return 'you here inclosed word for word, so much as is in the 'register of Baliol college. In the resignation, as you 'may see he had written *sponte & coactus*, but now it 'is *sponte non coactus*, & being blotted out, and *non* 'being set over †: which, I am deceived, if it be 'not altered by some body else of late; in as much as 'I am verily persuaded, that since my coming to the 'college, I have seen it *sponte & coactus*; which, al'though it carry a contradiction, yet intimateth, that 'he resigned against his will. The particular reasons 'whereof, no man can tell better than Dr Turner, 'now dwelling in Fetter-lane, or Dr Hyde of Sarum *; 'for, as I take it, they were both present at his re'moving. The causes and manner of his giving over, 'as far as I could ever comprehend, were these. Bag'shaw being a smart young man, and one who thought 'his penny good silver; after he had his grace to be 'Bachelor of Arts ‡, was with some despite swinged 'by Parsons, being Dean of the college. Hoc manet 'alta mente repostum: and Bagshaw afterwards com'ing to be Fellow was most hot in persecution against 'Parsons. It was the more forwarded by Dr Squire's 'displeasure, who was then Master of Baliol college, 'and thought himself to have been much bitten by 'vile libels, the author whereof he conceived Parsons 'to be; who in truth, was a man at that time, wonder'fully given to scoffing, and that with bitterness, which 'also was the cause that none of the company loved 'him. Now, Dr Squire and Bagshaw being desirous 'of some occasion to trim him, this fell out.' The doctor then proceeds to relate the falsifying his burser's accounts, polling the Commoners names, and the certificate of his being a bastard, contrary to the college statute, which requires that every Fellow should be legitimate; *legitimo thoro natus* ||: that hereupon they proceeded to have him solemnly expelled. That Parsons being brought into the college chapel for that purpose, prayed it might be done with as little noise and as little disgrace to him as possible; and accordingly prevailed with the Fellows to accept of this form. *Ego Robertus Parsons, Socius collegii de Balliolo, resigno omne meum jus & clameum, quem habeo vel habere potero societatis meæ in dicto collegio; quod quidem facio sponte non coactus*, die decimo tertio mensis Februarii Anno Dom. 1573.

per me Robertum Parsons.

Eodem tempore decretum est unanimi consensu Magistri & reliquorum Sociorum, ut Magister Robertus Parsons nuperrime Socius retineat sibi sua cubicula & scholares quousque voluerit, & communia sua de collegio habeat usque ad Festum Paschatis immediate sequentis. i. e. I Rob. Parsons, Fellow of Baliol college, resign all the right and claim which I have, or shall have, of my Fellowship in the said college; which I do voluntarily, not by compulsion, this 13th day of February, Anno Dom. 1573.

By me Rob. Parsons.

At the same time it is decreed by the unanimous consent of the Master and the rest of the Fellows, that Master Robert Parsons very lately Fellow, may keep his chamber and scholars as long as he pleaseth; and may also have his commons from the college 'till Easter-day next ensuing.

However, at coming out of the chapel, Bagshaw set the bells a-ringing at Magdalen church, in which parish Baliol college stands; and the next time of making corrections in the hall, which is the Dean's business, Parsons going upon it, was sneeringly called Mr Dean, by Dr Squire, who attended, and desired him to have a strict care to the good government of the youth: at which, some of the Commoners who knew the pageant, were not afraid to giggle aloud; so that Parsons perceiving he was not concealed, resolved to leave Oxford and England also, as he did; and upon his departure sent a letter, or rather a notable libel, to Dr Squire, who, however, is acknowledged here to be such a man as wanted not faults. To the same purpose Mr Camden declares, that Parsons was expelled with disgrace for his lewd carriage (13).

On the other hand, More the Jesuit gives a very different account of this matter, and tells us (14), that Parsons had before declared himself openly in favour of the Catholic religion; that his rival Protestant tutor in his absence seduced one of his pupils to go to a play, and was encouraged not to surrender himself to his tutor, who returning, demanded him, in order to be punished for this offence; but, that having convened the Fellows on this occasion, they declared it was not fitting he should be a tutor who was a Papist, and immediately insisted upon his renouncing that first, or else to resign his Fellowship. A hard condition, says the Jesuit, but he was forced to submit, in order to avoid expulsion, which was threatened upon his noncompliance; yet in reciting the form of the resignation, he quotes the words *sponte & coactus*, taking no notice of any alteration. In proceeding, he tells us, Parsons held his rights thus precariously 'till the following Lent, when attempting to punish some students for not observing that fast, according to the old statutes, by abstaining from flesh, an alarm was raised, and the bells rung backward (15), as in case of fire, a cry prevailing that in Baliol college they were interdicted fire and water by a Popish incendiary. He then declares, that his motive for inlarging upon this business, was thereby to cut off the calumny that had been raised long after, that Parsons did not quit his Fellowship for the sake of his religion, and to preserve his probity, but was removed for seditious practices. The Jesuit's narrative is likewise countenanced by Mr Wood (16), who declares, he had made this collection of Parsons's life from records and impartial writers; and tells us, that Parsons resigned his Fellowship of his own accord, as the register of Baliol college witnesseth, though certain authors tell us that he resigned to prevent expulsion, being then, if not before, about to change his religion. In the notes, Mr Wood sends us to see the whole story of this expulsion, which was no other than a resignation, to Father Parsons's *Brief Apology* *. Notwithstanding this, it is certain, that as he came to the college a Protestant (17), so he behaved himself like a good Protestant there, conversing with Dr Squire and Dr Hyde, zealous Protestants (18); besides the instance of his own zeal mentioned in the text, while he was Burser: add to this, that after his resignation, one Mr Clerk of the Inner-Temple expressing some doubts concerning his religion, Parsons did not only

(12) Foul's, ubi supra, who says he transcribed it from the original, with the marginal notes upon it. It is dated Feb. 1, 1601, at University college, of which Abbot was then Master.

† Thus, {non & coactus.

* In the Pretor's book I find one Tho. Hyde proceeded Master of Arts the same year with Rob. Parsons, viz. 1573.

‡ Christopher Bagshaw, admitted Fellow in 1573, left the college in 1582, was made Priest in France, lived a while in the English college of Rome, proceeded Doctor, some say at Padua [A. P. Reply, p. 156.] others at Paris, and was one of the Faculty of Sorbonne. He was active against the Arch-Priest in the stirs at Wisbich. He lived to be very old.

|| Where, by the way, you may add, says Abbot, that Parsons was not of the best fame for continency, as I have heard some say who lived in Oxford at that time.

(13) Annals of Queen Elizabeth, ad ann. 1580.

(14) In his Hist. Missionis, &c. p. 38, 39. edit. 1660, fol.

(15) Bagshaw is here pointed at, which is expressly declared afterwards in p. 139.

(16) Ubi supra; where he quotes, as More does, the register of Baliol-college, without taking notice of any alteration.

* P. 192, 193, 194.

(17) His father was not reconciled to Popery by Alexander Bryant 'till 1579. Wood.

(18) Gee's Introduction to the Jesuits Memorial for the intended Reformation under their first Popish Prince, p. 3. Lond. 1690, 8vo.

some months, unresolved what course to take in this exigence. At length, in June he left England, and crossing the Channel to Calais, he went first to Antwerp, and thence, after some weeks, to Louvain (*l*); where, finding a college of Jesuits, he spent a week in the spiritual exercises of that order, the design of their institution being very agreeable to him [*F*]. He then proceeded to Padua in Italy, in pursuance of his first intention to apply himself for a support to the study of Physick; yet so much unresolved was he, that, upon his coming into Italy, he inclined rather to the Law, and accordingly spent some time in that study at Bononia. However, afterwards he resumed his first resolution; but he had not been there long, before his curiosity led him to make a visit to Rome (*m*): where meeting with some English Jesuits, he grew impatient to be among them [*G*]. For this purpose returning to Padua, he settled his affairs there as soon as possible; which done he took boat, and proceeding up the Po to Ferrara, he travelled thence on foot to Rome. He arrived in that city in the latter end of May, 1575, and was elected a member of the society of Jesus the fourth of June (*n*), and admitted into the college on St James's day following. He had compleated the regular course of his studies, had gone through the four classes of Divinity, and was become one of the chief Penitentiaries, being Confessor in that chair, where the Pope himself confessed in 1579 (*o*), when he directed the establishment of the English seminary at Rome [*H*], and procured Father Allen to be chosen Rector of it; who, in return, recommended his friend for the mission to England in 1580 [*I*], with an intention to extirpate Queen Elizabeth and the Protestant religion [*K*]. He spared no pains to carry this desperate design, if possible, into

(*l*) Ath. Oxon. ubi supra.

(*m*) More's Hist. Missionis, &c. lib. ii. sub initio.

(*n*) Id. from the college register. Though, says More, Parsons mentions the 25th for the day which might be admitted to eat in common with the rest, i. e. to college commons. *Cum ad communem cum cæteris convictum fuerit admissus*, p. 44.

(*o*) Ibid. p. 57.

only protest to that gentleman, but offered to take his oath, that he was no Papist, nor did ever intend to be: and Camden relates that he openly professed the Protestant religion 'till he was expelled (19).

[*F*] *The design being very agreeable to him.*] At Louvain, he met with William Good already mentioned, who being his countryman, a Somersetshire man, prevailed with him to go through these exercises, and used such arguments to persuade him to enter into the order, as staggered his first resolution ‡; and no wonder, for the design of that institution being to support the Pope's power against the growing heresy (as they called it) of Luther, which was then become the established religion in several parts of Germany, and particularly of England, must needs afford a fair prospect to one of our author's learning, wit, and disposition of distinguishing himself in it. It is certain, as says Mr Gee (20), he was by nature and inclination fitted to make a complete Jesuit; being fierce, turbulent, and bold; which are the three main qualifications for that order.

[*G*] *Impatient to be among them.*] Father More tells us (21), that before he left London, he had procured bills of exchange upon the bank of Venice, to defray his expences. The same author likewise assures us, that Persons bought a great number of books at Rome, which he brought with him to Padua, and that before his return to Rome, he drew all his money from Venice; ascribing the alteration of his first purpose to that of taking the Jesuit's habit, entirely to Good's advice, and his own affections to it from the trial he had made privately at Louvain, which was completed into a firm resolution by repeating the same publickly at Rome, added to the pleasure of being among his own countrymen (22), as related above. All this story is little agreeable to the account of Archbishop Abbot, in the letter already cited (23), according to whom, this alteration was owing to a light purse, not sufficient to support him in the study and profession of either Law or Physic.

[*H*] *The English seminary at Rome.*] Before, it was nothing more than an hospital founded in Queen Mary's time, by the name of the Holy Trinity de Urbe. One Clenoch, assistant to the Jesuits college, was Rector at this time, and being a foreigner to the English, was not liked by them. Parsons being now in great credit, applies to the Pope by Benedict Palmes and Francis Tolet, afterwards Cardinal, for two grants: first, that his Holiness would send for Father Allen from Rheims, and set him at the head of this society, founding it into a college or seminary for the English, by the name of Collegium de Urbe, dedicated to the Holy Trinity, and St Thomas [à Becket]; and secondly, that he would oblige the students to take the following oaths. *I, N. N. considering with how great benefits God hath blessed me, &c. do promise, by God's assistance, to enter into Holy Orders, as soon as I shall be fit for them, and to return to England to convert my countrymen there, whenever it shall please the superiour of this house to command me.* N. B. Pope

(19) Id. ibid.

‡ Wood, col. 229. and More, p. 19.

(20) Ubi supra, p. 15.

(21) In the place cited in note (*m*) above.

(22) Id. p. 55, 56, 57. and Wood, col. 225.

(23) In remark [*E*].

Gregory gave 300 crowns a month out of his treasury to it, and endowed it besides with the Abbey of St Sabin apud Placentinos, worth near 300 crowns a year (24).

[*I*] *Recommended him to the mission.*] More, who relates this, says also, that Allen not only mentioned such a mission to England, but named Parsons to be one, and the superior of it: he also informs us, that Oliver Manaræus, and Claudius Aquaviva †, were both extremely for Parsons: after which he proceeds thus, '*Mittendorum delectum haud difficilem faciebat locus. Nam Personius in urbe sub oculos degebat; vir consideratus. Et rerum magnarum agendarum gloriæ par. In hos omnium calculi conveniunt; cæteri enim ex Anglis qui societati nomen dederant, vel cursum studiorum nondum expleverant, vel in remotiora ad septentrionem loca concesserant* (25). i. e. There was no difficulty in making choice of the persons for the mission. For Parsons lived in the city under their eyes; a man of considerable worth, and equal to the glory of great enterprizes. In these * therefore, all were agreed, especially, since the rest of the society had either not yet compleated the course of their studies, or were gone into the remoter parts of the north (26).'

[*K*] *To extirpate Queen Elizabeth and the Protestant religion.*] The artifice of Pius IV. to regain the Papal supremacy being seen and rejected by Queen Elizabeth, his successor, Pius V. went another way to work; and in order to terrify her into submission, published a bull, declaring her subjects absolved from their oath of allegiance, and pronouncing an anathema against all those that should obey her (27). But the consequence shewed this to be more hasty than wise. Queen Elizabeth was too well beloved by her subjects for such an anathema to have it's designed effect, and instead of raising (as was intended) all the Papists in the nation against her Majesty, it abated their affections towards the Pope, who had by this means made them obnoxious and suspected to the government, and therein brought the severity of the laws upon them; whereas they had before been suffered quietly to enjoy in private the exercise of their religion. This being represented at Rome, gave occasion to the present mission of Parsons and his colleague; by whom Pope Gregory XIII. sent what was called a *mitigation* of this anathema, declaring it to hold in force against the heretics, but not against the Romanists, who were pronounced free from the curse, and dispensing with them for obeying her Majesty as things then stood, 'till it should please the Pope otherwise to determine. This mitigation run in the following terms. Facultates concessæ R. Roberto Personio & Edmundo Campiano pro Anglia die 14 April 1580, petatur a summo Domino Nostro Explicatio bullæ declaratoriæ per Pium Quintum contra Eliz & ei adhærentes, quam Catholici cupiunt intelligi hoc modo, ut obliget semper illam & hæreticos, Catholicos vero nullo modo obliget rebus sic stantibus, sed tum demum, quando publica ejusdem bullæ executio fieri poterit. i. e. It is decreed, that the Catholics may be dispensed with, 'till they can rebel

(24) More, ubi supra.

† The General and Assistant of the Order.

(25) Ibid. p. 57.

* I. e. in Persons and Campian.

(26) He sent a flattering letter to his Nuncio Purpalius, offering to confirm the English Liturgy by his authority, and to grant the use of the Eucharist in both kinds.

(27) It was fixed by one Felton upon the gates of the Bishop of London's house in the city.

into execution [*L*], in concert with Father Campian, 'till the apprehending of that colleague brought the danger so near [*M*], as obliged the last means of securing his own safety by flight. He withdrew to Roan in Normandy, and immediately printing several books in support of the cause [*N*], he procured them to be dispersed in England. During this

bel...with less danger and to more good purpose. There were many other petitions of faculties for their further authority, all which concluded thus: Has prædictas gratias concessit summus Pontifex, &c. present Father Oliver Manaræus assistant (28). What other instructions they had, is not known; only Father More tells us, they were ordered to keep wholly to the discharge of their ministerial function, and by no means to meddle either by word or writing, in the publick affairs of the kingdom (29). With these powers, and the Pope's benediction upon them, they set out the Sunday after Easter, attended by Ralph Emerson, in quality of *Adjutor externi operis* (30), in company of seven other Priests and two Lay Noblemen of the Order. To avoid being detained by the soldiers, of which the direct road was full, they took their rout through Geneva, where they had some discourse upon religious points with Beza (31); and after a stay of three days, passing through France, they arrived at Rheims about the middle of June; whence, going together to St Omers, Parsons departed first, and embarked at Calais in the habit of a soldier; concerning which Campian writes to Manaræus, Assistant-General of the Order, thus: 'Pater Robertus, Georgio Fratre Comitante, post mediam noctem, pridie quam hæc scriberem, Caleto solverat vento secundissimo, itaque sub hesternum mane decimo sexto Junii Dorobernium, ut speramus, appulit, specie militis, tam picti, tam insani, ut valde oculatus esse debeat, qui sub illa vestitu vultu, incessu sanctimoniam & modestiam delitescere suspiciatur. i.e. Father Robert, attended by Brother George, sailed from Calais with a fair wind the day before the date I write this; we hope therefore, he arrived at Dover yesterday morning, June the 16th, in the dress and air of a soldier so well counterfeited, that he must be very sharp-sighted indeed, that can suspect any sanctity and modesty to lie concealed under that habit, countenance, and gait.' Accordingly, Parsons arriving safe at London, waited there for Campian, who likewise escaped the strict search that was made for them; their pictures, the time of their departure from Rome, and the whole rout of their journey having reached England before them (32) Not long after their arrival, several of the quieter sort of Papists who denied the Pope's power to depose princes, taking the advantage which was given them by the *mitigation* which they brought, were made very uneasy by the fiery zeal and rough manners of Parsons (33), who condemned their compliance to the government, as entirely contrary to the Pope's real intention and meaning. The quarrel grew so high, that some of those had thoughts of delivering him up into the magistrates hands; charging him with meddling in matters of state, and labouring to set her Majesty's crown upon another head. But this was only a small party (34); and, notwithstanding their opposition, the missionaries succeeded so well in general, that all things seemed ready for an insurrection before Christmas (35).

[*L*] *He spared no pains to carry it into execution.*] To this purpose he divided England into three parts. 1. Wales, where he observes they made great progress. 2. The midland counties, whither he went himself; particularly at Cambridge, he procured a young priest to be admitted in the university as a nobleman, and obtained a station for him not far from the town; so that he brought over seven youths in a few months, ready to be sent to the seminary at Rheims. He sent Campian into the third division in the North, in which they had least success. He chose the middle parts for himself, that he might be near London, to be ready upon all emergencies that arose. One Gardiner an inmate only at Hogsden was their first fruits. They plied matters so closely, that they entirely broke the custom that had 'till then prevailed among the Papists, of going to the Protestant churches (36). A little before Christmas, Parsons, in a letter to the Fathers at Rome, making heavy outcries of the severity of the persecution, continues thus: *Vincit tamen numerus diligentiam insectantium, intelligo ab uno mense in tabulas relata esse quinquaginta mille eorum qui fana hereticorum adire recusant**; so that all things seemed ready for an insurrection. Hence we see the reason of the proclamation which was published in January, laying a penalty of 20*l.* a month upon all absentees from the service of the church. This occasioned a further trouble to Parsons, a petition being presented to him in the name of all the better sort of recusants (37), to know whether they might not now comply to avoid this severe penalty. It was upon this occasion that he printed his *Brief Discourse, containing the Reasons why Catholics refuse to go to Church.* The dedication to Queen Elizabeth, is subscribed (38) John Howlet: in the Bodleian Library there is a copy of this book, that was seized before the title page was printed, intituled in the first page of the book itself, *Reasons that Catholics ought in any wise to abstain from heretical conventicles.* The running title is *A Treatise of Schism, &c.* It was printed by William Carter (executed for treason in 1584) who confessed, when that book was seized in his house on Tower-hill, that 1250 copies of it had been printed. At that time the searchers found the original manuscript sent from Rheims, and allowed under Dr Will. Allen's hand to be truly Catholic, and fit to be published. Mr Wood observes, that this is the same book stiled by Anthony Possevinus, *Nine Reasons why Catholics should abstain from heretical Conventicles,* said by him to be written by our author (39). There came out an answer to this discourse the same year, intituled, *A Check to Mr Howlet's Screechings to her Majesty.* This book was printed the year before (40), but now he told them there was more reasons for abstaining, since a compliance now would be looked upon as done merely to save the money, and as a piece of hypocrisy. While he was in England, he printed *A brief Censure upon two Books* of William Charke and William Hanmer, written against the *Reasons and Proofs* (41). As also, *A Discovery of* John Nichols, *misreported a Jesuit* (42). The Catholics were divided into three sorts or parties. 1. Those who denied the Pope's deposing power, but would not take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. 2. Those who did both. 3. Those who did neither. As to these last, Camden (43) writing upon the proclamation against the seminary Priests in 1580, assures us, that the Queen used to complain with grief, that she was driven by necessity to publish such laws, for the preservation of herself and subjects; and Father Parsons, when he wrote his mind freely to his friend, testifieth, that the Queen was necessitated to do it for the preservation of herself and the kingdom (44); and we are assured by another Popish author, that she designed a mitigation, upon security of their allegiance by taking the oaths: but that this Toleration was both talked and written against at Rome, as very disadvantageous to the Popish cause (45), and it is certain, says Mr Gee, that abundance of people were drawn from their Popish opinions and superstitions by frequenting the Protestant churches. He likewise thinks it probable, that the remaining Roman Catholics would in time have been converted by it (46). It is observable, that the success of it with the Papists was made use of in Queen Anne's reign for introducing the Occasional Conformity Bill in favour of the Dissenters.

[*M*] *Brought the danger so near.*] When Campian was taken, he had been long parted from Parsons, who, upon leaving him, went into Kent (47); which gave him an opportunity of crossing the sea immediately, which he did so suddenly, that had not time to acquaint any one person with his design (48). He had a very narrow escape before, when one Rishton was seized at the Red-rose [or Red-lion] on Holborn-hill; he had promised to be at that meeting, and was prevented only by losing his way thither (49).

[*N*] *Printed several books.*] Immediately after his safe arrival, he dispatched a trusty servant with the news to some of his fast friends in England (50), and then printed his consolatory letter, *De persecutione Anglicana Epistola, qua explicantur afflictiones, ærumnæ, & calamitates, &c.* Rome and Ingolstad, 1582, and again, in the *Concertatio,* &c. cited in note (44): This was followed by *A Defence of the Censure given* upon

(28) These were seized after Campian's execution in the hands of one of the Coadjutors [*Famuli* in Latin]. The Execution of Justice in England for Treason, and not for Religion, p. 111, 112. by Will. Lord Burleigh.

(29) Hist. Missionis, lib. iii. p. 61.

(30) These are brothers of the Order, and are sworn to fidelity.

(31) More says, Beza was so hard pressed by them, that he dismissed them on pretence of business. *Negotiorum simulatione & ingruentis noctis velo tegens inscitiam, benevole salutatos hospites dimittit.* p. 63.

(32) They hired a large house in the name of Lord Paget.

(33) Campian was a mild sweet tempered man, and we find no such complaints of him.

(34) One of the principal was Blackwell, afterwards Arch-Priest of England, who complained of his hot and domineering spirit, unfit to do any good. Gee, p. 18. This Blackwell took the oath of Allegiance, and defended it, for which reason he was removed, and Birkit made Arch-Priest in 1608 by Pope Paul.

(35) See the following remark.

(36) Camden's Elizabeth, and Important Considerations, &c. 1601, p. 40. where the author cites a letter of Parsons to a certain Earl in proof of this assertion.

* I. e. Our numbers prevail against the diligence of the persecutors; in the space of one month 50000 have been registred, who refuse to go to the heretical conventicles.

(37) These were first called Recusants, a term which is now applied only to those who refuse the oath of Allegiance.

(38) It is dated Dec. 15, 1580. The book was printed in his own press at London. More, p. 78.

(39) Viz. In his Apparat. Sacr. Tom. II. in Rob. Parsons. Wood, ubi supra.

(40) It is said to be printed at Doway, but that was a disguise; one Gilbert, a convert of Parsons, had given him a press, and furnished letters, as well as paper and ink. More, ubi supra.

(41) This was in defence of a piece intituled, Reasons for his coming into the Mission of England, which is ascribed to Parsons in Alegambe's Bibl. Soc. Jes. but by Hanmer and Charke is said to be written by Campian.

(42) This was answered by Tho. Lupton, in his Answer against a Jesuit's book, intituled, A Discovery, &c.

(43) Eliz. ad ann. 1581.

(44) Concertatio Eccles. Cathol. adversus Angl. Calvino-Papistas, Part. ii. fol. 396. Triers, 1583, 8vo.

(45) Widdrington's Confutation of the Intemperateness of Tho. Fitz-Herbert's preface, p. 66. §. 81.

(46) Introduction to the Jesuits Memorial, &c. ubi supra.

(47) Wood, Vol. I. col. 207.

(48) See Parsons's letter to the General of the Order from Rome, in More, p. 119.

(49) Id. p. 104.

(50) Id. p. 110.

this recess, he likewise erected a new seminary at Augium upon the coast of Normandy, and obtained an endowment for it of a hundred pounds a year from the Duke of Guise. But other schemes, which he had laid for the reduction of Scotland to the Pope's obedience, being rejected [O], he returned to Rome in April 1583 (p); and, upon his arrival there, Claudius Aquaviva, General of the Order, left the management of the English mission to him. Some time after, the students in the English seminary in that city complaining to him of their governors, he procured them the power of chusing an English Rector in 1586, and was himself elected into that office the following year (q), at the instance of Father Allen, for whom he had lately obtained the Purple [P]. In 1588, Father Parsons was dispatched by Aquaviva into Spain; where, having prevented the Jesuits from falling into the hands of the Inquisition [Q], he set all engines at work to give success to that monarch's designs upon England [R] For this purpose, among other expedients, he planted some English seminaries

(p) More, from whom we learn also, that Parsons was succeeded in his office of Superior to the English Mission by Heyward.

(q) One William Holt was elected first, but he going to Rheims or Doway, Joseph Creswell was put into his place, to whom succeeded Persons. Ibid.

upon two books of Will. Clarke *and* Mic. Hanmer, *Ministers, which they wrote against* Mr Edmund Campian, &c. printed 1582, 8vo. and the next year came out his celebrated book, intituled, *A Christian Directory or Exercise, guiding men to eternal Salvation; commonly called* The Resolution. More speaking of this book, expresses himself in these terms: Si nihil aliud agisset in omni vita Personius hoc uno opere æternam meritus fuisset apud nos gloriam, & unus plus multis dicendus laborasse. i. e. If Parsons had done nothing else in all his life, he had by this single work merited eternal glory among our order, and may be said to have laboured in his own person more than numbers of others. He afterwards quotes one William Bath, an Irish Catholic, who writes thus of it: *nunquam audivi de libro, cujus sola lectio in nostra ætate in hoc genere tot peperit fructus in Anglia & Hibernia, & ipsi etiam hæretici tantam perceperunt compunctionem cordis in lectione hujus libri, ut paucis mutatis* (51), *Londoni imprimi curarint. I never heard of any book, the reading of which alone, ever produced so many fruits as this hath done, both in England and Ireland. Even the heretics themselves have been struck with such a compunction of heart by it, that, with a few alterations, they have printed it at London.* He means that edition of the Directory, which was printed in 1584 by Edmund Bunney of Merton college, Oxford; but altered throughout to the Protestant use, as appears from Father Parsons's edition of the same book in 1585. This book was afterwards put into modern English by Dr G. Stanhope, and has gone through several editions.

(51) Ibid. p. 112, 113.

[O] *His scheme for the reduction of Scotland*] In the letter to his General already mentioned, he acquaints him with the principal things he had in his view upon coming to Rome; one of which was to confer with Father Allen about the seminaries. 2. To print some books which could not be done in England. 3. To concert with the Archbishop of Glasgow, then Scotch Ambassador at Paris, the means for converting Scotland. 4. To apply to the King of France for his assistance to the Catholics in England. 'In the three first of these articles, says he, I have succeeded. With regard to Scotland, I sent a Priest thither with a collection which I had made, and gave him instructions, if he could get admittance to the King, that he should persuade him to forward the conversion of the Catholics, because his succession to the Crown of England could be secured only by them. The success of this mission appears, says he, from the letters I have received on his return, from several of the Scotch Nobility, earnestly desiring one to come among them, with whom they appointed the 27th of September, to hold a conference for the conversion of that kingdom; but that can't be complied with, since it is the very day I am writing this letter.' Father More informs us, that it was at this time that he procured 24000 crowns from the King of Spain, for the King of Scotland and his mother, having obtained the like sum before (52): and Parsons, in his letter to Creighton several years after, declares he had procured 4000 crowns from Pope Gregory XIII. for the same service. That considering the hopeful state of affairs from the success of his first endeavours, and the favourableness of the juncture, now upon the death of Morton, and the King being young, and so more easily brought to listen to his mother's intreaties, he was so confident of being able to recover that kingdom to the obedience of the See of Rome, that if his General would procure him an allowance of 4000 crowns for two years, he undertook to effect it in that time; but it seems this was not complied with, and he was ordered to send thither Edmund Haye and William Creighton upon that service, which he did accordingly, and sent with them his own servant Emerson, to attend the mission. The fourth point mentioned in the letter to the General, he owns he did not succeed in; the King of France assuring the Pope's Nuncio who made the request, that he could not comply with it for some secret reasons (53). The secular Priests inform us, that Parsons consulted with the Duke of Guise how to depose Queen Elizabeth; and that for this purpose, the Queen of Scots endeavoured to make a list of Catholics, who, under the conduct of the Duke, were to change the state of England, upon pretence of supporting the title of Queen Mary of Scotland; but that her council at Paris, who understood the business better, were so sensible of his presumption, that they took from him the Queen's cypher, which he had purloined, and commanded him never to meddle with her affairs again (54).

(52) Id. p. 122.

(53) More, p. 122.

(54) Jesuit's Reasons unreasonable, p. 65.

[P] *He obtained the purple for Allen*] Parsons lays claim to this merit himself, and it is acknowledged by Allen in the following letter to Dr Bayley, President of the seminary at Rheims, in return to the doctor's congratulation on this occasion, in which he writes thus: *Læta vobis est & jucunda mea promotio, sed ex hac quantamcunque lætitiæ causam habetis, eo magis vos omnes, quibus ego tam charus sum, novo vinculo teneminì amoris & gratitudinis erga societatem universam, nominatim vero erga antiquum nostrum & singulariter bonum patrem, & præcipuum cooperatorem; proxime enim sub cælo Pater Personius fecit me Cardinalem* (55). *You express your joy at my promotion, but the greater your joy is on this occasion, so much more affection and gratitude do you all owe to the whole society* [*of English Jesuits*], *and especially to our old and singularly good friend, and principal adjutor, Father Persons; for next, under God, it is he that has made me a Cardinal.*

(55) More, Hist. p. 2, 3.

[Q] . . . . *Inquisition.*] He obtained of the King, that his Majesty should assign one, and himself another, for that Inquisition. More assigns this as the only reason of his journey to Spain at this juncture; for the Jesuits understood politicks, the crafty part of them, I mean, well enough, to give out a fair pretence in order to hide the true cause, whenever it was thought necessary, as it generally was in all the proceedings of the mission with respect to England.

[R] *King of Spain's designs upon England.*] Mr Gee thinks, I suppose, from his letter to Creighton, that it was revenge for the neglect shewn to him by the Queen of Scot's Ministry, that threw him wholly into the hands of the Spaniards; the letter is as follows: *Ego ab anno octagesimo, quo primum in Angliam mandato superiorum appuli, Regis Scotiæ commodis studere omni qua potui ratione, & statim quidem Gulielmum Waite, sacerdotem meis expensis in Scotiam ex Anglia misi. Patrem deinde Holt submisi, & cum hæc initia mea male succederent, scripsi ad Reverendum Patrem nostrum, ut aliquot viri sacerdotali ex gente in Scotiam mitterentur. Cum statutum esset, ut R. Vestra experiendi gratia præmitteretur, facile recordabitur, qua animi alacritate Rotomagi adfui, adeo ut socium unicum quem habebam mihi ipsi detraxerim, ut R. V. in Scotiam sequeretur. Revertenti deinde, neque R. V. consilio, neque operi unquam defui. Iter arduum ac difficillimum in Hispaniam, Olysyponem usque, suscepi, magno vitæ periculo; neque cum minori, aliud deinde in Flandriam, ac*

tertium

feminaries at Valladolid, Seville, San Lucar, Lifbon, and St Omers, obliging the feveral members in each of them to fubfcribe to the Infanta's title to our Crown [S]. Upon the defeat of the Spanifh Invafion, feeing the little hopes there was to prevail againft Queen Elizabeth, he ufed his utmoft endeavours to prevent the fucceffion of King James the Firft to the throne. It was with this view that he publifhed, in 1594, under the feigned name of Doleman †, his famous treatife, entituled, *A Conference about the next Succeffion to the Crown of England* [T]. He continued two years longer in Spain, inceffantly labouring to ftir

† Doleman was a fecular Prieft, who hated Parfons's traiterous practies and was hated by him. Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 359.

tertium demum Romam ufque, atque hæc omnia poft Deum Regis Scotiæ matrifque fuæ in gratiam. Quibus licet vota quæ cupiebantur non effet utilis opera mea, duabus tamen viribus viginti quatuor aureorum millia e Rege in eorum ufum impetravi, & a fummo Pontifice Gregorio decimo tertio quatuor millia cujufmodi nofcite an alii præftiterint officia, horam tamen cogor facere mentionem, ut eis opponam qui Reginæ adverfarium me faciunt, ad quos refutandos nemo teftis locupletior effe poteft quam R. V. quæ hæc omnia novit & meminiffe poteft.

(50) Id. ibid.

(50) By this letter it appears, that he had been charged with acting againft Scotland. In anfwer to which, he appeals to the many fervices he had done to that King and his mother; firft, by fending Priefts and Fathers to convert the King, and then in procuring 24000 crowns twice from the King of Spain, and 4000 crowns of the Pope. However, as thefe fervices were done before his return to Rome, and confequently, before he had received the affront from the Queen of Scot's council at Paris, mentioned in remark [O], his defence does not reach the point in queftion alledged againft him. But from a letter in Winwood's Memorials, though written a long time after (51), there is reafon to believe, he continued in the intereft of the Queen of Scots as long as fhe lived. The letter is written by Sir Henry Neville, then Ambaffador in France, to Sir Robert Cecil, Secretary of State, and contains advice, that the Ambaffador had difcovered a diffention that had grown between the Jefuits in England and thofe abroad. Parfons being at the head of thefe latter; and Charles Paget of the former, who could not be brought to confent to the invafion and conqueft of England by a foreign Prince; whilft Parfons was violent in his courfes, and wifhed the overthrow of the kingdom, either by conqueft or any other means. 'And this divifion, continues the 'Ambaffador, begun amongft them foon after the 'death of the Queen of Scots, upon whom they did 'all concur whilft fhe lived.' Add to this, that Parfons did not write his book againft the fucceffion, 'till after (though he did it prefently after) the death of that Queen.

(51) Vol. I. p. 51. edit. 1725. The letter is dated at Paris, June 15, 1599.

[S] *He founded the feminaries at Valladolid, &c. and obliged the members to fubfcribe, &c.*] Father More informs us (52), that thefe feminaries were fupported out of the duties upon woollen cloth imported *, fo that the charge lay upon the Englifh. He tells us alfo, that Parfons had the government of thefe feminaries yielded to him by Claudius Aquaviva, the Præfect-General, but takes no notice of the oath mentioned above. We have no pofitive evidence of this but from his enemies, the Secular Priefts. However, they relate fo many particular circumftances of it, as could hardly be feigned, neither is the fact as I know of, any where denied by Parfons. One of thefe tells us, that the fcholars were obliged by him to fubfcribe to blanks. Another relates, that he tampered with the ftudents to fet their hands to a paper, that they would accept the Lady Infanta for Queen of England, after the death of Queen Elizabeth; and, that finding them unwilling, he ufed this fhift to draw them in, pretending to thofe of Valladolid, that the ftudents at Seville had done it already, he got them to fign; after which, he fhewed thefe names to the ftudents in Seville for an example, which he required them to imitate. Another afferts, that he dimiffed thofe who refufed from the college for contumacy and difobedience (53). Thefe teftimonies are confirmed, in fome meafure, by Cardinal d'Offat, in a letter to Henry IV. of France, about the defigns of the Spaniards and Father Perfons, againft England; where he writes thus: 'For this purpofe alfo, were the colleges and feminaries erected by the Spaniards for the Englifh at 'Doway (54) and St Omers, wherein young gentlemen of the beft families in England are entertained, 'thereby to oblige them, and in them, their parents, 'kindred, and friends. The principal care of thefe 'colleges and feminaries, is to catechife and bring up 'thefe young gentlemen in the faith and firm belief, 'that the late King of Spain had, and that his children now have, the true right of fucceffion to the 'Crown of England; and that this is advantageous 'and expedient for the Catholic faith, not only in 'England, but wherever Chriftanity is (55).' Moreover, this fubfcription is exprefsly afferted by Sir Henry Neville, in the letter already cited, where, having obferved, that after the Queen of Scots death, the Seculars and Jefuits could never agree in any courfe, either of conqueft or propofed title, mentions the late increafe of that quarrel, fince the title of the Infanta of Spain had been fet on foot, according to Parfons's book under the name of Doleman. For, continues Sir Henry, the Jefuits ftill promote that title by all means, and *take a violent courfe to urge all Englifhmen, either in Spain or Rome, and where elfe they may prevail with them, to fubfcribe thereunto* P.

(52) Ubi fupra.

* Viz. into Spain from England.

(53) Gee, ubi fupra, p. 44.

(54) This feminary was founded long before, viz. in 1562, by Allen.

(55) Cardinal d'Offat's Letters, p. 2. lib. vii.

[T] *A conference about the fucceffion.*] After the death of Mary Queen of Scots, the hopes of reconciling Scotland to the See of Rome being loft, or at leaft become defperate, came out this book, confifting of two parts, the firft of which contains the reafons for which Kings may be depofed or fet afide: the fecond applies that reafoning to the particular cafe of England, wherein he labours to fhew that King James's title by blood is not without defects, and that befides, religion is a fufficient bar to proximity in blood in the fucceffion of the Crown of England, upon which accounts King James might be lawfully excluded. And as the Infanta of Spain is of the ancient blood royal of England by diverfe ways; to wit, 1ft, by Conftance, daughter of King William the Conqueror: 2dly, by Eleanor, daughter of Henry II. and 3dly, by Beatrix, daughter of Henry III. all which are drawn out in an arbor of genealogy. Therefore, feeing matters are fo doubtful at this day about the next lawful fucceffion, and that diverfe of the pretenders are excluded, fome for baftardy, fome others for religion, fome for unaptnefs to govern, and fome for other caufes; and feeing the Commonwealth has authority, as the cafe ftands, to difpofe in this affair, why may not, among other pretenders, confideration be had of this noble Princefs alfo; efpecially, feeing fhe is unmarried, and may thereby accommodate many matters, and falve many breaches, and fatisfy many hopes, and give contentment to many defires, as the world knoweth: he concludes with fhewing feveral reafons why fhe is alfo moft likely to fucceed (56). This book was ufually, in thofe times, called the Book of Titles, ten or eleven titles to the crown being fet forth from four ftocks. Firft, from John of Ghent, Duke of Lancafter: Philip of Spain: the Dukes of Parma, Braganza, and Savoy: fecondly, from the Houfe of York: the Earl of Huntingdon, and the offspring of Geoffry Pole and Sir Thomas Barrington. Thirdly, from Henry VII: whence, (next to Queen Elizabeth now in poffeffion) proceeds the King of Scotland, and Arabella his coufin, as alfo the Earls of Hertford and Derby. Fourthly, the Duke of Britanny, from whom proceeds the Donna Ifabella, Infanta of Spain (57). In the dedication to the Earl of Effex (for whom there is alfo in the book a title prepared to the crown from Thomas à Woodftock, fifth fon of Edward III.) (58), it is declared, that the book was wrote with much modefty, and therefore publifhed without offence of any, and with particular affection and devotion to Queen Elizabeth, and fpecial care of her fafety, for which he promifes, if occafion be, to bear his teftimony. By modefty, he means without railing and giving bad language; the whole being drawn up with a very fmooth-faced impudence; what is underftood by the words without offence, he explains in the cafe of the Earl of Derby, againft whom he obferves there are other objections, 'but as they are perfonal impediments,

(56) Conference, Part ii. c. vii. p. 123.

(57) Several miftakes in thefe genealogies are fhewn by Camden, in Eliz. under the year 1594.

(58) We are told that Parfons preffed this Earl to take a penfion from the King of Spain to cover his defigns. Watfon's Quodlibets, p. 150, 189, 51, 126, 132.

ſtir up Philip the Second not to ſuffer his great power to be baffled [*U*]. In the mean time he was not wanting to puſh his own fortune. After the death of Cardinal Allen, having

ments, and don't touch the right or ſubſtance of the title, I ſhall, ſays he, omit them. For as in the beginning I promiſed, ſo I ſhall obſerve, as much as in me lies, to utter nothing in this conference, that may juſtly offend or touch the honour and reputation of any one perſon of the blood royal of our realm (59).' Yet afterwards, diſcourſing upon which of all the claimants is moſt likely to prevail, he obſerves, that the Earl of Derby's religion is held to be doubtful, ſome thinking him to be of all three religions, Papiſt, Puritan, and the Church of England, and others of none (60). Queen Elizabeth's ſafety is alſo conſulted with the ſame good faith; it is true, he forbears all perſonal reflections upon her government, and in general, labours only for the ſucceſſion after her death: yet, his argument ſo requiring, he aſſerts that the ſame reaſons which are ſufficient for ſetting aſide the heir apparent, hold likewiſe for depoſing the preſent poſſeſſor; and of theſe reaſons, that of not being a Papiſt is the chief. The miſchievous tendency of this egregious performance came into full light in 1648; when, preparatory to the depoſing and murder of King Charles the Firſt, there was publiſhed and printed at London, by Robert Ibbotſon, a pamphlet intituled, *Several Speeches delivered at a Conference concerning the power of Parliaments to proceed againſt their King for miſgovernment* (61). Theſe are nine ſpeeches, the ſame number with Doleman's chapters in the firſt part, and the matter and words almoſt in all things the ſame, except the tranſitions and ſome few not material paſſages, which are left out. King Charles, in his meſſage for peace (62), mentions and inſiſts upon this book. And it is obſervable, that the ſubſtance of Bradſhaw's long ſpeech at the condemnation of that King, and alſo much of the moſt ſeditious part of Milton's *Defenſio pro populo Anglicano*, are borrowed from it (63). In 1655, an abſtract of it was printed under the title of, *The broken Succeſſion of the Crown of England*, about the time that Oliver Cromwell aimed at the title of King. In truth, the whole matter for depoſing Kings is exhauſted in it; yet the abſolutely indefeaſible hereditary right of the Stuart family is ſufficiently expoſed, for which reaſon it was reprinted at London in 1681, when the Parliament were debating the ſubject of the excluſion of the Duke of York, afterwards King James the Second. As to the anſwers to it, Mr Wood ſays he had read ſomewhere of an Act of Parliament of the 35th of Elizabeth, making it treaſon to be found in any perſon's houſe (64). In 1603, it was anſwered by Sir John Hayward, Knt. in a treatiſe intituled, *The Right of Succeſſion aſſerted, &c.* 2 *The apoſtate Proteſtant, in a letter to a friend*, occaſioned by the late reprinting of Doleman, 1682. And in 1683, it was condemned by the univerſity of Oxford, as containing ſeveral poſitions dangerous and deſtructive to the ſacred perſons of Kings, their ſtate and government, particularly that which ſaith birthright and proximity of blood doth give no title to rule or government, and burnt in the Schools quadrangle (65). Mr Gee, after Cardinal d'Oſſat, will have it to be wholly wrote by Parſons, and obſerves juſtly, that Pitts aſcribes it to him as the author (66). Dr Barlow likewiſe relates, that Parſons made the book (67), but theſe ſeem to mean no more than that he was the perſon ſignified by the feigned name of Doleman. For we are not only aſſured by Mr Camden, that it was done by a club, and that Cardinal Allen and Sir Francis Inglefield had their ſhares in it; but Parſons himſelf, in a letter to a friend, acknowledges the ſame, as More informs us, in the following words: *Non tam ad Perſonium, quam ad Alanam, ad Franciſcum Inglefield, & ad alios confimiles, is liber a Perſonio in epiſtola ad amicum* 24 *Maii* 1603, *& a Camdeno veriſſimè revocatur.* The ſame Jeſuit alſo tells us, that the materials were furniſhed by the reſt, and that Perſons, who had a happy talent that way, put it into a proper method. However, it ſeems he was ſo fond of it, that he propoſed it to be read in the Engliſh college-hall at Rome, inſtead of a lecture, as had been uſual (68). Yet we find he occaſionally rejected all this; as appears by a letter of Winwood to Cecil, dated at Paris, February 27th, 1601, O. S. giving an account, that Parſons had the week before written to the Ambaſſador of Scotland, excuſing himſelf for writing againſt that King, and deſiring by his mediation to find admittance into his Majeſty's favour and good opinion, proteſting that he would relinquiſh the ſervice of any other, and adhere only to him, upon the ſmalleſt ſhews he ſhould make of his good inclination toward the Catholics (69). It is obſervable, that Philip II. was at this time deceaſed (70), having diſappointed Parſon's expectations in applying to the Pope in his favour upon the buſineſs of the Cardinalate; and the Infanta was likewiſe married to Duke d'Albert, and ſo rendered incapable of advancing her intereſt in England by a proper alliance. It appears alſo, from Winwood's letter, that the Catholics had ſome reaſons at this time to think James ſomething inclined to change his religion. Soon after King James's acceſſion, we find him addreſſing himſelf to the Engliſh Catholics, in theſe terms: 'As to 'the perſon now advanced, I know moſt certainly, 'that there was never any doubt or difference among 'you, but that you ever deſired his advancement 'above all others, as the only heir of that renowned 'mother, for whom your fervent zeal is known to the 'world, and how much you have ſuffered by her ad'verſaries for the ſame; yet do I confeſs, that touch'ing the diſpoſition of the perſon for the place and 'manner of his advancement, all zealous Catholics 'have both wiſhed and prayed that he might firſt be 'a Catholic, and then our King. This being our 'bounden duty to wiſh, and the greateſt good to be 'obtained for him. *And to this end, and no other, 'I aſſure myſelf, hath been directed whatſoever may 'have been ſaid, written, or done, by any Catholic, 'which with ſome others, might breed diſguſt* (71).' Theſe laſt words, as Mr Gee obſerves, are hardly conſiſtent with what he had wrote in the conference (72), and what he had done for the King of Spain.

[*U*] *Not to ſuffer his power to be baffled.*] His favour with the Spaniſh monarch was upon the decline, which put him upon ſuch ſhifts as he had no occaſion for before. In this exigence, he procured a ſtudent of one of the new ſeminaries to make an oration before his Majeſty, inciting him to a ſecond invaſion of England, and then backed the arguments himſelf †. But all his devices failing to procure any thing that was effectual this way (73): he next endeavoured to raiſe a rebellion in England, and tampered with Ferdinand Earl of Derby to appear and head it (74); which he refuſing, was poiſoned by the procurement of Father Heſketh, who had been ſent to him by Father Parſons. We find alſo another attempt made to aſſaſſinate the Queen at his inſtigation, in a letter of Winwood to Secretary Cecil (75); who writes that 'Charles Paget had acquainted him of an information he had received of the departure from Rome Auguſt 17th, of an Engliſh Jeſuit, whoſe name he did not know, a man of thirty years of age, of a good mien and faſhion, ſanguine complexion, yellow beard, full and quick eye, and of a middle ſtature, who, furniſhed by the Spaniſh Ambaſſador with a ſum of money, took his courſe towards England, on purpoſe to aſſaſſinate her Majeſty's perſon. That Paget made much difficulty to name his author, but becauſe Winwood urged Sir James Lindſay, who within two days arrived at Paris from Rome, he acknowledged him to be the man, and ſaid Sir James had ſeen the Jeſuit; who paſſing by him on a time when he was walking with Parſons, this latter willed him to eye him well, and aſked him, whether, if he ſhould meet that man in England, he ſhould take him for a Jeſuit?' This letter was followed by another, dated October 20th, wherein Mr Winwood writes, 'that the Ambaſſador of Scotland had procured him to ſpeak that morning with the party from whom he received the notice which he had ſent on the 29th ult. that this party averred the ſame to be true; adding further, that Parſons did very earneſtly and often urge him to receive that man into his company, who was moſt remarkably diſtinguiſhed by a high noſe, and was to puſh through Scotland into England. 'I find, con'tinues Winwood, that the Jeſuits for their counte'nance have recourſe to the *Duke of Seſſe*; but for 'their affairs and practices, to one *Antonio Taxis*, au'thorized there by the King of Spain (76).'

[*W*] Arts

(59) Ibid. p. 109.

(60) P. 194.

(61) It is licenſed by Gilbert Mabbot, June 31, 1647.

(62) Printed by Royſton, p. 125.

(63) Particularly he lays down breach of promiſe for a ſufficient reaſon to depoſe kings, and maintains, that in ſuch a caſe their heads may be cut off. Part i. p. 31. edit. 1681. where this paſſage is marked out by a hand with an index in the margin.

(64) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 359. Where he alſo ſpeaks of a report that the Printer was hanged, drawn, and quartered.

(65) Id. ibid.

(66) Introduction, &c. p. 52.

(67) More's Hiſt. Miſſionis, &c. p. 161.

(68) Id. ibid.

(69) Winwood's Memorials, ubi ſupra, p. 388.

(70) The Prince died in 1598. See the other hiſtories.

(71) Parſons's Three Converſions of England, in the preface.

(72) Eſpecially where he argues that King's excluſion by the ſtatute of 27 Eliz. paſſed againſt the Queen of Scots, condemned for conſpiring the Queen's death; which, ſays he, ſeems to be an argument that hath no ſolution or reply.

† Foulis's Hiſt. of Treaſons, &c. p. 502. from Clarke, fol. 69.

(73) The laſt invaſion of the King of Spain upon England was in 1595, and that a very faint one. Camden's Eliz. under that year.

(74) In his Conference, &c. he makes the Earl's title to the Crown to be the beſt of any of the eleven claimants.

(75) Dated at Paris Octob. 17, 1602. Winwood's Memorials, &c. p. 388.

(76) Ibid. p. 413.

having put in practice all those arts of which he was so consummate a master, to wriggle himself into that high dignity [W], he repaired to Rome in 1596, and did not spare personally

[W] *Arts to procure the Cardinalate.*] Upon Cardinal Allen's death, Holt the Jesuit, and Washington, set about in Flanders a petition to the King of Spain, in favour of Parsons, subscribed by the common soldiers, day-labourers, artizans, and pensioners; nay, by scullions and laundresses, as well as those of better rank and quality. The year after, having received a letter (77) from Oliver Manaræas and Gibbons, complimenting him upon the assured prospect he had of succeeding, and intreating his care of the mission after his advancement; he sent it to Claude Aquaviva the General, inclosed in one of his own; wherein, taking notice of these endeavours to obtrude this honour upon him, he artfully declares that he was able to do much more good to the mission in his present station, and then proceeds thus: *Quod cum verissimum sit, paternitatem vestram humillime, omnique qua possum affectu ob Dei causam precor, ut veri Patris officium hac in re præstet, ut periculum hoc (si quoad impendeat, nihil enim adhuc certi habeo) avertere conetur:* i. e. *which being most true, I most humbly, and with all possible fervency, beseech your paternity for God's sake, to perform the part of a true father, and endeavour to avert this danger from me, if indeed there be any, for as yet I have received nothing certain concerning it* (78). These last words shew that he was much perplexed about the uncertainty of his succeeding. But this uneasy situation is seen in the strongest light by another letter to his friend and confident Inglefield, who had wrote to him upon this occasion, wishing him success. By his answer, it appears that he had applied to the King of Spain by one John Piragues, a prime confident of that monarch, but without having received any answer. He acquaints this friend likewise with his constant way of returning all the compliments made to him upon his prospect of success, viz. *Non esse Deum aut opis aut consilii tam egenum, ut cum in animo esset vestem novam parare, eam sineret ex veteri & lacernoso confici pallio*; i. e. 'that God was not so deficient either in power or wisdom, as when he designed the making of a new garment, to suffer it to be patched up out of an old and ragged cloak;' intimating the improbability of being raised from such a low station as his was, to this high dignity. After which he proceeds to open his whole mind, as follows: '*Nunc vero quoniam occepi tecum clare hisce literis, & cum omni fiducia agere, progrediar aliquanto alterius, & quod ad hoc negotium spectet, totum effundam animum meum, & quicquid intus in me sentio sive judicii sive propensionis aperiam in conspectu Dei, sine ulla simulatione, post multam apud me & Deum meum deliberationem, cum quanta potui indifferentia, & summo desiderio & voto cognoscendi divinam voluntatem.*' After this preface, wherein he professes, as in the fight of God, to lay open the true state of his heart without any disguise, after having deliberated much with himself and with his God to know his divine will, he proceeds: '*Primum igitur (ut tu probe nosti,) licet salus totius mundi penderet ab hac mea promotione ad dignitatem, quam tu mihi optes, (quod quam sit incertum Deus novit, & eventus ipsi mire varii nos commonent, in quibus quotidie fallimur, sive nostras inspiciamus sive aliorum rationes;) ego tamen neque directe, neque indirecte, prætendere aut ambire hanc promotionem, quoniam voto adstringor ut ne ambiam, quod votum, ut inviolatum custodiam, det mihi Deus (obsecro) suam sanctam gratiam, atque vitam mihi auferat potius quam voluntatem illam non offendere hoc in genere.—Secundo licet ambitu deposito posset quis sibi placere in hujusmodi promotione, vel eam etiam desiderare, gratias tamen Deo meo, sentio me ab utroque, uti confido, liberum. Etsi speciosæ multæ rationes se offerunt cogitanti, de rebus magnis quæ præstari possent ab homine in illa dignitate constituto, sincere tamen dico, quod cum cogitatione penitus ingrediar in deceptiones quas secum ferunt hujusmodi longe positarum rerum imagines, atque in eventus incertos, & in pericula molestiasque, quæ mihi in ista atque in futura vita possint oriri, & animo deinde verso conditionem hanc vivendi securam & plenam consolationis in qua dego utiliorem etiam mihi fortasse & aliis: Ista, inquam, dum mihi ante oculos statuo, & quædam prætera, quæ mihi a multis retro annis sunt proposita, per oppida sc. & vicos discurrendo tradere Christianæ doctrinæ præcepta, si Anglia meo tempore reduceretur; ab alio illo vitæ genere tam me sentio alienum, ut ne cogitare quidem de illo sustineam, multo minus ut cupiam. Quapropter liber sum, uti spero, ab omni tali desiderio; & quod amplius est, his argumentis & spirituali quodam sensu & affectu ducor in hanc sententiam, ut omnino judicem hanc esse Dei voluntatem non vero illam Ista non quidem clare rem evincunt, fateor; si enim evidenter evincerent, jam non esset in me locus deliberationis quantumvis videri res posset aliis aut utilis aut necessaria. Attamen tertio hinc sequitur (quod & tu facile dabis) quod cum non sciam esse Dei voluntatem, ut promovear, dubitem vero propter rationes positas, teneor & tenebor semper non solum non desiderare promoveri aut prætendere, sed animo esse semper in contrarium inclinante. Atque si altior potestas (quæcunque demum illa sit) vellet mihi istud imponere, obsistere debeo, & rationes afferre cur contra sentiam; idque non solum ut quod vovi præstem, & fidum me probem religioni meæ, quæ detrimentum pateretur ex tali promotione, sed ut animæ meæ periculo caveam, quæ mihi carior esse debet, quam orbis universus, etsi plures essent: quandoquidem ingressus in hujusmodi dignitates solet esse jucundus & blandus, exitus molestus & luctuosus; quod in ultimo nostro bono Cardinale nemo fortasse me attentius observaverit. Denique post hæc omnia in conspectu Dei diligenter perpensa atque agitata, & quantum in me fieri possent cuncta accurate præstita ad Dei voluntatem cognoscendam, quoad fugam hujus promotionis, si per auctoritatem, cui resisti non posset, imponeretur (quod spero nunquam futurum), posset equidem eo eventu sperari eam esse divinam voluntatem, & quod consequitur, daturum illum gratiam sufficientem ad onus sustinendum pro ejus gloria; & quo magis sincere conatus fuerit quispiam onus declinare, eo majora præstiturum suscepto onere, quemadmodum multis & magnis Dei servis olim contigisse legimus. Atque hic habes, quicquid aut dicere aut cogitare possum in hoc negotio, non aliter scriptum, quam si ad pedes Confessoris mei essem Deo redditurus confestim animam, quod apud te, quæso, serva reconditum, quoniam tui solius importunitate victus hæc scripsi, ut tibi satisfaciam, nisi ex intimis aliquibus particeps tuo judicio fieri debeat, qualis Fitzherbertus, &c. Deum tibi rogo esse propitium; decimo Maii Anno 1595* (79).' We have not been deterred from inserting this letter long as it is, since no pencil but his own could have drawn so complete a picture as this is of our Jesuit's *Interieure*. It is indeed a most perfect piece of the Jesuitical art of dissimulation, of which the English reader must be content with such, though but a feint idea, as is given in the following sketch from the original. 'In the first place then, as you well know, although the salvation of the whole world should depend upon my promotion to this dignity that you wish me (which how uncertain it is, God knows, and we are sufficiently warned by the variety of events wherein we are daily deceived, both in our own calculations and those of others) yet I, for my part, never sollicited or pretended to it, either directly or indirectly; forasmuch as I am bound by my vow (80) not to do it; which vow, I beseech God to give me his holy grace to preserve inviolate, and rather to take away my life, than my will not to offend in that kind. Secondly, altho' canvassing apart, any one may please himself in such a promotion, or even desire it; yet I thank my God, I feel myself, as I trust, free from both. Yea, notwithstanding many specious reasons offer themselves, when we consider the great things which may be done by a person placed in that dignity; yet I speak it most sincerely, when I enter thoroughly into the many deceptions in which the images of things placed at so great a distance are involved, and likewise look into the uncertain events, and the dangers, and troubles, which may arise to me in that and in future life, and lastly, revolve in my mind the present condition in which I live secure, and full of consolation, and more profitably to myself, and perhaps to others too; I say, when I set before my eyes these things, and some others proposed by me many years ago, viz. to run all about through the towns and villages of England, teaching the precepts of true Christianity, if that kingdom should be

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(77) It is dated Feb. 20, 1595.

(78) More, p. 131, 132.

(79) More, p. 132, 133, 134.

(80) When he was made Rector of the English seminary at Rome in 1587, he made the four Vows, one of which is much the same with the English canon against Simony.

perſonally to addreſs the Pope himſelf upon a point of ſo much concernment to his private intereſt. But, inſtead of the Cardinal's Hat, he met with a rebuke from his Holineſs [*X*]; who having received ſeveral complaints againſt him [*Y*], was ſo much incenſed thereby, that he had ſome thoughts of ſtripping him of all the poſts he was poſſeſſed of, and entirely laying him aſide. To avoid this ſtorm he retired to Naples, on pretence of his health, not returning to Rome 'till after the death of that Pope [Clement VIII.] in 1606 (*r*). Some years before his departure from Spain, he had been placed in the ſuperintendency of the Engliſh miſſion (*s*). The power given him by this office was extremely acceptable, and he executed the truſt with all the vigilance and vigour that was natural to him, as well as with the utmoſt fidelity and zeal for the honour of his Order [*Z*]. In that

(*r*) Id. p. 347.

(*s*) Under the title of Præfectus Anglicanæ Miſſionis. More ſays he had been Præfect at his death 18 years; whence it follows, that he was appointed to it in 1592.

'reduced in my time, I feel myſelf ſo alienated from 'that new kind of life, as not to endure the thoughts 'of it, much leſs to deſire it. Wherefore, I hope 'I am free from all ſuch deſire; and which is ſtill 'more, I am drawn by theſe arguments, and by a 'certain ſpiritual ſenſe and affection into this ſentiment, that I judge this and not that to be the 'will of God. Theſe reaſons, indeed, I confeſs, do 'not clearly evince the thing; for if they did, there 'would be no room for my deliberation, however 'uſeful or neceſſary it might ſeem to others. Yet, 'thirdly, hence it follows, (as you will readily grant) 'that ſince I don't certainly know it to be the will 'of God that I ſhould be promoted, but rather doubt 'it for the reaſons alledged, I am bound, and ſhall 'always be bound, not only not to deſire or pretend 'to it, but to bear a mind always inclining the contrary way. And if any higher power, whatſoever 'it be, ſhould think of impoſing it upon me, I ought 'to withſtand it, and give my reaſons for ſo doing; 'and this, not only in performance of my vow, and 'to approve my fidelity to my religion, which might 'ſuffer a detriment from ſuch promotion, but that I may 'ſave my ſoul from danger, which ought to be dearer 'to me than the whole univerſe, even if there were 'many: inaſmuch as the entrance upon theſe dignities is wont to be ſweet and ſerene, and the egreſs 'or exit full of trouble and ſorrow; as was obſerved 'of our laſt good Cardinal by none more attentively 'than myſelf. Finally, after diligently weighing and 'comparing all theſe things as in the ſight of God, 'and every thing, as much as lies in me, being accurately performed, in order to know the divine will 'about avoiding this promotion, if it ſhould be put 'upon me by an authority which could not be reſiſted '(which I hope will never be); in ſuch a caſe it 'might be hoped that it certainly was the divine will, 'and conſequently, that he would, for his own glory, 'give ſufficient grace to ſuſtain the charge; and how 'much more ſincerely any one hath endeavoured to decline it, ſo much greater things will he perform in it, 'as we read to have happened to many great ſervants 'of God. Thus, you have all that I can either ſay 'or think upon this affair, written no otherwiſe than 'if I was at the feet of my confeſſor, going immediately to render up my ſoul to God, which, inaſmuch as it is drawn from me ſolely by your importunity, and written for your ſatisfaction, I beſeech 'you to lock it up within your own breaſt; unleſs you 'judge it ought to be communicated to ſome intimate friends, ſuch as Fitzherbert, &c. God keep you 'in his cuſtody. May the 10th, in the year 1595.'

[*X*] *A rebuke from his Holineſs.*] *More* tells us the occaſion of his return to Rome was to ſettle ſome quarrels that had ariſen in the college there, during his abſence; which he adjuſted ſo much to the ſatisfaction of the ſociety, that they petitioned Claudius Aquaviva the Præfect-General, that he might continue among them for a conſiderable time; and no doubt this was the pretended reaſon of his departure for Rome, where he was no ſooner arrived than he preſented an account of the ſtate of all the Engliſh ſeminaries to his Holineſs. However, the Jeſuit likewiſe obſerves, that upon his arrival, he was viſited by ſeveral of the higheſt rank, and particularly by Cardinal Bellarmin, at whoſe inſtance he waited upon the Pope, and gave him an account of the reports that were ſpread every where in Flanders, and even at Rome, of his Holineſs's deſign to confer the Purple upon him, and that the King of Spain had written to his Holineſs upon the occaſion; that Parſons repreſented his own unfitneſs for that dignity, ſignifying, that he thought he ſhould be able to do much more ſervice to the Church in his preſent ſtation; that the Pope in anſwer told him, he had heard nothing from the Spaniard upon any ſuch ſubject; that idle reports were not to be minded; that he was very well ſatisfied with his ſervices, and exhorted him to continue in the ſame courſe (81). It is certain, by what has been ſeen in the preceding remark, that he was not without hopes of ſucceeding to the Hat, and no doubt the Pope's anſwer muſt needs be a mortification to him: but Mr Wood is miſtaken in telling us that the grief of it killed him (82), ſince we find that he lived no leſs than fourteen years after it. Watſon tells us a ſtory of Parſons's brother George's buying the ſcarlet cloth for his robes, but allows it was done without his conſent or even privity (83).

[*Y*] *The Pope received ſeveral complaints againſt him.*] Theſe came from the Secular prieſts, and chiefly from Paget, Morgan, Throgmorton, and others; who petitioned the Pontiff to ſend no more Jeſuits into England, but to employ the ſecular prieſts reſident in the country. The quarrel had begun from the time of the death of the Queen of Scots, as is before obſerved, and proceeded to ſuch a height, that each ſide laboured to diſgrace and ſupplant the other; eſpecially, after Parſons ſet on foot the title of the Infanta of Spain in 1593. Paget at the head of the Seculars and Laity oppoſed it both by word and writing, and openly inveighed againſt Parſons and his adherents, as ſeditious and factious perſons, full of treachery, and without conſcience (84). Another tells us of ſeveral letters ſhewn by the Magiſtrates in England for the furtherance of the Spaniſh invaſion: and that his trafficking for kingdoms and ſtates, and particularly, for the crown of England, became ſo notorious, that that there was ſtuck upon Paſquin's buttock at Rome, a paper to this effect: *If there be any one that will buy the kingdom of England, let him repair to a merchant in a black ſquare cap in the city, and he ſhall have a very good pennyworth thereof* (85). Sir Ralph Winwood alſo, in a letter of October 20th, 1602, already cited (86), acquaints Cecil, that he had been well informed, that the Jeſuits began to decay much in reputation with regard to their practices againſt Queen Elizabeth, and Parſons to be decried for an impoſtor. Dr Abbot further declares, that Pope Clement called him a knave, Fitzherbert an Hypocrite, and the reſt of the Seculars called him atheiſt, impoſtor, machiavilian, and the worſt of villains. *Perſonii inquam, quem* Clemens octavus *nebulonem ſolenniter inſignivit.* Fitzhertus *veſter aliquando ſingularem hypocritam, ſeculares reliqui atheiſtam, impoſtorem, factioſum, machiavelianum, libellatorem, & quid non quod homini nequiſſimo conveniat* (87).

[*Z*] *His zeal as Præfect of the Engliſh miſſion.*] Claudius Aquaviva had left the management of this office ſome years before, and he now applied to the Pope for it. One of the firſt things he did in it was the appointing of Thomas Worthington to be Rector of the college of Doway in the room of Barret deceaſed. He likewiſe ſet up a printing-preſs at St Omers, and made one John Wilſon inſpector of it, injoining him to print no books without firſt ſending them to him for his peruſal and licence. The original of the ſeminaries of Valladolid and Seville, was as follows: Upon the death of the Duke of Guiſe in 1588, the ſcholars at Rheims loſing their ſupport which came from that Duke, went to Doway, to Barret then Rector, who, not being able to provide for them all, ſpoke to Parſons to apply to the King of Spain for a benefaction: Parſons took this to be a good opportunity for founding theſe new ſeminaries at Valladolid and Seville; and in the mean time he placed twelve of thoſe ſent him from Rheims, in ſo many biſhops and noblemens houſes. Before his death there were not leſs than fifty or ſixty members in each of the Spaniſh ſeminaries

St Omers

(81) More, p. 234. 235. and Ribadineira Bibl. Script. Soc. Jeſu, p. 413. edit. 1643. But both commend his conduct in this affair. Id. p. 160.

(82) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 357.

(83) Watſon's Quodlibets, p. 120. See alſo A Copy of certain Diſcourſes, &c. p. 127.

(84) See Sir Henry Nevill's Letter to Cecil, in Winwood's Memorials, p. 51. edit. 1725. fol.

(85) Colleton's Juſt Defence, p. 240, 241.

(86) Viz. In remark [*U*].

(87) Abbot's Antilaſt. fol. 14. edit. 1613, 4to.

that service his pen was continually at work [*AA*]; but, except in the just-mentioned retreat to Naples, he left Rome no more after his third return to that city (*t*). In 1608, he procured the removal of the Arch-Presbyter of England from that post, for taking the oaths to King James [*BB*], and obtained a Brief from Pope Paul the Fifth to deprive all such Priests as did take that oath (*u*). In the latter end of Lent, 1610, he was seized with a violent fever. This happened on the sixth of April, and the distemper grew to such a height in four days time, that he was judged by his Physicians to be past recovery. While he lay in that condition, he dictated three letters in the discharge of his office (*w*), the last of which was finished on the thirteenth; and on the fifteenth, the fever, being the ninth day after the access, put a period to his life. Pope Paul, as soon as he heard of his illness, indulged him in all the ceremonies usually granted to Cardinals at the point of death. His body being embalmed, was deposited at his own request in the chapel of his

(*t*) Ibid.

(*u*) Foulis's Hist. of Treasons, &c. p. 531.

(*w*) Viz. One to the Mission in England; another to Blag, Rector of St Omers; and the third to the Arch-Priest Birkit. More, p. 164. where the letters are copied at length.

St Omers was not begun 'till 1593, being founded upon a different plan from the rest, and intended to supply a defect in their institution. It had been found by experience, that several who entered after their education in Protestant principles, were apt to revolt. St Omers was therefore instituted, to take in children to breed up from their infancy in the Romish faith. More informs us, that Parsons had been in this office of Præfect of the English mission eighteen years when he died, so that he must have been appointed in 1592; but the nature and extent of his power was not settled perfectly before the year 1596 (88).

[*AA*] *In this service his pen was constantly at work.*] Besides the books already mentioned, he wrote the following. 1. *A Temperate Wardword to the turbulent and seditious Watchword of* Sir Francis Hastings, Knt. &c. Printed in 1599, 4to; *under the name of* N. Doleman. 2. *A Copy of a Letter written by a Master of Arts of Cambridge, &c.* in 1584, and printed, probably, in 1600, 8vo; and again in 1631, 8vo. This was commonly called Father Parsons's Green coat (89), from the binding and edges of the leaves being of that colour. 3. Apologetical Epistle to the Lords of her Majesty's Privy-Council, &c. 1601, 8vo. 4. *Brief Apology or Defence of the Catholic Ecclesiastical Hierarchy erected* by Pope Clement VIII. &c. St Omers. 1601, 8vo (90). 5. *Manifestation of the Folly and bad Spirit of secular priests*, 1602, 4to, (91). 6. *A Decachordon of ten quodlibetical Questions*, &c. 1602, 4to. 7. *De Peregrinatione, lib.* 1. 12mo. 8. *Answer to O. E. whether Papists or Protestants be true Catholics*; 1603, 8vo. 9. Treatise of the three Conversions of Paganism to the Christian Religion, published under the name of N. D. i. e. Nicholas Doleman, in 3 Vols. 8vo. 1603, 1604, St Omers. 10. *A Relation of a trial made before the King of France in the year* 1600, *between the Bishop of* Eureux *and the Lord* Plessis Mornay, &c. St Omers, 1604, 8vo. published under the initial letters N. D. 11. *A Defence of the precedent Relation*, &c. printed with *the Relation*, &c. 12. Review of ten public disputations—held within—four years, under King Edward and Queen Mary, concerning—the sacrament and sacrifice of the altar; St Omers, 1604, under the name of N. D. 13. *Forerunner of Belle's downfal of Popery*, &c. 1605, 8vo. 14. *An Answer to the fifth Part of the Reports—of* Sir Edward Coke, &c. St Omers, 1606, 4to. published under the name of *A Catholic Divine*. 15. *De sacris alienis non adeundis Quæstiones duæ*, &c. St Omers, 1607, 8vo. 16. Treatise tending to mitigation towards Catholic subjects in England, against Thomas Morton (92), 1607. 17. The Judgment of a Catholic Gentleman concerning King James's Apology, &c. St Omers, 1608, 4to. 18. *Sober reckoning with* Thomas Morton, 1609, 4to. 19. *Discussion of Mr* Barlow's *Answer to the Judgment* of a Catholic Englishman concerning the oath of allegiance, St Omers, 1612 (93). 20. *The Liturgy of the Sacrament of the Mass*, 1620, 4to. 21. *A Memorial for Reformation*, &c. This is probably the same with that intituled, *The High Court or Council of the Reformation*. The author is said to have been twenty years in composing it, and finished it in 1596; but it was not published 'till some years after his death. At length it was republished with an introduction and some animadversions by Edward Gee, under the title of *The Jesuits Memorial for the intended Reformation of the Church of England under their first Popish Prince; published from the Copy that was presented to the late* King James the Second. Lond. 1690, 8vo. 22. Controversiæ nostri temporis in Epitomen reductæ MS. in Baliol-college library. 23. Parsons translated from the English into Spanish: A Relation of certain Martyrs in England; printed at Madrid, 1590, 8vo. He is also supposed to be the author of a piece intituled, *A Declaration of the true Causes of the great Troubles presupposed to be intended against the Realm of England; wherein the indifferent Reader will manifestly perceive by whom, and by what means, the Realm is brought into those pretended troubles. Seene, and allowed.* Anno MDLXXXI. An answer to which was wrote by Bacon (afterwards Lord Verulam) and printed in his *Resuscitatio*, under this title, *Certain Observations upon a Libel published this present Year* 1592; *intituled*, A Declaration of the true causes, &c. This declaration, containing about fifty pages in folio, was presented to the editor of Lord Bacon's Works, in four folio Volumes, by the late learned Mr T. Baker, of St John's college in Cambridge, with the following remark. 'This book is a virulent libel, and was looked upon to be so dangerous, I suppose, as to receive an answer from Bacon, &c.' The libel he thinks was printed abroad, containing too much treason to be published in England, and yet the print is English. This book, continues Mr Baker, was probably wrote by Parsons the Jesuit; the stile is his, and one thing runs thro' all his book, his affection to the Spanish monarchy (94).

[*BB*] *Procured the Archpriest to be displaced.*] This office had been erected in 1588, in the view of strengthening the Catholics by uniting them under one head; and Blackwell had the office. Upon King James's requiring the new oath of supremacy, there was a great meeting at London of the Catholics, with Blackwell at their head, who determined, that the oath, according to the plain and common understanding of the words, might, with a safe conscience, be taken by the Romanists. On the contrary, Parsons, in his Answer to King James's Apology, writes, That all learned men agree that the oath is unlawful, as opposing matter of faith; and declares, that none can take it without peril of everlasting damnation (95). The King published the oath of supremacy after the discovery of the gun-powder plot: And Parsons, we are told, sollicited the Pope for his Brief against it, and obtained it; but before it was sent into England, the Jesuit wrote a letter hither, to intimate, though falsly, that he was for a mitigation, but that the rest were for the Pope's power against the King. The letter is to this tenor: 'About 'some four or five months ago, it was consulted by 'seven or eight of the learnedest divines, who gave 'their judgment for the Pope's authority *de jure*: 'For if the questions were *de facto*, and not *de jure*, 'the reasons for waving his authority may be considered. Besides this, I have conferred about the 'matter with Cardinal Bellarmine, and sundry others 'of great learning and conscience; and all are of opinion, that the form of the oath as it lies, is heretical, and in no wise to be admitted by him that will 'not deny the Catholic faith. I have had occasion 'twice to speak with his Holiness, first, in company 'with Thomas Fitzherbert, when we proposed certain 'manners of mitigation suggested by friends, wherein 'his Holiness answered, that as for any actual using 'censures against his Majesty, he would not, but rather all courtesy. But as to the authority of the see 'apostolic in the power of using censures, he was resolved; and would rather lose his head, than yield 'one jot. To the second, being informed that some 'priests did seem to incline to take the oath, he answered, He could not hold them for Catholics '(96).

(88) More, ubi supra; where the instrument of his appointment, containing the several branches of his power, may be seen.

(89) It was printed abroad and sent to England bound. But tho' ascribed to Parsons at the end of the Jesuits Downfal, p. 55, 56. edit. 1612, is yet denied by him in his preface to the Wardword, &c. It is the same book with that entituled Leycester's Commonwealth.

(90) About 1603 there came out against this a piece intituled, Certain Brief Notes upon a Brief Apology, &c. by Humphry Ely. Paris, in 12mo. and 8vo.

(91) This is called a libel, in an answer to it by W. C. 1603, 4to. and is animadverted also upon by A. C. in his Second Letter to his disjesuited Kinsmen, &c. 1602, 4to.

(92) Afterwards Bishop of Durham.

(93) This book being left not quite finished at our author's death, was afterwards compleated and published by Tho. Fitzherbert.

(94) Introduction to Bacon's Works, by Mr Blackbourne, in four vols, fol.

(95) See Parsons's Letter to Blackwell, in More, ubi supra.

(96) Rob. Widdrington's Theolog. Disput. c. x. §. ii. p. 52, 53.

his college, close to that of Cardinal Allen on the right side. There was soon after a monument erected to his memory, with an inscription too long to find a place here (*x*). He was succeeded both as Rector of the college at Rome, and Præfect of the English mission, by Thomas Owen a Welshman (*y*).

(*x*) A copy of it may be seen in Ribadeneira's Bibl. Soc. Jesu, under the letter P.

(*y*) [illegible] Hist. [illegible] &c. [illegible]

P

PETRE, [Sir WILLIAM] the ancestor, and first founder, of a noble family in Essex, and Secretary of State to four Kings and Queens of England; was the son of John Petre [*A*], of Tor-newton in the parish of Tor-Brian, in Devonshire (*a*), and born at Exeter (*b*), or, according to others (*c*), at Tor-newton, which is said to have been long in the family (*d*). Being trained up to learning, very probably in his native place; he was thence sent to Exeter-college in Oxford, where, after having studied some time with good success, he was elected Fellow of All Souls-college, in the year 1523 (*e*). He took the degree of Bachelor of the Civil Law, July 2, 1526; and that of Doctor in the same faculty, January 24, 1532 (*f*). Next, he was made Principal of Peckwater-inn, in the foresaid university, now incorporated into Christ's church-college (*g*). He became soon after tutor to the son of Thomas Bolein, Earl of Wiltshire. In which station, his genteel person and behaviour being observed by Tho. Cromwell, he introduced him to court: where he was so much liked by King Henry VIII. that he was sent to travel, with the allowance of a pension (*h*) [*B*]. Returning home an accomplished gentleman, with those gayeties on the one hand that might adorn a court, and with those abilities on the other that might support it; he was taken into the Secretary of State's office, and made Latin Secretary (*i*). Being observed by Tho. Cromwell, the chief Secretary, to be a man of capacity, and intirely fit for the purpose, he was commissioned by him, with others, in 1535, to make a general visitation of all the Monasteries in England, and to enquire into the government and behaviour of the religious of both sexes, &c. (*k*) [*C*]. In the commission Dr Petre is stiled one of the Clerks in Chancery; and was also Master of the Requests (*l*). Having acquitted himself in that employment to the King's satisfaction, he not only was rewarded, in 1538 and 1539, with very large grants of Abbey-lands [*D*], and knighted; but also was sworn in 1543 of the Privy-Council, and constituted one of the Principal Secretaries of State (*m*). July 6, 1544, when King Henry VIII. was preparing for his expedition into France, and Queen Catharine Parr was constituted Regent of the Kingdom, Sir William Petre was appointed, among others, to direct her counsels (*n*) [*E*]. And in the same King's will, dated December 30, 1546, he is nominated one of the assistant Counsellors to his successor, King Edward VI. (*o*). Under this young Prince, he was not only continued in the Privy Council, and in his office of Secretary of State; but also was made, in the year 1549, Treasurer of the court of First-fruits for life (*p*); and, the year following, one of the Commissioners to treat of peace with the French at Guisnes (*q*). He was also, in that reign, commissioned, with the Archbishop of Canterbury and others, in confidence of their sound knowledge, zealous faith, innocency of life and behaviour, and readiness to dispatch affairs, to punish and correct all rectors, vicars, and other ecclesiasticks, as well as laymen, of what condition

(*a*) Wood, Fasti, edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 53.

(*b*) *Exoniæ natus.* Camdeni Annal. Elizabethæ, ad ann. 1572.

(*c*) Risdon and Wescot, MS.

(*d*) Prince's *Danmonii Illustres*, or Worthies of Devon. edit. 1701, p. 496.

(*e*) Wood, ubi supra.

(*f*) Idem, Fasti, Vol. I. col. 41, 53.

(*g*) Idem Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 3. That Inn was for Lawyers.

(*h*) State-Worthies, by D. Lloyd, edit. 1679, 8vo. p. 430.

(*i*) Ibid.

(*k*) Lord Herbert's Life and Reign of King Henry VIII. under the year 1535. See also Sir Will. Dugdale's Warwickshire, edit. 1730, Vol. II. p. 1111.

(*l*) Ar. Collins's Peerage, edit. 1735, Vol. III. p. 183.

(*m*) Pat. 30 & 31 Henr. VIII. p. 6. Sir W. Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 415. and Collins, as above.

(*n*) Lord Herbert, as above, under the year 1544; & Rymer's Fœdera, &c. Tom. XV. p. 39.

(*o*) Rymer, ibid. p. 110.

(*p*) Pat. 3 Edw. VI. p. 7.

(*q*) See King Edward's Journal, in Appendix to Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. Part ii. p. 9, 11, 14.

[*A*] *Was the son of John Petre.*] Antony Wood says (1), that this John Petre was a rich Tanner. But Mr Prince affirms on the contrary, that Sir William was 'not of mean and mechanick parentage, as some 'either ignorantly or maliciously suggest; (referring 'to Wood,) but of gentile and worshipful progeni'tors: For the name of Petre was a name of note in 'those parts, long before Sir *William* brought so 'much lustre and eminency to it. His grandfather 'was *John* Petre of Tor-brian, Gent. and his father '*John* Petre of the same place, Esq; who, by Alice 'his wife, daughter of John Colin of Woodland 'near adjoyning, had five Sons and three Daughters. 'The eldest son was Sir William, of whom we are 'treating; the second inherited Tor-newton; the 'third was Head-customer of the city of Exeter, a 'place of profit and repute; Richard was Chancellor 'of the church of Exeter and Archdeacon of Bucking'ham; and Robert, the youngest, was one of the of'ficers of the Exchequer to Queen Elizabeth (2).'

(1) Ubi, supra.

(2) Worthies, as above, p. 496.

[*B*] *That he was sent to travel, with the allowance of a pension*] The Pension allowed him was 125 *l.* a year: And there was a Tutor assigned him, who had been there before, and could instruct him, what he should see, where he should go, what acquaintance to entertain, what exercise or discipline to undergo. His Instructions were, 1. That he should keep a Diary of what the chiefest places, and the eminent persons, either apart or in conventions, yielded worthy of remark and observation. 2. To have before him a map or card of every place he went to. 3. Not to stay long in any one place. 4. To converse with no Englishmen but Agents, Embassadors, or such grave persons as his Majesty would direct him to. 5. To endeavour after recommendations from persons of quality in one place, to those in another; keeping still his correspondence with the most publick and eminent persons of every respective place.—Two things improved his Travel. An artificial and careless freedom, that opened others: And a natural gravity, that shut him up, and was more capable of observing their virtues, and escaping their vices (3).

(3) D. Lloyd, as above, p. 431, 432.

[*C*] *And to enquire into the government and behaviour of the Religious of both sexes.*] They were moreover directed, to find out all the offences of the monks and nuns; and, to this purpose, give them encouragements to accuse, both their Governors, and each other. To command them to exhibit their mortmains, evidences, and conveyances of their lands; to produce their plate and money, and give an inventory thereof, &c. (4)

(4) Lord Herbert, as above. See also Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, P. I. Collect. of Records, p. 131, &c.

[*D*] *He was not only rewarded - - - - with very large grants of Abbey-lands.*] One of the first grants, was the Priory of Clattercote in the parish of Cleydon in Oxfordshire, valued at the time of the suppression at 34 *l.* 19 *s.* 11 *d.* *per ann.* (5). Another grant, was the manor of Ginge-Abbots, in Essex, part of the possessions of the late dissolved Abbey of Berking in the same county, with the advowson of the rectory of Ingerston, otherwise called Ginge *ad petram* (6). But how much more he accumulated thereto before his decease, may be seen below note [*H*].

(5) See Bishop Tanner's Notitia Monastica, edit. 1744, p. 428.

(6) Dugdale's Baronage, as above, p. 415.

[*E*] *To direct her counsels.*] Being arrived to this pitch of greatness, he obtained special licence to retain twenty men, besides his own menial servants, and to give them, liveries, badges and cognisances (7).

(7) Pat. 37 Hen. VIII. p. 17.

[*F*] *H*

tion soever, who should despise or speak evil of *The Book of Common-Prayer*, &c. with power to imprison the guilty, and load them with irons, if necessary, or admit them to bail. He was likewise in several other commissions for ecclesiastical affairs (r) [F]. So skilful was he, in adapting himself to all changes [G], that he even gained Queen Mary's esteem and favour; to that degree, that she continued him in his post of Principal Secretary of State (s). And, moreover, made him Chancellor of the Garter, in the first year of her reign, with a salary of 100 marks *per annum* (t). He, unwilling to lose, by the restoration of Popery in this reign, those very large estates, which he had raised out of the ruines of the Monasteries; took a very extraordinary method to secure them to himself and his posterity. That is, he procured a special Dispensation from Pope Paul IV. to retain them; affirming, that he was ready to employ them to spiritual uses (u) [H]. Another instance of his singular favour with Queen Mary, was, his being intrusted with an affair of so much consequence, as concluding the treaty of marriage between her and Philip Archduke of Austria (w). And, in return for her favour, he was vey active in searching the botton of Sir Thomas Wyat's insurrection. We are likewise told, that he was a kind of casuist to her, when the church-lands went against her conscience. And that when Pope Paul III. was sending another legate, instead of Cardinal Pole, whom she had desired; he advised her, to forbid his setting foot into England, as she very resolutely did (x). Notwithstanding, these deep compliances with Queen Mary's measures, he found means to ingratiate himself with Queen Elizabeth. He continued one of her Secretaries of State 'till 1560 (y), if not longer; and of her Privy Council 'till his death. In the first year of her reign, he was commissioned, with others, to take the oath of Supremacy of all persons enjoying any office, or place of trust, under her. And, in the eighth year of her reign, he was in commission with Sir Nicolas Bacon, Knt. Lord-keeper, in consideration of their prudence, dexterity, and integrity, in transacting affairs, to search into the records at the Tower of London, Exchequer, and Rolls; in order to give what light they could to the Queen's embassadors at Bruges, then engaged in a treaty with Philip king of Spain, upon certain difficulties that had been started, touching matters relating to the Queen and her subjects (z). In the latter part of his life, he employed himself in works of charity; particularly in becoming a benefactor to the colleges of Exeter

(r) Dugdale's Baronage, as above; and Ar. Collins's Peerage, p. 184.

(s) Pat. 1 Mar. p. 11.

(t) Pat. 1 Mar. p. 6.

(u) The Bull is printed in Dugdale's Monasticon, Vol. III. p. 207, 208. and is dated 4 Cal. Decemb. 1555.

(w) A. Collins, as above.

(x) D. Lloyd, State-worthies, as above, p. 434.

(y) See Strype's Life of Archbishop Parker, p. 79.

(z) Ar. Collins, as above, p. 185.

[F] *He was also in several other commissions for ecclesiastical affairs.*] Namely, Feb. 10, 1550-1, in a commission to examine, correct, and set forth the Ecclesiastical Laws (8). We find him likewise in commissions for secular affairs: As, Decemb. 30, 1550, in a Commission for calling in the King's debts, &c. (9)

[G] *So skilful was he in adapting himself to all changes.*] 'A man would wonder, as D. Lloyd observes (10), how this man made a shift to serve four Princes of such distant Interests as King Henry, King Edward, Queen Mary, Queen Elizabeth; until he recollects the French King, who enquired of a wise man how he might govern himself and his kingdom? the wise man took a fair large sheet of paper, and, instead of an infinite number of precepts, which others use to offer on that subject, he only writ this word, *Modus*, a Mean. In King Henry's time, he observed his humour; in King Edward's, he kept to the law; in Queen Mary's, he minded wholly State-affairs; and in Queen Elizabeth's, he was religious. He moved with the first movers in most transactions to his apparent danger, yet he had motions of his own for his real security. Able he was at home, and very dexterous abroad, particularly at Boulogne: Where Monsieur Chatillon said concerning him, "We had gained the "last 200,000 crowns without hostages, had it not "been for the man that said nothing;" meaning Secretary Petre.— Neither was he better at keeping his own counsel, than at discovering other mens; as appeared by the intelligence he had, that the Emperor had sent ships to transport the Lady Mary into Germany, in case the King [Edward VI.] would not allow her the pr[a]c[tic]e of her religion (though three men knew not that design in the German court) whereupon he fetched her to Leez, in Essex; and thence, under the notion of preparing for sea-matters, he sent over five thousand pounds to relieve the Protestants.'

(8) King Edward's Journal, ubi supra, p. 46.

(9) Ibid. p. 43, 58. &c.

(10) State-Worthies, as above.

[H] *He procured a special Dispensation from Pope Paul IV. to retain them.*] The estates specified in that Bull, are: In the county of *Essex*; The maner of Ingatstone, and advowson of the Church, of the yearly value of 46 *l.* which had cost him 849 *l.* 12 *s* 6 *d.* and formerly belonged to Barking nunnery. The maner of Hauley Barnes, belonging to the same nunnery, which had cost him 133 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* The maner of Crowden, belonging to the bishopric of London, given him by King Henry the Eighth, and worth 8 *l.* 16 *s.* 8 *d. per ann.* The maner of Cowbridge, of the yearly value of 20 *l.* for which he had paid 453 *l.* 10 *s.* The maner of Wesefelands, worth 4 *l.* a year, for which he had paid 88 *l.* 4 *s.* The Rectory of Buttisbury, worth 10 *l. per ann.* which had cost him 80 *l.* The three last belonging to the monastery and nunnery at Stratford.—— The maner of East-Horndon, of the yearly value of 34 *l.* 19 *s.* 11 *d.* which had cost him 411 *l.* 13 *s.* 6 *d.* The maner of Matching, of the yearly value of 44 *s.* which cost him 44 *l.* The two last belonging to the monastery of Waltham.—The maner of Blunthall, worth 13 *l.* 7 *s.* 4 *d. per ann.* which had cost him 191 *l.* 19 *s.* 5 *d.* and the Rectory of Ginge-mountney, both belonging to Thoby-priory; the latter of the yearly value of 20 *l.* and that had cost him 400 marks.—Lands and tenements in Writtle called Salmons and Borobbes, formerly part of the possessions of St John's Abbey in Colchester, which he had got by way of exchange for the patronage of a church.—In *Gloucestershire*, the maners of Toddenham and Sutton, belonging to Westminster abbey, which he had obtain'd partly by exchange and partly for money: The former worth 28 *l.* and the latter 20 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.*—In the county of *Devon*; The maner of South-Brent, late part of the revenues of the monastery of Buckfast, worth 120 *l.* a year; which he had obtain'd partly by way of exchange for other lands, as well as in reward of his services to King Henry the Eighth.—The maner of Churchestow, belonging to the same monastery, of the yearly of 42 *l.* which he had in exchange for the maner of Helden in Essex and a sum of money.—And the Rectory of Brent, appropriated to the said monastery, worth 20 *l. per ann.* for which he had paid 400 *l.*——All those possessions the Pope confirmed to him, and his heirs *pro potiori cautelâ*; - - - - *& singulas venditiones, concessiones, & donationes predictas; necnon receptiones, ac possessionum adeptiones, & retentiones - - - - auctoritate Apostolicâ perpetuo approbamus & confirmamus; ac illis perpetuæ & inviolabilis firmitatis robur adjicimus: Supplentes omnes & singulos, tam juris quam facti etiam, de necessitate exprimendos defectus, si qui forsan intervenerint, in eisdem; ac decernentes illa perpetuo absque conscientiæ scrupulo inviolabiliter subsistere:* as the words of the Bull are. He absolves Sir William, at the same time, from all excommunications and censures upon account of the premisses: and forbids all Bishops, Chapters, Abbots, &c. to molest, or disturb him, upon pain of excommunication.

[I] In

Exeter and All-Souls [*I*], where he had received his education; and in founding alms-houses at Ingatstone [*K*]. He also left in his will several legacies to the poor [*L*]. At length, after having been Secretary, and of the Privy Council to four Kings and Queens of England; and seven times Embassador in foreign parts; he dyed January 13, 1571-2, and was buried in a new isle of the church at Ingatstone (*a*). The estate he left was very considerable [*M*]. He was married twice [*N*]. With regard to his character; he is said to have been a man of pregnant wit; of approved wisdom, and exquisite learning (*b*). His capacity was contemplative, and his genius active; observing, rather than reading; with his eye more on men, than books; studying behaviour, rather than notion; to be accomplished, rather than knowing; and not to err in the main, rather than to be excellent in circumstance (*c*).

(*a*) Idem, p. 185—187. and Prince, as above, p. 509.

(*b*) J. Stow's Annales, edit. 1605, 4to. p. 1135. Camden's Britannia, in Essex.

(*c*) D. Lloyd, as above, p. 430.

[*I*] *In becoming a benefactor to the colleges of Exeter and All-souls.*] In the year 1566, he settled upon Exeter college a yearly revenue of Ninety-one pounds eight shillings and ten pence half-penny, for the maintenance of seven Scholars, out of the counties of Devon, Somerset, Dorset, Oxford, and Essex. And bequeathed also forty pounds by will to the college. He moreover procured for it new Statutes.——To All-souls college, he gave a piece of ground, adjoining thereto (11).

(11) Wood, Hist. & Antiq. ut supra, p. 94.

[*K*] *And in founding Alms-houses at Ingatstone.*] He built there ten Alms-houses, for twenty poor people, ten within the house, and ten without the house; having every one two pence a day, a winter-gown, and two loads of wood; and, among them, feeding for six cows winter and summer, and a Chaplain to read prayers to them daily (12).

(12) J. Stow's Annales, &c. edit. 1605, 4to. p. 1135.

[*L*] *He also left in his will several legacies to the poor*] He bequeathed to the poorest Inhabitants of the several parishes where he had estates, considerable legacies, regard being had to the difference of times. And, in particular, he left 20 *l.* to the poor prisoners in London and Southwark, and the like sum to the poor in the hospitals there (13).

(13) See Ar. Collins, as above, p. 185, 186.

[*M*] *The estate he left was very considerable.*] It appears from the Inquisitions *post mortem* (14), that (besides the estates he was possess'd of in other counties, and for which see note [*H*]) he had in *Essex*; the maners of Crondon, Ginge at Stone, Hanley, Bayhouse, Writtle and Boytons, Chiggenhall, Crannam, Ingrave, great Bromfords, Thurrocks and Pownchins, Esthorndon, Bacons, Mashbury, Matching, Ginge Margaret, Freern, Cowbridge in Great Bursted, Blunts-walls; the Rectories of Ginge Mountney, and Buttesbury. And other large estates that were not maners; in Ginge-mountney, Billerica, Ingatstone, Stock, Butsbury, Ramsdens, Downham, Runwell, Ginge-Margaret, Ingrave, &c.—Great acquisitions for one man; the name of *Petre* not occurring before in the Inquisitions *post mortem*, at least in the county of Essex.

(14) Inq. post mort. 14 Eliz. 29 May, No. 40.

[*N*] *He was married twice*] His first Lady, was Gertrude daughter of Sir John Tirrel of Warley in in Essex; by whom he had two daughters, Elizabeth, married to John Gostwick, Esq; and *Dorothy* married to *Nicholas Wadham*, of Merrifield in Somersetshire, Esq; the joint founders of *Wadham-college* in Oxford. She dyed May 28th, 1541.—Sir William's second Lady was Anne, daughter of Sir William Browne, Knt. and widow of John Tirrel of Heron-place in Essex, Esq; by whom he had two daughters; and his only Son IOHN; who, July 21, 1603, was created *Baron* Petre of Writtle in Essex; and dyed 11 Octob. 1613. His successors in that dignity have been, 1. *William*, his son, who dyed 5 May, 1627. 2. *Robert*, who dyed 23 October, 1637. 3. *William*, that dyed in the Tower 5 January, 1683-4. 4. *John*, his next brother, succeeding; dyed unmarried in 1684. And was succeeded by the next brother, 5. *Thomas*, who dyed 4 June 1707. 6. His only son *Robert*, dying of the small-pox, 22 March, 1712-13, left his lady big with child; who, the 3d of June following, was delivered of, 7. *Robert*, the late Lord Petre. He married, on the 2d of May, 1732, Lady Anna-Maria Ratcliffe, daughter of James late Earl of Derwentwater; and dying in July 1742, hath left issue by her, 8. an only son, named *Robert Edward*, born in 1742. C

PETTY [Sir WILLIAM], a man of very great capacities, uncommon ingenuity, and a signal example of what industry, with a concurrence of happy circumstances, can accomplish; was the eldest son of Antony Petty a Clothier, and born at Romsey in Hamshire, on the 16th of May, 1623. While he was very young, he took great delight in conversing with artificers, as smiths, carpenters, and joiners, and imitating their several trades, which he performed very dexterously at twelve years of age. At that time, he went to the Grammar-school in his native place (*a*): and, 'at the full of age of fifteen years, had obtained the Latin, Greek, and French tongue, the whole body of common arithmetick, the practical geometry and astronomy conduceing to navigation, dialing, and with the knowledge of several mechanicall trades. After this he went to the university of Caen in Normandy [*A*]; and, upon his return to England, was prefer'd in the King's navy, where at the age of twenty years he had gotten up about threescore pounds, with as much mathematicks, as any one of his age was knowne to have had (*b*).' With this money, upon the breaking out of the civil wars in 1643, he went, for his further improvement, into the Netherlands and France for three years; and having vigorously pursued his studies, especially that of medicine, at Utrecht, Leyden, Amsterdam, and Paris, he returned home to Romsey; and brought with him his brother Antony, whom he had bred up, with about ten pounds more than he carried out of England (*c*). While he was at Paris, he studied anatomy, and read Vesalius with Mr Tho. Hobbes, then residing there, who was ready upon all occasions to forward his pregnant genius (*d*). By what notice he takes of the improvement of his money, 'tis probable, that he maintained himself by traffic while abroad (*e*). Upon the sixth of March, 1647, a patent was granted him by the Parliament for 17 years, to teach his art of double writing (*f*) [*B*]. In

(*a*) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 807.

(*b*) This is the account given by himself in his Will.

(*c*) Ibid. This brother of his dyed Octob. 18, 1649, and was buried in Lothbury-church, London.

(*d*) Wood, Ath. ubi supra.

(*e*) See Dr Ward's Lives of the Professors of Gresham-college. Lond. fol. 1740, p. 218.

(*f*) Rushworth's Histor. Collect. Part iv. Vol. II. p. 1112. or Vol. VII. of the last edition.

[*A*] *He went to the university of Caen in Normandy.*] Mr Wood adds, that, 'with a little stock of Merchandizing which he then improved, he maintained himself there, learning the French tongue, and at 18 years of age the arts and mathematics (1).'

(1) Ath. ut sup.

[*B*] *To teach his art of double writing.*] He gives the following account of it, in his Advice to Mr Hartlib. 'There is invented an instrument of small bulke and price, easily made, and very durable, whereby any man, even at the first sight and handling, may write two resembling copies of the same thing at once, as serviceably and as fast (allowing two lines upon each page for setting the instruments) as by the ordinary way; of what nature, or in what character, or

In 1648 he publifhed, 'Advice to Mr Samuel Hartlib, for the advancement of fome particular Parts of Learning [C]:' which fhews the extenfivenefs of his mind and knowledge. Being a man refolved to pufh his fortune, he fided with the predominant party in the kingdom; and going to Oxford at the time the Loyalifts were ejected by the parliamentary Vifitors, profecuted the ftudy of Phyfic there, and taught the young fcholars Anatomy

'or what matter foever, as paper, parchment, a book, '&c. the faid writing, &c. ought to be made upon. 'The ufe hereof will be very great to lawyers and 'fcriveners, for making of indentures, and all kinde 'of counterparts; to merchants, intelligencers, regif-'ters, fecretaries, clarkes, &c. for copying of letters, 'accompts, invoices, entering of warrants, and other 'records; to Scholars for tranfcribing of rare manu-'fcripts, and preferving originals from falfification, 'and other injuries of time. It leffeneth the labour of 'examination, ferveth to difcover forgeries and fur-'reptitious copies, and to the tranfacting of all bufi-'neffes of writing, as with eafe and fpeed, fo with 'privacy alfo.'

[C] *Advice to Mr Hartlib, for the advancement of fome particular parts of learning.*] The defign of this work, (which is comprized in four fheets, 4to.) is the Advancement of reall learning in general, but particularly the Education of Youth, Mathematics, Phyfic, and concerning the Hiftory of Art and Nature, with fome more ferious ones concerning an office of Publick Addreffe.——To that end, the means he propofes are, firft, to get *Labourers* together. Then, to fee what is well and fufficiently done already; by *perufing all books*, and taking notice of all mechanical inventions. For which there muft be appointed *able Readers* of all fuch Books; and every book muft be read by *two feverall perfons apart*; to prevent miftakes. Out of all thefe Books, *one Book* or great worke may be made, though confifting of many volumes; with proper *indices, or tables*, for the ready finding, remembring, and well underftanding all things contained in thefe books. Next, *the ableft men in every refpective faculty*; two or three under one another in each faculty; muft be fet apart, to drive them on further with fufficient maintenance and encouragement for the fame.

He then lays down the following rules. 1. That there be inftituted *Ergaftula Literaria*, literary work-houfes, where children may be taught as well to do fomething toward their living, as to read and write. 2. That the bufinefs of education be not, as now, committed to the worft and unworthieft of men; but that it be ferioufly ftudied and practifed by the beft and ableft perfons. 3. That all children above feven years old may be prefented to this kind of education, none being to be excluded by reafon of the poverty and unability of their parents; for hereby it hath come to pafs, that many are now holding the plow, which might have been fit to fteer the ftate. Wherefore let fuch poor children be imployed on works, whereby they may earn their living, equal to their ftrength and underftanding, and fuch as they may perform, as well as elder and abler perfons, viz. attending engines, &c. And if they cannot get their whole living, and their parents can contribute nothing at all to make it up, let them ftay fomewhat the longer in the work-houfe. 4. That fince few children have need of reading, before they know, or can be acquainted with the things they read of; or of writing, before their thoughts are worth the recording, or they are able to put them into any form, (which we call inditing;) much lefs of learning languages, when there are books enough for their prefent ufe in their own mother-tongue; our opinion is, that thofe things being withall fomewhat above their capacity, as being to be attained by judgment, which is the weakeft in children, be deferred a while, and others more needful for them, fuch as are in the order of nature before thefe aforementioned, and are attainable by the help of memory, which is either moft ftrong, or unpreoccupied in children, be ftudied before them. We wifh therefore, that the Educands be taught to obferve and remember all fenfible objects and actions, whether they be natural or artificial, which the Educators muft, upon all occafions, expound unto them. 5. That they ufe fuch exercifes, whether in work or for recreation, as tend to the health, agility, and ftrength of their bodies. 6. That they be taught to read by much more compendious means than are in common ufe; which is a thing certainly very eafy and feafible. 7. That they be not only taught to write according to our common way, but alfo to write fwiftly, and in real characters; as likewife the dexterous ufe of the inftrument for writing many copies of the fame thing at once. 8. That the artificial memory be thought upon; and if the precepts thereof be not too far above childrens capacities, we conceive it not improper for them to learn that alfo. 9. That in no cafe the art of drawing and defigning be omitted, to what courfe of life foever thefe children are to be applied; fince the ufe thereof for expreffing the conceptions of the mind, feems to be little inferiour to that of writing, and in many cafes performs what by words is impoffible. 10. That the elements of arithmetic and geometry be all ftudied, being not only of great and frequent ufe in all human affairs; but alfo fure guides and helps to reafon, and efpecial remedies for a volatile and unfteady mind. 11. That effectual courfes be taken to try the abilities of the bodies and minds of children, the ftrength of their memory, inclination of their affections either to vice or virtue, and to which of them in particular; and withall to alter what is bad in them, and increafe, and improve what is good, applying all, whether good or bad, to the leaft inconveniency, and moft advantage. 12. That fuch as fhall have need to learn foreign languages, (the ufe whereof would be much leffened, were the real and common characters brought into practice) may be taught them by incomparably more eafy ways than are now ufual. 13. That no ignoble, unneceffary or condemned part of learning be taught in thofe houfes of education; fo that if any man fhall vainly fall upon them, he himfelf only may be blamed. 14. That fuch as have any natural ability and fitnefs to mufic, be encouraged and inftructed therein. 15. That all children, though of the higheft rank, be taught fome gentile manufacture in their minority, fuch as thefe, turning of curious figures, making mathematical inftruments, dials, and how to ufe them in aftronomical obfervations; making watches, and other trochilic motions; limning and painting on glafs or in oyl-colours; graving, etching, carving, emboffing and molding in fundry matters; the lapidary's art in knowing, cutting and fetting jewels; grinding of glaffes dioptrical and catoptrical; botanics and gardening; making mufical inftruments; navarchy, and making models for building and rigging of fhips; architecture, and making models for houfes; the confectioner's, perfumer's, or dier's arts; chemiftry, refining metals, and counterfeiting jewels; anatomy, making fkeletons, and excarnating bowels; making mariners compaffes, globes, and other magnetic devices.... Of which he fhews the great benefit in eight inftances.... In the next place, for the advancement of all mechanicall arts and manufactures, he wifhes that there were erected a *Gymnafium Mechanicum*, or a college of Tradefmen, (or, for more expedition, untill fuch place could be built, that the moft convenient houfes for fuch a purpofe, might be either bought or hired,) wherein *One at leaft of every trade*, (but the prime, moft ingenious workman, the moft defirous to improve his art) might be allowed a handfome dwelling rent-free; which, with the credit of being admitted into this fociety, and the quick fale which certainly they would have of their commodities, when all men would repair thither, as to a market of rare and exquifite pieces of workmanfhip, would be a fufficient motive to attract the very ableft Mechanicks...... Within the walls of this *Gymnafium* or college, fhould be a *Nofocomium Academicum*, according to the moft exact and perfect idea thereof; a compleat *Theatrum Botanicum*; ftalls and cages for all ftrange beafts and birds, with ponds and confervatories for all exotic fifhes..... Laftly he recommends the compiling of a work, whofe title might juftly be *Vellus aureum, five Facultatum lucriferarum Defcriptio magna*; wherein all the practifed ways of getting a fubfiftence, and whereby men raife their fortunes may be at large declared.'.... But all that he projected hath been fince performed by our many ingenious Artifts; and the latter article, in particular by Mr Chambers in his Dictionary, &c.

tomy and Chymistry, to his and their great benefit. He became also Deputy-Professor of Anatomy to Dr Thomas Clayton, who had an insurmountable aversion to the sight of a mangled corps (*g*). March the 7th, 1649, he was created Doctor of Physic, by virtue of a dispensation from the Delegates of the university, who had received sufficient testimony of his rare qualities and gifts from Lieutenant-colonel Kelsey, Deputy-governor of Oxford-garrison (*h*). The same year, or the next, he was made Fellow of Brasen-nose-college, in the room of Nath. Hoyle, B. D. (*i*) at which time he was one of the Society engaged in cultivating natural knowledge, and the new philosophy, who often met at his chambers. June the 25th, 1650, he was admitted a candidate of the College of Physicians in London (*k*): and, in December following, was one of the persons chiefly concerned in recovering Anne Greene [*D*], who had been executed at Oxford the 14th of that month, for the supposed murther of her bastard-child; after she had been brought into a private house, to be anatomized (*l*). January 1, 1650-51, he was unanimously elected Anatomy-Professor at Oxford, in the room of Dr Clayton, who had resigned in his favour (*m*). And, the 7th of February following, was chosen Music-Professor in Gresham-college, which place he obtained by the interest of his friend Captain John Graunt (*n*) [*E*]. By these preferments, in the year 1652, according to his own account, he had improved his stock to four hundred pounds; and having an hundred pounds more advanced him to go for Ireland, he landed at Waterford September the 10th that year. He was sent thither in the quality of Physician to the army, with an allowance of 20 shillings a day; and was likewise Physician to three Lord-Lieutenants successively, Lambert, Fleetwood, and Henry Cromwell; in which post he continued 'till June 1659, and gained by his practice about four hundred pounds a year above his pay. In the year 1654, perceiving that the admeasurements of the lands forfeited by the rebellion there in 1641, and intended for the satisfaction of the soldiers, who had suppressed it, were most insufficiently managed, he obtained a contract, dated the eleventh of December that year, for making the said admeasurements, by which he gained about nine thousand pounds, and six hundred pounds more for directing an after-survey of the adventurers lands [*F*]. These sums, together with what he had gotten by his other employments, (particularly 800 l. for two years salary, as clerk of the council) raised him an estate of thirteen thousand pounds, at a time when as much land was bought for ten shillings in ready money, as would yield ten shillings a year rent, above his majesty's quit-rents, in 1685, the year in which his will is dated. Part of this money he imployed in soldiers debentures, and part of it in purchasing the earl of Arundel's house and gardens in Lothbury in the city of London. The debentures, for which, as he says, he gave above the market-price, were again disposed of in buying lands in Ireland (*o*), to the amount of ten thousand pounds a year. But he lost afterwards a considerable part of it, by the court of innocents [*G*], in 1663; and the buildings he had erected on the garden ground in Lothbury, called Token-house, were for the most part destroyed by the fire of London. July 14, 1655, he was admitted a Fellow of the college of Physicians. He was likewise one of the commissioners for setting out the lands in Ireland to the army, after they were surveyed; and clerk of the Council there; as also Secretary to the lord Lieutenant, Henry Cromwell, by whose interest in 1658 he was elected one of the burgesses for West-Low in Cornwall, to serve in the parliament of Richard Cromwell, which met at Westminster the 27th of January that year. In this parliament, on the 25th of March following

(*g*) Ibid.

(*h*) Idem Fasti, Vol. II. col. 90.

(*i*) Ibid. and Athen. ut supra.

(*k*) Dr Ward, as above, p. 218.

(*l*) Wood, Ath. ut supra.

(*m*) Wood, Ath. ut supra; & Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 44.

(*n*) Dr Ward, as above, and Wood Ath.

(*o*) These particulars are given in his Will.

[*D*] *Was one of the persons chiefly concerned in recovering Anne Greene, &c.*] The other physicians concerned in that wonderful recovery, were, Mr Thomas Willis of Christ-church, Mr Bathurst of Trinity college, and Mr Clerke of Magdalen college. A curious account of it was published at the time, intituled, 'Newes from the Dead. Or a true and exact Narration of the miraculous deliverance of Anne Greene, 'who being executed at Oxford Dec. 14, 1650. afterwards revived; and by the care of certain Physitians there, is now perfectly recovered. Together 'with the manner of her suffering, and the particular 'meanes used for her recovery. Written by a Scholler 'in Oxford, for the satisfaction of a friend, who desired to be informed concerning the truth of the 'businesse. Whereunto are prefixed certain Poems, 'casually written upon that subject.' Oxford, 1651. 4to. in three sheets and a half. Supposed to have been written by Dr Ralph Bathurst (2). Some of the Poems were written by Joseph Williamson, George Davenant, and Henry Davenant, all three of Queen's-college; Robert Sharrock of New college; Christopher Wren, Gentleman-commoner of Wadham college, &c.—Several instances there have been, of persons recovered to life after execution: but none after having hung so long, and been so misused and stamp'd upon, as this Anne Greene was.

(2) See Dr Derham's Physico-Theology, edit. 1716, p. 157.

[*E*] *Capt. John Graunt.*] See an Account of this learned man, above, in the article GRAUNT (JOHN).

[*F*] *For directing an after-survey of the adventurers lands.*] He was allowed twenty shillings a day for the survey; and, entering upon it in December 1654, compleated it in about ten months time, with that exactness, that there was no estate to the value of sixty pounds a year, but he exactly shewed it to its true value, and made maps of all that he had done. Those that he employed for the Geometrical part, were ordinary persons, that circumambulated with their box and needle, not knowing what they did, but He knew well how to make use of their labours. This survey was but a single proof of the great elevation of his genius, which like a meteor moved above the sphere. A. Wood, from whom we have this account (3), adds, that by this employment he obtained an estate in Ireland worth about 10000 *l. per ann.* and that after it was reduced by the court of innocents to 5 or 6000 *l.* yearly, he could from Mount-Mangorton in Kerry behold 50000 acres of his own land. But Dr Ward observes (4), that instead of fifty thousand, it should perhaps have been fifteen thousand, the number he was said by his accusers to have, as he tells us himself (5).

(3) Athen. ut supra, col. 808.

(4) Lives, as above, p. 219.

(5) Reflections upon some Persons and Things, &c. p. 18.

[*G*] *By the court of innocents.*] This was a Court erected at Dublin in 1662, to determine what persons were *nocent* or *innocent*; i. e. had been engaged, or not, in the grand Irish Rebellion in 1641, and whose estates had been declared forfeited upon that account.

[*H*] He

following, he was impeached by Sir Hierome Sankey [*H*], for mismanagement in the distributions and allotments of the Irish lands, with other offences relating to that affair. The charge was general, and Dr Petty being then in Ireland, many of the long robe were against receiving of it, 'till it was digested into particulars; but at last it was resolved, he should be summoned to attend the house that day a month. However he came over sooner, and appearing in the house the 19th of April, answered to the charge on the 21st, to whom Sir Hierome replied. Upon this the matter being adjourned, and that parliament suddenly dissolved the day following, it was not brought to any issue [*I*]. Soon after Dr Petty went back to Ireland, where measures were taken in order to prosecute him, and he was removed from his publick employments; though the Lord Lieutenant still continued his good opinion of him [*K*]. In the same year 1659, he was one of the Rota club, which used to meet at Miles's coffee-house in New-palace-yard, Westminster, among whom were Mr James Harrington, Henry Nevill, Charles Wolseley, Esquires, Major John Wildman, and others [*L*]. This club lasted 'till the 21st of February that year. But before they broke up, Dr Petty went again into Ireland, where he continued 'till the Restoration; and then returning into England, was introduced to King Charles II. to whom such a genius could not fail of being acceptable. The 8th of March that year, he resigned his Professorship in Gresham-college (*p*); and on the 19th of the same month, he was made one of the Commissioners of the Court of Claims *. April the 11th, 1661, he received the honour of knighthood; and, according to some, was ambitious of being created Earl of Kilmore in Ireland; but the fear of drawing upon himself too much envy, made him decline it (*q*). He also obtained of his Majesty, about the time of his being knighted, a new patent, by which he was constituted Surveyor-General of Ireland (*r*). And the same year he was chosen member of the Irish Parliament for Enifcorchy. By the Act of Settlement in 1662, all the forfeited lands which had been set out to him, and of which he had been possessed May 7, 1659, were confirmed to him; and, in virtue thereof, he had seven, and his lady two, grants of lands by letters patent †. In 1663, he was continued a Fellow of the College of Physicians by their new charter (*s*): and by the charter of the Royal Society appointed one of their first Council; being then esteemed the chief person among them to advance experimental philosophy and mechanics. About that time he was much talked of for his new invention of a double-bottomed ship [*M*], to sail against wind and tide; which in July

(*p*) Dr Ward, as above.

* Lodge's Peerage of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 77.

(*q*) Wood, Ath. ut supra.

(*r*) Dr Ward, as above.

† Lodge's Peerage of Ireland, p. 79.

(*s*) Dr Goodall's Account of the College of Physicians, Lond. p. 70.

[*H*] *He was impeached by Sir Hierome Sankey.*] The articles exhibited against him, were, 1. That he the said Dr Petty had received great bribes. 2. That he had made a trade of buying Debentures in vast numbers, against the statute. 3. That he had gotten vast sums of money, and scopes of land, by fraud. 4. That he had used many foul practices, as Surveyor and Commissioner, for setting out lands. 5. That he and his fellow-commissioners had placed some Debentures in better places than they could claim, denying right to others. 6. That he and his fellow-commissioners had totally disposed of the Army's security; the debt still remaining chargeable on the State (6).

(6) Wood, Ath. ut supra, col. 809.

[*I*] *It was not brought to any issue.*] Henry Cromwell Esq; then Lord Lieutenant, wrote upon that occasion, the following letter, in his favour, to John Thurloe Principal Secretarie of State. 'Sir, I have 'heretofore told you my thoughts of Dr Petty, and 'am still of the same opinion; and if Sir Hierom 'Sankey doe not run him down with numbers and noise 'of adventurers, and such other like concerned persons, I believe the parliament will finde him, as I 'have represented. He has curiously deceived mee 'these foure yeares, if he be a knave. I am sure the 'jur tors of them, who are most busie, are not men of 'the quietest temper. I doe not expect you will 'have leisure, or see cause, to appeare much for him; 'wherefore this is onely to let you understand my 'present thoughts of him. The activeness of Rob. 'Reynolds, and others, in this busines, shews, that 'Petty is not the onely marke aimed at. But God's 'will be done in all things. Pray let not the busines 'of my coming over wholy die, though it slumber for 'a while. It would be for the conveniency of my 'own affairs to know, whether it be probable, I may 'make a step over this summer. As for things here, I 'referr you to the bearer for the accompt of them, 'and remane

'Your very affectionat and humble servant

April 11,
1659. 'H. Cromwell (7).'

(7) Thurloe's State papers, Vol. VII. p. 651.

[*K*] *Tho' the Lord Lieutenant still continued his good opinion of him.*] That appears, from a letter written by the Lord Lieutenant in his behalf, to a person, whose name is not mentioned, and brought by the Doctor himself, upon his return again shortly after into England. 'Sir, The bearer, Dr Petty, hath been my Secretary, and clerk of the councill, here in Ireland; and is one, whom I have known to be an honest and ingenious man. He is like to fall into some trouble from some, who envy him. I desire you to be acquainted with him, and to assist him, wherein he shall reasonably desire it. Great endeavours have been used to begett prejudices against him; but when you speak with him, he will appear otherwise. You cannot but take notice of my own condition. I wish you would advise this bearer concerning my own affairs. You may say any thing safely to him. I wish I had been able formerly to have merited the favour, I now desire from you. Altho' I ever really was, and see no reason, why I should ever be otherwise than,

Your, &c.

June, 1659.

H. C. (8).'

(8) Dr Ward, as above, p. 220. from a Collection of H. Cromwell's letters, in the hands of his grandson, W. Cromwell, Esq;

[*L*] *Major John Wildman, and others.*] Their scheme was, that all magistrates, and officers of state, should be chosen by ballotting, and the time for holding their places limited; that a certain number of the members of parliament should be annually changed by rotation, &c. See the works of James Harrington, Esq;

[*M*] *His new invention of a double-bottomed ship.*] The elegant Author of the *History of the Royal Society*, judiciously observes—(9); 'It was the most considerable experiment, that has been made in this age of 'experiments; if either we regard the great charge of 'of the work, or the wonderful change it was likely 'to make in navigation, or the great success to which 'this first attempt was arriv'd. Though it was at first 'confronted with the doubts and objections of most 'seamen of our nation, yet it soon confuted them by 'experience. It appear'd very much to excel all 'other forms of ships, in sayling, in carriage, in se'curity, and many other such benefits.' .... The *Doubts* and *Objections* hinted at by Dr Sprat, are more fully explained by A. Wood, in the following words .... 'In July 1663, when first the ship adventur'd 'from Dublin to Holy-head, she stay'd there many 'days before her return, and 'twas pleasant to consider 'how her Adversaries insulted, and having first esta'blished the conclusion, that she was cast away, did 'afterwards discourse the several necessities why it should

(9) Dr Sprat's Hist. of the Royal Society, edit. 1667, 4to. p. 240.

July following made one very successful voyage from Dublin to Holyhead, and back again, contrary to the expectation of most persons, who thought it an impracticable experiment. But in a second voyage it had the misfortune to be lost in a violent storm. He presented a model of this ship to the Royal Society, which is yet preserved in their repository. And about the year 1665 he communicated to them A discourse about the building of ships, contained in a quire of paper of his own writing; which the Lord Brouncker, President of the Society, took into his own possession, and kept it for many years, saying it was too great a secret of state to be commonly perused (*t*). He was the author of many other useful inventions, several of which were laid before the Royal Society, whose institution he very diligently promoted, and was often chosen one of their council (*u*) It is almost incredible, that a man of so active and busy a genius should find leisure for making of books; yet he was author of several things that required time and application, as appears by the list of them given below [*N*]. The most curious of them were

(*t*) Wood, Ath. ut supra, col. 809.

(*u*) Dr Ward, as above, p. 222.

'should be so. Some said it was impossible her mast 'could be sufficiently planted against a strong gale, 'others said she was gone to land at O Brasile, &c. 'But her return in triumph with those visible advantages above other vessels, did check the derision of 'some, and becalm'd the violence of others, the first 'point having been clearly gain'd that she could bear 'the seas. She then turn'd in against wind and tide 'into the narrow harbour of Holyhead, amongst the 'rocks and ships, with such dexterity, as many ancient 'seamen did then confess they had never seen the like. 'About the same time, Thomas Earl of Ossory, and 'other persons of honour were embarked in her, and 'drove to and again within the Bar near Dublin. It 'then blew very hard, insomuch that a small Holland 'vessel, famous for being a good sailor, which set sail 'with her, was in appearance looked upon as over-set, 'while she inclined not above half a foot more to one 'side than another, so that it was truly then called, '*The Pad of the Sea.* But at length, in its return 'home from a certain voyage (10), as Dr Sprat goes 'on, it was destroyed by a common fate, and by such 'a dreadful tempest, as overwhelm'd a great fleet the 'same night; so that the antient fabricks of ships have 'no reason to triumph over that new model, when of 'threescore and ten sail, that were in the same storm, 'there was not one escap'd to bring the news.'

(10) Wood, Ath. ut supra, col. 808.

Thus these two writers concur in trumpeting the praises of this extraordinary invention: but here they leave it, and by that means leave their readers under an anxious uneasiness to know what became of it afterwards, since no vessels of this new fabric are to be seen at present We shall therefore fully satisfy so reasonable a curiosity by the following account.

Notwithstanding, then, all the fine things that were said of the invention by others, yet the inventor was himself very sensible that there were still some defects in it ||, and that it was capable of a further improvement. Upon which account, instead of building another upon the plan of that which was lost in the abovementioned storm, he resolved to improve the plan. Accordingly, he spent many years upon it, and at last brought it to the desired perfection, as appears by an extract of a letter of Dr Wood to Sir Peter Pett, in these terms: 'Sir William Petty has discovered a 'new . . . . . . of shipping, which will as much transcend the old as guns do bows; if we consider the 'strength, (in every vessel) the burden, ballast, 'draught of water, sayling, steering, keeping to wind, 'and as many more properties of a good ship, his excells the best the world has yet produced in all these; 'and yet, after all, the cost and charges will be considerably less. But to give a particular instance, let 'us take, for example, one of the best sayling vessels 'of England, of the old built, viz. the Constant Warwick, or Fubb's yacht, and another of Sir William's 'new ones, of equal draught of water and strength, 'but double the cost; call the former Fubbs, and the 'last Buny, and compare them together as to further 'qualifications, I say Buny will carry four times the 'burthen that Fubbs can, ballast included, and bear 'sail in proportion as 3 to 2. Or thus, a common 'single body being given, suppose of 70 tons neat 'burden, with 30 tons of ballast; we offer to make a 'double body, which needs no ballast, viz. to carry 'as much sail light as the other loaden, of the same 'or more neat burthen; but it's draught of water 'shall be as 4 to 7, and the cost as 7 to 11, and shall 'bear sail as 11 to 7 (11).

|| One of these defects was, that though against wind and tide it performed wonders, yet before the wind it was a meer slug.

(11) Birch's Hist. of the R. S. Vol. IV. p. 286.

'N. B. Demonstrated by a great variety of bodies, 'at least twenty vessels by him built here.' [in Ireland]

This extract was communicated to the Royal Society, April 16, 1684; and in another to Mr Molyneux upon the same subject already cited, the particular alteration or improvement which he had made in the invention may be seen, as also an account of the trial and failure of it. Mr Molyneux declares he did not know what measures Sir William intended to take to redeem his credit (12). But these too we have from his own pen, in a letter to Sir J. W. at Dublin, December 18th, 1684, wherein he writes thus. 'I have 'troubled you with several accounts of my naval experiments; perhaps you may think, because I expected your applause for them. But I do now with 'the same candour and ingenuity acquaint you, that 'upon the 15th and 16th days of this month, we 'have made an experiment by the sea; in which 'were so many complicated and perplexed circumstances, as to make me stagger in much of what I formerly said, but not in the least concerning the 'strength of our fabric. Our principal disappointment was in the bearing of sail, which all the world 'allows will be easily remedied by virtue of our principle. We thought to have remedied our ship's tenderness for the present by ballast, upon the advice of 'good and common seamen; but found that (as our 'model had formerly told us) it had not the same effect to stiffen our sort of shipping as the common, so 'as this use of ballast did but bring new mischiefs 'upon us; and, as they say, did damp the ship's motion, and disturb her working. The cause of the 'tenderness, was an endeavour, besides to introduce a 'new principle, to make a small passage-boat of twelve 'foot broad, yet enough to carry horses, hoping to 'have gotten some small matter thereby, to have defrayed the charges. But as it is thus, we are now 'to begin again; all men believing that the principle will be good. For my own part, I intend to 'spend my life in examining the greatest and noblest 'of all machines, a ship. And as I have always told 'you, I shall content myself, in that I have to this 'purpose used more effectual means, and with less by-ends, than the generality of other men. And I promise you, if I can find just cause for it, will write 'and publish a book against my self. So much do I 'prefer truth before vanity and imposture, &c. (13).' Sir William survived this great disappointment but a few years, and probably never resumed the subject afterwards, any further than what we see in a paper, intituled, *What a complete Treatise of Navigation should contain*; drawn up in the year 1685, and printed in the Philosophical Transactions, No. 198.

(12) See Mr W. Molyneux's article, rem. [F].

(13) Birch, ubi supra, p. 351, 352.

[*N*] *As appears by the list of them given &c.*] Besides his *Advice to Mr Samuel Hartlib*, &c. mentioned above; he was author of the following pieces. 1. 'A Brief of proceedings between Sir Hierome 'Sankey and the Author, with the State of the Controversy between them.' Lond. 1659. in three sheets fol. 2. 'Reflections upon some Persons and Things 'in Ireland, by letters to and from Dr Petty: With 'Sir Hierome Sankey's speech in parliament.' Lond. 1660. 8vo. Written against his busy and envious antagonist Sankey. 3. 'A Treatise of Taxes and Contributions; shewing the Nature and Measures of 'Crown lands, Assessments, Customs, Poll monies, Lotteries, Benevolence, Penalties, Monopolies, Offices, 'Tythes, raising of Coins, Hearth-money, Excise, '&c. with several interspersed Discourses and Digressions concerning Wars, the Church, Universities, 'Rents,

were his pieces in Political Arithmetic; for which reason we shall give a more particular account of them below [O]. The variety of pursuits he was engaged in, shew, that he had

'Rents, and Purchases, Usury and Exchange, Banks 'and Lombards, Registries for Conveyances, Beggars, 'Insurance, Exportation of Money and Wool, Free-'ports, Coins, Housing, Liberty of Conscience, &c. 'The same being frequently applied to the State and 'Affairs of Ireland.' Lond. 1662. in about ten sheets 4to. Reprinted in 1667, and 1685. These three Editions appeared without the Author's name; but it was prefix'd to the fourth, in 1690. 4. 'An Apparatus to the History of the common Practices of 'Dying.' Printed in Dr Sprat's History ef the Royal Society. London, 1667, 4to. Part ii. p. 284, &c. 5. 'A Discourse made before the Royal Society, 26 'November 1674, concerning the use of Duplicate 'Proportion in sundry important particulars: together 'with a new Hypothesis of springing, or elastique 'motions.' Lond. 1674, 12mo. An account is given of this Discourse in the Philosophical Transactions, No. 109. p. 209. Decemb. 1674. And a censure of it, by Dr Thomas Barlow, may be seen in his genuine Remains*. Who says, that 'though 'there be several things in it ingeniously said; yet 'there be two several things highly irrational, and 'indeed, most metaphysical nonsense, and some things '(I fear) impious, if not plainly Atheistical.'——— And this he endeavours to prove, by picking out two or three passages in it. 6. *Colloquium Davidis cum Animâ suâ, accidente paraphrasin in* 104 *Psalmum*, De Magnalibus Dei. Lond. 1679, in two sheets, folio. Composed in Latin hexameter verse, March 25, 1678, by our author, under the name of *Cassid. Aureus Minutius*. 7. 'The Privileges and Practice of Parlia-'ments in England, collected out of the common Laws 'of this land: seen and allowed by the learned in the 'Laws: commended to the high Court of Parlia-'ment.' Lond. 1680, 4to. 8. 'The Politician 'discovered, or Considerations of the late Pretensions 'that France claims to England and Ireland, and 'her Designs and Plots in order thereunto: in two 'Discourses; by a true Protestant and well wisher 'to his country.' Lond. 1681, 4to. These two last were published at first without the name of the Author. They were afterwards subjoined to No. 3. in 1690, when they were all three reprinted, or rather republished, with a new title-page. 9. *Quantulumcunque* concerning Money; 1682, 4to. 10. 'An Essay 'in Political Arithmetick, concerning the Growth of 'the city of London, with the measures, periods, 'causes, and consequences thereof.' Lond. 1682. And again in 1686, 8vo. 11. 'Observations upon 'the Dublin Bills of Mortality in 1681, and the state 'of that City.' Lond. 1683, 8vo. A second edition corrected and inlarged, was published in 1686. 12. 'An Account of some Experiments to be made 'relating to Land-carriage.' Published in the Philo-'sophical Transactions, No. 161. p. 666. July 1684. 13. 'Some Queries whereby to examine mineral Wa-'ters.' Published also in the Philosophical Transactions, No. 166. p. 802. December 1684. 14. 'A 'catalogue of mean, vulgar, cheap, and simple Ex-'periments, drawn up for the Philosophical Society 'of Dublin, and presented to them by the author.' Printed likewise in the Philosophical Transactions, No. 167. p. 849. January 1684. 15. 'Maps of Ireland, 'being his actual Survey of the whole Kingdom.' 1685, fol. a very accurate work, and now of great price. 16. 'An Essay concerning the Multiplication 'of Mankind.' Lond. 1686, 8vo. The Essay is not printed here, but only the substance of it from a letter written by the author to a friend. To which is subjoined the *Essay in political Arithmetick*, mentioned above No. 10. 17. 'A further Assertion of the 'Propositions concerning the Magnitude, &c. of Lon-'don, contained in two Essays in political Arithme-'tick; Together with a Vindication of the said Es-'says from the objections of some learned persons of 'the French nation.' Published in the Philosophical Transactions, No. 185. p. 237. Novemb. 1686. 18. 'Two Essays in Political Arithmetic, concerning '*the people, housing, hospitals, &c. of London and 'Paris.' London, 1687, 8vo. An extract of these two Essays was published before in the Philosophical Transactions, No. 183. p. 152. July 1686.* 19. 'Five Essays in political Arithmetick, &c.' See below note [O]. 20. 'Observations upon the Cities 'of London and Rome.' Lond. 1687, 8vo. three leaves.———The following were published after his death. 21. Political Arithmetick, or a Discourse con-'cerning the Extent and Value of Lands, &c.' See below note [O]. This Treatise was presented in manuscript to K. Charles II, by the Author; and published, in 1690, by his son Charles, Lord Shelborne, who dedicated it to K. William. 22. 'The Politi-'cal Anatomy of Ireland, with the Establishment for 'that Kingdom, when the late Duke of Ormond was 'Lord Lieutenant, taken from the records.' Published by Nahum Tate, Lond. 1691, 8vo. Reprinted in 1719, under the title of 'A political Survey 'of Ireland.' To both editions was annexed, 23. *Verbum Sapienti*, or an 'Account of the Wealth and 'Expence of England:' and the method of raising Taxes in the most equal manner. This last was animadverted upon in a pamphlet, intituled, A Letter from a Gentleman in the country to his friend in the city, &c. Lond. 1692, 4to. 24. 'A Treatise of 'Naval Philosophy, in three parts, viz. A physico-'mathematical Discourse of ships and sailing: of naval 'Policy: of naval oeconomy or husbandry.' This is printed at the end of '*An Account of several new In-'ventions and Improvements now necessary in England: 'in a discourse by way of letter to the Earl of Marl-'borough, relating to building of our English shipping, 'planting of oaken timber in the forrests*, &c.' Lond. 1691, 12mo. A. Wood queries, whether it was the same with 'The Discourse about the building of ships' mentioned above, which was in the hands of the Lord Brouncker; and of which, one Dr Rob. Wood of Ireland only, had a copy (12). 25. 'What a com-'plete treatise of Navigation should contain.' Written in 1685, and published in the Philosophical Transactions, No. 198. p. 657. March 1693.——Besides these printed pieces, the two following ones of his remain in manuscript in the books of the Royal Society. 1. 'A Discourse of making cloth with sheeps 'wool.' Read to the Society Nov. 27, 1661 (13). This contains the history of the cloathing trade, as No. 4. above does that of dying. And he purposed to have done the like as to other trades. In which design some other members of the Society engaged themselves also at that time. 2. '*Supellex Philosophica*: 'consisting of forty-five Instruments, requisite to carry 'on the Design of the Philosophical Society at Dub-'lin.' Communicated to them December 1, 1684; and sent afterwards to the Royal Society (14).——— Amongst his Works must also be placed, his three chests of original *Mapps, Field-books*, the Copy of the *Downe Survey with Barony Mapps*, and the chests of *Distribution-books*, with two chests of loose papers relating to the Survey, the two great *Barony books*, and the *Books of the history of the Survey*; which he mentions in his will, and valued all together at two thousand pounds (15).——Moreover, he assisted his friend Capt. John Graunt, in writing his Natural and Political Observations made upon the Bills of Mortality (16).—Dr Ward mentions also, an English Version of The Commentarie of George Acropolite, comprising the state of the orientall church and empire, from the year 1204 to 1260, as done by Sir William Pettie; and now in the hands of Mr Joseph Ames. But it is a question, whether it was not done by some other hand.——Such is the Account given of our learned Author's Works by A. Wood, Dr Ward, and Walter Harris, Esq; (17). But there is great reason to suppose, nay even affirm, that No. 7. was not written by our Author. For I have a copy of it, (being a 4to pamphlet of 46 pages,) printed in 1640, that is, when Mr Petty was only seventeen years old. Besides, it plainly appears to have been written by a Lawyer, or a person better versed in records, than Mr Petty ever was, or can be supposed to have been.

[O] *The most curious of them were his pieces in Political Arithmetic; for which reason we shall give a more particular account of them.*] They were all reprinted together in 1699, 8vo. in the following order. I. 'The Extract of a Letter concerning the 'scope of an Essay intended to precede another Essay 'concerning the Growth of the City of London, '&c. An Essay in Political Arithmetick, concerning 'the

* Edit. Lond. 1693, 8vo. p. 151.

(12) Wood, ut sup.

(13) Register I, p. 113.

(14) Letter, B. X. p. 38 and 138.

(15) Dr Ward, as above, p. 226.

(16) Wood, Ath. as above, col. 810.

(17) Athenae; Lives of the Gresham Professors; and The Works of Sir James Ware, Vol. III. or the Writers of Ireland, by Walter Harris, Esq; p. 353.

had a genius capable of any thing which he chose to apply himself to. But his main bent seems to have been towards cultivating the common arts of life, and political interests of states. These were his favourite studies, and continued with him to the last [P]. Especially, he set up iron-works, and pilchard-fishing, and also opened lead-mines and a timber-trade in Kerry, which turned to very good account. As he was always very active and industrious himself, so he was a great enemy to sloth and indolence in others; and chose to shew his regard to the poor, rather by employing them in his life, than bequests at his death [Q]. However, he gave a house in the town of Romsey, for the maintenance of

'the Value and Increase of People and colonies.' The Essay, of which the *scope* is here only given, was about the Growth, Increase, and Multiplication of Mankind: but it being lost, the Editor was forced to be content with this Extract, and short heads of it, which we shall give by and by. II. 'Of the Growth of the city of London, and of the Measures, Periods, Causes, and Consequences thereof.' III. 'Observations upon the Dublin Bills of Mortality, 1681. and the state of that city. Further Observations upon the Dublin bills: or Accompts of the Houses, Hearths, Baptisms, and Burials in that city' These two are transposed in this edition. IV. 'Two Essays in Political Arithmetick, concerning the People, Housing, Hospitals, &c. of London and Paris. The first tending to prove, that London hath more people and housing than the cities of Paris and Rouen put together, and is also more considerable in several other respects. The second tending to prove, that in the hospital called *l'Hostel Dieu* at Paris, there die above three thousand *per annum*, by reason of ill accommodation.' V. 'Observations upon the cities of London and Rome.' VI. 'Five Essays in Political Arithmetick, viz. 1. Objections from the city of Rey in Persia [by the author of the *Republique des Lettres*] and from Monf. Auzout [in his Letters from Rome] against two former Essays answered, and that London hath as many people as Paris, Rome, and Rouen, put together. 2. A comparison between London and Paris, in 14 particulars. 3. Proofs that at London, within its 134 parishes named in the Bills of Mortality, there live about six hundred and ninety-six thousand people. 4. An estimate of the people in London, Paris, Amsterdam, Venice, Rome, Dublin, Bristol, and Rouen, with several observations upon the same. 5. Concerning Holland, and the rest of the Seven United Provinces.' In French and English. VII. 'Political Arithmetick, or a Discourse concerning the extent and value of lands, people, buildings, husbandry, manufacture, commerce, fishery, artizans, seamen, soldiers, publick revenues, interest, taxes, superlucration, registries, banks, valuation of men, increasing of seamen, of militia's, harbours, situation, shipping, power at sea, &c. As the same relates to every country in general, but more particularly, to the territories of his Majesty of Great Britain, and his neighbours of Holland, Zealand, and France.' In the ten chapters, which this last Essay is divided into, he shews, 'That a small country, and few people, may by their situation, trade, and policy, be equivalent in wealth and strength, to a far greater people, and territory. And particularly, how conveniencies for shipping, and water-carriage, do most eminently, and fundamentally, conduce thereunto. That some kind of Taxes, and publick levies, may rather increase than diminish the Common-wealth. That France cannot, by reason of natural and perpetual impediments, be more powerful at sea, than the English, or Hollanders. That the people and territories of the King of England, are naturally near as considerable, for wealth, and strength, as those of France. That the impediments of England's Greatness, are but contingent and removeable. That the power and wealth of England, hath increased above this forty years. That one tenth part, of the whole expence of the King of England's subjects, is sufficient to maintain one hundred thousand foot, thirty thousand horse, and forty thousand men at sea, and to defray all other charges of the Government, both ordinary and extraordinary, if the same were regularly taxed, and raised. That there are spared hands enough among the King of England's subjects, to earn two millions *per annum*, more than they now do, and there are employments, ready, proper, and sufficient for that purpose. That there is mony sufficient to drive the Trade of the nation. That the King of England's subjects, have stock competent, and convenient, to drive the Trade of the whole Commercial World.'

Some of his most curious Observations, in those several Tracts, are as follows. 'That London doubles in forty years, and all England in 360 years. That, in the year 1682, there were about six hundred and seventy thousand souls in London, [but now much increased,] and about seven millions, four hundred thousand in all England and Wales; in which there are about twenty eight millions of acres of profitable land. That the periods of doubling the people, are found to be in all degrees, from between ten to twelve hundred years (18). That the Growth of London must be at its greatest height in the year 1800, and must stop before the year 1842, when it will be eight times more than it was in the year 1682; with above four milions for the service of the Country and Ports. That the Assessment of London is about an eleventh part of all England and Wales. In a table, he shews the progression of the increase of Mankind from the Flood to the birth of Christ; in which last period he supposes the eight persons that came out of the Ark were increased to an hundred and twenty eight millions. That in 1682, there were computed to be upon the face of the earth, three hundred and twenty millions of souls. That in the next two thousand years the world will be fully peopled; so as that there shall be one head for every two acres of land in the habitable part of the earth. And then, according to the prediction of the scriptures, there must be wars and great slaughter. That, in the year 1840, the people of the city of London will be ten millions, seven hundred and eighteen thousand, eight hundred and eighty; and those of the whole country but ten millions, nine hundred and seventeen thousand, three hundred and eighty nine (19). Then he proposes how the city of London may be made (morally speaking) invincible; and how an Uniformity of Religion may be established therein (20). That 'tis possible to increase Mankind by generation four times more than at present.'

(18) Essays in Political Arithmetic, edit. 1699, p. 9.

(19) Ibid. p. 1—25.

(20) Ibid. p. 29, &c.

[P] *And continued with him to the last*] This is fully evident, from a passage in his will, dated May 2, 1685; which is in these words..... 'I being now about threescore and two years old, intend the improvement of my lands in Ireland; and so to get in the many debts oweing unto me: and to promote the trade of iron, lead, marble, fish, and timber, whereof my estate is capable. And as for studyes and experiments, I think now to confine the same to the anatomy of the people, and political arithmetick; as also to the improvement of shipps, land-carriages, gunns, and pumps, as of most use to man-kind; not blameing the studies of other men'

[Q] *And chose to shew his regard to the poor, rather by employing them in his life, than bequests at his death*] This is also evident from the following clause in his will - - - 'As for legacies for the poor, I am at a stand; as for beggars by trade and election, I give them nothing; as for impotents by the hand of God, the publick ought to maintain them; as for those who can get no work, the magistrates should cause them to be employ'd, which may be well done in Ireland, where are fifteen acres of improveable land for every head; as for prisoners for crimes by the King, for debt by their prosecutors, those who compassionate the Sufferings of any object, let them relieve themselves by relieving such sufferers, that is, give them alms, &c. I am contented that I have assisted all, my poor relations, and put many into a way of geting their owne bread, and have labour'd in publick works, and by inventions, have fought out real objects of charity; and do hereby

of a charity-school, the rent of which is still applied to that use (w). From the first meeting of the Philosophical Society at Dublin in 1684, the conduct thereof was under his direction, and he was regularly chosen President of it, November 1, 1684 (x). After having made as good use of his time as any man ever did, he dyed of a gangrene in his foot occasioned by the swelling of the gout, at his house in Piccadilly Westminster, December the 16th, 1687, in the 65th year of his age. His body being carried to Romsey, his native place, was buried, near the remains of his father and mother, in the south isle of the chancel there, under a flat stone, with a short inscription (y) [R]. He left behind him a very large estate [S]. In the year 1667 he married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Hardress Waller, Knt. and relict of Sir Maurice Fenton, Bart. by whom he had four children; John, who dyed before him, and was buried at Dublin; *Charles*, *Henry*, and *Anne*, that survived him. He had also a natural daughter, that was an Actress at the Duke's theatre, in London (z). His widow and relict was created Baroness of Sheiborne in the county of Wexford in Ireland, December 31, 1688 (a); and of his posterity an account is given in the note [T]. He was a person of an admirable inventive head, of a prodigious working wit, and of so great worth and learning, that he was both fit for, and an honour to, the highest preferment (b). His religious character is given below, in his own words [U].

(w) Dr Ward, p. 222, 223. and from his Will.

(x) See the article of MOLYNEUX [WILLIAM], in this work.

(y) Dr Ward, as above, and Wood Ath. col. 810, 811.

(z) Wood, col. 811. and Dr Ward, ut supra.

(a) Irish Compendium, under the article *Petty* Earl of Shelburne.

(b) Wood, Ath. col. 809.

'hereby conjure all who partake of my estate, from time 'to time, to do the same at their peril. Neverthe'less, to answer custome, and to take the sure side, I 'give twenty pounds to the most wanting of the pa'rish, wherein I dye.'

[R] *With a short inscription.*] It was cut by an illiterate workman, and consists only of these few words:

Here layes
Sir William
Pety.

[S] *He left behind him a very large estate*] In his will he says, his real estate might be 6500 *l. per ann.* his personal estate about 45000 *l.* his bad and desperate debts 30000 *l.* and the demonstrable improvements of his Irish estate 4000 *l. per ann.* in all (at 6 *l. per cent.* interest) 15000 *l. per annum.*

[T] *And of his posterity an account is given in the note.*] *Charles* succeeded his mother in the Barony of Shelborne, and dying without issue, the title became extinct. But June 16, 1699, K. William revived it, in *Henry* the second son; and, February 11, 1718-19, K. George I. advanced him to the further titles of Viscount Dunkeron, and Earl of Shelborne. He lived to a very advanced age, and dyed April 17, 1751, immensely rich; possess'd of an estate of 18,000 *l.* a year, besides 200,000 *l.* in the funds, and 140,000 *l.* in mortgages and other securities. He married Arabella, sister to Charles Earl of Cork and Burlington, by whom he had five children: but none survived him. A son of his, named John, had most of his estate; and was created Baron Dunkeron and Viscount Fitz-maurice.——As for *Anne*, the daughter of Sir William, she was married to Thomas Fitz-maurice Baron of Kerry, created Earl of Kerry, Nov. 2. 1722. She dyed in 1737, in Ireland (21).

[U] *His religious character is given below, in his own words.*] 'As for Religion, I dye in the profes'sion of that Faith, and in the practice of such wor'ship, as I find establish'd by the laws of my country: 'not being able to believe what I myselfe please; nor 'to worship God better, than by doing as I would be 'done unto, and obserdeing the laws of my country, 'and expressing my love and honour to almighty 'God by such signs and tokens, as are understood to 'be such by the people with whom I live, God 'knowing my heart even without any at all. And 'thus, begging the divine Majesty to make me what 'would have me to be, both as to faith and good 'works, I willingly resign my soul into his hands, re'lying only on his infinite mercy and the merits 'of my Saviour, for my happiness after this life, 'where I expect to know and see God more clearly 'than by the study of the scriptures and of his works 'I have been hitherto able to do. Grant me, O 'Lord, an easy passage to thyself, that as I have lived 'in thy fear, I may be known to dye in thy favour. 'Amen (22).'

(21) Irish Compendium; and Publick Papers.

(22) From his Will.

PHILIPPS [FABIAN], a Barrister of the Middle-Temple, author of several Books relating to the History and Antiquities of England, was born at Prestbury in Gloucestershire, September 28, 1601. His father was Andrew Philipps of an ancient family in Herefordshire, born to a considerable estate in and near Leominster, and his mother was of the good family of the Bagehotts, and heiress to one of her brothers. When he was very young he spent some time in one of the inns of Chancery; and thence translated himself to the Middle-Temple, where, by his diligence and continual application, joined to a happy memory, he became a proficient in some sorts of learning, and at length a great admirer of, and well versed in, Antiquities. Upon the breaking out of the civil wars he continued loyal, having been always a zealous assertor of the royal Prerogative; and was so passionate a lover of King Charles I. that, two days before his Majesty's being beheaded, he wrote a Protestation against that intended Murder, which he caused to be printed, and affixed to posts, and in all public places (a). He also published a pamphlet importing, That 'K. Charles I. was no Man of Blood, but a Martyr 'for his people [A].' In 1653, when the Courts of Justice at Westminster, especially the Chancery, were voted down by Oliver's Parliament (b); he published, 'Considera'tions against the dissolving and taking them away [B]:' for which he received the thanks of William Lenthal, Esq; Speaker of the late Parliament, and of the Keepers of the Liberties

(a) Wood Fasti, Vol. II. edit. 1721, col. 3.

(b) See Whitelocke's Memorials, edit. 1732, p. 562.

[A] *That King Charles the First was no Man of Blood, but a Martyr for his people*] This was published in 1649, 4to, and reprinted in 1660, under this title, '*Veritas inconcussa*: or King Charles the First 'no Man of Blood, but a Martyr for his People.' Lond. 1660, 8vo.—Otherwise,—'or a most certain 'Truth ascertained, that King Charles the First was 'no man of Blood,' &c.

[B] *Considerations against the dissolving and taking them away.*] The title of this was, 'Considerations 'against the dissolving and taking away the Court of 'Chancery, &c.'

[C] He

Liberties of England. For some time, he was Filazer for London, Middlesex, Cambridgeshire, and Huntingdonshire; and spent much money in searching Records, and writing in favour of the Royal Prerogative: yet he got no advantage from it, except the place of one of the commissioners for regulating the law, worth 200 *l. per annum*, which lasted only two years (*c*). After the Restoration of King Charles II. when the Bill for taking away the *Tenures* was depending in Parliament, he wrote and published a Book to shew the *Necessity of preserving* them [C]. Afterwards, he enlarged upon the same subject, in

(*c*) Wood Fasti, as above.

[C] *He wrote and published a Book to shew the Necessity of preserving them.*] This Book is intituled, '*Tenenda non Tollenda*, or The Necessity of preserving '*Tenures in capite*, and by *Knight-service*, which, according to their first Institution were, and are yet, a 'great part of the *Salus Populi*, and the Safety and 'Defence of the King, as well as of his People. Together with a Prospect of the very many Mischiefs 'and Inconveniencies, which, by the taking away or 'altering of those Tenures, will inevitably happen to 'the King and his Kingdomes.' Lond. 1660, 4to. —Before we proceed to give an Extract of this Book of our Author's; and the Reasons why Tenures were taken away; we shall first explain the *Meaning* of these Tenures, and the *Ground of their Establishment*. —The word *Tenure*, signifies the Manner how lands or tenements are holden, [*tenentur*;] or the service which the tenant owes to his Lord. There can be no Tenure without some service, because the service makes the Tenure (1). All the Lands and Tenements in England are originally holden, either mediately or immediately, of the King; who is the Lord paramount (2). The several Tenures in use here, before their being taken away, were; Escuage, Knight's-service, Frank-almoigne, Socage, Grand and petit Serjeanty, Burgage-tenure, and Villenage. The most honorable of all, was *Knight's-service*, or Chivalry, whereby the Tenant, in respect of his land, or *Fee*, was obliged to attend the King on *horse-back* in his wars for forty days. It was said to be *in Capite*, because it was holden of the King, [*caput regni*] immediately as of his crown (3). A Knight's fee was, by Statute of King Edward the Second (4), 20 *l.* a year; and, according to Sir Edward Coke (5), 480 acres of land. Knight's-service carried along with it Wardship, Marriage, and Relief (6).—— As for the *Ground of Tenures*; It cannot be better described, than in these words of Mr Justice Wright (7). 'They 'were a military Policy of the Northern conquering 'Nations, devised as the most likely means to secure 'their acquisitions.' And a most effectual method it was for that purpose: since it firmly attached, all concerned in the conquest, by *Interest*, as they were before engaged by Duty, to defend what they had so considerable a share in, and had perhaps ventured their All to acquire. 'They were large districts or parcels 'of land, given or allotted by the conquering General to the superior Officers of his army, and by them 'dealt out in less parcels to the inferior Officers, and 'most deserving Soldiers (8). Thus a proper military 'subordination was established; and an army of Tenants *in capite*, or Feudataries, were, as so many stipendiaries, always on foot, ready to muster and engage in the defence of their country: So that the 'feudal returns of Fealty, or mutual Fidelity and Aid, 'were not originally *ex pacto*, but seem to have been 'politick, or rather natural, Consequences from the 'apparent Necessity these warlike people were under, 'of maintaining their ground with the same spirit, 'and by the same means they had got it.' These Tenures by Knight's service were most probably introduced by William the Bastard, or Conqueror (9).— They were not repined at for some centuries, because the Lands were more than an equivalent for the service. But, in time, the concomitants of them (Wardship, Marriage, Escheat, &c.) grew very heavy and troublesom. For, upon the death of the Tenants *in capite*, their children, if under age, became the King's Wards: who bestowed too often the custody of them upon his Favourites; and These very frequently not being the best sort of men, made a prey of those poor Orphans; cut down their woods; suffered their houses to go to decay; or bestowed them in marriage amongst their own family, tho' the match was very unsuitable.

A Redress of those Grievances was attempted in King James the First's reign. For, at a Conference between the Houses of Lords and Commons, in February 1609-10, the Committee of the Lower House proposed, 'That his Majesty might be made acquainted, 'by some of their Lordships, that it was the desire 'of the Commons, that some course might be taken 'concerning *Wardships* and *Tenures*:' For which they offered to grant the King an annual support. And till they were satisfied in those points, the Commons seemed to be in no humour to grant any supply (10). On the other hand, his Majesty was in no haste to consent; reserving to himself the power of affirmative or negative, to grant it, as on further deliberation he should see cause (11). However, he gave the Commons leave, March the 12th, to treat of that business; which gave them great joy. The result of their debates and deliberations, was, To desire his Majesty, 'That the following Tenures might all be 'taken away; viz. Tenures by grand Serjeanty; 'petty Serjeanty; Escuage; all Knight's service *in* '*capite*; Homage ancestral and ordinary, with the 'Respite of them; Wardship of the body; Marriage of the Heir, and of the Widow; Respite of 'Fealty; Wardships and Custody of lands; Primiere 'Seisine; Livery, and *Oster les mains*; Licence of 'Alienation upon fines, feofments, leases for life, and 'other conveyances; Pardon of Alienation, Offices '*post mortem*, Inquisition *ex officio*, except for Escheats; Relief upon Knight's service.' &c. —— But, what was very cruel and unjust, Escheats, Heriots, suit of Court, Rent, work-days, and such services; were all to remain.—Upon the first report of this proposal to the King, in April, his Majesty answered, 'That he would upon no terms whatsoever 'part with any branch of his Sovereign Prerogative, 'whereof the *Tenures in capite*, from his person, 'which is all one as of his Crown, was no small part. 'But touching the *Dependence upon Tenures*, such as, '*Marriage, Wardship, Premiere Seisin, Relief, Respect* [*respit*] *of Homage*, and the like, which were 'only the Burdens of Tenures, (the Honours and Tenures reserved) his Majesty was pleased, when he 'should understand what Recompence would be offered 'for them, to give further Answer, towards contracting for the same, with all convenient speed (12).' The Recompence for the Tenures, which the King demanded, was 200,000 *l. per ann.* The Commons offered 100,000 *l.* and alledged, 'That their purpose 'was to have laid the Burden upon the Landed Men, '[which was indeed very reasonable as it took off a 'heavy burden from the Land;] But, they could not 'find how so huge a sum might be levied, without 'grieving a number of his Majesty's poorer Subjects '(13).' They included afterwards *Purveyance*, in their Proposal; for which the King demanded an enlargement of the sum of 200,000 *l.* However he was pleased to abate of that (14). The Commons bargained long for 180,000 *l.* and at last came up to the demanded price of 200,000 *l.* The payment whereof was to be secured by act of Parliament, in as strong sort as could be devised; and they engaged, it should be a Revenue firm and stable, and not difficult in the levy: Tho' they did not proceed so far, as to settle, how and upon what it should be levied. But, after all, this Project came then to nothing (15).—— Immediately after the Restoration of King Charles the Second, it was resumed with very great vigour: and, very probably, was one of the bargain'd Conditions of that Restoration (16). Accordingly, in the Parliament which began at Westminster the 25th of April, 1660, an Act passed; 'taking away and discharging 'the Court of Wards and Liveries, and all Wardships, 'Liveries, primier Seisins or *Ouster le mains*, values 'and forfeitures of Marriages, and all charges incident to the same, and likewise all Fines for alienations; all Tenures by Knights-service, *in capite*, of 'the King or any other person; and by Homage, 'Escuage, &c.' And all those Tenures were turned into free and common socage. At the same time, Purveyance for the King's houshold; or any other forcing

(1) Coke, 1 Inst. 1. 93.

(2) Idem, 2 Inst. 531.

(3) Wright of Tenures, edit. 1734, p. 141.

(4) C. 1.

(5) 2 Inst. 596.

(6) Littleton's Tenures, lib. ii. c. 4.

(7) Of Tenures, p. 9, 10.

(8) Craig de Jure feud. 19, 20, &c.

(9) Vide Leges Willielmi Conquest. ex ed. Wilkins, Craig, Spelman, &c. Mr Justice Wright, p. 49, 50. and Tyrrel's Bibliotheca Politica, fol. edit. p. 301, 438.

(10) Parliamentary History of England, Vol. V. p. 220, 221.

(11) Ibid. p. 222.

(12) Ibid. p. 252, &c. 229.

(13) Ibid. p. 230, 235.

(14) Ibid. p. 235, 243.

(15) Ibid. p. 261, 262, 264.

(16) They had been indeed taken away by two Ordinances of 24 Febr. 1645, and 1656, c. 4. But those Ordinances were void at the Restoration. See Husbands's Collections, fol. p. 735, 810. and Scobell's Collection of Acts, p. 375.

in two other Books, mentioned below [*D*]. He alſo publiſhed, 'The Antiquity, Legality, 'Reaſon,

forcing of carriages or purveyance for his Majeſty's uſe; were alſo taken away.——In full recompence and ſatisfaction for all which advantages, the *Exciſe* upon Liquors was ſettled upon the King, his Heirs and Succeſſors for ever (17): Even that Exciſe, for the propoſing of which in Parliament, about the year 1628, Sir Dudley Carleton had like to be ſent to the Tower (18); [but which had been impoſed and levied with great profit in the late troubleſom and rebellious times (19);] was now fixed for ever upon this Nation: to the great encouragement, as ſome think, of Drunkenneſs and Debauchery. For, how can they be effectually ſuppreſſed, when the more conſumption there is of Liquors, the more it is for the advancement of the Revenue?

(17) Statute 12 Car. II. cap. 24.

(18) See above article CARLETON [Sir DUDLEY].

(19) See Huſbands's Collections, as above, 22 July. 11 Sept. 1643, &c. p. 267, &c.

To conſider now what Mr Philipps wrote againſt the taking away of Tenures *in capite*, &c. The ſeveral points he treats of in that book, are, I. 'Of the antiquity and uſe of Tenures *in capite*, and by Knight-'ſervice, in England, and other Nations.' He affirms, that they were in uſe amongſt the Germans, Saxons, Longobards, and even ancienter Nations (20). II. 'That the holding of Lands *in capite*, and by 'Knight-ſervice, is no ſlavery or bondage to the Te-'nant or Vaſſal. For his lands were a ſufficient re-'compence for the ſervice which he performed for 'them;' and the Tenure was always counted honorable. III. 'Tenures of Lands *in capite* and by 'Knight-ſervice, are not ſo many in number as is ſup-'poſed, or are any publick or general grievance.' For, of *ſixty thouſand two hundred and fifteen* knights Fees created by William the Conqueror, *twenty-eight thouſand and fifteen* were granted afterwards by him or his ſucceſſors to religious houſes, cathedrals, churches, and chantries; given away in mortmain, or otherwiſe alienated; ſo that, at the time of our author's writing, there was not above a fourth part of them to be found (21). He obſerves, under this head, that the Eſcheators took for the finding of the values of the Lands upon Inquiſitions but the tenth part of the true yearly value (22). IV. 'How the deſign of al-'tering Tenures *in capite*, and by Knights-ſervice, 'into Socage Tenures, and Diſſolving the Court of 'Wards and Liveries, and the Incidents, and Reve-'nue belonging thereunto, came out of the Forges of 'ſome private mens imaginations, to be afterwards 'agitated in Parliament.' That deſign, he ſays (23), was firſt formed by Sir Henry Vane, ſenior, and Sir John Savil. V. In chapter the fifth, he ſets down 'The Benefits or Advantages which are expected by 'the people in the putting down of the Court of 'Wardes and Liveryes and changeing the Tenures *in* '*capite* and by Knight-ſervice, into free and common 'Socage.' And in the VIth, 'The great and very 'many Miſchiefs, and Inconveniencies, which will 'happen to the King and Kingdom, by the taking 'away of Tenures *in capite*, and Knight-ſervice.' VII. 'That Tenures *in capite*, and Knight-ſervice, 'holden of the King, and the Homage and Incidents 'thereunto appertaining, and the right of the meſne 'Lords, cannot be diſſolved, or taken away by any 'Act of Parliament.'——The VIth is the longeſt, and the moſt material; wherein he gives *ſeventy-two* inſtances, of 'the great and very many Miſchiefs, and Inconveniencies, which will happen to the King and Kingdom, by the taking away of Tenures *in capite*, and Knight-ſervice:' the chief of which are theſe following. 1. 'That Lands in Socage will, if the Mo-'thers be alive, during the minority of the heirs, 'moſt commonly fall, until the age of fourteen years 'into their Guardianſhips:' and they, more than nine in every ten, will marry again, too often within the firſt year. By which means, they do too commonly bring the childrens eſtate to be as ſawce to the hungry appetite of a Father-in-law, who being many times as good a guardian to the children as the Wolf or Fox is to the Lambs, will be ſure, if he do not ſpend both the Mothers and Childrens eſtates, and bring them to beggery, to be gnawing, and put many a lurch and trick upon them (24). 2. The King's Tenants will be enabled to alienate their lands to ſuch as may be open enemies, or ill-affected to his perſon, ſucceſſion, or government. 3. The education of the Heirs in minority, of Recuſants, or perſons diſaffected to the King, or his government, or to the orthodox Religion (25). 4. Inquiſitions *poſt mortem* preſerve the true extent and quantities of the Mannors and Lands; and many Deeds or Evidences, which give great light and help to titles and deſcents; They alſo convey down Genealogies and Pedigrees, which will be now neglected (26). 5, An Heir may now be diſinherited by the frowardneſs of an aged Father, inſtigated by the cunning and practiſe of a ſtep-mother, whereas a third part could not have before been conveyed or given from him. 6. In Socage Tenures there will be nothing for the defence and ſafety of his Majeſties Kingdome, Perſon, and People, when every man ſhall be holding his plow, or be ſuppoſed to hold by it, but the moyety of the Exciſe of Ale and Beer, to the value of one hundred thouſand *per annum*. 7. The Kingdom will, upon occaſion of war or invaſion, loſe the ready defence, and perſonal ſervice of the Nobility, who held *per Baroniam*, or as Tenants *in capite*, and of many worthy and able men, Knights, Eſquires, Gentry, and other ſufficient Freeholders, and men of good eſtate and reputation, well educated and fitted for war, and compleatly armed on horſeback. So that, in caſe of an Invaſion, the Kingdom muſt be half over-run by the enemy, before a ſufficient Force can be raiſed: or elſe a Standing Army muſt be always kept up (27). 8. The King, when the Tenures *in capite* ſhall be taken away, will never be able to erect his Standard, and to call thereunto all that hold lands, fees, annuities, and offices of him, to come to his aſſiſtance, according to the duty of their Tenures, and the Acts of Parliament of 11 and 19 Henry VII; which was very uſeful and neceſſary heretofore, for the defence of the Kings of England, and their people. And, if any Rebellion or Conſpiracy ſhall hereafter happen, muſt be left to hire his Souldiers or aſſiſtance, out of the raſcality, debauched, and ruder ſort of people, and ſuch as know neither how to fight, or be faithful, if his Treaſury, or yearly income, upon ſuch an increaſed Revenue, can do it (28). When the hiring alſo of common Souldiers, upon a ſudden, and in caſe of neceſſity, will (if he could get them) be more chargeable and difficult than when he was to be ſerved and defended in his wars by men of worth and quality, under the ingagement of their lands and Tenures (29). 9. It will take away alſo the foundation of the Houſe of Peers in Parliament, whom the laws and records of the kingdom, do prove to ſit there only as Tenants *in capite*, and *per Baroniam* (30). 10. The giving the King a Recompence, by an yearly Rate amounting to one hundred thouſand pounds *per annum*, to be charged *upon all mens Lands*, holden *in capite*, or Socage, by *Copyhold*, *Leaſes for Lives*, or *Tenants at will*, or for yeares, will be againſt *Right*, *Reaſon*, *Juſtice*, and *Equity*, as well as unwarranted by any hitherto Law or Cuſtom of England, to make *Nineteen parts of Twenty* (for ſo much, if not more, will probably be the odds) *that were not liable to Wardſhips*, or any imagined Inconveniencies which might happen thereby, not only to bear their proportionable part of the *general Aſſeſſments for War*, but a ſhare alſo in the burden of others, where it could never be laid upon them; and wherein they, or the major part of them, by more than two in three, have no lands in Fee ſimple, &c. nor are never like to be purchaſers of any Lands at all:——only to free the Nobility, Gentry, and men of greateſt Riches and Eſtates in the kingdom, which are ſubject to thoſe ſmall burdens of Tenures *in capite*, and by Knight-ſervice. 11. Or if laid upon the moyety of the Exciſe upon Ale, Beer, Syder, and Coffee, &c. or any other native or inland commodity, will fall upon thoſe that have no land as well as thoſe which have, as upon Citizens, Mechanicks, Children, Servants, and the like, and heavieſt upon the poorer ſort of people (31). 12. That ſmall ſum of 100,000 *l. per ann.* may, upon any diſcontent of the people, by reaſon of the payment of that Exciſe, be petitioned againſt or taken away by Parliament, or by ſome inſurrection or mutiny of the common people, which Naples, and France, and this Kingdom, can tell us do ſometimes happen (32). 13. Such an impoſed or continued Exciſe will, by the arts and deceipts of the Brewers and Ale-men, and thoſe that gather and pay it in the firſt place, be, as all exciſes commonly are, double charged upon the people (33). 14. And by making that part of the Exciſe

(20) P. 4, 9.

(21) P. 29, &c.

(22) P. 52.

(23) P. 145, 146.

(24) P. 157, 158.

(25) P. 162.

(26) P. 163.

(27) P. 166, &c.

(28) P. 194, 195.

(29) P. 198.

(30) P. 199.

(31) P. 228, 229. and 267, 268.

(32) P. 230.

(33) P. 231.

'Reason, Duty and Necessity of Præemption and Pourveyance, for the King [*E*]:' and other things set down in the note [*F*]. He likewise assisted Dr Bates in his *Elenchus Motuum*;

Excise perpetual, give the people to understand, that the next occasion given or made, may introduce *a perpetuity of Excise* upon all other things, which to have been introduced, but upon a temporary and not like to be long lasting necessity, would, before Oliver's sadle had been put upon the people's backs, have put them into multitudes of complaints.—He adds, that, whether Excise or not Excise, some other ways or means are to be found out to supply Tenures, as Assessments,
(34) P. 233. Taxes, &c. (34) Near the conclusion of the Book, he observes, That the laying by of Tenures *in capite*, and their services, and making use of Mercenary and Mechanick Souldiers, may help us to as many miseries and follies, as we have partaked of in our late troubles; from our Servants make them to become our Masters, and by inureing them to insolencies against others, teach them how to domineer over the people which are their pay-masters; turn legislators; and ingrosse all the places and imployments of the King-
(35) P. 272. dom (35).

[*D*] *Afterwards he enlarged upon the same subject, in two other Books.*] These were intituled, 'The mistaken recompence by the Excise for Pourveyance and Tenures, &c.' Lond. 1664, and, '*Ligeantia lugens*: or Loyalty bewailing the want of Pourveyance and Tenures.'

[*E*] *The Antiquity, Legality, Reason, Duty and Necessity of Præ-emption and Pourveyance, for the King: or, Compositions for the King:*] The rest of the title is, 'Or, Compositions for his Pourveyance: 'As they were used and taken for the Provisions of 'the *King's* Houshold, the small charge and burthen 'thereof to the *People*, and the many great Mischiefs 'and Inconveniences which will inevitably follow the 'taking of them away.' Lond. 1663, 4to.——*Pre-emption*, was a privilege allowed to the King's Purveyor, *præ-emere*, to have the choice, or *first buying*, of Corn, and other Provisions for the King's house.——And *Pourveyance*, or *Purveyance*, was the *providing* of corn, fuel, victuals, and other necessaries for the King's house. Formerly the King's court was supplied with necessaries from the demesnes of the Crown, which were manured for that purpose; but this method being found troublesome, was by degrees disused, and afterwards the King appointed Officers to buy in Provisions for his houshold, who were called *Purveyors*, and claimed divers privileges by the prerogative of the Crown. They abusing too often their power, several statutes were made for restraining their oppressions (36), some of which were declared to be felony. (36) See the Statute-book; and our Author's Treatise of Pourveyance, p. 61, &c.
At length Purveyance was abolished, by the same Act which took away the Tenures *in capite*.

In King Charles the First's time, the Provisions served in kind for his Majesty's houshold, were as follows:

		l.	s.	d.
Wheat — — —	3790 qrs. at 6 s. 8 d. per qr. — —	1263	6	8
Oxen fat — —	578 various prices. — — — — —	1980	6	8
Oxen lean — —	915 110 at 50 s. rest at 53 s 4 d. —	821	13	4
Muttons fat ——	5150 var. prices. — — — — —	1575	—	—
Muttons lean —	1850 var. prices. — — — — — —	373	6	8
Veals — — —	1231 var. prices. — — — — — —	386	16	8
Porks — — —	310 var. prices. — — — — — —	88	13	4
Stirks — — —	410 var. prices. — — — — — —	183	—	—
Boars — — —	26 13 s. 4 d. a piece — — — —	17	16	8
Bacon — — —	320 flitches, var. prices. — — —	17	10	—
Lambs — — —	6820 at 12 d. a piece. — — — —	341	—	—
Butter — — —	40 barrels at 45 s. bar. — — —	60	—	—
Geese — — —	145 doz. var. prices. — — — —	28	—	—
Capons cours —	252 doz. at 4 s. doz. — — — —	50	8	—
Henns — — —	470 doz. at 2 s. doz. — — — —	47	—	—
Pullets cours —	750 doz. at 18 d. doz. — — — —	56	5	—
Chickens cours	1470 doz. var. prices. — — — —	126	10	—
Wax — — —	3100 weight at 8 d. *per*. lb. — —	115	17	8
Sweet Butter —	46640 lb. var. prices. — — — —	804	6	8
Charcoal — —	1250 loads, at 13 s. 9 d. a load. —	859	7	6
Tallwood, Billetts, Faggots —	3950 loads, at 3 s. a load. — — —	442	10	—
Herrings — —	60 bar. at 13 s. 4 d. a bar. — —	40	—	—
Wine from the Vintners,	600 tuns at 3 s. 4 d. *per* tun. —	100	—	— (37).

Essex in particular furnished 500 qrs. of wheat, 20 fat oxen, &c.

(37) Treatise of Purveyance, &c. p. 82, 86, &c.

The reader is to observe, that, in most instances, the King's price was not above half the current or market price.

This method being found generally very inconvenient and burdensom, the several Counties compounded, in Queen Elizabeth's reign, for a certain sum of money in lieu of them; which was called The Composition-service of Provisions for her Majesty's Houshold. The sums paid by the respective Counties, were as follows. All Wales, 360 *l.* a year. Worcestershire, 495 *l.* Derbyshire, 254 *l.* 2 *s* 2 *d.* Yorkshire, 495 *l.*
(38) Ibid. p. 329. and from MSS. Middlesex, 917 *l.* 19 *s.* Essex, 2931 *l.* whereof Colchester paid at first 6 *l.* and afterwards 9 *l.* 10 *s.* 6 *d.* Bedfordshire, 497 *l.* 8 *s.* 4 *d.* Buckinghamshire,
(39) From MSS. papers now before me. 2040 *l.* 16 *s.* 6 *d.* Berkshire, 1255 *l.* 17 *s.* 8 *d.* Gloucestershire, 422 *l.* 7 *s.* 8 *d.* Hertfordshire, 1259 *l.* 19 *s.* 4 *d.* Kent, 3334 *l.* 6 *s.* Lincolnshire,
(40) Exact Collection of Ordinances, &c. by Edw. Husbands, 4to. 1643, p. 788. 1175 *l.* 13 *s.* 8 *d.* Northamptonshire, 993 *l.* 18 *s.* 4 *d.* Norfolk, 1093 *l.* 2 *s.* 8 *d.* Somersetshire, 755 *l.* 14 *s.* 8 *d.* Surrey, 1079 *l.* 3 *d.* Sussex, 1016 *l.* 2 *s.* 6 *d.* (38)——This Composition-Service was settled by the Justices at the County-Quarter-Sessions, and varied according to the price of Provisions (39). At length,
(41) Scobell's Collect. as above, p. 383. it was stopped by the long Parliament, December 13, 1642 (40); annulled by Oliver's Parliament in 1656 (41), and finally taken away by Statute 12 *Car.* II.
—In this work of our Author's several curious Records are inserted, as well as interesting points of History and Antiquity.

[*F*] *And other things set down in the Note*] Namely, 1. '*Restauranda*, or the Necessity of public Repairs, 'by settling of a constant and royal yearly Revenue 'for the King, &c. Lond. 1662, 4to. 2 The Antiquity and Legality of Fines upon original Writs 'in Chancery, &c. Lond. 1663. 3. A perspective 'Glass: or some Reasons against the registring Reformation, &c. Lond. 1669. 4. A reforming Registry: 'or a Representation of the very many Mischiefs 'which will unavoidably happen by the needless, chargeable and destructive way of Registries proposed to 'be erected in every County of *England* and *Wales*, 'for the recording of all deeds, evidences, mortgages, '&c. Lond. 1671, 4to. 5. Some Reasons for the 'continuance of the process of Arrest. Lond 1671, '4to. 6. *Regale necessarium*: or the Legality, Reason, and Necessity of the Rights and Privileges 'justly claimed by the King's Servants, &c. Lond. '1671, 4to. 7. The ancient, legal, fundamental, 'and necessary Rights of Courts of Justice, in their 'writs of *Capias*, arrests and process of Outlawry, and 'the illegality, many Mischiefs and Inconveniences 'which may arrive to the people of England, by the 'proposals

Motuum; especially in searching the Records and Offices for that work (*d*). At length having arrived to the age of eighty-eight or eighty-nine, he dyed November 17, 1690, and was buried near the body of his wife, in the South-west part of the church of Twyford near Acton in Middlesex (*e*). He was well acquainted with Records and Antiquities; but his manner of writing is not so close and well digested as might have been.

(*d*) Vide Elench. Motuum, in Epilogo ad finem Partis primæ.

(*e*) Wood, ubi supra.

'proposals tender'd to his Majesty and high Court of 'Parliament, for the abolishing of that old and better 'way and method of Justice, and the establishing of a 'new by peremptory Summons and citations in actions 'of debt. Lond. 1676. 8. Reasons against the ta-'king away the Process of Arrest, which would be a 'loss to the King's revenue, &c. 1675. 9. Neces-'sary Defence of the Presidentship and Council in the 'Principality and Marches of Wales, in the neces-'sary Defence of England and Wales protecting each 'other. 10. *Ursa Major & Minor*. Shewing that 'there is no such fear, as is factiously pretended 'of Popery and arbitrary Power. Lond. 1681. '11. Plea for the pardoning part of the Sovereignty of 'the Kings of England. Lond. 1682. 12. *Investi-'gatio Jurium antiquorum & rationalium regni sive 'Monarchiæ Angliæ*, &c. The established Govern-'ment of England, vindicated from popular and rei-'publican Principles and Mistakes, with a respect to 'the laws of God, Man, Nature, and Nations. Lond. '1686, fol. 13. *Legale necessarium*. Or a true and 'faithful account of the Antiquity and Legality of 'his Majesty's and our Kings and Princes Rights of 'and unto Fines and Amerciaments imposed and for-'feited in his Courts of Justice, &c (42).' C

(42) Wood, Fasti, as above, col. 5.

PHILIPS [John], one of those few poets whose muse and manners were equally amiable; was born the 30th of December 1676 at Bampton in Oxfordshire. His father, Dr Stephen Philips, Arch-deacon of Salop (*a*), was minister there, and his son, being a boy of a most promising nature, but of a tender constitution, was instructed at home in the first rudiments of Grammar, and then sent to Winchester-school (*b*). Here he presently discovered the delicacy of his genius, his exercises being distinguished above those of his school-fellows by a happy imitation of the Classics. He had a quick relish of the force and elegance of their sentiments as well as expressions, and did not want either skill or industry to make them his own. In the mean time, he became the darling of the whole place by the sweetness of his temper; and while the master, a rigid disciplinarian, dispensed, on account of his tenderness, with that strict observance of those rugged rules which was severely exacted from the rest; the boys themselves were so far from murmuring at it, that they were even pleased with the distinction: though whilst they were at play he seldom joined with them, but generally retired then to his chamber, where he procured a person to attend him, and comb his hair, of which he had a very handsome flow. In this very singular recreation he felt an exquisite delight: I have been informed (by one who was at school with him) that he would sit almost absolutely without motion for several hours together, enjoying the pleasure it gave him with the highest degree of sensibility. It was in these intervals chiefly that he read Milton; however, this was not before he was well acquainted with both Virgil and Homer, and the frequent imitations he found of these authors in Paradise Lost, falling in exactly with his own turn, hence he conceived an ardent passion for the English poet, and some small pieces which he composed at this time, shewed that he had imbibed a good share of Milton's style and manner before he left Winchester (*c*). Thus qualified, he was removed to Oxford, in the beginning of the year 1694, and placed in Christ-church, at a time when that college was in the height of it's reputation, by the excellent sense and spirit that flourished there, under the conduct of Dr Aldrich (*d*). Here he was received with open arms into the company and acquaintance of the most distinguished wits, and as often as the statutes of the university, or the rules of his gaiety, called him to any publick exercises, his performances were constantly the talk and admiration of all that heard them; and they were only heard, for he was not willing they should go any farther: since how much soever they might please others, yet he was not throughly satisfied with them himself. Nor did those who knew and loved him best chuse to distress (as they found it would distress) his modesty, by pushing him in that point. It was this modesty, and the uncommon simplicity of his manners, that more particularly endeared him to them; and they were compleatly happy in the enjoyment of his conversation, in which his undisguised sincerity was continually enlivened with a kind of chearfulness which innocence alone can give, heightned with a mirth that was wholly raised by a genteel and delicate rallery, without ever degenerating into ridicule. After he came to Oxford, Milton's muse became his chief delight; and the greatest part of his study for some years was laid out in tracing the steps by which that author grew to perfection (*e*). We are told, that there is not a single allusion in Paradise Lost, drawn from the thoughts and expressions of the Greek or Latin poet, which he could not immediately refer to (*f*); and the same author intimates, that this was the way whereby he came to perceive what a peculiar life and grace their sentiments added to English poetry; how much their images raised it's spirit, and what weight and beauty their works, when translated, gave to it's language. He was likewise led, by the example of his darling Milton, to consult the works of our old English poets Chaucer and Spenser. By these assistances he made himself absolute master of the true extent and compass of his mother-tongue, and we see afterwards, in his writings, he did not scruple to revive any words or phrases which he thought deserved it. Yet this was done with that modest liberty which Horace allows of, either in the coining of new, or restoring of ancient, expressions; and to that modesty it was owing that he succeeded so happily in this dangerous attempt. Nor was this attempt made at all, 'till long after the time we are now speaking of; for as the delight

(*a*) See the inscription upon his monument in Westminster-abbey.

(*b*) See his Life and Character prefixed to his Poems by Mr Sewell, p. 4. printed at London in 8vo. 1720.

(*c*) Communicated by the late Mr Oldisworth, author of Timothy and Philalethes, who was his contemporary at the same school.

(*d*) Phalaris's Epistles were published by Mr Boyle, in the beginning of the next year, 1695; and the controversy which these occasioned made the Christ-Church wits much known at this time. Our author has given an eulogium of Dr Aldrich in his *Cyder*.

(*e*) Communicated by a fellow-collegian of his.

(*f*) His Life, ubi supra, p. 5.

delight which Mr Philips took in reading the poets, was that alone which first drew his attention to their works, so he continued reading purely for his pleasure; in this he gratified his delicacy and improved his taste, and he aimed at nothing further. That delicacy which led him to study the best poets proved a sufficient check to his modesty, and restrained him from forming any plan of appearing in public himself [*A*]. Besides, he had no uneasy thirst after fame; indeed, the disposition of his mind was happily adapted to the tender frame of his body. How much soever he was struck with the majesty, fire, and force of Milton's muse, yet he had no share in the heat and passion of of that author's temper. In this he seemed entirely to be formed in Virgil's mould, whom he much loved and admired; and as 'tis said of Milton, that he could repeat the best part of Homer; so Mr Philips, we are informed, could do the same of Virgil (*g*); like the Roman, he had no ambition to gratify, being best fitted by nature for that which he was most fond of, the quiet enjoyment of his muse, in the company of a few select friends of his own taste and temper, and his acquaintance was among the best and politest of the university. But he seems to have had the highest delight in the friendship of Edmund Smith, the author of Phædra and Hippolytus. This gentleman (who was fellow-collegian with Mr Philips) 'tis well known fat as unanxiously easy as he did, even in a much humbler fortune; and the bent of their studies lying the same way, they frequently communicated their thoughts to each other. This, with Mr Sewell, we make no doubt was as pleasant as any part of Mr Philips's life, who had a soul capable of relishing all the finest enjoyments of sublime, virtuous, and elegant spirits. How much it affected Mr Smith he alone was able to express, nor perhaps could he have done it so fully, had not the occasion of writing a poem (*h*) to his friend's memory impressed on him a rapturous sensibility of his own loss [*B*]. In studying poetry Mr Philips was wholly attentive to whatever helped to preserve or raise it's dignity, and by continually conversing with Milton and the Ancients, his ear became habituated to the harmony of their numbers. Besides, as he saw the art was removed from it's proper standard, so he thought it had lost much of it's true worth in English by the gingle of rhyme; which consequently was better avoided. He was fond of history and antiquities, and the accurate knowledge he had acquired, especially in those of his own country, shews which way he spent a good part of his time; he made use of some part of this acquisition afterwards to enrich his poetry, where the extent of his reading this way, as well as his exact skill in applying it, is set to the best advantage. It was the first design of his friends to breed him to the profession of Physic, and though the very infirm state of his health would not suffer him to pursue that plan they had laid out for him, yet his inclinations were very stongly bent that way. He was passionately fond both of the history and philosophy of nature. Indeed, next to his muse, Botany was his greatest delight as well as accomplishment; and his own ill health disabling him from applying his skill in the care of another's, he determined to recommend it's usefulness to the world. This was the first motive which put him upon the thoughts of writing on that subject (*i*), and this thought he executed in the poem which he intitled *Cyder*. The general design was formed long before he left Oxford, though the particular plan was not settled then, which he tells us himself, he was directed in the choice of, from the passion he had to do some honour to his native country (*k*). However, the foundation of it was laid in the university, and the first book composed there; but he was called to town before he had made any considerable progress: in the second, which was perfected there, he exerted all the power of genius and art to make it compleat, and it is one, if not the only, finish'd poem of that length extant in our language (*l*) [*C*]. We must not omit to take notice, that as the custom of smoaking

(*g*) Ibid. p. 21. where he observes too, that by continually reading that author, he fortunately equalled the variety of his numbers.

(*h*) 'Tis printed in Mr Pope's Miscellanies, Vol. II. 1722, 8vo.

(*i*) From the friend mentioned above.

(*k*) ——Of verse Not skill'd nor studious, but my native soil Invites me; and the theme as yet unsung. Cyder, a Poem, in his Works.

(*l*) His Life, &c. ubi supra, p. 18.

[*A*] *Restrained him from appearing in public himself.*] The ingenious author of his life speaking of him, together with his friend Mr Smith, observes, that it was their happiness to give us all their pieces perfect in their kind, the accuracy of their judgment not suffering them to publish without the greatest care and correctness. ' For hasty fruits, continues he, the common product of every injudicious fancy, seldom continue long, never come to maturity, and are, at best, food only for debauched and vitiated palates. These men thought and considered, before they sat down to write, and after they had written too, being ever the last persons who were satisfied that they had performed well; and even then, perhaps more in compliment to the opinion of others, than from the conviction of their own judgments (1).'

(1) See the Life of Mr John Philips, p. 11.

[*B*] *Impressed on him a rapturous sensibility of his own loss.*] His pathetic complaints are poured forth in the following lines.

Whom shall I find unbias'd in dispute,
Eager to learn, unwilling to confute?
To whom the labours of my soul disclose,
Reveal my pleasure, or discharge my woes?
Oh! in that heavenly youth for ever ends
The best of sons, of brothers, and of friends (2).

(2) See Poems to the Memory of Mr J. Philips, in the 2d volume of Pope's Miscellanies.

Mr Sewell having quoted these verses, very justly says, ' It is to be deplored indeed, that two great geniuses, in whose power it was to have obliged the world so much, should make so short a stay in it; though, had their date been longer, we can hardly say, continues he, that time would have added any thing but number to their compositions (3).' It will not be amiss to observe, that Mr Smith being invited, soon after his friend's death, to dine with the Principal of Brasen-nose college, Dr Robert Shippen, was there decoyed into a promise of doing justice to his friend's memory, and was detained in a chamber in the Principal's lodge, with the lock turned upon him, for three days, at the end of which he produced the poem that was afterwards printed; and it was not long before he himself paid the last debt to nature (4).

(3) See the Life, &c. p. 10.

(4) Communicated by the late Stephen Bowdler, Esq; a relation to Mr Philips.

[*C*] *He was determined to recommend it's usefulness to the world, which he did in his Cyder, which is one, if not the only finished poem of that length, in the English language.*] It is probable he drew his own character in that description which he gives of a philosophical and retired life, at the latter end of the first book.

——He

ſmoaking tobacco was highly in vogue when Mr Philips came firſt to college, from the example of the celebrated Dean of it [*D*]; ſo he fell in with the general taſte, which recommended itſelf the rather to him as he felt ſome relief from it; he has deſcended to ſing it's praiſes in more than one place, and his Splendid Shilling owes ſome part of it's luſtre to the happy introduction of a tobacco-pipe [*E*]. This piece, the firſt of his that appeared

——— ——— He to his labour hies
Gladſome, intent on ſomewhat that may eaſe
Unhealthy mortals, and with curious ſearch
Examines all the properties of herbs,
Foſſils, and minerals, that th' embowel'd earth
Diſplays; if by his induſtry he can
Benefit human race.——— ———

(5) In his Life, ubi ſupra, p. 18.

Mr Sewell (5) obſerves rightly, that 'This poem is 'founded upon the model of Virgil's Georgics, and 'comes the neareſt of any other to that admirable 'poem which the critics prefer to the Divine Æneid. 'Yet though it is eaſy to diſcern who was his guide 'in that difficult way, we may obſerve, that he 'comes after rather like a purſuer than a follower, not 'tracing him ſtep after ſtep, but chuſing thoſe paths 'in which he might eaſieſt overtake him. All his 'imitations are far from being ſervile, though ſometimes very cloſe; at other times he brings in a new 'variety, and entertains us with ſcenes more unexpected and pleaſing perhaps, than his maſter's themſelves were to thoſe who firſt ſaw that work.' In the next place, he takes notice of the conduct and management of this poem, 'Which, ſays he, are ſuperior to all other copyers of that original. Rapin is 'much below him both in deſign and ſucceſs; for the 'Frenchman either fills his gardens with the idle fables 'of antiquity, or new transformations of his own, and 'has, in contradiction to his own rules of criticiſm, 'injudiciouſly blended the ſerious and ſublime ſtyle of 'VIRGIL, with the elegant turns of OVID in his *Metamorphoſis*. Nor, *continues he*, has the great genius 'of Mr Cowley ſucceeded better in his books of 'plants, who, beſides the ſame faults with the former, 'is continually varying his numbers from one ſort of 'verſe to another, and alluding to remote hints of 'medicinal writers; which, tho' allowed to be uſeful, 'are yet ſo numerous, that they flatten the dignity 'of the verſe, and ſink it from a *Poem* to a treatiſe of '*Phyſick*. Mr Sewell declares, that it was not out 'of envy to the merit of theſe great men (and who 'will ever be ſuch in ſpite of envy) that he took notice of theſe miſtakes, but only to ſhew the judgement of him that followed them in avoiding to commit the ſame. Whatever ſcenes he preſents us with 'appear delicate and charming; the philoſophical 'touches ſurprize, the moral inſtruct, and the gay 'deſcriptions tranſport the reader.' Of this laſt remark the following inſtance will not be with-held from thruſting itſelf into theſe notes. It is in the firſt book where he takes occaſion to mention the uſes of the barreneſt ſoil.

But if (for nature does not ſhare alike
Her gifts) an happy ſoil ſhould be with-held;
If a penurious clay ſhould be thy lot,
Or rough unwieldy earth, nor to the plough,
Nor to the cattle kind, with ſandy ſtones
And gravel o'er abounding, think it not
Beneath thy toil; the ſturdy pear-tree here
Will riſe luxuriant, and with tougheſt root
Pierce the obſtructing grit, and reſtive marl.
Thus, nought is uſeleſs made; nor is there land,
But what, or of it ſelf, or elſe compell'd
Affords advantage. On the barren heath
The ſhepherd tends his flock, that daily crop
Their verdant dinner from the moſſie turf
Sufficient; after them the cackling gooſe
Cloſe grazer, finds wherewith to eaſe her want:
What ſhould I more? ev'n on the cliffy height
Of Penmenmaur, and that cloud-piercing hill
Plinlimmon, from afar the traveller kens
Aſtoniſh'd, how the goats their ſhrubby brouze
Gnaw pendent: nor untrembling can'ſt thou ſee
How from a ſcraggy rock, whoſe prominence
Half overſhades the ocean, hardy men
Fearleſs of rending winds, and daſhing waves
Cut ſamphire, to excite the ſqueamiſh guſt
Of pamper'd luxury (6).——— ———

(6) Cyder, a Poem, p. 11, 12. edit. 1720, 8vo.

In the ſame delightful vein, ſometimes he opens the bowels of the earth, at others he paints it's ſurface; ſometimes he dwells upon it's lower products and fruits, at others mounts to it's higher and more ſtately plantations, and then beautifies it with the innocent pleaſures of it's inhabitants. The ſports of a rural, the retirements of a contemplative, life, the working genius of the huſbandman, the induſtry of the mechanick, contribute as much to diverſify, as the due praiſes of exalted patriots, heroes, and ſtateſmen, to raiſe and ennoble the poetry. The change of ſeaſons and their diſtinctions, introduced by the riſing and ſetting of the ſtars, the effects of heat, cold, ſhowers, and tempeſts, are in their ſeveral places very ornamental, and their deſcriptions inferior only to thoſe of Virgil.

The ſame author makes another remark, which is, 'The great difficulty of making our Engliſh names of 'plants, ſoils, animals, and inſtruments, ſhine in verſe: 'there are hardly any of thoſe, he obſerves, which, 'in the Latin tongue, are not in themſelves beautiful 'and expreſſive; and very few in our own, which do 'not rather debaſe than exalt the ſtyle; and yet, ſays 'he, I know not by what art of the poet, though in 'themſelves mean and low (7), they ſeem not to ſink 'the dignity of his ſtyle, but become their places as 'well as thoſe of a better and more harmonious ſound.'

(7) In his Life, p. 23.

[*D*] *Smoaking tobacco was in vogue from the example of the Dean.*] Dr Aldrich's inceſſant uſe of the tobacco-pipe, was an entertaining topic of diſcourſe in the univerſity many years afterwards; concerning which, the following ſtory, among others, paſſed current there in my time. A young ſtudent of the college, once finding ſome difficulty to bring his chum into the belief of it, laid him a wager, that the Dean was ſmoaking at that inſtant, viz. about ten o'clock in the morning. Away, therefore, he hies to the Deanery, where, being admitted to the Dean in his ſtudy, he preſently relates the occaſion of his viſit. To which, *You ſee*, replies the Dean in perfect good humour, *you have loſt your wager, for I'm not ſmoaking but filling my pipe.*

[*E*] *He has deſcended to ſing it's praiſes in more than one place, and his Splendid Shilling owes ſome part of it's luſtre to the happy introduction of a tobacco-pipe.*] There is not a piece of his except Blenheim (which was a ſubject not of his own chuſing) where he has not introduced tobacco. In his ode to Mr St John, he makes the gift of it the firſt and laſt ſubjects of his gratitude to his benefactor.

O qui reciſæ finibus Indicis
Benignus herbæ, das mihi divitem
Haurire ſuccum & ſuaveolentes
Sæpe tubis iterare fumos.

O thou, from India's fruitful ſoil,
That doſt that ſovereign herb prepare,
In whoſe rich fumes I loſe the toil
Of life, and every anxious care:
While from the fragrant lighted bole
I ſuck new life into my ſoul.

And he concludes, in expreſſing the miſerable ſtate to which his miſtreſs cruelly had reduced him, thus:

Hanc ulla mentis, ſpe mihi mutuæ,
Utcunque deſit, nocte, die, vigil
Suſpiro; nec jam vina ſomnos,
Nec revocant, tua dona, Fumi.

Altho'

appeared in public, ſtole it's way into the world without his privity, and being printed from no very correct copy, *that* induced him, though not 'till ſome time after, to give a genuine edition of it. He was little anxious what fate it met with among the generality, the manuſcript had diverted the choice circle of his friends, and his aim in it reached no farther. This happened not long before the much-famed action at Blenheim, in 1704, where the Duke of Marlborough gained that victory, which deſervedly filled the world with his praiſes. The Earls of Godolphin and Hallifax had eagerly ſet Mr Addiſon's pen to work upon this occaſion, and fired his poetic faculty with the aſſured hopes of a very extraordinary reward. On the other ſide, their two competitors, Harley and St John, afterwards Earl of Oxford and Viſcount Bolingbroke, pitched upon our author as perfectly capable of doing juſtice to his country on this ſubject. But whether the taſk was really too great, or the performers not well choſen, in reſpect to their particular genius for the ſubject, it is generally agreed that the ſeveral pieces they produced upon it, notwithſtanding ſome exquiſite ſtrokes in each, are far from being the beſt in the works of either poet [*F*]. While Mr Philips was in town he reſided in Mr St John's houſe, and

Altho' my anxious breaſt deſpair,
And ſighing, hopes no kind return;
Yet, for the lov'd relentleſs fair,
By night I wake, by day I burn;
Nor can thy gifts * ſoft ſleep ſupply,
Or ſooth my pains, or cloſe my eye.

* That is, wine and tobacco, both expreſsly mentioned in the original Latin.

In his Cyder, Book I. we find theſe lines.

(8) Experience.

——To her (8) we owe
The Indian weed, unknown to ancient times,
Nature's choice gift, whoſe acrimonious fume
Extracts ſuperfluous juices, and refines
The blood diſtemper'd from it's noxious ſalts;
Friend to the ſpirits, which, with vapours bland,
It gently mitigates; companion fit
Of pleaſantry and wine; nor to the bards
Unfriendly, when they to the vocal ſhell
Warble melodious their well-labour'd ſongs.

In the Splendid Shilling, the happineſs of a full or empty purſe is exhibited by a clean or dirty pipe of good or bad tobacco. Thus of the firſt he ſings:

Mean while he ſmoaks and laughs at merry tale,
Or pun ambiguous, or conundrum quaint.

The contraſt of which follows thus:

——Or from tube as black
As winter chimney, or well-poliſh'd jet,
Exhale mundungus, ill-perfuming ſcent:
Not blacker tube, nor of a ſhorter ſize,
Smoaks Cambro-Briton.——

(9) No. 250.

Many fine things have been ſaid of this poem, the *Splendid Shilling*. As firſt, in the Tatler (9), it is ſtiled the *fineſt burleſque poem in the Britiſh language*; and Mr Sewell has added to this commendation, 'That 'it was not only the fineſt, but handled in a manner 'quite different, from what had been made uſe of by 'any author of our own or other nations; the ſenti'ments and ſtyle being in this both new, whereas in 'thoſe, the jeſt lies more in alluſions to the thoughts 'and fables of the Ancients, than in the pomp of the 'expreſſion. The ſame humour is continued through'out the whole, and not unnaturally diverſified, as 'moſt poems of that nature had been before. Out 'of that variety of circumſtances, which his fruitful 'invention muſt ſuggeſt to him on ſuch a ſubject, he 'has not choſen any but what are diverting to every 'reader; and ſome, that none but his inimitable dreſs 'could have made diverting to any. When we read 'it, we are betrayed into a pleaſure that we could not 'expect, though at the ſame time the ſublimity of the 'ſtyle and gravity of the phraſe, ſeem to chaſtiſe 'that laughter which they provoke (10)' Theſe remarks are very juſt, obſerved with acuteneſs, and expreſſed with an eaſy delicacy, agreeably to the character of the writer; who, it is more than probable, choſe to refer us to Mr Smith for a more particular account of the humour of this exquiſite performance, diſplayed in the following lines.

(10) The Life of Mr Philips, p. 15. ubi ſupra.

Oh! various bard, you all our powers controul,
You now diſturb, and now divert the ſoul;
Milton and Butler in thy muſe combine,
Above the laſt thy manly beauties ſhine;
For, as I've ſeen, when rival wits contend,
One gaily charge, one gravely wiſe defend;
This on quick turns and points in vain relies,
That, with a look demure and ſtudied eyes,
With dry rebuke and ſneering praiſe, replies.
So thy grave lines extort a juſter ſmile,
Reach Butler's fancy, but ſurpaſs his ſtyle;
He ſpeaks Scarron's low verſe in humble ſtrains,
In thee the ſolemn air of grave Cervantes reigns.
What ſounding lines his abject themes expreſs,
What ſhining words the pompous Shilling dreſs;
There, there, my cell immortal made, outvies
The frailer piles, which o'er it's ruin riſe;
In her beſt light the comic muſe appears,
When ſhe with borrow'd pride the buſkin wears.
So when Nurſe Nokes to act young Ammon tries,
With ſhambling legs, long chin, and fooliſh eyes,
With dangling hands he ſtrokes th' imperial robe,
And with a cuckold's air commands the globe;
The pomp and ſound the whole buffoon diſplay'd,
And Ammon's ſon more mirth than Gomez made.

I cannot forbear thinking that Mr Smith, in the words

There, there, my cell immortal made, outvies, &c.

meant to point out the true ſubject of the Splendid Shilling. Mr Smith's foible was (in Dr Swift's phraſe) the want of *looking upon a ſhilling as a ſerious thing*; and his friend knew him to be (as he really was) a little tender upon that point. The many embarraſments he met with, muſt needs make him ſenſible of his own weakneſs; but the beſt-meant advice, conveyed in any direct terms whatſoever to a man of his turn and talents, would be reſented as an inſult upon his good ſenſe and underſtanding. The rallery, then, of the *Splendid Shilling*, in this light becomes exquiſite, and compleat as it is in all other reſpects, I think it's whole merit is taken in only by this view. 'Tis true, without this advantage, the humour forces a ſmile from the graveſt face; but the ſincerity of the friendſhip, felt under that ſweet diſguiſe, irreſiſtibly takes full poſſeſſion of the heart.

[*F*] *Notwithſtanding ſome exquiſite touches in each, are far from being the beſt in the works of either poet.*] As to the *Campaign*, ſee the article ADDISON [JOSEPH], in note [*I*]. With regard to *Blenheim*, the author of the Criticiſm in the Tatler, No. 43. has diſplayed it's faults with no unſparing hand. We have mentioned above at whoſe requeſt it was wrote, and Mr Sewell aſſures us, that he would willingly have declined

and has celebrated the kindneſs and generoſity of that hoſt in a Latin ode in Horace's manner (*m*), which is undoubtedly a maſter-piece. It is all of his that we have left in this kind, but from it we may form a judgment, that his writings in that language were not inferior to thoſe, he has left us in our own; and as Horace was one of his darling authors, we need not queſtion his ability to excel in his way, as well as that of his admired Virgil. Our author's poem, intitled Blenheim, was publiſhed in 1705; and the next year he finiſhed that upon *Cyder*; which, after his deceaſe, was tranſlated into Italian, by a nobleman of Florence. His next deſign was that of writing a poem upon the Reſurrection, and the day of Judgment, but this he did not live to execute, otherwiſe he would very probably have excelled upon a ſubject, for which he was exactly adapted. That ſubject indeed, as the author of his life very juſtly obſerves, was only proper to be treated of in that ſolemn ſtyle which he makes uſe of, and by one whoſe juſt notions of Religion and a true ſpirit of poetry, could have carried his reader without a wild Enthuſiaſm,

(*m*) It ſtands firſt in the edition of his Works, ubi ſup.

——*extra flammantia mœnia mundi*, LUCRET.

(*n*) See his Life, ubi ſupra, p. 26.

This is not obtruded upon the reader as a bare conjecture only of our own, which would be unpardonable in the deſign of this work. But we have the authority of Mr Smith for it,

clined the undertaking, had not the powerful incitements of his friends prevailed upon him to ſacrifice his modeſty to their judgment. Indeed, he has told us ſo *himſelf*; the poem concludes with it; where he has made his own confeſſed unfitneſs for the taſk, a handle to diſplay the ſuperior abilities of the impoſer, his friend and patron, for ſuch an undertaking. Beſides the charms of the poetry, there is an elegant ſincerity in the addreſs, which leaves the reader in ſuch a pleaſed ſtate of mind, that he even forgets, as well as forgives, all the precedent defects in the piece.

Thus from the noiſy crowd exempt, with eaſe
And plenty bleſt, amid the mazy groves,
(Sweet ſolitude!) where warbling birds provoke
The ſilent muſe, delicious rural ſeat
Of St John, Engliſh Memmius, I preſum'd
To ſing Britannic trophies, inexpert
Of war, with mean attempt; while he intent
(So Anna's will ordains) to expedite
His military charge, no leiſure finds
To ſtring his charming ſhell; but when return'd,
Conſummate peace ſhall rear her chearful head;
Then ſhall his Churchill in ſublimer verſe
For ever triumph; lateſt times ſhall learn
From ſuch a chief to fight, and bard to ſing (11).

(11) This part of Lord Bolingbroke's character was never diſputed; and as to the reſt, it muſt be obſerved, that when theſe lines were wrote, his Lordſhip had not lived the latter part of his life.

Mr Sewell obſerves, that the addreſs of the Engliſh Memmius was exactly appoſite to him, to whom all the polite part of mankind agree, in applying that of the Roman.

——*Quem tu Dea tempore in omni*
Omnibus ornatum voluiſti excellere rebus.

The ſame gentleman takes notice, that the exordium of this piece is a juſt alluſion to the beginning of the Æneid (if that be Virgil's), and that of Spenſer's Fairy Queen.

From low and abject themes the groveling muſe
Now mounts, aërial, to ſing of arms
Triumphant, and emblaze the martial acts
Of Britain's heroe.——

The ſpirit is kept on the ſame to the end, the whole being full of noble ſentiments and majeſtic numbers, equal to the heroe whom it extols, and not admitting of any rival (except Mr Addiſon's Campaign) on the ſame occaſion (12); to which it yields only, in giving too much fire to the ſedate courage of the Duke of Marlborough. This, however, is compenſated (if any thing can compenſate ſuch an overſight) by the following epiſodical digreſſion.

(12) Ibid. p. 16, 17, 18.

——The Britiſh ſouls
A lamentable race, that ceas'd to breathe
On Landen plains this heav'nly gladſome air,
Exult, to ſee the crowding ghoſts deſcend
Unnumber'd; well aveng'd, they quit the cares
Of mortal life, and drink th' oblivious lake.
Not ſo the new inhabitants; they roam
Erroneous and diſconſolate, themſelves
Accuſing and their chiefs, improvident
Of military chance; when lo! they ſee
Thro' the dun miſt, in blooming beauty freſh,
Two lovely youths, that amicably walkt
O'er verdant meads, and, pleas'd perhaps, revolv'd
Anna's late conqueſts; one to empire born,
Egregious prince (13), whoſe manly childhood ſhew'd
His mingled parents, and portended joy
Unſpeakable; thou, his aſſociate dear,
Once in this world, nor now by fate disjoin'd,
Had thy preſiding ſtar propitious ſhone,
Should'ſt Churchill be. But Heav'n ſevere cut ſhort
Their ſpringing years, nor would this iſle ſhould boaſt
Gifts ſo important! Them the Gallic ſhades
Surveying, read in either radiant look
Marks of exceſſive dignity and grace,
Delighted! 'till in one their curious eye
Diſcerns their great ſubduer's awful mein,
And correſponding features fair; to them
Confuſion! Straight the airy phantoms fleet
With headlong haſte, and dread a new purſuit;
The image pleas'd, with joy paternal ſmiles.

(13) The Duke of Glouceſter.

Every body ſees here a beautiful imitation of Virgil's poetical Elyzium, and the happy application of the famous

Tu Marcellus eris——

to the Marquis of Blandford,

Had thy preſiding ſtar propitious ſhonne,
Should'ſt Churchill be!——

But in this paſſage,

——Straight the airy phantoms fleet
With headlong haſte, and dread a new purſuit,

there is an alluſion to a piece of hiſtory, which has been overlooked by all the critics. It is now long ſince it has been no ſecret, that, how well ſoever the officers of the French army kept up their own ſpirits; yet from this time it was not, as they afterwards confeſſed, in their power, during that war, by any means whatever, to make their common men ſtand before an Engliſh army, with the Duke of Marlborough at their head. How greatly this happy effect of that General's ſucceſs in the battle of Blenheim, is raiſed by our author's poetical repreſentation of it in this paſſage, needs no comment to explain it.

[G] *Below*

it, who was undeniably a competent judge of the scheme which our author had laid down, and probably had seen the first rudiments of his design; below we shall give his verses on the occasion [G]. But Mr Philips distemper increasing obliged him to drop the pursuit of this, and all other views, besides that of his health; he had been long troubled with a lingring consumption, attended with an asthma, a painful disorder, and had suffered many severe conflicts under it, without betraying any discontent or uneasiness; the integrity of his heart still preserving the chearfulness of his spirits, and the singular goodness of his nature engaging his friends in the tenderest and most endearing offices to him on these occasions [*H*]. By the advice of his Physicians he went to the Bath, the summer before his death; here the ablest of the faculty (by whom he was generally beloved) readily gave him their best assistance, and some present ease they did procure him, upon which he left the place, though with small hopes of recovery. Upon his removal from Bath he went to Hereford, where his mother was still living, and where the asthma returning in the winter put a period to his life, February 15, 1708, in the entrance almost upon the thirty-third year of his age. He was interred in the cathedral-church of Hereford by his mother, who caused an inscription to be put upon his grave-stone (*o*), testifying how dear he was to her. But besides this, a monument was erected to his memory, in the place called Poets Corner in Westminster-Abbey, by Sir Simon afterwards Lord Harcourt, and Lord-Chancellor of England. The epitaph was wrote by Dr Freind, which has this very singular merit, that we there see a very great and at the same time a very just character expressed upon a monument without flattery [*I*].

(*o*) A copy of it is inserted in his Life, p. 31.

There

[*G*] *Below we shall give his verses on the occasion*] They are as follow:

Oh! had relenting Heav'n prolong'd his days,
The tow'ring bard had sung in nobler lays,
How the last trumpet wakes the lazy dead;
How saints aloft, the cross triumphant spread;
How op'ning heav'ns their happy regions shew,
And yawning gulphs with flaming vengeance glow,
And saints rejoice above, and sinners howl below.
Well might he sing the day he could not fear,
And paint the glories he was sure to wear.

The abovementioned author of Mr Philips's Life observes, 'That Milton has given a few fine touches 'upon the same subject, but still there remains an in'exhaustible store of materials, to be drawn from the 'Prophets, the Psalmists, and the other inspired wri'ters, which in his poetical dress might, without the 'false boasting of old poets, have endured to the day 'that it described. The meanest soul, continues he, 'and the lowest imagination, cannot think of that 'time, and the descriptions we meet with of it in holy 'writ, without the greatest emotion and the deepest 'impression. What then might we not expect from 'the believing heart of a good man, and the regulated 'raptures of an excellent Christian poet?' How well the task was afterwards performed by Dr Young (14), we leave to our reader's judgment.

(14) In his Poem on The Last Day.

[*H*] *The singular goodness of his nature, engaging his friends in the tenderest and most endearing offices to him on these occasions.*] The particular kindness shewn to him by Mr Trevor, our author has himself gratefully celebrated, in such lays as may well be esteemed a just recompence for it (15). And, lest this should not be a sufficient tribute of his gratitude, his friend Mr Smith, who best knew his whole soul, has addressed his poem to the same gentleman, where he takes occasion to transmit this act of friendship to posterity in the following lines:

(15) Viz. in his Cyder, Book i. O thou! from whom gladly Both rich and low, seek aid, &c.

Your care had long his fleeting life restrain'd,
One table fed you, and one bed contain'd;
For his dear sake long restless nights you bore,
While rattling coughs his heaving vessels tore;
Much was his pain, but your affliction more.
Oh! had no summons from the noisy gown
Call'd thee, unwilling, to the nauseous town,
Thy love had o'er the dull disease prevail'd,
Thy mirth had cur'd, where baffled Physic fail'd;
But since the will of Heav'n his fate decreed,
To thy kind care my worthless lines succeed;
Fruitless our hopes, tho' pious our essays,
Your's to preserve a friend, and mine to praise.

[*I*] *A monument without flattery.*] A copy of it may be seen, by such as are curious in the Latin language, at the conclusion of his Life by Mr Sewell, prefixed to his Works. In it, among other virtues and accomplishments, Dr Freind has set forth his happy emulation of Milton's numbers without rhyme, very particularly and no less elegantly; but yet very far short of what the following passage from the works of the disciple himself exhibits; wherein he has transmitted his own name, in company with that of his master, to the latest posterity. Having given to the two great fathers of ancient poesy, Homer and Virgil, each his just praise, he proceeds thus:

——— And had that other bard,
Oh! had but he, that first ennobled song
With holy raptures, like his Abdiel been,
'Mong many faithless, strictly faithful found,
Unpity'd he should not have wail'd his orbs,
That roll'd in vain to find the piercing ray,
And found no dawn, by dim suffusion veil'd.
But he——— However let the muse abstain,
Nor blast his fame, from whom she learnt to sing
In much inferior strains, groveling beneath
Th' Olympian hill, on plains and vales intent;
Mean follower. There let her rest a while,
Pleas'd with the fragrant walks and cool retreat (16)

(16) Cyder, a Poem, at the conclusion of Book I.

These unparallelled lines shew, in the clearest and truest light, not only the genius and turn of Mr Philips's muse, happily united to that of his master, but likewise the turn and temper of his mind happily varying from him. Without entring into the comparison, which his own example forbids, we shall only observe, and it is an observation not less true than trite, that, in writing upon any subject whatsoever, the author, be his success what it will in executing his design, yet never fails to write his own character without design; which for that reason too is certainly the true one, natural and undisguised. Accordingly, in this passage we see that modesty, candour, and simplicity of mind and manners; that natural goodness, that unaffected piety, that universal charity, and that steady adherence to his principle, which distinguished Mr Philips's life; and, from the turn and spirit of his works, we are entirely disposed to concur with Mr Sewell (17); when he tells us, that no one observed the natural and civil duties of life with a stricter regard than he did, whether those of a son, a friend, or a member of society; and that he had the happiness to fill every one of these parts, without even the suspicion either of undutifulness, insincerity, or disrespect.

(17) In our author's Life, p. 29.

[*K*] *His*

There is one remarkable circumſtance of our author's hiſtory which is entirely omitted by Mr Sewell, and ſo ſlightly touched by his friend Mr Smith, that it ſeems to require a further explanation; I mean his love-affair with Mrs Mary Meers, daughter to the then Principal of Brazen-noſe college. This lady, who had a very good ſhare of natural ſenſe, wanted none of thoſe accompliſhments which the advantage of a genteel education could give her; beſides the ordinary embelliſhments of muſic and dancing, her father had been at the pains of inſtructing her in the Latin language, and ſhe was a compleat miſtreſs of French and Italian; in her perſon, ſhe was an agreeable brunette, without any thing very ſtriking, except a full black piercing eye *. Dr Meers, being a Herefordſhire man, took occaſion from thence frequently to invite his countryman, a young ſtudent univerſally beloved and admired, to his lodge, where our author had the ill luck to ſee and conceive a ſecret paſſion for the daughter, who had long practiſed all the airs which the ſenſe of her high ſtation in that univerſity, and her uncommon perſonal accompliſhments, could inſpire, and did not fail to treat him with her uſual diſdain; thus awed, he never had courage to hint his paſſion to her (p); but like a true Strephon, poured forth his complaints in verſe (q): And it muſt be owned his conſtitution, both of body and mind, was much too delicate for his miſtreſs's taſte [K]. It is ſomething remarkable that there were two poets of both the names of our author who flouriſhed in his time; one of which was nephew to Milton, and wrote ſeveral things, particularly ſome part of Virgil traveſtied (r); the other ſeems to have been the exact reverſe of Mr St John's friend in his principles, if we may judge by his writing, which are two political farces, I. *The E. of Mar marr'd, with the humors of Jocky the highlander.* II. *The Pretender's flight: or, a mock Coronation, with the humors of the facetious Harry St John*; both printed in 1716 (s). As to our author, the innocency and integrity of his life was beyond all exception; and there never, I believe, was any more than one ſingle perſon (t) who took it into his head to cenſure his writings, and it is well remarked, that it is no great compliment to his judgment that he has the honour to ſtand alone in that reflection; it were eaſy to retort upon him, were it not ungenerous to blaſt the fruits of his *latter ſpring* (u), by comparing them with the crudities of his firſt; that ſatire upon our author has, with it's other brethren, been dead long ſince; and I believe the world would have quite forgot that ever it had any being, had not Mr Smith taken care to inform us of it in a work of a more durable nature (w) [L].

* From my own knowledge.

(p) What is here related of our author's paſſion for Mrs Meers was well known in the univerſity then, and ſome time after, when I was there.

(q) See the three concluding ſtanza's of his Ode to Mr St John.

(r) See Jacob's Lives and Characters of the Poets, Vol. II. p. 133.

(s) Ibid. Vol. I. p. 296.

(t) Sir Richard Blackmore.

(u) Creation, a Poem.

(w) Viz. His Poem to the Memory of our author.

[K] *His conſtitution both of body and mind was too delicate for his miſtreſs's taſte*] With regard to the firſt, the account given above of Mr Philips's conſumptive conſtitution, ſhews how little he was fitted for amorous conflicts; and, in reſpect to the latter, we ſee the purity and delicacy of his love in the following rapturous flight upon that ſubject:

——O! ye Gods, might I
Elect my fate, my happieſt choice ſhould be
A fair and modeſt virgin, that invites
With aſpect chaſte, forbidding looſe deſires,
Tenderly ſmiling; in whoſe heav'nly eye
Sits pureſt love enthron'd—— (14).

(14) Cyder, B. I. p. 38, edit. 1720, 8vo.

The truth is, Mrs Maria Meers was a lady that knew no pleaſure with the young fellows like that of intriguing; and was generally believed, not without good reaſon, to be married clandeſtinely to one of the Fellows of Brazen-noſe-college for many years. After her father's death, ſhe lived in a houſe in Holywell at Oxford, where that gentleman ſpent the beſt of his time with her.

[L] *Had not Mr Smith informed us of it in a work of a more durable nature*] The verſes are theſe:

A haughty bard, to fame by volumes rais'd,
At Dick's and Batſon's, and thro' Smithfield, prais'd,
Cries out aloud—Bold Oxford bard, forbear
With rugged numbers to torment my ear;
Yet not like thee the heavy critic ſoars,
But paints in fuſtian, or in turn deplores;
With Bunyan's ſtyle profanes heroic ſongs,
To the tenth page lean homilies prolongs;
For far-fetch'd rhymes makes puzzled angels ſtrain,
And in low phraſe dull Lucifer complain;
His envious muſe by native dulneſs curs'd,
Damns the beſt poems, and contrives the worſt.
Beyond his praiſe or blame thy works prevail,
Compleat, where Dryden and thy Milton fail;
Great Milton's wing on lower themes ſubſides,
And Dryden oft' in rhyme his weakneſs hides;
You ne'er with gingling words deceive the ear,
And yet in humble ſubjects great appear.
Thrice happy youth, whom noble Iſis crowns,
Whom Blackmore cenſures, and Godolphin owns.
(15) P

(15) Lord-Treaſurer Godolphin made our author a preſent for his Poem on Blenheim.

PITCAIRNE [ARCHIBALD], an eminent Phyſician who firſt brought the mechanic principles of that art into this iſland: He was born at Edinburgh, on Chriſtmas-day 1652; and deſcended of an ancient houſe Pitcairne of Pitcairne in the county of Fife (a), remarkable for their Loyalty to the Houſe of Stuart; in defence of whoſe cauſe the whole family very narrowly eſcaped being intirely ruined and extinguiſhed; every male child of it then born being ſlain at the battle of Fludden-field, fighting for James IV.: The eſtate was alſo ſeized by the oppoſite party; but the widow being delivered of a poſthumous ſon, all the lands of Pitcairne were reſtored by James V. to the heir (b), from whom, after ſeveral generations, ſprung our author, *whoſe father was a merchant of the firſt rank at* Edinburgh, and a magiſtrate of that city; *his mother's name was Sydſelf, of a good* family in Eaſt-Lothian, deſcended of Rochlaw. He was put to ſchool, firſt at a little village near Edinburgh, called Dalkeith; and as ſoon as he had made a competent progreſs in claſſical learning, was removed to the univerſity of Edinburgh, where, after he had gone through a preparatory courſe of Philoſophy, he was directed by his friends to apply

(a) In his diſſertation De Mortorum Diviſione, our author has theſe words: Vomitus curatur aſtringentibus & excretionem minuentibus, inter quæ longiſſime excellit aqua illa fontis perennis ad oppidum Dyſertum in Fifa, prima illa & nobiliſſima Scotiæ provincia, ſiti, *in qua ager eſt Pitcarnius.* Pitcarn. Op. p. 326.

(b) See a charter in poſſeſſion of *the family.*

 to

to the ſtudy of Divinity, which, however, he did not ſtick to long [A]; for that profeſſion not at all ſuiting the vivacity and freedom of his genius, his father permitted him, though not without ſome reluctance, to relinquiſh it and take to the Law; this being more agreeable to him, he purſued it with an attention that was natural to his ambition, of excelling in every thing he undertook. But this intenſeneſs proving too much for his conſtitution, it was not long before it brought him into an ill ſtate of health, which threatning a hectic conſumption, he ſet out, by the advice of his Phyſicians, for Montpellier, in the ſouth part of France, and in his way thither got as far as to Paris; but here he found himſelf ſo much better that he concluded there was no occaſion for proceeding any farther; and meeting with ſome agreeable companions of his own countrymen, he determined to put this end to his travels, and ſit down to ſtudy the Law in that univerſity. However, his acquaintance eaſily prevailed with him to change his views a ſecond time; they were all engaged in the way of Phyſic, and aſſuring him there was then no able Profeſſor of Law at Paris he gave it up, and went to the Como and the hoſpitals along with them. He had not been thus employed many months, when he was called home by his father (c). Having now laid in the firſt elements of all the three profeſſions, Law, Phyſic, and Divinity, he remained for ſome time a ſtudent at large, and applied himſelf chiefly to the mathematics [B], which was new to him, and indeed ſuited his genius above any thing he had tried before. Accordingly in this ſcience he made a great progreſs in a ſhort time; and meeting with the lately invented method of infinite ſeries, he made ſome improvements thereon, which were afterwards publiſhed by Dr Wallis, together with others of Dr David Gregory, Savilian Profeſſor of Aſtronomy, at Oxford (d). At laſt, our author, obſerving the neceſſary connexion between Phyſic and Geometry, fixed his choice unalterably upon that profeſſion (e); and according to the method

(c) From memoirs communicated by a friend of the author's.

(d) See Wallis's Works, Vol. II. cap. xciii.

(e) See note [E].

[A] *The ſtudy of Divinity was not agreeable to his humour.*] The only ſpecimen that our author gave of his application to any part of the divine writings, is in a tranſlation which he made of the 104th pſalm into Latin verſe; and this was no more than the production of a *certamen poeticum* with one Walter Danniſton, a country ſchoolmaſter, and no bad poet *. The ſchoolmaſter very ingenuouſly allowed the ſuperiority of his competitor's performance, and in return Pitcairne gave him leave to publiſh it as his own. However, he did not ſpare to make free with Danniſton's verſion, when it ſerved his purpoſe in expoſing Sir Robert Sibbald; who, in his *Prodromus Hiſtoriæ Naturalis Scotiæ*, i. e. his Introduction to the Natural Hiſtory of Scotland, maintained, that God, out of his infinite wiſdom, had fixed all the globes of the univerſe in an immovable ſtate; he might with equal truth, ſays our author, have aſſerted, that God made all the fowls of the air immovable, as alſo all the dogs of chaſe, even the greyhounds of Scotland; and all the horſes, not excepting the Scotch galloways, which he himſelf obſerves are excellently adapted for travelling. How much more juſt and ſenſible were Walter Danniſton's conceptions of the matter, who, in his tranſlation of the 104th Pſalm, did not put it [according to the original] that the earth ſhould never move at any time, but ſo as to ſhew himſelf a good Philoſopher, Thou commandeſt the earth to revolve in it's ſtated courſe,

* A poem of his, intituled, *Gualterus Danniſtonus ad Amicos*, was imitated in Engliſh by Mr Pope, and both inſerted in Pope's Miſcellanies, Vol. I.

Tu jubes terram ſolita revolvi ſemita, &c. (1)

(1) Differt. de Leg. Hiſt. Natural. inter Pitcarnii Opera, p. 349, 350. Leyden, 1737, 4to.

Impartiality requires, that we do not omit to obſerve, that our author in this place, and, indeed, every where thoughout this treatiſe, as often as occaſion offers, never fails to throw ſome ſleighty expreſſion or other upon the Theologiſts; and, not content with that, he compoſed a comedy, on purpoſe to ridicule the ignorance and grimace of the Chiefs of the Scotch Clergy in their General Aſſembly (2); which theſe on their ſide revenged, by dubbing him a Deiſt, or even an Atheiſt; in which claſs, however, he had the honour to be ranked with Sir Iſaac Newton.

(2) It is in print, under the title of *The Aſſembly*, a Comedy.

[B] *He applied himſelf chiefly to the Mathematics.*] David Gregory was then at Edinburgh, being come thither from Aberdeen; and it is not unlikely, that Pitcairne was drawn into this ſtudy, for which his genius was ſo well turned, by his acquaintance with that celebrated Mathematician. 'Tis certain he ſpeaks with the higheſt regard of his knowledge that way. In the abovementioned ſatirical performance, he laſhes the author for producing it, as an inſtance of the divine wiſdom and goodneſs, to furniſh every country with proper remedies for the diſeaſes incident to it: This moſt learned divine I ſee, ſays he, thinks it agreeable to the Divine Wiſdom, that Sir Robert Sibbald's *ipſe dixit* ſhall conſtitute the eſſence of truth. As for my part, the thoughts, which come into my head, ſpring from a quite different fountain; I firſt ſearch out the truth, and then thank God, who is my helper, and adore his wiſdom: Nor can I refrain from adoring it, as often as, with the moſt excellent David Gregory [*cum clariſſimo Davide Gregorio*], I contemplate that force which he hath given the planets in their orbits, from which, if they be never ſo little removed, no power of mechanics is able to reinſtate them (3). Agreeable to this, we find him in that Profeſſor's houſe, apparently to obſerve an eclipſe of the ſun in 1687. The fact is incidentally mentioned by Dr Mead; and as the ſtory contains a memorable fact relating to our author, we ſhall gratify the reader's curioſity with it, as follows: 'Memorabilis eſt tum morbi tum eventuum etiam ratione qui eum comitabantur; Pitcarnii ipſius caſus: is cum in Scotia haud procul Edinburgo ruri eſſet anno 1687, menſe Februario, cœlo ſolito magis ſereno & rubente ſole, in ipſo lunæ coitu ſubitum habuit, ſine cauſa manifeſta, ſanguinis è naribus profluvium, quod præceſſerat gravis inſolitæ virium imbecillitatis ſenſus. Poſtridie autem in urbe reverſus, comperit in baroſcopio ea ipſa hora, quæ nona fuit matutina, altius ſubſediſſe hydrargyrum, quam alias unquam deſcendere, aut ipſi, aut amico ſuo Gregorio, cujus in ædibus obſervabatur, viſum fuerat. Mortuum etiam eodem tempore concidiſſe alterum amicum Cockburnium, Philoſophiæ Profeſſorem, ex repentina ſanguinis è pulmone eruptione, & quinque aut ſex alios familiaritate ſibi conjunctos, qui opem ipſius quavis ægritudine afflicti implorare ſolebant, diverſis humoris profuſionibus tentatos cum magno ſuo dolore intellexerat (4).' The remarkable [to our purpoſe] is the caſe of Dr Pitcairne, who being at the houſe of his friend David Gregory, near Edinburgh, in February 1687, when there happened a conjunction of the ſun and moon, was ſeized at that moment with a bleeding at the noſe, preceded by a ſenſe of faintneſs and loſs of ſtrength; and that, on his return to Edinburgh the next day, he found the mercury in the barometer had ſunk much lower than either he or Dr Gregory had ever obſerved it The caſe is related by Dr Mead, in his piece *De Imperio Solis & Lunæ in Corpora Humana*, and was communicated, with ſeveral others, by our author to his pupil, to enrich that treatiſe, who artfully ſet out in the profeſſion with publiſhing this ſtriking performance, *Of the Influence of the Sun and Moon upon Human Bodies.* Some of this ſcholar's choiceſt flowers, in that other remarkable piece, *The Mechanical Account of Poiſons*, were culled from the ſame maſter's garden; who, by the by, appears to have been in good buſineſs in 1687. The concluſion of the paſſage here cited informs us, that beſides Cockburne, the Profeſſor of Philoſophy, there were five or ſix others ſeized with the like profuſion at that time, who were occaſionally his patients.

(3) Differt. de Leg. Hiſt. Nat. p. 356.

(4) De Imperio Solis & Lunæ, &c. p. 49, 50. edit. 1745.

[C] *Solutio*

method of profecuting this fcience practifed in Scotland, he firft applied himfelf to Botany, Pharmacy, and the Materia Medica; after which, proceeding in the ufual courfe of his countrymen at that time, he went to Paris (now a fecond time) in order to compleat himfelf for the practice. Having finifhed his defign, he returned to Scotland a little before the Revolution, and fet out as a Phyfician, by publifhing his *Solutio problematis de Inventoribus* [*C*] that year, in which he fhewed himfelf to be well verfed in the works of Hippocrates, the Father of Phyfic; as alfo, that he underftood perfectly the exact meaning of the circulation of the blood, as it was difcovered by Dr Harvey, who thereby firft laid the fure foundation for the mechanic principles of phyfic (*f*), which were firft brought into vogue in Great Britain by Dr Pitcairne, which at leaft had this good effect, that it utterly banifhed all the groundlefs doctrine about fermentations, ebullitions, effervefcences, &c. out of phyfic; and expofed the idle abfurdity of accounting for the action of the humours in the body, and the medicines applied to correct them by a metaphor. He came prefently into great reputation in Scotland, and in 1692 was invited by the Curators of the univerfity of Leyden to be Profeffor of Phyfic there; he readily accepted the offer, and fpoke his inaugural oration, April the 26th, N. S. that year; the fpeech was highly applauded [*D*], and the ordinary ftipend of his Profefforfhip augmented by

(*f*) It is prefixed to his Differtations. In it he defigns to fhew, that the true theory of Phyfic is built upon geometrical principles only.

[*C*] *Solutio problematis de inventoribus.*] The chief defign of this treatife, is to affert Dr Harvey's right to the invention of the circulation of the blood; in order to which, he lays down rules to know, whether an author hath really difcovered any truth, when we find different opinions about it. Thefe rules (fetting afide the weight, which the name of an inventor often carries in it, without any juft foundation) he comprizes in the two following theorems. 1. *He* is to be efteemed the author of any invention, who firft delivers thofe things, whence it may be deduced more eafily, than any propofition in the firft book of Euclid is proved from the axioms, definitions, and poftulates, prefixed to the fame book. And at the fame time, that he delivers thefe things, is not bufied in drawing fuch corollaries, as are of lefs moment and ufe a thoufand times, than the invention in queftion: but if he be neither the firft, who has delivered thofe things, from which the invention may be collected with that eafe, nor has clearly explained the invention itfelf; but has many words with great prolixty, explained infinite other things of lefs moment, as flowing from the invention given; he is not to be looked on for the author of the invention in queftion. This propofition, he fays, is demonftrated from hence, that no philofopher or phyfician knows all the poffible truths, which can be inferred from any known truth. His fecond theorem is, he who is the firft that has publickly mentioned the invention in queftion, and that in the fame manner, as it has been fpoken of afterwards by others, who are allowed by all fides to have known it; and at the fame time has not delivered equally or more explicitely, any thing contrary to the invention propofed: This perfon is to be held as the author. But if, on the contrary, he hath fpoken of it in no other manner than others ufed to do, who every body knows are unacquainted with it, and hath more frequently and more explicitely delivered other things which are inconfiftent with it: fuch an one is not to be taken for the author of the invention. This propofition, fays our author, is built upon the following affumption; that if any one has left it ten times in writing, that the number of the ftars is unequal, and only wrote it once, and in the fame manner, that this was an equal number, it is credible that he really believed them to be unequal. Wherefore if any phyfician hath fpoken obfcurely of the circulation, and very frequently of fuch things as are contrary to fome certain confequences of it, that is, to fome corollaries depending upon it; and manifeftly inconfiftent with it: that is, hath taught fuch things as are manifeftly contradictory to the firft elements of phyfic; it cannot be thought that he knew the circulation of the blood. He applies thefe rules to Hippocrates's writings, and thereby fhews the fondnefs of that pretence, of the circulation's being known to him (5). This differtation in it's firft plan was preceded by a fiction, wherein our author, in the perfon of Archimedes, ridicules the methodifts, both in philofophy and phyfic; but chiefly banters the different fects of religion. In this laft article, he differed extremely, both in principles and practice, from the morofe feverity of his countrymen (6).

(5) Mr Dacier, in the preface to his tranflation of Hippocrates, preterds that he perfectly knew the circulation.

(6) Pitcairn. Op. ubi fupra, p. 264, 265.

[*D*] *The fpeech was applauded*] In it he undertakes to explain the method of improving phyfic, which he obferves, nothing has hindered more than the curiofity of fearching into the natural caufes of the effects of medicines. The bufinefs of men is to know the virtues of medicines, but to enquire whence they have that power, is a fuperfluous amufement, fince nature lies concealed: befides this knowledge, if it were poffible, would be ufelefs. A phyfician ought therefore to apply himfelf to difcover the effects of medicines and difeafes, and reduce his obfervations into maxims; and not needlefly fatigue himfelf, by enquiring into their caufes, which are neither poffible nor neceffary to be known. If all phyficians would act thus, we fhould not fee phyfic divided into fo many fects. There would be but one fentiment, fince men would then found their opinions on obfervation and experience. Remark the aftronomers: they do not trouble themfelves with fubftantial forms, or fubtile matter, or concourfe of atoms: and yet they know exactly the motions of the heavens. Phyficians ought to act in the fame manner, they ought to examine well the effects which medicines produce, and obferve the motions in human bodies; and pafs by all the reft as a curiofity, which ferves only to introduce errors that are unjuftly charged on phyfic, inftead of being imputed to phyficians. An art, the defign of which is to preferve men's lives, ought not to be built on fuch weak and frivolous foundations, as fyftems, which any perfon may form. They ought to look back to the ancient times, in order to obferve what was then difcovered; and to add to this, all modern difcoveries; and to make fome themfelves, and to lay a foundation independent of the caprices of opinion. The Ancients being mifled, by an attachment to particular fects of philofophy, introduced into phyfic, the fear of a vacuum, occult qualities, &c. and the better to deceive themfelves and others, they laid down this axiom, that the Phyficians begin where the Naturalifts end. How deformed foever the face of phyfic was then, our author obferves, that it was no lefs fo in his time, notwithftanding the many happy difcoveries that had been made in Botany and Anatomy of late years. It is true, fays he, we hear no more mention of the occult qualities, the fear of a vacuum, attractive virtues, and fubftantial forms; but we fpeak of pores differently fhaped, fecret fermentations, fubtle matter, &c. terms which are no more inftructive, than thofe of the Ancients. And I dare add, that it will be eafy to prove, that there is no ferment in the glands of the body; that all the orifices of the veffels, and all the pores are of the fame fhape: confequently the different configuration of the pores, and the ferments, which the phyficians have introduced, are meer chimæras. Thus far our author, and thus far he fucceeded very well; however, it was much eafier to remove the rubbifh of the old philofophy, than to raife a new one built upon notional principles only. *Hic labor, hoc opus eft.* And if Dr Pitcairne, in making the attempt, was frequently drawn into a tranfgreffion of his own rule (7), not to lay down uncertainties for certain truths: let it be remembered, that hiftory furnifhes one man alone, who never fuffered his judgment to be impofed on by his fancy.

(7) Dr Boërhaave obferves, that in all things except the circulation of the blood he affumes too much. Boërhaave's Method of ftudying Phyfic, B. III. C. i. §. 14. art. 4.

Upon the whole it is obfervable, that this weaknefs has proved the ruin of the mechanical theories in phyfic. Dr Harvey's difcovery of the circulation, gave occafion to introduce mechanical knowledge into medicine,

by one half; he continued there little more than a year, during which he read lectures upon the works of Bellini (*g*), such as were then published; while he was Professor here, he printed several dissertations which were drawn from his lectures; in these he attempts to explain the circulation of the blood [*E*], and some of the principal parts of the animal œconomy mechanically [*F*], as had been done by Bellini, whom he places next to Harvey upon

(*g*) Niceron, Memoires pour servir a l'Histoire des Hom. Illustres, Tom. V. p. 346, & seq. See likewise Pitcairne's Remarks upon Dr Cockburn's treatise *De Morbis Nauticis*, in his Opera Medica, p. 365. printed at Leyden, 4to, 1737.

medicine, upon the ruins of the chymical theories, and has been pushed to the utmost, by our author and his followers, particularly by Boërhaave. And it is confessed, that it was more likely to improve physick, than any thing relative to speculation, which has yet occurred; mathematical reasoning being the most certain guide, provided the data on which it is grounded are sufficiently ascertained. But it has happened very unfortunately for physic, that the warm imaginations of theorists and anatomists, have represented to them many things in themselves extremely precarious, as certain truths; and these have been warmly embraced, as contributing to the confirmation of some favourite system, which their authors were determined to establish at any rate, right or wrong; whence the misapplication of mechanics to medicine, has perhaps done the art of healing more prejudice, than a proper use of them has done it service. The abuse therefore of mechanical learning in physic is highly to be condemned, as the tinsel of the art which makes a noise and shew without communicating any real value. It is a very difficult thing, for people of the greatest abilities and soundest judgment, when they are once determined to explain all such phænomena relative to the animal œconomy mechanically, to forbear representing things which please their fancy as realities, upon very slender foundations. Even Dr Boërhaave, in an oration made on purpose to recommend mechanics in physic, deviates from his own rules, and boldly supposes some things as certain, which would give him a great deal of trouble to prove, if they should be denied. For instance, speaking of the ultimate fibres of the muscles, he represents them as minute tubes, inflated with spirits. Now the existence of these spirits is extremely precarious, and subject to infinite controversy; and has very lately been denied by an eminent physician of our own *. However it may be allowed, that though mechanical learning, through the abuse of it, has hitherto had but little salutary influence, in the art of healing; yet under proper restrictions, this kind of learning may be of good use, and contribute much to the advantage of medicinal knowledge.

* See A Treatise on Madness, by Dr Batty. Lond. 1758, 4to.

[*E*] *In these he attempts to explain the circulation of the blood.*] This dissertation is entitled; *Dissertatio de circulatione sanguinis, per vasa minima.* It was published at Leyden, June 6, 1693 (8). In it he observes, that though Dr Harvey demonstrated the circulation of the blood in general: yet the particular manner by which the blood passes from the arteries to circulate in the veins, is a mystery which hath never yet been well explained. Some say, that this passage is made by the glands situated at the mouth of the arteries, and the entrance of the veins, and so serves as a *medium* for the communication of the blood. Others hold, that the arteries and the veins enter into one another immediately. There are others likewise who maintain, that a vein and an artery, is but one and the same vessel, bended like a syphon. Our author embraces the last of these opinions, only in the place where the bending is, he supposes a gland, by the help of which the blood is filtrated, before it passes into the other branch of the vessel. He asserts, that the various filtrations in the body, do not in any manner depend on the different shape, which the pores are supposed to be of, but only on the greatness or smallness of the passages; since in effect, if bodies which would come out have less diameters than the pores they meet with, the difference of shape will not hinder their passing. The smallness or greatness of the passages is sufficient to cause some bodies to pass, and others to stay. This explication is simple and natural; and this simplicity, says he, ought to induce us to think it true, since God, that admirable Geometrician, acts always by the most simple methods *. He concludes this part in the following words. '*Et quandoquidem, de geometris sermo incidit,* '*non possum non gratulari huic seculo, & arti nostræ,* '*quod geometria in tantum vestigium sit evecta a plu-* '*ribus quidem peritissimis artificibus, præcipue tamen* '*ab* Isaaco Newtono; *ut sperandum sit, ope principio-* '*rum, quæ a magno illo viro sunt ostensa, inventum iri* '*certius faciliusque vires & proprietates corporum* '*medico usui & hominum solatio inservituras: neque* '*diffiteor, non alio magis nomine arrideri mihi artem* '*medicam, quam quod methodo geometricæ possit morem ge-* '*rere, uti eæ omnes artes, quæ corporum vires explorant;* '*adeo ut eorum me misereat, qui corporum naturas ignobi-* '*litatis accusant, quorum & infinitas & pulcherrimas* '*proprietates methodo evidentissima demonstrant Geo-* '*metræ* †.' That God acts always by the most simple method, is undoubtedly a very true principle, but of very little use to us mortals in our searches into the works of the Deity, since in the great chain of beings, the vast variety of relations they bear to each other, is greatly above the extent of our faculties to comprehend; nay, that principle that the Divine Artist always makes use of, the simplest means to effect his purposes; or, which is the same, that nature in all her operations constantly takes the easiest manner of acting, is as fruitful of error, as even the abhorrence of a *vacuum*, or any other of the arbitrary hypotheses of former Physicians, so justly exploded by our author. Since, upon the whole sum of things, it is impossible for us to know what is the easiest or simplest means of procuring any effect. Here then we may justly turn his own maxim upon him, mentioned in the note above, where he condemns the curiosity of searching into the natural causes of the effects of medicines; for certainly, in the case now before us, the inquiry after the simplest method of acting is a superfluous amusement; since nature lies concealed, and besides, is a very dangerous employment, since fancy never cheats us with less suspicion of fraud, than when she puts on the face of simplicity. We have given an instance of an imposition of this kind in the article of Dr David Gregory, upon the subject of his Optics (9).

(8) See his Dissertatio de Leg. Hist. Natural. in Pitcarnii Oper. p. 367.

* The doctor introduced the use of simple medicines, as preferable to compounded ones, in the practice of physic.

† He here congratulates the age upon the great improvements made, particularly by Sir Isaac Newton, in Geometry, as likely to be of great service to Physic; and confesses he was chiefly pleased with this art, on account of it's being reducible to a geometrical method.

(9) See the article GREGORY [DAVID].

[*F*] *Parts of the animal œconomy mechanically.*] He published six of these *disputations*, for so they are intitled, in 1693, before he left Leyden. Three of these we have already taken notice of, but that where he treats concerning the causes of the different quantity of blood which is carried to the lungs of animals not yet born, and of such as are already born, is most esteemed (10). The title is, *De causis diversæ molis qua fluit sanguis per pulmonem, Natis & non Natis.* The argument is founded upon this solid maxim, that to explain a certain effect, we must not have recourse to uncertain causes. He illustrates the usefulness of this rule in the instance of an opinion that had been taken up for resolving the effects of mercury. I cannot bear with those, says he, who to give us a reason of the effect of *mercury* in diseases, make no difficulty to ascribe to this mineral a virtue like that of lixivial salts extracted from plants: so that, say they, it is not strange that *mercury*, having the quality of these salts, draws along with it the acid salts, which cure the diseases where it is used. This explication supposes two doubtful, not to say false, things, to be true, viz. that the diseases which are cured by *mercury* proceed from too great an acid; and that *mercury* is of the nature of salts, which are extracted from vegetables by calcination. They argue no better, says our author, who, in order to shew why *guaiacum* is the most proper of all woods for these diseases, say that *guaiacum* is of the same nature with volatile salts; for this is supposing that the action of the stomach and intestines, occasions in things which enter into the body, the same changes as the action of fire by chymical operations, which is very doubtful. As for my part, says our author, I observe, that among the minerals used by Physicians against the same diseases, mercury is the most weighty, and consequently presses with most force against the obstacles which it meets with, and moves with the greatest violence. But to know whether mercury be of an analagous nature with salt of tartar, it is impossible; unless we can shew, that gold is of the nature of acids, and at the same time be able to prove several other doubtful points. But to return to *guaiacum*, the acid liquor which is drawn thence by distillation, cannot be a sign of the heaviness of that wood; but at the same time, it is not one of a

(10) Dr Boërhaave says, that in this discourse of the circulation of the blood thro' the lungs, our author is very perfect. Boerhaave's Method of studying Physic, Book III. chap. i. sect. 12. art. 4. See likewise Dr James Keil, in his preface to the Essays on Animal Secretion, &c.

upon the bench of inventors of physic [G], and in return Bellini dedicated his *Opuscula* to our author. Before he left Scotland he had engaged in a promise of marriage to a young lady,

small force that ought to be used against acids; thence it follows, that mercury hath so much more virtue, the more it is purified from every light body; and that gold reduced into a form proper to mingle itself with the blood, cannot surpass other medicines in virtue, but as it exceeds them in weight. These reflections are useful to those who would explain the respiration of animals; for in this, more than in any other subject, Physicians are apt to suppose many false things to be true. In order to explain respiration, our author gives us a particular detail of the most simple phænomena, which are observed in it, and then asks, with Dr Harvey, whence it comes to pass, that the infant does not die in it's mother's belly, where it receives no air through the wind-pipe, and yet as soon as it is born and breathes it cannot live without respiration? He inquires also, why an infant, born in it's teguments and waters, or taken out so by operation, continues several hours without being suffocated; and that as soon as these teguments are broke, and air gets into the lungs, it cannot live without air. Before he resolves these questions, he relates what learned Physicians have most plausibly asserted on these subjects; and proves that they often forgot the rules which they laid down at first, viz. that we must not, in order to explain any phænomena, suppose for truth that which is doubtful. Borelli is the first whose opinion he examines; that learned writer says in his treatise on the motions of animals, that particles of air are mixed with the blood by help of respiration: George Wolfgangus (11) is almost of the same opinion: Bohnius says in his anatomy, that by respiration there enters into the blood subtile air, but that it hath no spring; though with relation to continual motion, which is proper to a spherical figure, it is in itself, says he, the cause of the elastic virtue of the air. Our author observes, that we suppose a fact not true, when we suppose that air enters into the blood by respiration. He examines the reasons that Dr Richard Lower, John Mayow (12) and some others urge to prove, that it enters into the blood, and endeavours to confute them. He then explains the several phænomena related by him, and concludes this dissertation with observing, that the reason which induced him to write, was to shew Physicians, that they ought not always to think they have solved the difficulties proposed to them, when they have called to their assistance, figures, pores, æthereal matter, salts, secret motions, and an infinite number of other terms, which, properly speaking, are but pompous terms for vain-glorious ignorance. In another of these discourses, printed while he was Professor at Leyden (13), he treats of the motion whereby food becomes fit to supply the blood, he gives this the title of *Disputatio*. He proposes to shew that the digestion of our aliments is not caused by an acid salt or sharp liquor, or by any other dissolvent. Van Helmont's and Veledius's Archæus pleases him as little. He owns no other cause of digestion, than the trituration or motion of the food performed by the help of the tunicles of the stomach, assisted by the action of the abdominal and pectoral muscles upon it *in vigilantibus*. In the last of these dissertations he undertakes to shew, against Willis and Sylvius le Boe, that the power of opium does not lie in it's obstructing the nervous liquid: In order to this, he explains the different degrees of resistance which the blood (now taken for the whole mass of liquids) is liable to in it's circulation through the several canals of the body; whereby it appears, that it's motion is easier impeded in the arteries than in the nerves; whence it follows, that in every distemper, where the phænomena may as well arise from an obstruction in the liquid of the arteries, as of that in the veins or nerves, we ought always to conclude the fault lies in the first. But Dr Boërhaave remarks, that our author in this treatise has assumed too much (14).

(11) See his Phisiology reformed, p. 127.

(12) This author is well known by his ingenious treatise upon the rickets in children.

(13) See Differt. de Leg. Hist. Nat. ubi supra, p. 384.

(14) Boërhaave's Method of studying Physic, ubi supra.

[G] *Bellini whom he places next to Harvey upon the bench of inventors in Physic.*] It is upon the following occasion: Bellini in his *Opuscula medica, &c.* lays down this general theorem contained in the two following propositions, when the blood is so vitiated as to lose it's strength, it is the same thing, as if the quality of the blood remaining in it's natural state, but so lessened in it's quantity, as was requisite to produce the same loss of strength and *vice versa*; if the natural force is increased by a change in the quality, it is the same thing as if that continued unaltered, and the quantity was increased as much as was requisite to produce the same increase of force. *Sanguine ita vitiato ut vires lædentur, perinde est ac si sanguis qualitate quidem naturaliter se haberet, sed ea imminuta quantitate foret, quæ requiritur ad datam illam læsionem producendam; & vice versa, sanguine ita vitiato ut vires augeantur, perinde est, ac si sanguis qualitate quidem naturaliter se haberet, sed ea aucta quantitate foret, quæ requiritur ad datum illud augmentum producendum.* For instance, suppose there be 20 pounds of blood in the human body, and the strength naturally arising from that quantity suppose equal to 100 pounds, so that the force of every pound of blood be equal to five pounds; now let the strength be increased by any disease, as spasmodic affections, and some kinds of fevers, so that the power of contraction in the muscles shall be equal to 40 pounds, then will every single pound of blood exert a force equal to seven pounds weight. Wherefore the same effects are produced with regard to the force of the blood, if a person has 20 pounds of blood, every one of which is endued with a force equal to 7 pounds weight, as if he had twenty pounds of blood in the whole; but every single pound should be furnished with a force equal only to five pounds weight, since in both cases there would be exerted a contractile force equal to 140 pounds. But in the first case, the increase of strength proceeds from a change in the quality of the blood; and in the latter, from an increase in the quantity. *Ergo, &c.* Dr Pitcairne, in his *Dissertatione de Leg. Nat. Hist.* speaks of this theorem in the following terms. They that are not ignorant of Geometry will easily see, that the theory of Physic is drawn out of the thickest darkness into the clearest light by the help of these theorems. Whence it appears, how much the medical art is indebted to the most learned Laurence Bellini, to whose most excellent skill and talents (besides innumerable others) this *theorem is owing; an invention the most noble and useful of all that has been made in Physic since that of the circulation by Harvey. Qui Geometriæ non sunt ignari facile perspicient horum theorematum ope theoriam medicam è densissimis tenebris in clarissimam lucem emergere.— Atque hæc ostendere poterunt, quantum eruditissimo Laurentio Bellinio debeat medicina, cujus excellentissimæ virtuti & peritiæ acceptum referre debet (præter alia innumera) theorema hic positum, omnium in medicina, post Harveianum, nobilissimum atque utilissimum inventum.* We must not omit to observe, that all the use our author here makes of this most excellent theorem is, to prove from it, that all such medicines as are proper for curing any distemper in India, will have the same proper effect in Scotland, if only they be administred in a proper quantity. Dr Pitcairne himself takes notice, that to his discourse printed in 1693, he had annexed this corollary: There is no effect produced by a change in the texture of the blood, which a change in the quantity is not sufficient to effect; and therefore a change in the quantity is the measure of the vitiated state of it. The truth of this corollary, he observes here, may be deduced from the foregoing theorem of Bellini. It is an observation of Dr Boërhaave's, in his Method of studying Physic, where he speaks of Bellini's treatise *De Urinis & Pulsibus*, published in 1683, that this author rarely lays down any thing which is not most exquisitely mathematical: but he deviates from that rule, of taking up nothing upon fancy and imagination only, when he says, that there rises a rarefaction in muscular motion; that as soon as the spirits are determinated into the blood, there arises an effervescency which expands itself. But this, says Boërhaave, is not demonstrated by Anatomy; had he contented himself to have laid down nothing but what might be thence clearly demonstrated, viz. that the blood and spirits flow to the muscles, and by their aggregation make them swell, he had not been in the wrong. In his treatise inscribed to Pitcairne (viz. that treatise where the abovementioned theorem is found) he says nothing of the cause of muscular motion; which makes me believe he afterwards laid by that system (15). The truth is, in 1695, when his *Opuscula* were printed, he had read Pitcairne's Dissertations, printed two years before,

(15) Boërhaave, ubi supra, art. 2.

lady, daughter of Sir Archibald Stevenson, Knt. an eminent Physician at Edinburgh; and he returned thither in 1693, with a design to marry and carry his spouse with him to Leyden, to be there as soon as the college opened; but in this view he was disappointed, for the young lady's parents did not care to let their daughter go so far from them; this unforeseen difficulty very much embarassed Dr Pitcairne, who lay under great obligations to his friends at Leyden. However, love prevailed, and, in compliance to it, he determined upon his marriage to settle at Edinburgh †; and the extensive practice he presently fell into at home, gave him neither room or leisure to regret the loss of his Professorship abroad. The doctor proved extremely adroit in practice, and notwithstanding the almost continual attendance which his business required (for besides Scotland, he was frequently consulted both from England and Holland) yet he found time to write some new dissertations; in 1701 he published the whole collection in one quarto volume, at Rotterdam, under this title, *Archibaldi Pitcarnii Dissertationes Medicæ*; and in return to Bellini's compliment he dedicated them to that Professor (*b*). Being printed at a distance from the author several errors escaped the press. Faults of this kind were easily discerned by his friends, and indeed by all unprejudiced readers; and as he opposed in general all the old established favourite maxims in the theory of physic, these faults proved (as is not uncommon in such cases) a meer decoy to some of his antagonists, who turning even these against him, thereby discovered such a degree of weakness as rendered them less worthy of his notice. In the mean time, it must not be dissembled, that he treated others of a better character with such a kind of contempt as was no advantage to his own [*H*]. Five years before this, viz. 1696, being hindred by a fit of sickness from attending the calls of his profession, he diverted himself with writing remarks upon Sir Robert Sibbald's *Prodromus Historiæ Naturalis Scotiæ*. That Physician had published a treatise in the Scotish language, wherein he ridiculed the new method of applying Geometry to Physic, and in return our author made a rod for him (*i*), which however, he laid up in his study and communicated it to his friends alone, having prudence enough not to chastize so eminent an offender openly, and when some copies of it came abroad by accident, he disowned it; so that Sir Robert, believing it not to be his, wrote an answer to it, and dedicated it to him. Our author likewise used to divert himself sometimes with Latin poetry, for which he had no small talent, as appears from some of his compositions equal to the best performances of the Moderns; a few of these he published himself,

† His lady did not survive her marriage many years; however, she brought the doctor a daughter, who was afterwards married to the Earl of Kelly. Scotch Compendium.

(*b*) Bellini was Professor of Physic at Pisa in Italy.

(*i*) See Pitcarnii Opera, p. 330, & 362. in the Dissertatio de Legibus Naturalis Historiæ, &c. which is the title of these Remarks.

before, where that doctrine is exploded; and therefore, either through complaisance or by conviction, he did not chuse to mention it in a work dedicated to the author of those dissertations; and that author (besides presenting him with a dedication of these very dissertations, with the addition of two more in 1701) was not, we have seen, ungrateful in neglecting to make a suitable return. This way of napping each other is very useful in dispelling the spleen and vapours from an author's blood; and no doubt, but a proportionable increase in the quantity of strength was given to it in the subjects before us, through a gladsome change wrought in it's quality by these alternate compliments.

[*H*] *He treated others of a better character with such a kind of contempt, as was no advantage to his own*] In the preface to the last edition by himself of his Dissertations, he expresses himself in the following manner, which we chuse to give our readers in it's original dress.

Habes dissertationes meas quarum aliquot nunc primum eduntur.

Subjuncta est Epistola insignis Mathematici & amici Thomæ Boëri, Scoti in academia nobili Abredonensi Matheseos Professoris, & Medicinæ Doctoris, in qua respondetur Astrucio Franco.

Judicium de hac re insero Jacobi Gregorii, Matheseos in Academia Edinburgensi Professoris Optimi, quod sic accipe.

Scribit ad me Gregorius.

Videtur mihi Astrucius argumento uti quali in scholis Metaphysicorum sive Sophistarum celebrem se jamdudum feceret. Si serio scribis, quod temere non crediderim, multa alia de contractione & compressione sentit, quam viri cordati sentiunt, nam agnoscit fibra circulari contracta, partes ejus omnes ad centrum accedere, negat fibram ullam ea premere quæ ipsam inter atque centrum sita occurrunt; nobis patet, quod si fibra circularis contrahatur in partem dimidiam suæ longitudinis, comprimere quicquid inter se centrumque occurrit, comprimere inquam in spatii quadrantem. Postquam Astrucius comprimentes vires sustulerat, contrahentes etiam debebat abigere, suoque argumento evincere, fibræ circulari contractionem nullam posse contingere. Hoc negotium sic ex sequetur Astrucius. Nullum est in circularis fibræ circumferentia, quod non æquali vi attrahatur ad utrumque latus (secundum circumferentiæ directionem) sed nec à centro nec ad centrum attrahitur, quia arcus vicinissimi & infinite parvi, qui punctum illud attrahunt, attrahunt per angulos ad dictam circumferentiem rectos, quapropter nullum est punctum in circumferenti circularis fibra, quod possit moveri, hoc est illam fibram non posse contrahi. Q. E. D. Assumit Astrucius circumferentiæ circularis particulam à rectula non diversam, quamque contractam evadere jubet in rectulam minorem, neque ad centrum descendere, neque ab eo recedere conantem. At Geometræ Polygonum ordinatum assumant, cujus latera rectulæ sunt, quas contractas mutari oportet in polygonum similare minus, cujus latera proinde fient centro propiora in ratione contractionum.

Hæc meus Gregorius.

Ego libellum Astrucii non vocem annales Volusi sive cacatum chartam, quia mihi videtur Astrucius nunquam cacasse, alioquin sensisset musculos abdominis & se contrahere & alia exprimere posse. Sive faveant hisce meis Robertus Graius & Johannes Arbuthnotus, Scoti illi Æsculapii, atque Hecquetus ille Parisiensis opifer, aliorum judicia non morabor. Bellinius enim ad Deos abest.

Nonnulla dissertationibus hisce barbara irrepé e vocabula, Celsoque non nota, quæ consuetudo Latinique sermonis egestas medicis jamdudum familiaria reddidit, atque propemodum necessaria. Dabam Edinburgi 10 Junii 1713.

We have transcribed the whole epistle, that the reader might not be precluded the opportunity of seeing that it is an unfinished draught, which our author, by a sickness which ended in his death, was in no capacity to revise, and never designed to publish it in the same form wherein it appears. This is the best apology that the case will bear; for the insinuation, that any of the materials of the additions made in this work to the former edition were taken from his *Adversaria*, without his knowledge and consent, though the book came out in the form we have it some months before his death, is only an ill judged act of friendship. A weakness, proceeding from the same principle of vanity, is seen at the end of these Dissertations, which he concludes in these words. *Quapropter non dubito me solvisse nobile problema, quod est, dato morbo invenire remedium.*

Jamque opus exegi *.

* Ovidius Metamorphos. Lib. XV. versus finem, in peroratione.

[*I*] To

himſelf, under the title of *Poëmata ſelecta*, moſtly epigrams of the lyric kind; he took this way of diſcloſing his political opinions, where he trod cloſely in the ſteps of his anceſtors, being, as is well known, no friend to the Revolution. In 1713, he publiſhed another edition of his Medical Diſſertations, in which he added ſeveral new ones [*I*]; before he had put the laſt hand to theſe he was taken ill, and his diſorder increaſing hindered him from giving them to the public ſo well finiſhed as he had intended; however, he conſented to the publication as they are, and the book came out ſome months before his death, which happened October the 20th this ſame year, and in the 61ſt year of his age. Since his death the public has received a larger collection of his poems, with the addition of ſome more by other hands, only to ſwell the book into a more ſizeable volume (*k*). His poetry has never been much read on account of it's obſcurity, which is principally owing to the private occurrences that are alluded to in it, and are frequently made the whole ſubject of a poem; an author of this unlucky turn muſt not think of raiſing in general a very long-liv'd monument of glory to himſelf; yet after you are acquainted with the ſecret, the pleaſure is the more liquoriſhly entertaining [*K*]. Some years after the doctor's death the lectures which he read at Leyden were publiſhed, firſt in Holland and afterwards in England, under the title of *Elementa Medicinæ Phyſico-mathematica*. Theſe were printed from a copy compiled out of the notes that had been taken by ſome of his pupils; together with

(*k*) It was printed at Edinb. 1727, 8vo.

[*I*] *To which he added ſeveral new ones.*] The firſt of theſe is that famous one concerning the cure of fevers (16) by evacuating medicines. It muſt be obſerved, that the mechanical principles of phyſic had received prodigious improvements, ſince our author publiſhed this former edition of theſe Diſſertations in 1701, by the queries at the end of Sir Iſaac Newton's Optics, where he diſcovered the *vis attractrix* in the ſmall particles of matter. Dr Keil had likewiſe wrote his Theory of Animal Secretion, founded upon this new principle of attraction, publiſhed in 1708. Several hints of this attractive power were given by Sir Iſaac in the *Principia*, publiſhed in 1687, particularly at the end of the preface. But as that great man had not then fully explained it, Dr Pitcairne, in his Diſcourſe of the circulation of the blood, publiſhed in 1693, expreſsly declined making uſe of it to explain the ſeveral ſecretions in the body. *Hic enim*, ſays he, *de viribus attractricibus non eſt diſſerendi propoſitum* (17). In 1701, when our author firſt printed this diſcourſe upon fevers, 'tis true Sir Iſaac's Optics were not come out; but it was well known he had proceeded a great way further in the diſcovery of the *vis attractrix*, but without aſcertaining the laws of it's action. Our author, therefore, ſpeaking of it in this treatiſe, after he had tranſcribed Steno's hypotheſis of the different figures of the pores in the glands, ſays, *Ex iis quæ verbis Stenonianis hic deſcripta ſunt liquet quæri, qua ratione ex eodem ſanguine tam diverſi liquores ſecernantur? Et cur in hepate bilis, in renibus urina, in aliis partibus alia ſuccedant. Veteres negotium hoc varia attractione tranſigi volebant, quorum ſententiam aptius illuſtrare, quam ipſi poterant, facile illi fuerit, qui Newtoniana intelligit.* It is not improbable, that theſe laſt words might give the hint to Dr Keil's undertaking; ſince that author expreſsly tells us, that he took it up before the Optics were publiſhed (18). Dr Pitcairne, in this treatiſe of fevers, prefers the cure by ſweat before any other evacuation; for which he gives this reaſon, that the evacuation made this way is much greater than that made by ſtool and urine; the proportion which theſe, viz. the ſtool, urine, and ſweat, bear to each other, being as 3, 16, and 40; in which he follows Sanctorius (19), only he adds the diſcharge by ſpittle to that of ſweat or tranſpiration. It muſt be remembered, that he does not maintain that ſweating is the only, or always the beſt, way of curing continual fevers; all that he intends in this treatiſe being only to ſhew, as he ſays, their unſkilfulneſs who had lately wrote, that theſe fevers were more frequently cured by purging than by ſweating. *Moneo autem eum abſurde facturum, qui febres quandoque, nulla quamvis accedente vi evacuante, debellari occlamaverit. Non enim hic ſuſcepimus de iſto genere medicinæ verba facere; animus ſolum fuit, eorum coarguere inſcitiam, qui febres continuas medicamento purgante, quam perſpirationem æſtate, ſæpius divelli, nuper apud nos ſcripſerunt* (20).

In the laſt diſſertation, publiſhed in 1701, our author juſtly explodes thoſe who explain all diſeaſes, either wholly by acids, or elſe, on the other hand, by alkalies. He confirms his doctrine againſt fermentation by ſome experiments of Mr Boyle, who ſhews, he ſays, that there is no acid in the human body. He declares, that experience alone can teach us what medicines are proper for any diſeaſe, in finding out which theſe theories are of no uſe, ſince they are not built upon ſufficient obſervations. As I have, ſays he, formerly ſhewn of all hypotheſes, which, for want of ſuch obſervations, cannot be treated geometrically, I have given an example (21) of this in the diſeaſes of the eyes, which I deſign to illuſtrate farther in my edition of the Problems of Caſſius Felix, commmonly called *Iatroſophiſta* (22). This author wrote about the end of the ſecond century. Dr Pitcairne gives us one of theſe problems, tranſlated by Geſner, upon the ſubject of vertigo's (23) relating to it, and confronts it with an account of the ſame diſorder given by Dr Willis (24), whom he handles very ſeverely upon every occaſion. We muſt not omit to mention, that the book here promiſed by our author was never publiſhed, and the papers are now loſt.

(16) There is an account of it in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. 271.

(17) Diſſertatio de Circulatione Sanguinis per vaſa minima, §. 6.

(18) See the article KEIL [JOHN.]

(19) Who ſettles theſe excretions in the ratio of 4. 16. and 40.

(20) Dr Sydenham was once of this opinion in the caſe of peſtilential fevers, but changed his ſentiments and practice in this particular. See his Epiſtola Reſponſoria de Morbis Epidemicis.

(21) See his inaugural Oration, §. 14, 15, 16, 17.

(22) Diſſert. de Opera quam præſtant acida vel alcalina, &c. Pitcarnii Opera Omnia, edit. 1737, p. 300.

(23) Diſſertatio de Circulatione Sanguinis, in Animalibus genitis & non genitis, §. 15.

(24) De Anima Brutorum, cap. 7.

[*K*] *When you are acquainted with the ſecret, the pleaſure is more liquoriſhly entertaining.*] Our author's poem *ad Robertum Lindeſium* is an inſtance of this, ſome parts of which are hardly intelligible, without knowing a circumſtance in the doctor's life, which he often told, and never without ſome commotion. It is a well known ſtory of the two Platonic Philoſophers, who promiſed one another, that which ever died firſt ſhould make a viſit to his ſurviving companion. This ſtory being read together by Mr Lindſey and our author, they, being both then very young, entered into the ſame engagement. Soon after, Pitcairne, at his father's houſe in Fife, dreamed one morning, that Lindſey, who was then at Paris, came to him and told him he was not dead, as was commonly reported, but ſtill alive, and lived in a very agreeable place, to which he could not as yet carry him. By the courſe of the poſt, news came of Lindſey's death, which happened very ſuddenly the very morning of the dream. When this is known, the poem is eaſily underſtood, and ſhines with no common degree of beauty.

Lyndeſi, Stygiis jamdudum vecte per undas,
  Stagnaque Cocyti non adeunda mihi;
Excute paulisper Lethæi vincula ſomni,
  Ut feriant animum carmina noſtra tuum.
Te nobis, te, redde tuis, promiſſa daturus
  Gaudia; ſed proavo ſis comitante redux:
Namque novos vires mutataque regna videbis,
  Paſſaque Teutonicas ſceptra Britanna manus (25).

He then proceeds to exclaim againſt the principles and practices which produced this Teutonic violence upon the Britiſh ſcepter, and concludes with a wiſh, that Lindſey might bring Rhadamanthus with him to puniſh them.

Unus abeſt ſcelerum vindex Rhadamanthus; amice.
  Dî faciant reditus ſit comes ille tui.

Every one ſees how much keener an edge is given to the ſatire upon the Revolution, by making it an additional reaſon for his friend's keeping his promiſe, to return him a viſit after his death.

(25) The poem was written in 1689. Arch. Pitcarn. Poemata Selecta inter Opera ejuſd. ad calcem, No. 1.

[*L*] Pits

with some rough draughts taken from his papers, which as they were never revised by him he was always very careful to suppress during his life-time; and has left a mark to prevent any one's being imposed upon by them, and such a one as shews that he long before presaged what would come to pass. In his tract upon the circulation of the blood, where he is relating the accounts given by authors, especially Dr Willis and Etmuller, concerning the manner of opium's acting upon the brain, 'I pass over, says he, what we have upon this subject under the name of Etmuller, since had that learned person lived longer, his works would have come out correctly finished; for the *Praxis Etmulleriana*, as it is entitled, it is evident was published merely for the sake of lucre; which I mention for this reason, that no credit may be given to what may at any time happen without my knowledge to be obtruded upon the world as my dictates to my scholars. *Præterea quæ hac de re sub* Etmulleri *nomine prodierunt; evidens enim est, virum illum doctissimum sua emendatiora fuisse editum, si per fata aspera licuisset: omniaque illa, quæ titulum* Praxeos Etmullerianæ *nunc ferunt, in lucem esse protrusa ab hominibus inhonesto quæstui inhiantibus. Quod ideo commemoro, ne quis mea esse credat, quæ Bibliopolæ tanquam discipulis meis dictata, me inscio, forsitan emittant (k).* It is remarkable, that the last chapter of the first book of these Elements was first printed separately, at the end of Boërhaave's *Praxis Medica*, and was intitled *Praxis Medica Pitcarniana.* P

(k) Dissertatio de Circulatione Sanguinis in Genitis & non Genitis, §. 16.

PITS [JOHN] [*A*], the noted Biographer; was son of Henry Pits, by Elizabeth his wife, sister to Dr Nicolas Saunders, author of the English Schism, and born, in 1560, at Aulton, a market-town in Hamshire. At the age of eleven he was sent to Wykeham's school near Winchester; where having continued seven years, he was elected from thence probationer Fellow of New-college, in 1578. But, after less than two years continuance there, and before he was admitted perpetual Fellow, which would have been in 1580, he left the kingdom as a voluntary Romish exile, and went to Doway, where he was kindly received by Dr Thomas Stapleton, who gave him directions about his studies (*a*). He therefore passed, according to his advice, from hence to Rheims; and, after one year spent in the English college in that city, was sent to the English college at Rome, where he very assiduously studied Philosophy and Divinity for near seven years, and was made a Priest. Returning back to Rheims about 1589, he taught there Rhetoric and Greek for two years. But the civil wars in France induced him to withdraw to Loraine; and, at Pont-a-Mousson, he took the degree of Master of Arts, as also that of Bachelor of Divinity. Next going into upper Germany, he resided a year and a half at Triers; where, after performing certain exercises, he commenced Licentiate in his faculty. In the mean time he visited several of the most considerable cities in Germany, and remaining three years at Ingolstadt in Bavaria, took the degree of Doctor in Divinity. After having travelled through Italy as well as Germany, and made himself perfect master of the German and Italian languages, he came back to Loraine; where being particularly taken notice of by Charles Cardinal of Loraine, he was preferred by him to a Canonry of Verdun. Two years after his return, Antonia, daughter of the Duke of Loraine, which was married to the Duke of Cleves, invited him over to be her Confessor: that he might be the more useful to her, he learned the French tongue, in which he became so perfect, that he usually preached in that language. During the agreeable leisure he enjoyed in this station, he employed himself in compiling the Lives of the Kings, Bishops, Apostolical men, and Writers of England (*b*) [*B*]. The last only was published, and that after his decease [*C*]. But he appears in it to have acted a very ungrateful and disingenuous part. For he takes most of his materials out of J. Bale's Centuries, without owning it; though he perpetually rails at him, mentioning him only to find fault with him. And he pretends to follow, and

(*a*) Pitsei Relationum Historic. Tom. I. p. 817, 818. Wood Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 405, &c.

(*b*) Relation. Historic. ut sup.

[*A*] *Pits (John)*] He called himself in Latin *Pitseus* and *Pitsius*, and by that name he is denominated in all his Works that are printed.

[*B*] *He employed himself in compiling the Lives of the Kings, Bishops, Apostolical men, and Writers of England.*] They were comprized in four large Volumes; the first containing the Lives of the Kings, the second of the Bishops, the third of the Apostolical men, and the fourth of the Writers. The last was published, as I have said, after his decease: and the three first are preserved as rarities in the archives of the collegiate church of Liverdun. Mr Wood misunderstood him, when he says, that 'he desired those Books should be 'buried with him, in case he should not live to finish 'them (1).' For he only conjectured, that they would dye and be buried with him, if he did not live to publish them himself. His words are, *De quorum omnium editione propter incertitudinem vitæ nihil mihi certi. Nam si prius in lucem non prodierint, quam ego ex hac luce migravero, mecum quodammodo morientur, & sepelientur* (2). The Book of *Bishops*, is chiefly a Collection from Bishop Godwin's *Commentar. De Præsulibus*, &c. (3).

[*C*] *The last only was published, and that after his decease.*] It was published at Paris, in 1619, 4to, by Dr William Bishop, a Doctor of the Sorbonne, and afterwards titular Bishop of Chalcedon (4); under the title of, *Joannis Pitsei Angli, S. Theologiæ Doctoris, Liverduni in Lotharingia, Decani, Relationum Historicarum de Rebus Anglicis Tomus primus.* But the running title is, *De illustribus Angliæ Scriptoribus*: by which name it is oftenest quoted. 'Tis divided into four parts: The *first* is a kind of *prolegomena* to the work, and contains, a proem in praise of History; of the Antiquity of the British church; of the British Universities, with an account of Oxford and Cambridge. The *second* is a list of the British and English Authors, and their writings, with their lives and characters; divided into *Ages*, and subdivided into *Numbers*. The *third* is an Appendix, of some writers, in Alphabetical order, and divided into four centuries; together with an Index of Books, written by English, but unknown, Authors. The *last* part consists of fifteen alphabetical Indexes, which are a kind of Epitome of the whole work.—The second part is chiefly stollen from J. Bale, without acknowledgment, as is observed above; as the third is taken from Dr Thomas James's *Ecloga Oxonio-Cantabrigiensis*; from which also he learned what Libraries many of the MSS. books he mentions are lodged in (5).

(1) Athenæ, ut supra.

(2) Pits de Scriptoribus, p. 817.

(3) Wood, ubi supra, col. 408.

(4) Idem, col. 438.

(5) Idem, col. 406. Vid. Relation. Histor. p. 6.

[*D*] *What*

and familiarly quotes, J. Leland's Book of the Britiſh Writers; whereas, ' the truth is, as Mr Wood obſerves (*c*), he never ſaw it, he being but twenty years of age, or little more, when he left the nation; neither was it in his power afterwards, if he had been in England, becauſe Leland's Collections were kept in ſuch private hands, that few Proteſtant Antiquaries, and none of thoſe of the Church of Rome, could ſee or peruſe them.' What therefore he pretends to have immediately from Leland, he takes at ſecond hand from Bale [*D*]. That work is alſo full of partiality, and of miſtakes in many inſtances [*E*]. The Duke of Cleves dying, after our author had continued twelve years in the Ducheſs's ſervice; and troubles ariſing in that country, he withdrew again with the Ducheſs (*d*), into Loraine, where by the favour of John Biſhop of Toul, ſometimes his Scholar, he was promoted to the Deanery of Liverdun of conſiderable value; which, with a Canonry, and an Officialſhip of the ſaid church, he enjoyed as long as he lived (*e*). He dyed at Liverdun October 17, 1616, N. S. and was buried in the collegiate church of that place (*f*) [*F*]. He publiſhed, himſelf, three Books [*G*], mentioned below. His ſtyle is clean, eaſy, and elegant. But he wants accuracy, eſpecially in his Account of the Britiſh Writers: and, according to Biſhop Stillingfleet's obſervation (*g*), it is his Vanity, as well as J. Bale's from whom he copies, to multiply Authors as well as Books: that is, to ſet down the different chapters or articles of the ſame work, for ſo many different Books.

(*c*) Athen. ut ſupra, col. 406.

(*d*) Relation. Hiſtoric. p. 61.

(*e*) Relat. Hiſtor. ut ſupra, p. 818.

(*f*) Wood, Ath. ut ſupra, col. 407, 408.

(*g*) Origines Britannicæ, fol. edit. 1685, p. 209.

[*D*] *What therefore he pretends to have immediately from Leland, he takes at ſecond hand from Bale.*] This is not only affirmed by Mr Wood (6); but alſo acknowledged by our author's own ſcholar, Edward Maihew, who is confident, that he never ſaw Leland's Commentaries of the Britiſh writers.——*Quos prædictum* Johannem Pitſium *nunquam vidiſſe certiſſime mihi perſuadeo*; are Maihew's own words (7). The learned Mr Henry Wharton ſpeaks in ſtronger terms upon that ſubject. *Quod* Pitſeum *imprimis attinet*, ſays he, *is intolerandæ arrogantiæ indicia dedit manifeſta. Se enim ſua de Scriptoribus Anglicis potiſſima ex* Lelandi *Collectaneis hauſiſſe*, Balei *autem Centurias vix levi inſpectione dignatum eſſe* (8), *præ ſe fert; quamvis mihi abunde compertum ſit illum* Lelandi *opus nunquam vidiſſe, ſed quæ* Baleus *ex* Lelando *non ingratus compilavit, ipſum ex* Baleo *ingratiſſimum deſcripſiſſe* (9). i. e. ' As ' to Pits, he hath given manifeſt tokens of intolerable ' arrogance. For he pretends, that he has taken the ' chief part of his Engliſh Writers out of Leland's Col- ' lections, and did not ſo much as vouchſafe to look ' into Bale's Centuries; whereas I am fully convinced, ' that he never ſaw Leland's work, but what Bale ' thankfully borrowed from Leland, he [Pits] hath ' moſt unthankfully tranſcribed from Bale.' To the ſame purpoſe ſpeaks Biſhop Nicolſon (10). ' Tho' ' he quotes Leland with great familiarity and aſſu- ' rance, 'tis very probable he never ſaw any ſuch ' thing as his *Collectanea de Scriptoribus*; but that his ' only true Author, for all that he pretends to bring ' out of that ſtore-houſe, was *John Bale* himſelf.' Laſtly, Mr Antony Hall calls Pits, a moſt impudent Plagiary; who often praiſes Leland extremely, tho' he never ſaw him.——*Joannes Pitſeus, plagiarius, ſi quis alius, confidentiſſimus; qui Lelandum, etiamſi eum oculis nunquam uſurpaverat, ſæpius importuniſſime laudat* (11).

(6) As above, col. 406. cited in the text of this article.

(7) Præfat. ad librum *De Illuſtribus Angliæ Scriptorib Ordinis S. Benedicti.*

(8) Opus ejus curſim legi. Pits, p. 53.

(9) Præfat. ad Angl. Sacr. Par. I. p. 15.

(10) Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, edit. 1714, fol. p. 156.

(11) Præfat. ad Lelandi Comment. de Scriptorib. Britann. Vide Præfat. ad Tanneri Bibliothec. p. 13, 14.

[*E*] *That work is alſo full of partiality, and of miſtakes in many inſtances.*] For he entirely leaves out John Wiclef, and all his followers, tho' men of learning and conſiderable writers, together with the Scot and Iriſh authors, which Bale for the moſt part commemorates; and in their room gives an account of the Roman catholic writers, ſuch eſpecially as had left the kingdom, after the Reformation in Queen Elizabeth's reign.—But tho' he pretends to take notice only of Roman-catholic writers, he ſets down, by miſtake or for want of information, ſome that were ſincere Proteſtants, at leaſt more Proteſtants than Papiſts; as Sir Antony Cope, and John Redman, who both dyed in the year 1551: Thomas Key or Cay, maſter of Univerſity-college, who dyed in 1572: John Leland, the antiquary: Robert Record, the mathematician; Dr Alb. Hill, an intimate acquaintance of John Bradford the martyr: John Cay the Antiquary of Cambridge: Peter Morwyn, of Magdalen-college: and, in the Appendix, George Coriat, rather a Puritan than a true member of the Church England: Robert (which is a miſtake for Roger) Taverner: Timothy Bright, M. D. and Rector of Methley in Yorkſhire: Thomas Mouffett, M. D.: John Huntington, a zealous reformer, &c ———In moſt particulars he copies J. Bale's miſtakes; and adds many of his own. I ſhall only mention two. He ſays (12), that Girald. Cambrenſis wrote the life of Caradoc of Lancarvan; whereas it was the life of Caradoc of St David's, a noble hermit and confeſſor (13). He repreſents William Grocyn as the author of an Epigram (14), which was compoſed by Petronius Afranius. &c ——In his third part, or Appendix, as well as in the ſecond part; he calls ſeveral of his Writers *natives* of England, who were actually foreigners. For inſtance, he affirms (15), that Johannes Erigena was born at St David's in Wales; whereas he was born in Ireland: that Herbert Loſinga, Biſhop of Thetford, was an Engliſhman, and born in Suffolk, —*natione Anglus, patriâ Suffolcenſis* (16). When, on the contrary, he was a native of Normandy.——And of theſe others, whom he ſtyles Engliſhmen;—*Alacenus* (17) was an Arabian: *Anonymus Sacerdos*, al. Peter Scaliger (18), was Biſhop of Verona: *John de Muriis* (19), a Frenchman: *John Mearus*, al. *Joh. de* Meara (20), an Iriſhman: &c. (21)———In the ſame third part, or Appendix, he places many Authors, whom he had inſerted already in his ſecond part under other names; of which A. Wood gives 23 inſtances.—— And, as Biſhop Nicolſon obſerves (22), ' Mr Wood ' has taken the pains to correct a great many of his ' miſtakes; and might have noted ſome hundreds ' more. He [Pits] muſt needs have been too much in ' haſte to write accurately, ſince, even in the Cata- ' logue he gives (23) of his own uncle Nicolas Sander's ' writings, he is guilty of ſo groſs an error, as to rec- ' kon the treatiſe entitl'd *Fidelis Servi Subdito infideli* ' *Reſponſio*, among that infamous Writer's works, when ' on the contrary, the book was written againſt him, ' and he's the *Subditus infidelis* mention'd in the title- ' page.'

The moſt valuable part of Mr Pits's work, is that wherein he gives an account of the *Engliſh Roman-Catholics*, who left this Kingdom on account of Religion, and ſheltered themſelves at Rome, Douay, Lovain, &c.

(12) De Illuſtribus Angl. Scriptor. p. 215.

(13) Vid. Whartoni Angl. Sacr. Vol. II. p. 442, 445.

(14) De Illuſtribus, &c. p. 693.

(15) Ibid. p. 168.

(16) Ibid. p. 197.

(17) Mentioned by him in Appendix, p. 821.

(18) P. 824.

(19) P. 872.

(20) P. 879.

(21) See Wood Ath. as above, p. 406, 407.

(22) Engl. Hiſtorical Library, as above, p. 156.

(23) P. 775.

[*F*] *And was buried in the collegiate church of that place.*] Soon after, the following inſcription was put over his grave. *Hic jacet D. Pits, quondam Decanus, Officialis, & Canonicus hujus Eccleſiæ, Doctor S.S. Theologiæ, qui deceſſit ex hâc vitâ 17 Oct. an.* 1616 (24).

(24) Wood Ath. col. 408.

[*G*] *He publiſhed himſelf three Books.*] Of which theſe are the titles. *De Legibus, Tractatus Theologicus.* Trev. 1592. i. e. A theological treatiſe of Laws. *De Beatitudine, Tractatus Theologicus.* Ingoldſt. 1595. A Treatiſe of Happineſs. *De Peregrinatione lib.* 7. Duſſeld. 1604. 12mo. i. e. Of Pilgrimage; Dedicated to Antonia Ducheſs of Cleves.

C

PLOT [Robert], a learned Philosopher and Antiquarian in the last century, was born, of a genteel family [*A*], in the year 1641, at Sutton-Barn in the parish of Borden near Sittingbourn in Kent (*a*); and educated in the free-school at Wye in the same county. The 24th of March, 1657-8, he was entered a student of Magdalen hall in Oxford, under the tuition of Josiah Pullen (*b*); took the degree of Bachelor of Arts October 15, 1661 (*c*), that of Master June 14, 1664 (*d*), and accumulated the degrees in Law June 8, 1671 (*e*). He removed afterwards to University-college (*f*). Being a very ingenious man, he was made one of the Fellows of the Royal Society; and, about the 30th of November, 1682, elected one of the Secretaries of that learned body. He published their Philosophical Transactions from No. 143. to No. 166. inclusive. Natural History was his greatest delight, and he gave very agreeable specimens of it, in his Natural Histories of Oxfordshire [*B*], and Staffordshire [*C*]. In order to improve himself to the utmost in that engaging study, he formed the design of travelling through England and Wales, for the discovery of antiquities and other curiosities, and for the promotion of learning and trade [*D*]. In the year 1683, Elias Ashmole, Esq; appointed him the first keeper of his *Musæum*

(*a*) Short Account of him, prefixed to the second edit. of his Natural History of Oxfordshire.

(*b*) Wood Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 1121.

(*c*) Idem, Fasti, Vol. II. col. 140.

(*d*) Ibid. col. 158.

(*e*) Ibid. col. 186, 187.

[*A*] *Of a genteel family.*] His father was Robert Plot, Esq; Captain of the Militia, in the Hundred of Milton, in the County of Kent (1).

(1) Short Account, as above.

[*B*] *The natural History of Oxfordshire.*] It was publish'd at Oxford in 1677, folio, and reprinted, with additions and corrections, in 1705, folio, after the author's decease, by John Burman, M. A. Fellow of University college. What the method and substance of it is, will appear from the following contents of the chapters. Ch. 1. Of the heavens and air. 2. Of the waters. 3. Of the earths. 4. Of stones. 5. Of formed stones. 6. Of plants. 7. Of brutes. 8. Of men and women. 9. Of arts. 10. Of antiquities. He gives whatever has been known or recorded, at any time, to be uncommon or remarkable under those respective heads, in that county. I should have observed, that the whole title of the book is, 'The Natural History of Oxfordshire, being an Essay toward the Natural History of England.'

[*C*] *And Staffordshire.*] This was printed at Oxford, in 1686, exactly in the same method, and divided into the same number of Chapters, as the other: But has the preference above it, in that it is adorn'd with the Prospects of the seats of most of the Nobility and Gentry in that county. The title of it, is, 'The Natural History of Staffordshire, by Robert Plot. L.L.D. Keeper of the Ashmolean Musæum and Professor of Chymistry in the University of Oxford.'

Our learned Author designed also to have written, in the like manner, the Natural History of his own native county of Kent; and of the county of Middlesex, and the city of London; having been at the pains of collecting large materials for that purpose (2).

(2) Memoirs for the Curious, April 1708, p. 117, 118. and English Topographer, p. 79. and Epitaph.

[*D*] *He formed the Design of travelling through England and Wales.*] His intention was, to build upon and improve, the labours of the indefatigable John Leland, and William Camden; as appears by the account he gave of his intention, in a letter to the learned Bishop Fell. 'The Design in general, says he, is a Journey through England and Wales, for the promotion of Learning and Trade, which indeed are the things chiefly aim'd at. But, beside these of Profit, there are others of Pleasure, that fall within the verge of this Design, intending in the same journey to make a strict inquiry after all curiosities both of Art and Nature, such I mean as transcend the ordinary performances of the one, and are out of the ordinary road of the other.' - - - - Then he proceeds to observe, that J. Leland having with all imaginable care endeavoured to collect and preserve the ancient MSS. books of the Abbeys and Monasteries upon their dissolution; and, notwithstanding his industry, great numbers having never come to his hands; and such as did, quickly after his death being dispers'd again; great part of the MSS. in England are, as it were, lost to the world, lying secretly in corners and in private hands: Therefore it should be one of the principal ends of his Journey, to search all the publick Libraries of cathedral and collegiate churches, of the colleges in each University, and other publick Libraries wheresoever, and make distinct catalogues of them all. And as for such MSS. as should be found in private hands, 'it would not be amiss, saith he, if the University of Oxford would imploy me to buy up (if they cannot be begg'd) as many as can be purchas'd for the Bodleian Library; and where they will by no means be parted with, to procure leave (if worth while) that an amanuensis may transcribe the whole, or at least have the perusal and liberty to make abridgments, as Leland did of many. But if neither of these will be admitted, 'twill be some satisfaction that they are added to the Catalogues of the rest.'——Next he proposed to make strict search into all *Mines*, *Minerals*, *Earths*, *Soils*, that are of any account in this Nation: believing that there may be as many of each, and as good, unknown, as there are known. Under this head he intended an exact Account of the Mines of Wales, Cornwall, Somersetshire, and Derbyshire, &c. of the iron bullets found in the grounds at Bedminton in Gloucestershire; of *Pingitis* or Black-lead, what it is, and how it grows, being found only in England; of Fuller's-earth; of manganese and *lapis calaminaris*, the best whereof is at Mendip-hills; of the several sorts of ocres; of tobacco-pipe clays; sands for the glass-houses. The soils where either timber or fruit-trees flourish exceedingly, and so for all sorts of grain, and other vegetables.——Then he proposed to inquire of *Medicinal*, and *Petrifying Waters*. Such are the waters of the Bath, Tunbridge, Epsom, and Astrop, the Spaw in Yorkshire; the Petrifying-waters of Wockey-hole, and of Tenterden. Together with strange *Wells* or *Springs*; as the Fountain that takes flame in Lancashire, Bone-well in Herefordshire, the springs at Lemington and Newenham. And *Rivers* that have any thing extraordinary attending them, such as the Loose in Kent that runs under-ground for a mile together; and the Mole in Surrey; Nailbourn rivulet near Canterbury; the Higre of the Severn. And *Aquæducts* ancient and modern.——Then he proposed to enquire of *Stones*; first, such as seem to have been Animals petrify'd, or some parts of them; such are the snail stones and *Osteocolla*; petrify'd Oysters and Cockles; *umbilicus marinus*; *glossopetra*; teeth of fish petrify'd, called Cramp-stones. Such as seem to be *lusus naturæ*, as the *Asteria*, *Astroitis*, *Cornu Ammonis*, &c. And such stones as seem to have been wood petrify'd.—In this Journey also he thought the *English Herbal* might receive some advance. And he instances in the *Golden Rod* formerly imported from abroad, and sold for 2 s. 6 d. a pound in London, now hardly worth 2 s. 6d. a hundred, since found growing in Hempsted wood: And in the *Carum*, or Caraways, so call'd from its country *Caria*, where it spontaneously grows, discovered not many years ago to grow as spontaneously in Lincolnshire. Besides many other things we receive at a great rate from beyond the Seas. To this head he referred all Curiosities found in the gardens of eminent herbalists or florists, whether garden-knots, hedges, or arbours; all rare fruits, such as the wooden peare in Corpus-Christi Coll. Oxon. the triangular cherry in Kent; new ways of planting, with such secrets as can be procur'd in the making of wines, cider, &c. strange flowers; the ordering of saffron in Essex, and tobacco in Gloucestershire: Herbs and trees of a strange and extravagant growth; the painted oak, and sycamore; all such herbs as are of use in trade, as wold for dieing, kali for glass-works, &c.——Next, he was to inquire of *Animals*, and first of strange people, as the Gubbings of Devonshire, the people of Charleton curley in Leicestershire: Of any strange accidents that attend corporations or families; Of extraordinary births, deaths, &c. persons eminent upon any account; customs

Musæum or Repository, and about the same time he was nominated by the Vice-chancellor the first Professor of Chymistry in the university. All which places he kept 'till the beginning of the year 1690 [*E*]. In October 1687, he was made Secretary to the Earl-Marshal, or Court of Chivalry, which was then renewed after it had lain dormant ever since the year 1641 (*g*). In 1688 he received the title of Historiographer to King James II. On the 20th of January, 1694-5, Henry Howard, Earl-Marshal, nominated him Mowbray-Herald extraordinary; and, two days after, he was constituted Register of the Court of Honour. He dyed of the stone April 30, 1696, at his house in Borden; and was buried the fourth of May in the church there; where a monument was afterwards erected to his memory [*F*]. By his wife, Rebecca, widow of Henry Burman, to whom he was married August 21, 1690, he left two sons, Robert, and Ralph-Sherwood, Plot (*h*). Besides the pieces abovementioned, he was author of several things, chiefly inserted in the Philosophical Transactions [*G*].

(*g*) Wood, Ath. as above, col. 1121.

(*h*) Short Account, as above.

stoms of towns and parishes: Of such animals as are friends or enemies to any part of land or sea. &c.—— He was also to endeavour to make a full collection of British, Roman, Saxon, and ancient English money; likewise of urns, lamps, lachrymatories, and ancient inscriptions. And to observe the British, Roman, and Saxon fortifications, with the Roman ways:—Moreover all notable Mountains, Caves, and Barrows; such as Silbery-hill and Wockey-hole in Somersetshire, the Peak of Derby; &c.——Lastly, he was to be very careful in a just observation of all *Thaumaturgicks*, or monsters of Art, works that may properly be said to be done *Arte Syracusiâ*. As of all sorts of engines, either for conveyance of waters or removal of vast weights. Of Buildings: either wonderful, or very unusual in proportion, or curious: And of all other parts of publick or private Buildings, down to a bolt, hasp, or latch of a door, if of rare contrivance. Also of what Improvements have been made in clock-work, painting, graving, etching, dieing, weaving, the best ways of melting and refining metals, &c. By his researches, he was persuaded many fair Additions might be made to *Camden's Britannia*, and several places corrected both in the Book itself and the Maps. Sir *Henry Spelman's Villare Anglicum*, he proposed to amend where erroneous, and to supply where defective; and to add a new column of the British, Roman, and Saxon names of every place, as far as possibly they might be recovered. And to continue *Weever's Funeral Monuments*, in all the other Dioceses, in the same manner as he has done the Dioceses of Canterbury, Rochester, London, and Norwich (3).

(3) See this letter at length, at the end of Vol. II. of Leland's Itinerary, edit. 1744, p. 131.

[*E*] *All which places he kept 'till the beginning of the year* 1690.] When he resigned his place of Keeper of the *Musæum*, he made a present thereto of a very large collection of natural Curiosities, being such as he had figured and described in his Histories of *Oxfordshire* and *Staffordshire*; which the University, according to their usual constant care in the preservation and furtherance of all useful knowledge, reposited in two large Cabinets, distinguish'd in the catalogue of the *Musæum*, by the names of *Scrinium Plotianum Oxoniense*, and *Scrinium Plotianum Staffordiense* (4).

(4) Short Account, &c. as above.

[*F*] *Where a monument was afterwards erected to his memory.*] With this Epitaph, 'H. S. I. Vir clarissimus, *Robertus Plot*, L. L D. olim in Academia *Oxoniensi* primus Chymiæ Professor, Custosque Musei Ashmoleani; Societatis Regiæ Londini Sodalis, eidemque a Secretis; Regi *Jacobo* Secundo Historiographus, Summoque Angliæ Marischallo in Curia militari Registrarius; *Historia naturali Oxoniæ & Staffordiæ* illustris; *Cantij*, natalis soli, Antiquitatibus (si fata sivissent) illustrior exstiturus: Felicissimus Vetustatis Scrutator, Naturæ indagator singularis; Pietatis in Deum, in Regem, in Ecclesiam & Academiam, cultor integerrimus: Sibi solum imperiosus, aliis omnibus quam facillimus: Qui vesicæ doloribus diutine tortus, mortalitatem exuit, prid. cal. Maij, Anno Salutis MDCLXXXXVI, ætatis suæ LV. *Rebecca Plot* ejusdem vidua moerens posuit.'

[*G*] *Besides the pieces abovementioned, he was author of several things.*] In 1685, he published, *De Origine Fontium Tentamen Philosophicum. In prælectione habita coram Societate Philosophicâ, nuper Oxonii institutâ ad scientiam naturalem promovendam.* Oxon. 1685, 8vo. i. e. A Philosophical Essay on the Origin of Springs, &c. Which he supposes to proceed from the sea. See his History of Staffordshire, c. 2. §. 17.

And the nine following Papers of his are inserted in the Philosophical Collections and Transactions. 1. Account of Elden-hole in Derbyshire (5). In which he relates, that a curious Gentleman had sounded one of the caverns of the Peak in Derbyshire, by a perpendicular Plumb-line, no less than 2800 feet in depth, without finding the bottom. 2. The formation of Salt and Sand from Brine (6). 3 Discourse concerning the Effects of the great Frost, on Trees and other Plants, in 1683, drawn from the Answers to some Queries sent into divers Countries, by himself (7). 4. A Discourse of perpetual Lamps, in imitation of the Sepulchral Lamps of the Ancients (8). 5. The History of the Weather at Oxford, in 1684, or the Observations of a full year, made by order of the Philosophical Society at Oxford (9). 6. A large and curious account of the *Amianthos* or Asbestine linnen (10). 7. Discourse concerning the most seasonable time of felling Timber. Written at the request of Samuel Pepys, Esq; Secretary of the Admiralty (11). He thinks, the best method, is, To bark the Timber-trees in the spring, and let them stand so 'till winter, and then fell them; especially those that are design'd for Ship-building. 8. Of an Irishman of an extraordinary size: viz. Edward Mallone, 19 years old, 7 feet 6 inches high: his finger six inches and three quarters long (12). 9. A catalogue of Electrical Bodies (13).——Finally, he published, in 1680, *The Clog: or Staffordshire Almanack*, engraven on a copper-plate; and inserted afterwards in his History of Staffordshire (14). Since his decease there have been published these two Letters of his. 'A Letter giving an account of some Antiquities in the County of Kent;' in Miscellanies on several curious subjects, printed for Edm. Curl, 1714, 8vo. p. 43,——'A Letter to the Earl of Arlington concerning Thetford;' printed at the end of The History and Antiquities of Glastonbury, publish'd by Tho. Hearne, 1722, 8vo. and in Blomfield's Norfolk.

The several MSS. Dr Plot left behind him, were these following. I. A Discourse of the termination *Magus*, found in many of the ancient Cities of Italy, Germany, France, and Britain; where more particularly of the old *Sitomagus*, now Thetford in Norfolk. Published by T. Hearne, as is said above. 2. A View of the Remains of some British Antiquities: Of the two Expeditions of Cæsar into Britain; of the Itinerary of Antoninus; of the *Notitia Imperii*, or Breviary of Theodosius; so far forth as they relate to the two Counties of Kent and Middlesex. 3. 'Ad Commentarium de Præsulibus Angliæ per Franciscum Godwinum Episcopum Hereford Appendix. 4. Prælectiones Chemicæ in Schola Naturalis Historiæ Oxon. habitæ.' 5. Large Collections towards an intended Natural History of the County of Kent. 6. 'A Letter to Dr William Musgrave Fellow of New College Oxon. containing an account of divers alterations and additions that might be made to the Founder's life of that College.' i. e. William of Wickham, by Martin. 7. A Catalogue of most of the Species of Apples, Pears, Vines, Cherries, Peaches, and Nectrins, now growing in England (15).

(5) Philos. Coll. No. 2. p. 7.

(6) Philos. Transact. No. 145. p. 95.

(7) No. 165.

(8) No. 166. p. 806.

(9) No. 169. p. 930.

(10) No. 178. p. 1051.

(11) No. 192. p. 455.

(12) No. 240. p. 184.

(13) No. 245. p. 384.

(14) P. 420. See Wood Ath. as above, col. 1122.

(15) Catalog. MSS. Angliæ, &c. Vol. II. p. 73, 363.

POCOCKE [Edward], the most eminent Orientalist of his time, was born November 8th, 1604, in the city of Oxford (*a*) [*A*]. Being designed from his infancy for the Church, he was sent early to the free-school at Tame in that county, the Master whereof, Mr Richard Butcher, was then in great repute (*b*). Under his care our author became fit for the university at fourteen years of age; and accordingly, in 1618, was entered a Commoner of Magdalen-Hall in Oxford; whence, in about two years time, he removed to Corpus-Christi-college, where his merit had obtained him a Scholarship. He was admitted thereto December 11, 1620, and put under the tuition of Mr Gamaliel Chase (*c*), a person of great piety and learning (*d*); by whose assistance Mr Pococke pursued the usual academical courses [*B*] with a commendable diligence and success, 'till he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, November 28, 1622 (*e*): but applying himself soon after to the Eastern languages (*f*), that branch of learning proved so agreeable to his taste, that it became the chief object of his studies during the rest of his life. He went to the best masters in England for instruction [*C*], and prosecuting it with indefatigable industry, excelled all his contemporaries therein. He commenced Master of Arts March 8, 1626 (*g*); and Ludovicus de Dieu publishing a Syriac version of the Apocalypse (*h*) at Leyden the following year, our author, after his example, began to prepare those four epistles (*i*), which were still wanting to a compleat edition of the New Testament in that language, having met with a manuscript in the Bodleyian library proper to his purpose [*D*]. He was engaged in this work, when he was admitted Probationer-Fellow of his college, July 24, 1628, and finished it a few months after (*k*); but, as the most ingenious minds are often the most diffident, he laid it by, not having courage to resolve upon a publication, 'till the fame of it, in 1629, brought him into the knowledge of the learned Gerard John Vossius; who being then at Oxford (*l*), obtained his consent to carry it to Leyden, where it was printed that year (*m*) in 4to. under the immediate care and inspection of De Dieu [*E*]. The same year, December 20, he was ordained Priest, having entered into Deacon's Orders

(*a*) See the inscription upon his monument in remark [*PP*].

(*b*) Life of Dr Pococke, prefixed to his Theological Works, in 2 vols, fol. 1740, p. 1. by Leonard Twells, D. D. and Wood's Athen. Oxon. ubi supra.

(*c*) Twells, p. 2.

(*d*) Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, &c. P. i. p. 98. The same author likewise observes, that he was an eminent Loyalist and Sufferer in the grand Rebellion, Part ii. p. 217.

(*e*) Wood's Fasti, Vol. I. col. 221.

(*f*) Twells, ubi supra.

(*g*) Wood's Fasti, Vol. I. col. 234.

(*h*) From a MS. given among many others to that university by Joseph Scaliger. De Dieu was assisted in that work by Daniel Heinsius. Pref. in Apocal. Syriac.

(*i*) The 2d Epistle of St Peter, 2d and 3d of John, and that of Jude. All the other books, except these five, had been well printed by Albertus Widmanstadius at Vienna in 1555, being sent into the West for that purpose by Ignatius, the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch in the XVIth century. Id. ibid.

(*k*) In the Dedication dated at Corpus Christi-college, Novemb. 12, 1629, he writes thus concerning it: *Per annum jam fere integrum apud me retinueram.*

(*l*) See more of this person in the article of Primate Usher. (*m*) i. e. Before Lady-day, when the year at that time commenced in England; but, as the year begins on the first of January in Holland, it is set down 1630 in the title-page.

[*A*] *Was born November 8th at Oxford*] Mr Twells (1) has given us St Peter's in the West in that city for the place of our author's birth. His authority for dissenting herein from Mr Wood (2) is, I suppose, Mr Smith of Dartmouth in Devonshire (3); he quotes no other for it, and assures us in general, that some things in Mr Smith's manuscript, which were inserted by himself, rest wholly on his veracity, the vouchers and authority for them having died with him. However that be, Mr Pococke's having Oxford for his birth-place, seems to be owing to his father's (4) not being then settled with his family at Chievely in Berkshire, to which living he had been lately removed from a Fellowship in Magdalen-college.

[*B*] *Academical courses.*] Besides these, he read very carefully the best writers both Greek and Roman. This appears from some papers written by him when very young; wherein were found such observations upon passages in Quintilian, Cicero, Plutarch, and Plato, and other authors, as shew a great deal of skill and judgment. In other papers were seen marks of an uncommon application and industry. It being sometimes his custom to note the time when he began the perusal of any treatise, a note of this sort shews, that the reading and considering the whole dialogue *De Oratoribus*, by some ascribed to Tacitus, but commonly printed with Quintilian's Works, was the business only of one day (5).

[*C*] *He went to the best masters.*] His first master was Matthias Pasor (6), who, having been Professor of the Mathematics at Heidelberg, whence he was driven by the late troubles in the Palatinate, came and settled in Oxford, where he taught that science and the oriental languages (7). Soon after Mr Pococke had taken his degree of Master of Arts, leaving Mr Pasor, he applied himself to Mr William Bedwell, Vicar of Tottenham-High-Cross near London. This gentleman had been of service to Erpenius at Oxford in 1606, and was esteemed almost, if not altogether, equal to him in oriental learning, and the only person in England, as Mr Wood observes (8), with whom the profession of the Arabic then remained.

[*D*] *A manuscript in the Bodleyian library*] In the preface he tells us, it was a very fair manuscript, containing, besides these four, all the other Catholic Epistles, and the Acts of the Apostles. Concerning his own performance he writes thus. 'Syra ad MS. Codicis exemplar fideliter descripsi. Eadem Ebræo, annexis ubique suis vocalibus, charactere expressi. In punctatione autem vocalium, genuinam Syrorum normam a doctiss. Maronitis, Georg. Mich. Amira, & Gabriele Sionita, luculenter traditam, in alterius istius Ebræis Canonibus magis consonæ, locum substitui: Ut fecit in accurata illa Apocalypseos editione cl. vir Lud. de Dieu; cujus ad imitationem, hoc quodcunque est opellæ, compositum a me ut moneam, supervacaneum est. Quo successu Judicent eruditiores; & si alicubi contra summorum virorum præcepta peccatum fuerit, uti monere & corrigere ne graventur, oro. Latina uti Syriacis ad verbum fere respponderent, curavi. Versionem nostram cum ista, quam olim dedit Etzelius (frustra diu quæsitam, Serrarii tandem operibus insertam reperio) contuli. A qua nim sine causa longius alicubi dissentiam, si notas consulere placuerit, æstimabis (9).' He adds, that having met with one Dionysius's Commentaries upon another Syriac version of these epistles (together with the rest of the New Testament), he had inserted in his notes all the words transcribed into those commentaries from that version; which he observes was not the same with his, notwithstanding Dionysius, in his preface to the Second Epistle of Peter, writes, that the version of that epistle into Syriac was not made when the other books of the New Testament were anciently translated into that language, and therefore was only to be found in the Syriac translation of Thomas, a Bishop, surnamed Heracleensis, from his city Heraclea. Mr Pococke does not so much as expresly guess either at the age or author of the version transcribed by himself, but seems to insinuate, that it might possibly be done by the same hand with that printed by Widmanstadius abovementioned, since he observes, they agree in putting the affixes before the nouns. He likewise thinks, from the resemblance in the style, that it was made at the same time with the ancient Syriac versions of the New Testament. We see in this preface, that our author had then some thoughts of publishing a Syriac version of the four Gospels, which had been communicated to him by a friend; but in this he was prevented by his journey to Aleppo shortly after. Upon the whole, these remarks are a full proof how much Mr Pococke's genius lay to these studies, being at the time when this work was finished no more than 24 years of age.

[*E*] *He was prevailed upon to print it by Vossius, and under the care of De Dieu.*] Our author's address, in making this affair the subject of a dedication of his piece to Vossius himself, furnishes a specimen both of his Latin style and oratorical talents. Having inscribed it *Clariss. Doctissimoque Viro D. Ger. John Vossio Eloquentiæ Chronologiæ & Linguæ Græcæ apud Leidenses Professori, Cathedralis Ecclesiæ Cantuariensis apud Anglos Prebendario* (10); he begins in these terms. *Quod diutius latere noluisti opusculum, en tuum, Doctissime Vir, ambit patrocinium.* After which, giving a short account

(1) In our author's Life, cited above.

(2) That writer tells us, he was baptized the day abovementioned, in the parish of St Peter's in the East, for which he cites that parish register. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 868.

(3) Who made large collections, with a view of writing Dr Pococke's Life, which were communicated to Mr Twells.

(4) Mr Edward Pococke, B. D. Twells's Life, &c. p. 1 and 5.

(5) Id. ibid.

(6) Son of George Pasor, author of the Lexicon to the New Testament.

(7) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 219.

(8) Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. in A. D. 1616 and 1622, and Fasti, Vol. I. col. 175.

(9) He has also added the original Greek.

(10) Vossius came then into England to be installed into that Prebend [of Canterbury], which had been given him by King Charles I.

(n) He received both these Orders from the hands of Dr Richard Corbet, Bishop of Oxford.

Orders some time before (n); and, being appointed Chaplain to the English factory at Aleppo [F], he arrived at that place October 17, 1630 (o). He left Oxford with great regret [G]; but, as his situation in the East furnished an opportunity of accomplishing his skill in the Arabic tongue *, he omitted no means of compassing that end. In this view, among other methods, he agreed with a Shaich, or Doctor called Phatallah, to attend him frequently, and entertained one Hamet as a servant [H] by the year, that he might on

(o) He landed, after a long voyage, first at Scanderoon, October 14, and passed in three days thence to Aleppo. Twells, p. 4.

* He also improved himself in the Æthiopic and Syriac languages, of which last he made a Grammar, with a praxis for his own use. He likewise applied to one Rabbi Samuel for improvement in the Hebrew, but soon found it fruitless, both this and all the other Jews there being very illiterate. Ibid.

account of the performance, and his motives and views for undertaking it, he proceeds thus: *Huc usque jam processum erat prompto magis quam felici conatu. Neque enim tantum insedit mihi φιλαυτίας, ut lucubratiunculas meas, quæ in doctorum manus perveniant, dignas judicem. Fruebantur igitur adhuc quas merebantur tenebris. Cum ecce Academiam nostram tanto superbientem hospite, imo jam filio* (11), *visendi gratiâ tu, clarissime, Vir, huc advenisti; rem omnem de opera hac nostra a doctiss. V. Mro. Joh. Rous Protobibliothecario publico auribus accipis faventibus. Coram me alloqui, & ut publici facerem juris, quæ per annum jam fere integrum apud me retinueram, hortari dignaris, imo ne quid moræ subsit, ipse typographorum curæ mandanda suscipis. Quam non injuria sumpsi jam tandem animos sub talibus auspiciis? nec est quod editionem ulterius detrectem, modi ne tantus* [*detrectet*] *patrocinium. Gestit equidem animus, quod summa me lætitia afficit, efferre. Quod magnum illud reipublicæ literariæ decus Vossium apud nos & unum jam è nobis factum, intueri liceret & aspicere, optandum hoc certe; sed quod & plurimis contigit: at quod colloquio frui, quod hoc qualemcunque observantiæ tesserem in manus tradere; felicitatis hoc certe neutiquam vulgaris. Frustra essem merito, si quid ex opellæ meæ dignitate gloriolæ aucuparer: at quod tuo jussu, quod sub tua emissa fuerit tutela, nemo mihi hunc honorem denegaverit.* Vossius, in pursuance of the promise here mentioned, at his return to Leyden, committed the care of the edition to *Ludovicus de Dieu*, who, as Mr Twells informs us (12), gladly received Mr Pococke's papers; and after a diligent perusal of them, wrote to him, highly commending every part of the performance; but proposed several emendations in the pointing of the Hebrew character, and one in that of the Syriac, together with two alterations in the Latin version, and likewise one additional note; and having obtained Mr Pococke's consent to most (13) of the amendments, put the work to the press, and when it was finished, wrote a second time to congratulate our author thereon The Latin part of the title runs thus: *Epistolæ quatuor, Petri secunda, Johannis secunda & tertia, & Judæ, fratris Jacobi, una ex celeberrime Bibliothecæ Bodlianæ Oxoniensis M. S. Exemplari nunc primum depromptæ, & charactere Hebræo, versione Latina, notisque quibusdam insignitæ, opera & studio Edwardi Pococke Angli Oxoniensis.* A considerable number of copies were sent as a present to the author at Oxford, together with acknowledgments of the usefulness of the work, and of the affection and honour expressed in the dedication; and indeed, continues Mr Twells, that learned man entertained on this occasion, such a value for Mr Pococke, that tho' he was thirty years older, and a sort of dictator in the commonwealth of learning, he treated him with all the kindness and familiarity of a friend. He corresponded with him by frequent letters, some of which have been made publick (14); he presented him with the books he published, and as long as he lived made honourable mention of him on all occasions.

(11) This dedication is dated the same day that Vossius was incorporated into the university.

(12) Ubi supra, p. 3.

(13) All except three stand in the printed work; besides, De Dieu having a commission to make such others as he thought expedient, inserted, with Vossius's advice, six more in the Latin version, of which he gives an account in his second letter to Mr Pococke, with his reasons for them; but neither one nor the other are mentioned by Mr Twells.

(14) Inter Vossi & Cl. Viror. ad Voss. Epistolas.

[F] *Appointed Chaplain to the Factory at Aleppo.*] It is not certainly known who procured him this preferment: Mr Twells has given a probable reason why it could not be Bishop Laud (15), though that prelate had then the direction of matters of learning abroad; why might it not be owing, in some measure, to Mr Selden. Such a conjecture, at least, seems to be countenanced by some expressions in a letter to him from Aleppo, by Mr Wandsford residing there in 1632; wherein that gentleman writes thus: 'You commend-'ed, says he, to Mr Selden, a diligent and able 'gentleman, Mr Pococke, to me, who hath inabled 'himself very much in the Arabic tongue. I have no 'other comfort but in him for converse, indeed his 'nature is so sweet and amiable, I owe much to you 'for the commands you laid upon me to receive 'him (16).'

(15) That prelate's first letter to Mr Pococke in Octob. 1631, discovers there was then no acquaintance between them. Twells, p. 4.

(16) Id. ibid.

[G] *He left Oxford with great regret.*] He was of a meek and humble temper, and being naturally in love with retirement and peace, had no curiosity to travel or see foreign countries: not long after his arrival at Aleppo, in a letter to Mr Thomas Greaves then scholar of Corpus-Christi college, he writes thus: 'My chief happiness is the remembrance of my friends, 'and my former happiness when I was among them. 'Happy you that enjoy those places, where I so of-'ten wish myself, as I see the barbarous people of this 'country. I think that he that has been once out of 'England, if he get home, will not be easily persua-'ded to leave it again (17).'

(17) Id. ibid.

[H] *He agreed with a Shaich.*] This old Arabian, who applied to him for that purpose, grew so fond of his scholar, that when he saw him resolved to return home, he not only offered his service, but even expressed a very earnest desire to accompany him to England. He likewise procured our author a large parcel of manuscripts, when he was afterwards at Constantinople. Nay, the kindness he retained for him was still so great, that he was even transported with joy that his beloved scholar was again in the East, and resolved immediately on a journey from Aleppo to the Porte on purpose to see him; which he performed accordingly, before Mr Pococke left that city; where, out of the like affection and respect, he staid some time longer to receive him. Nor did this Mahometan doctor ever forget his excellent scholar to the last moment of his life. In 1670, Mr Huntington, in his first letter from Aleppo to Mr Pococke, writes thus: Your old Shaic, who died several years since, was always mindful of you, and expressed your name with his last breath. He was still telling the good opinion he had of you, that you were a right honest man, and that he did not doubt but to meet you in paradise, under the banner of our Jesus. As to Hamet the doctor's servant, several letters were found among his papers, subscribed the poor Dervis and Ahmed, supposed to be the same servant, telling him, that his love for him, was it imbodied, would fill a thousand rivers; that tho' absent from his eyes, he should be still present in his heart, from which, no distance should remove him, and wishing and praying the peace of God to be with him, as long as the east wind blows. The following letter from the same Ahmet shews, that he was also serviceable in the procuring manuscripts for our author. To the presence of the eminent scholar Pococke the honoured. Very fair are the ornaments of paper enriched with the embroidery of words, and very beautiful is that, which the point of the pen draws forth from the minds of souls. Let peace spread it's sweet smell like amber, and display it's favour like jessamine, toward the tract of that country whither he goes. Let God give success to what he delights in and desires. Besides this, there came to us a much desired letter, fairly written after the best manner, and we were revived at it's coming, and satisfied at it's sweet aspect, beyond the spring and smell of flowers; and we know the matter it contained, and what answers you desired in it. And if you enquire concerning us, God be praised we are well and safe; and we trust in God you are in like manner: only since you left us, we have been as tho' our brother had left us, or the spirit which is in the heart. And therefore we had sincere joy, when we heard the news of your health, and of your arrival in your country, and we praise God, who brought you to your people in health and safety, for his mercy is plentiful. We also give you to understand, that we have taken to wife a camel woman, riding on a camel, that she may look after our affairs. We have also gotten *Ecwans Sepha*, which you saw formerly, fairly drawn for sixty garshes, we had not gotten it for that price, unless Hieronymo had gotten it for us, for how we could buy that, which I saw the day you went from Aleppo, you know.

on every occaſion converſe familiarly in it. He likewiſe tranſlated ſeveral Arabic books, and amongſt others a collection of ſix thouſand proverbs [*I*], containing the wiſdom of the Arabians, and referring to the moſt remarkable occurrences in their hiſtory. October 30, 1631, he received a commiſſion from Dr Laud, then Biſhop of London, to buy for him ſuch ancient Greek coins, and ſuch manuſcripts either in Greek or the oriental languages, as he judged moſt proper for an univerſity library (*p*). Mr Pococke uſed his utmoſt endeavours to oblige the Biſhop [*K*], in an employ to which he was particularly prompted by his own inclination; but neither did this, nor any thing elſe, hinder him from a moſt faithful diſcharge of every part of his duty to the Factory, which he ceaſed not to perform with the moſt diligent piety, at a time when it was attended with imminent danger of his life [*L*]. In 1636, he received a letter from Dr Laud, now Archbiſhop of Canterbury, informing him of his deſign to found an Arabic lecture at Oxford, and of naming him to the univerſity for his firſt Profeſſor (*q*). Upon this agreeable news he preſently ſettled his affairs at Aleppo, and took the firſt opportunity of a ſhip to return home (*r*). On his arrival at Oxford this year, he prepared himſelf, according to the ſtatutes of his college, to take his degree of Bachelor of Divinity; the ſcholaſtic exerciſes for which he performed on theſe two queſtions, 1. *Whether pilgrimages to places called holy, undertaken on the account of religion, are to be approved.* 2. *Whether there be any ſuch thing as purgatory.* The former (for he maintained both in the negative) was levelled againſt the Council of Trent (*s*), which had declared theſe pilgrimages to be very pious. His Latin ſermon (*t*) upon this occaſion was attended by the King's Commiſſioners (*u*), then at Oxford on the buſineſs of confirming the preſent body of ſtatutes, which had been lately compiled under the direction of Archbiſhop Laud, then Chancellor of that univerſity. Mr Pococke took this degree July 8, 1636 (*w*); and the Archbiſhop's nomination of him for his Lecturer in the Arabic tongue being confirmed on the 8th of Auguſt following, he opened his lecture on the tenth with an excellent ſpeech in Latin (*x*), containing an account of the nature and uſefulneſs of the Arabic tonge, and performed it afterwards in ſuch a manner as ſhewed a conſcientious reſolution to make the deſign really uſeful [*M*]. He was diſcharging the duties of this poſt with the greateſt reputation, when his friend Mr John Greaves having projected his intended voyage to Egypt, reſolved, if poſſible, to have Mr Pococke's company to Conſtantinople; and the means by which he compaſſed the point has been already related

(*p*) Id. ibid.

(*q*) His Grace expreſſes it thus: 'that he could do himſelf no greater honour than to name him for his firſt Profeſſor.' Ibid. p. 7.

(*r*) Twells, p. 7.

(*s*) In his Theſis he made great uſe of that epiſtle of Gregory Nyſſen, concerning thoſe that travel to Jeruſalem, which had been publiſhed ſeparately in Greek and Latin by Peter du Moulin.

(*t*) A learned diſcourſe written by his own hand being found among his papers, on Mal. ii. 7. is ſuppoſed to be it. Twells, p. 9.

(*u*) Viz. Dr Bancroft, then Biſhop of London; Sir John Coke, one of the Secretaries of State; Sir Henry Martin, Judge of the Prerogative and Admiralty Courts; Sir Edward Lyttleton, then Sollicitor-General; and Dr Thomas Ryves, King's Advocate.

(*w*) Wood's Faſti, Vol. I. col. 268.

(*x*) A ſmall part of it, declaring the great eſteem for poets and poetry among the ancient Arabians, was printed afterwards ad finem Notarum in Carmen Tograi, edit. Oxon. 1661.

know. And as for the hiſtory of Al Jaanabi, the Kadi, of which I ſaw ſome pieces, you told me, that we ſhould tarry, 'till the tranſcribing it was finiſhed; and when it was finiſhed, we ſhould buy it, if the moſt high God pleaſe. The Commentary on Gubſtan is alſo finiſhed, which we will ſend you; and if it pleaſe God, we will do our endeavour to ſend you the Hiſtory of Ebn Chalezen, and any book that we ſhall ſee, if it is convenient for you, we ſhall ſend you; and you muſt needs ſend us an anſwer to theſe letters, and ſome little token of what your country affords. Send us alſo a printed Geography, and whatever buſineſs you ſhall have in theſe parts, ſend, and let me know, that I may enjoy the performance of it. The poor Derviſe Ahmed (18).

(18) Ibid. p. 7.

[*I*] *A Collection of* 6000 *proverbs*] To theſe he added ſome notes for explanation, with a deſign, as he ſeems to intimate to his friend Gerhard Voſſius, to publiſh the whole after his return to England. But this he neither did then, nor ever afterwards. Before he left Oxford, in order to his ſecond voyage to the Eaſt, he entered the following memorandum in a ſpare leaf of theſe Proverbs, where it is yet extant in the Bodleian library. In nomine S. S. & Individuæ Trinitatis cui laus in omnem æternitatem, Amen. If it pleaſe God that I return, not otherwiſe, to diſpoſe of this tranſlation of proverbs; I deſire that it may be put into the archives of Corpus-Chriſti College library, there, tho' very rude and imperfect, to be kept for ſome help of thoſe that ſtudy the Arabic language: hoping, that Mr Thomas Greaves, or ſome other, may at ſome time perfect this work for an edition. In 1671, our author was much importuned by his friends to this publication (19); and he had no inconſiderable encouragement to proceed in it. Dr Caſtel promiſed to ſecure 100 copies for the univerſity of Cambridge, and a ſtill greater proportion might be depended on in Oxford, beſides what the aſſiduity of his good friends in London, Mr Robert Boyle, Dr Gale, Mr Theodore Haak, might get off. But nothing was done in it, except that in March the following year, he certainly intended an edition thereof, ſince, in order thereto, he printed and diſperſed a ſpecimen of the work.

(19) See ſeveral letters of Dr Caſtel to him. Ibid. p. 69.

[*K*] *Endeavours to oblige the Biſhop*] In a letter of that prelate, then made Archbiſhop of Canterbury, May 31, 1634: he thanks Mr Pococke for Greek coins, but mentions no books; he even intimates, that none had been procured, by expreſſing at the ſame time his doubt, that the French and Venetians had raiſed the price of manuſcripts more than that of coins. However, he continues to requeſt of Mr Pococke, that he would ſend him word, when there was hopes of getting any good ones at a tolerable rate; and then adds, I hope you will, before you return back, make yourſelf able to teach the Arabic language. From theſe words it appears, that his Grace had then entertained thoughts of founding an Arabic lecture at Oxford, and was reſolved in the choice of his firſt lecturer (20).

(20) Ibid. p. 7.

[*L*] *When it was attended with imminent danger of his life.*] This happened in the year 1634, when the plague raged furiouſly at Aleppo, and many of the merchants fled two days journey from the city, and dwelt in tents on the mountains. Mr Pococke had that holy confidence in the providence of God, and that readineſs to meet his good pleaſure whatever it ſhould be, that tho' he viſited them that were in the country, he for the moſt part continued to aſſiſt and comfort thoſe, who had ſhut up themſelves in the city. But it happened, that tho' the peſtilence waſted beyond the example of former times, not ceaſing as uſual, in the entrance of the dog-days, all the Engliſh were preſerved, as well thoſe that continued in the town, as they that fled from it (21).

(21) Ibid. p. 8.

[*M*] *A conſcientious deſign to make it really uſeful.*] The book he firſt read upon, was the Proverbs of Ali, the fourth Emperor of the Saracens, and couſin-german and ſon-in-law to Mahomet; a man of ſuch account with that impoſtor, not only for his valour, but knowledge alſo, that he often declared, if all the learning of the Arabians were deſtroyed, it might be found again in Ali, as a living library. Upon this book, obſerving the directions of the Archbiſhop in the ſtatutes he had provided, he ſpent an hour every Wedneſday in vacation time, and alſo in Lent, explaining the ſenſe of the author, and the things relating to the grammar and propriety of the language, and alſo ſhewing the agreement it hath with the Hebrew and Syriac, as often as there was occaſion. Beſides, he uſually tarried for ſome time in the publick ſchool after the lecture, to reſolve queſtions, and ſatisfy the doubts of his auditors; and always in the afternoon, gave admittance in his chamber from one o'clock 'till four, to all who would come to him, for further conference and direction (22).

(22) Ibid. p. 9, 10.

[*N*] *Compaſſed*

related [*N*]. As our author proceeded directly to that city (*y*), ſo his ſtay there being much longer than that of his fellow-traveller, he ſucceeded alſo much better, as well in his own private concerns [*O*], as in their joint employ of purchaſing manuſcripts, &c. for the Archbiſhop, having therein the aſſiſtance of ſeveral other perſons, beſides the Patriarch Cyril (*z*) [*P*], who was a common friend to both. During his abode here, he became for

(*y*) He arrived there about the middle of June, 1637, as appears from a paſſage in rem. [*P*], and fixed at Pera or Galata on the other ſide of the water, where the Engliſh and other merchants then uſually reſided, as did alſo the Engliſh Ambaſſador. Twells, p. 7.

(*z*) That Patriarch gave him an account of the books at Mount Athos, which he ſent to Archbiſhop Laud, who had a little before ſent him a letter, dated in April, 1638, informing him, that, in a letter he had lately received from Dr Uſher, that Primate obſerved, that Greece having been often gleaned, the likelieſt way to procure Greek manuſcripts was to ſtrike over to Natolia and Mount Athos; but this letter did not come to Mr Pococke's hands 'till after the death of Cyril, which put an end to all his thoughts of viſiting that famous mount. Life of Pococke, p. 16.

[*N*] *Compaſſed his point in the manner already related.*] Tho' the propoſition for this ſecond voyage to the Eaſt came firſt from Mr Greaves (23), yet it was the Archbiſhop that gave life to it. For approving the deſign, as ſoon as he was acquainted with it, he over-ruled Mr Greaves's plan of the Conſulſhip, and encouraged Mr Pococke thereto, by allowing him the ſtipend of his lecture during his abſence. This and the like revenue from his Fellowſhip at Corpus-Chriſti, together with an eſtate of ſome value, which was lately fallen to him on the death of his father, enabled Mr Pococke to accompliſh his deſire, without putting his friend to an expence that was ſo generouſly and affectionately offered.

(23) See his article.

[*O*] *He ſuceeded better in his own private concerns.*] Beſides a deſign to perfect himſelf in the Arabic language, the moſt copious and difficult in the world, our author had other reaſons for undertaking this voyage; he had lately engaged in the tranſlation of an hiſtorical work, which he intended to dedicate to the Archbiſhop, as a laſting monument of his gratitude; and this he believed could not be performed by him any where with ſo much eaſe and exactneſs as there, where, upon every difficulty, he might have recourſe to thoſe, whom he thought moſt likely to give the trueſt account of the matters of fact, and alſo beſt underſtood the language they were written in; the view likewiſe of purchaſing many other uſeful treatiſes, beſides what he had already procured, was no doubt a ſtrong incentive to his ſecond viſit into that country. On his firſt arrival, he made it his buſineſs to enquire out ſome learned Turk for his aſſiſtance both in books and the language, which he found very difficult to compaſs in the metropolis of that Empire; but he had the happineſs here which he formerly ſought for in vain at Aleppo, to wit, the ſociety of ſeveral Jews, who were both learned and civil (24), and aſſiſted him both in buying and tranſcribing books, particularly Jacobo Romano, the author of an Auctuarium to Buxtorf's Bibliotheca Rabbinica, and one of the moſt learned Jews in his time (25).

(24) In a letter written ſome months after his arrival, he complains that he could find no ſuch perſons.

(25) Judæorum quos mihi noſſe contigit, nemini vel doctrina vel ingenuitate ſecundus, ſays our author of him, in Nat. Miſcell. ad Portam Moſis, p. 93. ed. 1655.

[*P*] *Having the aſſiſtance of ſeveral others beſides Cyril.*] Our author's connections with this much famed patriarch, ſeem to have been more intimate than thoſe of Mr Greaves; the ſame profeſſion of the two former would naturally unite them into a greater familiarity; and accordingly, the patriarch's untimely end was more felt and lamented by Mr Pococke, who, not only as his correſpondence required, acquainted Archbiſhop Laud therewith, but was at the pains to draw up a particular account of Cyril's life: and when that paper happened to be loſt, he related the contents to Dr Smith, who afterwards publiſhed what he took from our author's mouth, with the title of *Collectanea de Cyrillo Lucario*, Lond. 1707; from whence we learn, that this patriarch in his youth travelled into ſeveral parts of Europe; and that, beſides Latin, he underſtood ſeveral modern languages, by which means he became acquainted with the religion both of Papiſts and Proteſtants; and approving the latter, conceived a peculiar regard for the Church of England, and when he firſt compoſed his piece of the confeſſion of the *Chriſtian Faith*, he dedicated it to King James the Firſt, and deſigned to get it printed in England. Afterwards, when he ventured upon that bold attempt of ordering Nicodemus Metaxa to ſet about printing it at Conſtantinople, in the Greek preſs which he had brought thither from London, it had a dedication to King Charles the Firſt (26); to whom he preſented the famous Alexandrian manuſcript of the Bible, printed by Dr Grabe. But Mr Pococke enjoyed him not long; *for before he had been a full year at Conſtantinople*, the good old patriarch fell a ſacrifice to the malice of the Jeſuits: as he never ceaſed boldly to aſſert the truth in oppoſition to the corruptions of the Church of Rome, ſo the miſſionaries of that order had continually perſecuted him almoſt twenty years, from his firſt coming to the throne of Conſtantinople. They had more than once, by their intereſt in the Miniſters of State, gotten him depoſed; they had alſo cauſed him to be baniſhed. Among other accuſations, they repreſented the arguments he made uſe of to prove Chriſt's divinity againſt the Jews, and the Greek preſs which he had provided to print catechiſms and other uſeful books for the inſtruction of the Chriſtians under his care, as a ſeditious deſign againſt the government. However, hitherto, by the intereſt and zeal of the Engliſh and Dutch Ambaſſadors, theſe attempts upon his life had been defeated; but when he had even obtained ſuch an intereſt in the Prime Vizier, as ſeemed a ſufficient fence againſt all future trouble, a bargain was privately ſtruck up with the great Baſhaw, to take the opportunity of the Vizier's abſence, and fill the ears of the Grand Seignior *Sultan Morad* (then on the borders of Perſia, in order to the ſiege of Bagdad) with the great danger that his empire was in from the Patriarch Cyril, a popular man of a vaſt intereſt, and kept, as this informer (27) pretended to be well aſſured, a cloſe correſpondence with Chriſtian Princes. This pretence ſucceeded according to their wiſhes, and a written order was immediately diſpatched for taking away his life, which was preſently executed with exquiſite barbarity. A crew of janizaries ſeizing him in his palace, carried him to ſea, as it were for another baniſhment, where, in a boat, amidſt the moſt devout prayers to God, with much fervour and conſtancy, he poured out, they reviled, buffetted, and then ſtripped him, and threw him into the water. His body being driven to the ſhore, was there ſecured, 'till ſome of his friends took care to bury it; but the rage of his enemies would not afford it ſuch a reſting place; they cauſed it to be dug up, and caſt again into the ſea. It was taken up a ſecond time by the humanity of ſome fiſhermen, and, at the charge of his friends, buried in a Greek chapel on a little iſland; whence, afterwards, to ſatisfy the people, when the heat of things was over, it was brought to Conſtantinople, and there decently interred on the 27th of June 1638.

(26) It was printed in 1645, 8vo. with this title, Cyrilli Lucaris Confeſſio Chriſtianæ Fidei.

(27) This was one Bereas, who ſucceeded him in the Patriarchate of Conſtantinople, and, among other things, charged him with having ſent letters to the Emperor of Muſcovy, by means whereof, ſome two years before, the Muſcovite ſurprized a town upon the Black-Sea belonging to the Turk. See a letter of Mr Greaves from Conſtantinople, of Auguſt 2, 1638, in his Life prefixed to his Miſcellanies by Dr Birch. Mr Pococke was threatened to be anathematized by him.

Beſides the aſſiſtance of Cyril, our author had that of Dr Cerigo, a learned Phyſician at Galata, and alſo from Aleppo that of his old maſter and ſervant mentioned in remark [*H*], beſides Mr William Corteray, and Mr Richard Hill (28), Engliſh Merchants there; the laſt of whom ſent him the curious manuſcript of the Perſian Goſpels, and ſome of the books of St Ephrem in the original Syriac, together with ſome account of his life. Our author was very ſerviceable alſo to his friend Mr Greaves, both in procuring him manuſcripts, as may be collected from ſeveral letters of the latter from Alexandria to him, containing requeſts of that kind, as well as other things, particularly in one of theſe Mr Greaves deſires him to ſend ſome marble ſtones with inſcriptions in the general ſhips to England; and in another begs to be informed of the compoſition of ink at Conſtantinople, their way of writing, their manner of letting houſes, and making contracts. In one of theſe letters he alſo deſires his friend 'to meaſure the weſt end of the church of St 'Sophia very exactly with a very fine ſmall wire of 'iron or braſs, obſerving that he had done it himſelf 'with a line of pack thread, which he ſays, becauſe 'it ſtretches about half a foot, he could not depend 'upon. You muſt, adds he, with many circumſtances 'deſcribe the place which you meaſure, that if any 'ſhould deſire to do it hereafter, they may take the 'very ſame without erring (29).' The cautious exactneſs here directed for meaſuring the weſt end of St Sophia with a line, are ſufficient to perſuade us of the accuracy Mr Greaves obſerved in meaſuring the pyramids; and particularly obviates an objection againſt it, in the remarks upon the Pyramidagraphia (30), where that ingenious author inſinuates a ſuſpicion, that it was made only by the quadrant and not by a line.

(28) Mr Hill is alſo mentioned as being ſerviceable to others in this way by Mr Selden, in his preface to Origines Alexandrinæ.

(29) Twells, p. 17.

(30) In Greaves's Miſcellanies, Vol. II. where that objector is very ſevere upon Mr Greaves for making uſe of his quadrant upon that occaſion, and obſerves, that Mathematicians never apply themſelves to the way of taking meaſures by proportion, where they can do it by application.

[*Q*] He

for some time Chaplain to Sir Peter Wych [Q], then the English Ambassador to the Porte. In 1639, he received several letters from his friends, and particularly the Archbishop, pressing his return home [R]. Accordingly, in August the following year, he embarked on board the Margaret, which bringing him to Italy (*aa*), he passed thence to Paris, where meeting with the famous Hugo Grotius, he acquainted him with a design he had of translating his Treatise concerning the Truth of the Christian Religion into Arabic (*bb*) [S]. The proposal was received with much satisfaction by that excellent person,

(*aa*) At Genoa he overheard two Turkish slaves ridicule the ceremony of the procession of the Host, thinking themselves secure from a discovery by talking their own language; and Mr Pococke was not so much displeased thereat as to betray them. Id. ibid.

(*bb*) Grotii Epistol. Gulielmo Fratri, No. 534. p. 914.

[Q] *He was some time Chaplain to Sir Peter Wyche.*] Mr Pococke had been entertained with great kindness in Sir Peter's house, being recommended, as well as Mr Greaves, by Archbishop Laud to him; and after his Lady, with his Chaplain, was gone for England, the Ambassador was obliged to stay much longer by reason of the Grand Seignior and Vizier's absence in the Persian wars, seeing, 'till their return, he could not obtain his credential letters, and wanting a Chaplain for that time, Mr Pococke desired the Archbishop's leave to supply that place, and easily obtained it. While he lived in this house, Sir Cyril Wych was born, and had his name Cyril given him from the Patriarch abovementioned, who was present at his baptism in the Ambassador's chapel; and Dr Pococke many years after, desired Sir Cyril to write the Patriarch's life (31).

(31) Twells, ubi supra.

[R] *He received in 1639, several letters pressing his return home.*] Mr Greaves from Alexandria advised him not to devote himself so much to his Oriental studies as to forget his hopes and his fortunes at home. And Mr Charles Fettiplace, a Turkey merchant in London, who received his money from the college and Archbishop, and sent him bills of exchange for it to Constantinople, acquainting him with some preferments lately bestowed on his friend Mr Thomas Greaves, desired him to consider, that his great patron was mortal like other men, and that therefore he should by no means absent himself unnecessarily, and lose the opportunities of improving his favour to the best advantage. And the Archbishop himself, in many successive letters had been quickening him in this respect. In one dated March 4, 1639-40, he writes thus: 'I am now going to settle my Arabic lecture for ever upon the university, and I would have your name in the deed, which is the best honour I can do for the service (32).'

(32) Ibid.

[S] *He acquainted Hugo Grotius with his design to turn his book de Veritate, &c. into Arabic.*] That great man was then Ambassador at the Court of France from the crown of Sweden. Mr Pococke had long resolved, as soon as he should be at leisure, to do something towards the conversion of some of the Mahometans, having, whilst he lived in the East, observed in many of them much justice, and candor, and love, and other excellent qualities which seemed to prepare them for the kingdom of God; and therefore he could not but persuade himself, that were the doctrines of the Gospel proposed to them, not a few might open their eyes to discern the truth. For this purpose, he could not think of any thing more likely to prove useful, than translating into Arabic the general language of the East, that excellent discourse of Grotius abovementioned (33); and in this proposal (34) he did not scruple to take notice to that great author of some things toward the end of his book, which he could not approve, as advancing opinions, which, tho' they were commonly in Europe charged upon the followers of Mahomet, yet had no foundation in any of their authentic writings, and were such, as they themselves were ready on all occasions to disclaim. With this freedom, Grotius was so far from being displeased, that he heartily thanked him for it, and gave him authority, in the version he intended, to expunge and alter whatever he should think fit. This work was published in 1660, at the sole expence of Mr Robert Boyle; and the alterations made from the original by our author, were chiefly these: that he left out Grotius's introduction, as being only an account, addressed upon a particular occasion to Hieron. Bignonius, of a work of the like nature, which he had formerly published in Dutch; and also containing in it some expressions relating to the Mahometans, which, lying in the entrance, might perhaps hinder those people from looking any further. Instead of this, therefore, he inserted a new preface, wherein he proposes the design of the work; which he observes, was to enquire concerning the true worship of God, and the arguments produced for it. He shews the vast importance of such researches, and prays for the divine illumination which is necessary to render them effectual. He likewise gives some account of the persons to whom this treatise would be especially serviceable; and of what kind the arguments made use of in it are, namely, such as, being collected from the books both of ancient and modern authors, who have written on this subject, are sure and convincing, and also easy to be understood. He likewise made several alterations in the sixth book against Mahometanism, amending some things and leaving out others, both in the fifth and tenth sections of it, and particularly the pretended miracle of the flying of the dove to the ear of Mahomet, as having no foundation either in the writings or opinions of his followers; about which, when he discoursed with Grotius, that learned man freely acknowledged, his taking the story only from our own writers, especially from Scaliger, in his notes on Manilius (35). After all, this pious design of our author did not meet with that success which it deserved, notwithstanding the endeavours of Mr Boyle, and also of Mr Baxter, to promote the distribution of the books in the eastern countries by our merchants. Dr Smith, who went to Constantinople in 1668, affirmed; that he did not know of so much as one single copy there, except those which he carried out of England himself, and which he presented there to a Turkish Imaim, or Turk of his acquaintance, who was well skilled in the language of his Prophet; and though a considerable number were disposed of at Aleppo by Dr Huntington, yet he found the thing was much discouraged by the Romanists; upon which he observes, that the most innocent and useful attempts will be discouraged by some persons, when made by such instruments as they do not approve of. For, notwithstanding all the kindness (as appears from his printed epistles) (36), which passed between him and the Fathers in those countries, and the offices of friendship they mutually performed. He complained to Dr Pococke, that in dispersing this treatise he had much greater apprehensions from their malice, than from the unprompted accusations of the Turks themselves. He added farther, that upon this account he was obliged, for his own safety, to cut the last book wherein Mahometanism is confuted, out of some copies before he distributed them. However, as the doctor, notwithstanding these difficulties, gave some hopes of doing good this way, our author proceeded, for the use of the young Christians in the East, to translate the Catechism of the English Church into Arabic (37); and sent three copies to Mr Huntington, with a letter, wherein he expressed his wishes, that the chief prayers of the English liturgy were likewise in the same language. To this Mr Huntington returns for answer as follows. 'Undoubtedly this [Catechism] is but a specimen of your further design; that thereby you would guess, how it might be accepted before you accomplish the whole. Really, continues he, if you will believe the people, they wonder that a Frank should understand their tongue better than the most learned among themselves; and they rejoice to see the two tables [of the commandments] once more entire and perfect, not abused and broken, as in all the methods and systems of divinity that the Romanists have hitherto conveyed, for ought I know, into these places. And, adds he, if this be so acceptable, what would the whole service be, when the people shall read it so fully expressed in the language wherein they are born? No one is, nor ever will be, besides yourself, fit for the employment. For it well becomes the best liturgy in the world to be best translated; and in this case, every one that knows your name, knows where alone to rest his expectation.' These pressing instances had the desired effect, and in 1674, Mr Pococke printed

(33) In the epistle above quoted, Grotius says the version was then made. See his words. Fuit apud me his diebus Anglus vir doctissimus, qui diu in Turcico vixit imperio, & meum librum *De Veritate Christianæ Religionis* in Arabicum vertit sermonem, curabitque, si potest, typis in Anglia edi.

(34) Henry Hottinger, Professor of Hebrew at Zurich in Switzerland, being employed in translating the *Chronicon Samaritanum* into Latin in 1642, at the request of Primate Usher, had then seen Mr Pococke in England; and hearing now of his translation of Grotius *De Veritate*, &c. and the design of it, he was thereby prompted to turn the Helvetian Confession into Arabic, and desired Mr Pococke's assistance therein. Twells, p. 21.

(35) Notes in Specim. Hist. Arabum, p. 186, 187.

(36) Edit. Lond. 1704, 8vo.

(37) It had this title in Latin: *Catechismus Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Lingua Arabica*, 1671. At the end were added some places of Scripture, containing the general principles of religion. The *Te Deum* was also inserted.

Parts

perfon, who gave him a great deal of encouragement to purfue it. On his arrival in London, Mr Pococke had the misfortune to find his great and worthy patron committed to the Tower. However, as that was far from leffening his efteem, fo he did not fail to pay his refpects where it was fo much his duty. In this interview he delivered a meffage from Hugo Grotius, to which the Archbifhop returned a very remarkable anfwer [T]. Our Profeffor, on his coming to Oxford, found his lecture fettled by the founder to a perpetuity; but the iniquity of the times hindered him from proceeding to any confiderable purpofe, either in that or the other defigns in Arabic and Rabbinical learning, which he had undertaken through a willingnefs to anfwer the expectations that were now every where entertained of him, as the firft perfon in Europe for oriental learning [U]. In 1643, he was prefented by his college to the rectory of Childrey, a living of very good value in Berkfhire (cc); and the military ftate of Oxford rendering the demands of his profefforfhip impractical, fet him more at liberty to attend particularly to the duties of this new relation, which he difcharged with the religious care of a worthy Parifh-Prieft [W]. But neither this, nor his diftinguifhed humility, nor yet a moft modeft, and at the fame time pleafant and entertaining, converfation [X], by which he was remarkably engaging

(cc) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 869. and Twells, p. 21.

Partes præcipuæ Liturgiæ Ecclefiæ Anglicanæ lingua Arabica. However, he did not render the whole liturgy, but the chief prayers and hymns only. The verfion containing the daily morning and evening prayers, and the order for adminiftring Baptifm, and the Lord's Supper; to which were added the thirty-nine articles, and the arguments of our homilies. Mr Huntington, in the letter laft mentioned, intimates, that he would readily advance the whole charge of the impreffion, if he lived to be worth fo much, in cafe it fhould happen, that no other benefactors offered their affiftance; but the whole expence of printing it was defrayed by the univerfity.

[T] *He delivered a meffage, to which the Archbifhop returned a remarkable anfwer.*] The news of the Archbifhop's imprifonment in the Tower on March 1, 1640, having reached Paris, would naturally become the fubject of much difcourfe between our author and Grotius, from whom the meffage was: 'That it was his humble 'advice and requeft, that his Grace would find out fome 'way, if poffible, to efcape out of the hands he was now 'in, and pafs to fome place beyond the feas, there to 'preferve himfelf for better times, at leaft, to obtain 'fome prefent fecurity from the malice of his bitter 'enemies, and the rage of a deluded people †.' This Mr Pococke told him that excellent perfon had earneftly preffed him to move his Grace to, as foon as he fhould have accefs to him, and he hoped the thing would appear fo reafonable to him, that he would neglect no means or opportunity that might be offered, to put it in execution Tho' this was a courfe which had been lately taken by fome other great men (38); yet the Archbifhop, as foon as it was thus propofed to him, immediately declared his refolution againft it. 'I am obliged, faid he, to my good friend Hugo Grotius, for the care he has thus expreffed of my fafety; 'but I can by no means be perfuaded to comply with 'the counfel he hath given me. An efcape indeed is 'feafible enough, yea, 'tis, I believe, the very thing 'which my enemies defire; for every day an opportunity for it is prefented to me, a paffage being 'left free, in all likelihood for this very purpofe, that 'I fhould endeavour to take the advantage of it ||; but 'they fhall not be gratified by me, in what they appear to long for. I am almoft 70 years old, and 'fhall I now go about to prolong a miferable life by 'the trouble and fhame of flying? and, were I willing to be gone, whither fhould I fly? fhould I go 'into France or any other Popifh country, it would be 'to give fome feeming ground to that charge of Popery, they have endeavoured with fo much induftry 'and fo little reafon, to faften upon me. But if I 'fhould get into Holland, I fhould expofe myfelf to 'the infults of thofe fectaries there, to whom my character is odious, and have every Anabaptift come, 'and pull me by the beard. No, I am refolved not 'to think of flight; but continuing where I am, patiently expect and bear what a good and a wife Providence hath provided for me, of what kind foever 'it fhall be (39).'

† Grotius, in the like circumftances, had made his efcape from the fortrefs of Louveftein in Holland, being carried out in a cheft under the name of books. See the Englifh tranflation of his Life by Burigny, p. 78, 79. Lond. 1754, 8vo.

(38) Particularly by Finch, the Lord-Keeper of the Great Seal, and by Windebank, one of the Secretaries of State, the former into Holland, the latter into France. Salmon's Chronological Hiftorian, for the year 1640.

|| In the Hiftory of his Troubles, &c. it is faid, that after being kept three years *clofe prifoner*, he was brought to his trial; which, as appears by this letter, muft be underftood to mean only that he was nominally fuch a prifoner, according to the tenour of his commitment.

(39) Twells, p. 20.

[U] *To anfwer the expectations, &c.*] Soon after his arrival he received a letter from Gerhard John Voffius (40), who expreffes himfelf in the following terms: 'I give thanks unto God for your fafe return, 'as upon the private fcore of our friendfhip, fo upon 'the publick account; becaufe I well perceive, how 'great advantage the republick of letters and the 'Church of God may receive from you. For, if 'more than 15 years ago, you could acquit yourfelf 'fo well, what may we not hope from you now? 'that age, and the induftry of fome years, have much 'increafed your knowledge and ripened your judgment. Your return, therefore, I congratulate to 'yourfelf, to Oxford, and to all England; yea, and 'to the whole world.' Mr Pococke, in anfwer (41) to this, declares himfelf ready to fet his hand to any bufinefs concerning which he fhould be fatisfied, that it would be of the leaft benefit to the commonwealth of learning.

(40) Inter Voffii & Cl. Viror. ad Voffium Epiftolas, No. 425.

(41) Ibid. No. 336.

[W] *He difcharged the duties of a worthy parifh-prieft.*] Among other inftances of his prudent and pious care for the religious improvement of his flock, it is obfervable, that tho' he was led, both by genius and inclination, to fpend his whole life in the moft recondite literature, yet his fermons were always compofed in a plain ftile upon practical fubjects, carefully avoiding all fhew and oftentation of learning *. But from this very exemplary caution, not to amufe his hearers (contrary to the common method then in vogue) with what they could not underftand; fome of them took occafion to entertain very contemptible thoughts of his learning, and to fpeak of him accordingly. So that one of his Oxford friends, as he travelled through Childrey, enquiring, for his diverfion, of fome of the people, who was their Minifter, and how they liked him? received this anfwer. *Our Parfon is one Mr Pococke, a plain honeft man, but Mafter*, faid they, *he is no Latiner* (42).

* His fermons in the univerfity were full of critical and other learning. Twells, p. 22.

(42) Id. ibid.

[X] *Remarkably amiable by his humility and pleafant converfation.*] Mr Locke who was bred in the fame college, and knew our author, has expreffed this part of his character very well (43), as follows: 'That his other virtues and excellent qualities had fo 'ftrong and clofe a covering of modefty and unaffected humility, that though they fhone the brighter 'to thofe who had the opportunities to be more intimately acquainted with him, and eyes to difcern and 'diftinguifh folidity from fhew, and efteem virtue 'that fought not reputation, yet they were the lefs 'taken notice of, and talked of, by the generality of 'thofe to whom he was not wholly unknown.' The fame author, fpeaking of his modeft, as well as entertaining, converfation, writes thus: 'That 'though he was not a forward, much lefs an affuming, 'talker; yet he was the fartheft in the world from 'fullen or morofe, and that he would talk very freely 'and very well of all parts of learning, befides that 'wherein he was known to excel. That he was not 'at all clofe and referved; but, on the contrary, the 'readieft to communicate to any that confulted him. 'Indeed, continues Mr Locke, he was not forward to 'talk, nor ever would be the leading man in the difcourfe, though it were on a fubject that he underftood better than any in the company; and would 'often content himfelf to fit ftill and hear others debate in matters which he himfelf was more a mafter 'of. He had often the filence of a learner, where 'he had the knowledge of a mafter; and that not 'with a defign, as is often done, that the ignorance 'any one betrayed, might give him the opportunity 'to difplay his own knowledge with the more luftre 'and advantage to their fhame, or cenfure them, 'when

(43) In a letter dated July 23, 1703, to Mr Smith of Dartmouth, who was then collecting materials for writing Dr Pococke's life. This letter was printed in the year 1714; and Mr Twells obferves it to be truly done, as appears from comparing it with the original then in his hands. Pococke's Life, ubi fupra, towards the conclufion.

engaging, were sufficient to secure him from sharing the common fate of the Royalists in those times. 'The profits of his Professorship, presently after the death of Archbishop Laud in 1644, were seized by the sequestrators [Y] as part of that unfortunate Prelate's estate. Being thus reduced to pass his time altogether in the country, he turned his thoughts to matrimony, and, in 1646, concluded a marriage with Mary, daughter to Thomas Burdet, Esq; of West-Wortham in Hampshire (*dd*). As his very extraordinary merit procured him friends on all sides; so, in 1647, he was restored to the salary of his lecture by the interest of Mr Selden [Z]; and, to preserve him from the outrage of the soldiery, he obtained a protection under the hand and seal of General Fairfax, by the application of Dr George Ent. In 1648, at the recommendation of Dr Sheldon and Dr Hammond, he was nominated Hebrew Professor at Oxford, with the Prebend of Christ-Church annexed thereto, by the King, then a prisoner in the Isle of Wight, and was soon after voted into the same lecture by the Committee of Parliament (*ee*); but a different Prebend in the same church (*ff*) being appointed him, thereby he was greatly concerned, and entered a protest against it [*AA*]. However, that trouble was, not very long after, buried in a much greater;

(*dd*) Ibid. p. 23.

(*ee*) But he had no patent, the King not having then the Seal in his possession; nor had he any ordinance of Parliament, but only a vote of the Committee.

(*ff*) That of Dr Payne, who had been ejected some time before by the same Committee.

'when they were gone; but these arts of triumph and 'ostentation frequently practised by men of skill and 'ability, were utterly unknown to him. It was very 'seldom that be contradicted any one, or if it were 'necessary at any time to inform any one better, who 'was in a mistake, it was done in so soft and gentle 'a manner, that it had nothing of the air of dispute 'or correction, and seemed to have little of opposition 'in it. That in company he never used himself, nor 'willingly heard from others, any personal reflections 'on other men, though set off with a sharpness that 'usually tickles, and by most men is mistaken for the 'best, if not the only seasoning of pleasant conversa-'tion; yet he would often bear his part in innocent 'mirth, and by some apposite and diverting story con-'tinue and heighten the good humour." Thus has Mr Locke done justice to this part of our author's character; which, however, evidently shews, that it would have been drawn more agreeably to the original person (had he been then living) without making the comparisons which we see therein more than once.

[*Y*] *Were seized by the sequestrators.*] The stipend of the Arabic lecture was 40 pounds a year, charged upon the lands called Budd's Pastures, an estate of the Archbishop, in the parish of Bray in Buckinghamshire, which was settled upon the university for that purpose. The great meekness of Mr Pococke's temper did not over-rule that steady principle of gratitude, which no apprehensions of danger to himself could make him neglect. Upon this occasion, therefore, he wrote a letter to the sequestrators, representing how useful that sort of learning was, which the income of that land was designed to promote, both to Divinity and other commendable studies; what reputation it then had in most universities beyond the seas, and what large salaries had been appointed in most of them for the encouragement of it. He also laboured to make them sensible, that besides the settlement of the founder, which was made with all the formalities that the law required, he had also an equitable right to what he claimed; for as his continuance at Aleppo, which first recommended him to the choice of the Archbishop, had been a thing of charge and difficulty to him, so to qualify himself better for this employment, he had been at the hazard of a voyage to Constantinople, the necessary expences of which amounted to a sum sufficient even for the purchase of a revenue for life of much greater value (44).

(44) Twells, p. 23, 24. who observes also, that his four years stay there had cost him between 5 and 600 pounds, p. 18.

[Z] *Restored to the profits of his lecture by the interest of Mr Selden.*] Besides Mr Selden, who being in Parliament, was the immediate instrument of procuring this restitution, several others were active to serve him in this matter; particularly, Dr Gerard Langbaine, Provost of Queen's college in Oxford, was at the pains of drawing a long instrument in Latin, wherein the course taken by the Archbishop effectually to settle the lands was, at large and very particularly, recited; and also a formal grant from that body of all the profits issuing out of them to Mr Pococke, during the time that he should continue to be Arabic lecturer; and the instrument being proposed by him and some others in congregation, with unanimous consent, had the seal of the university affixed to it (45).

(45) Ibid.

[*AA*] *He was much concerned, and entered a protest against it.*] Dr Morris, his predecessor, died March 27th this year, and on the 9th of April ensuing, the Committee having resolved that the matter of the answer put in by the Dean of Christ-church, Dr Samuel Fell, and others, the Prebends of that Church, who subscribed their names to the said answer, was a high contempt of the authority of Parliament; and that for an effectual remedy thereof, the said Dr Fell and Prebends so subscribing be removed from their places. The order proceeds thus. This Committee being informed that Dr Morris, one of the said Prebends, and Hebrew lecturer of the university, is lately deceased, whose hand is subscribed to the said answer, do order that Mr Pococke be Hebrew lecturer of the university in the place of the said Dr Morris deceased, and that he shall receive profits and dues belonging to the said place; and do further order, that the said Mr Pococke be, and hereby he is, constituted and established a collegiate Prebend of Christ-church, in the place of Dr Payne removed from his Prebend's place by a former order of this Committee; and that the said Mr Pococke do enjoy and have all the power, rights, emoluments, rooms, and lodgings, by any statute, or custom, or right, formerly belonging to the said Dr Payne. This favour was owing to Mr Selden, as appears from a letter of thanks to him by Mr Pococke on this occasion (46). Accordingly, the Committee issued an order June 6th following, to put him in possession of Dr Payne's lodgings. But though he acquiesced at present, through the persuasion of his friends, particularly Mr Greaves and Dr Langbaine. Yet he afterwards applied both to them and Mr Selden for his right to Dr Morris's Prebend and lodgings, which proving ineffectual, he read and entered the following protestation, August 31. 1649, before Dr Reynolds Dean of Christ-church, then Vice-Chancellor; as also in the presence of Ralph Button, Prebendary of that church, and Ralph Austen, and, lastly, of John French, Notary Publick and Register of the university. In which he set forth, that 'The late King, in the 6th year of his reign, had given and granted to John Morris, B. D. and then Hebrew Professor, a Canonry or Prebend in the Cathedral of Christ-church, to be held by him, as long as he should continue to be Hebrew Professor or Lecturer of the university of Oxford, and no longer; with all the houses, mansions, profits, &c. any ways belonging, or hereafter to belong, to the said Canonry or Prebend. And, by the said letters patents, he farther granted to the said Chancellor, Masters, and Scholars of the university of Oxford, and their successors, that for the future, and that for a perpetuity, whenever, by the death, resignation, deprivation, &c. of the said John Morris, the said Prebend should any ways become void, that then, and so from time to time, the said Canonry, with it's aforesaid appurtenances, should come to every Hebrew Professor and Lecturer for the time being, and should not in the interim be granted to any other. And whereas, upon the natural death of the said John Morris, the Canonry was become void, he, Edward Pococke, by the appointment and decree of the honourable Committee for regulating the university of Oxford, was declared publick Professor and Lecturer of Hebrew in the said university in room of the said John Morris: and that whereas by a very late act for abrogating cathedral churches, it was among other things ordained, that the said act nor any thing in it contained, should in any wise extend to the foundation of Christ-church in Oxford, or to the profits or emoluments of any publick

(46) Ibid. p. 26.

greater; for, October 24, 1649, another Committee of Parliament, which had been appointed for regulating the universities, passed the two following resolutions: 1. That it does appear to this Committee, that Edward Pococke, Collegiate-Prebend of Christ-Church, hath not taken and subscribed the Engagement prescribed by the act. 2. That the Committee will proceed on this day fortnight to nominate another, to supply the place of Mr Edward Pococke, Collegiate-Prebend of Christ-Church. Accordingly, on the 7th of November, the Committee resolved, that Mr Peter French be Collegiate-Prebend in the place of Mr Pococke; and a special order of the said Committee for that purpose was issued, reciting, that the place of the said Mr Pococke became void for not taking and subscribing *the Engagement* (*gg*). In the midst of these persecutions, he not only continued to read his lectures (*hh*) with the same diligence as before; but also published this year (*ii*), his *Specimen Historiæ Arabum* [*B B*]; and when, some time in December 1650, another

(*gg*) Ibid. p. 32.

(*hh*) After the loss of his Canonry, he resided in a chamber in Baliol-college as often as he was obliged to be at Oxford. Ibid. p. 33.

(*ii*) In January the same year, special licence was granted to him by the delegates of the university, to supplicate for his degree of Doctor of Divinity; but he declined it. Wood's Fasti, Vol. II. col. 92.

lick Professor or Lecturer in either university. He, the said Edward Pococke, Hebrew Lecturer in the university of Oxford, did therefore (with due reverence) openly, and in writing, protest, that by his acceptance of any other houses and mansions in Christ-church aforesaid, he did not intend any prejudice should be done to his right, title, and interest, or to that of his successors, the Hebrew Professors at Oxford, or to the Chancellor, Masters, and Scholars of the said university, to the houses and mansions in Christ-church, lately in the possession of John Morris, Hebrew Professor, or to any other profits, &c. So that (notwithstanding any acceptance of mine for the time) my right and that of my successors, and that of the Chancellor, Masters, and Scholars, of the said university of Oxford, and their successors (if any right there be) to all and singular of these may be preserved safe and unhurt, and remain so at present, and to all future times, according to the force, form, and effect, of the letters patents, resolution, and act aforesaid.' Dr Langbaine observes, that this appointment of Dr Payne's lodgings and Canonry to Mr Pococke, was done without any design to prejudice him or the Hebrew lecture, since not any of the Committee, not even Mr Selden himself, knew any thing of the King's annexation.

[*B B*] *Specimen historiæ Arabum.*] It is a short discourse in Arabic with a Latin translation, and notes by him; to which is added an *Elenchus Scriptorum Arabicorum*. The discourse itself is taken out of the general History of Gregory Abul Feraijus, and is the introduction to that author's ninth Dynasty (47); where, being about to treat of the empire of the Saracens or Arabians, he gives a compendious account of that people before the time of Mahomet; as also of that impostor himself, and the new religion introduced by him, and of the several sects into which it was divided (48), with a kind of Creed of the orthodox faith from Gazalius. Mr Pococke's notes are a collection of a great variety of things relating to these matters, out of more than an hundred Arabic manuscripts (a catalogue of which he adds in the end of his book). Wherein, as he has given an account of the true opinions of the Mahometans, so has he taken care, upon proper occasion, to do them justice, by a vindication from such things as had been fastened on them without sufficient grounds. As, particularly, that charge of idolatry brought against them by Euthymius and some of the Greek writers; and those stories of their expecting the return of their prophet, of his body's being put into an iron chest, and suspended by a load-stone, and of the dove coming to his ear. He has also many critical remarks very useful to such as study the Arabic tongue: and he has likewise occasionally inserted many things which Abul Feraijus did not directly lead him to. Thus he gives a description of Mecca out of *Sharifol Edresi*. He shews what the superstition of the ancient Sabii was, which, as Maimonides observes, had spread itself over the greatest part of the world. He gives an account of the Magi, who were very numerous, not only in Persia and India, but in Arabia too; thinking it probable, that those were of the last country, who came into Judæa to worship our Saviour. He has a short discourse out of an Arabian Physician, concerning the power of some kinds of food to change the temper and disposition of those that eat them. He also considers the state of learning among the latter Arabians, as it had been advanced by Abu Jaafor Almansor, and afterwards by Almanon, and some following Emperors; intimating his opinion, that in ingenious studies, they hardly came behind the Greeks (49). This book he dedicated to Mr Selden, in a declaration at the end of the preface (50), that the following work was designed by him to be a token of his observance and gratitude to that friend. Upon reading the book, Mr Selden was extremely pleased therewith, and it was generally considered by the learned men of that time, as a convincing proof of Mr Pococke's assertion in the preface, that the Arab tongue contains such riches in every kind of learning, as had not then been discovered to the western parts of the world. This piece is still in the greatest esteem amongst all that are any ways conversant in the oriental learning. Besides what Dr Humphry Prideaux at home observes concerning it in his Life of Mahomet p. 190, Adrian Reland abroad writes thus of it (51). Cl. Pocockius *in specimine historiæ Arabum, quo nemo carere potest cui literæ Arabicæ in deliciis sunt.* Simon Ockley has also these words relating to it. *Specimen historiæ Arabum opus vere aureum Cl. Pocockii studio elaboratum, dignus est hic liber, qui sæpius legatur, est enim quasi clavis ad quoscunque authores Arabicos intelligendos perquam necessaria* (52).

Whoever considers the reputation of this work, together with the character of Mr Bayle, will not be surprized to find this latter author making free with the former upon a very slender acquaintance. Thus, having observed a wide difference between our author and Mr Greaves, about the time of Abulfeda's being advanced to the government of Hamah in Syria (53), he harangues thereon in the following manner: 'A circumstance which gives me pain, is, to find the learned Dr Pococke asserting that Abulfeda succeeded to the government of the province of Hamah, an. Heg. 710. Now this is inconsistent with what Mr Greaves has ascertained. However, continues he, it is more natural to depend on the latter, since Abulfeda is the chief subject on which he writes; whereas, the former mentions him only occasionally.' To this he adds the following censure. 'But is it not vexatious, that men of Dr Pococke's knowledge in oriental affairs cannot be depended on? and at the same time they publish a circumstance, one of their fellow-labourers should prove it to be false (54).' But this ill timed pertness has been handsomely chastized by Mr Gagnier (55), and after him, by Mr George Sale (56); who have shewn the mistake not to belong to our author, but to Mr Greaves. Upon this, the following remark is made by Mr Twells: that Mr Bayle's critical rule is by no means applicable, in comparing Dr Pococke's authority to that of Mr Greaves in this case; since the former was incomparably superior to the latter, in the knowledge of the eastern writers, as he had greater opportunities, having spent more than twice the time in those parts. That Mr Greaves, continues he, speaking of this mistake, who otherwise was a cautious and accurate scholar, should print an error which might easily have been avoided, is the more surprizing, when we reflect that he had then this piece [Specimen Hist. Arab.] of his friend's, which was printed the year before, in his hands, and highly admired it, as indeed, every thing that came from him; and it appears, from the letters that passed between these two friends about this time, that Mr Greaves had consulted Dr Pococke, and received solutions from him of several doubts concerning *Abulfeda*. In some of which he proposes to him his intended version of several Arabic passages that occur in this very preface, wherein the grand mistake stands; and, which is more, the very passage from Al Sacerdan that misled him, and his designed translation of it is extant in a letter of his to Dr Pococke, though without naming that writer, or the use he intended to make of the passage from

(47) The work is divided into ten dynasties.

(48) Viz. no less than 73; their disputes being about the divine attributes, God's decrees, and some other points, managed with the same heat and subtlety as among Christians.

(49) He quotes Sir Henry Savile, and seems to agree with him in this opinion.

(50) After the Arabian manner, as he informs Mr Selden in a private letter on this occasion. Twells, p. 35.

(51) De Religione Mahommedica, p. 86. Ultraject. 1705.

(52) Introd. ad Ling. Orient. p. 147. Cantab. 1706.

(53) The first in the notes to this specimen, p. 363. fixing it anno Hegir. 710. The other in Binæ Tabulæ Abulfedæ, &c. p. 78. placing it anno Heg. 743.

(54) See note [*A*] in the article Abulfeda, in Critical and Historical Dictionary; in the index to which, at the word Pococke, are these words: Il est étonnant, qu'il ne soit une guide sur un fait d'erudition orientale.

(55) In Præf. ad Abulfedæ Vitam Moham. p. 4, & seq.

(56) In General Dictionary, note [*B*], to the article Abulfeda; where he says, no European has hitherto excelled, if equalled, Dr Pococke, in the knowledge of the Arabic tongue and writers.

another vote passed, both to deprive him of his lectures [*CC*] and turn him out of the university, he was saved from the effect thereof by the intercession of a great part of that body, almost all of whom had been placed there by the Parliament [*DD*]. In some of the following years he began to prepare several of his pieces for the press (*k k*), and, in 1652, he was one of those who were concerned in preparing the intended edition of the Polyglott Bible [*EE*]. In 1654, the famous Golius, Arabic Professor at Leyden, publishing

(*k k*) Twells, p. 33.

from him. 'This following Arabic, says he, I think 'may be rendered into Latin.' Then, after giving the Arabic, comes his Latin rendering, viz. *finitum est opus feria 5ta 22ndo die Almohar rasa*; and after another Arabic sentence and it's version nothing to the present purpose, there appears the other part of Al Sacerdan's sentence, which he proposes to translate thus: *Sedit super thronum regni post amotionem fratris ipsius* (57).' How easy had it been to add one more query, viz. whether the Abulfeda of Al Sacerdan was the same with the Prince of Hamah, whose tables he was then publishing; but of this he seems not to have entertained the least suspicion, though his only authority for the affirmative was barely an agreement in names. However, Mr Twells very candidly offers an excuse for this negligence, viz. the hurry and distraction of his affairs for those many years, in which he was preparing the edition of Abulfeda. For the truth of which fact he refers to a letter of his to Dr Pococke, wrote a year after that piece came abroad, wherein he uses the following expression: 'I am so 'very busy, and for these five years I have been en'cumbered with law suits and diverted from my stu'dies, that though I have this year found some ease '(I know not how) I am unwilling to take those pains 'I have formerly undergone.' Having therefore, when he wrote this preface to Abulfeda, neither time nor inclination for exact researches, he too easily trusted to appearances, and as it commonly happens in such cases, was grievously deceived thereby (58).

(57 After which Mr Greaves, in his printed translation, inserts in hooks thus [in Hamah].

(58) Life of Pococke, p. 62.

[*CC*] *A vote passed the Committee to deprive him of his lectures.*] As this might be easily foreseen, so he had fixed his resolutions upon it before it happened: what those were will be seen in the following extract of a letter written by him to George Hornius, a learned Professor of History in the university of Gueldres, dated November 30th, 1649. 'My affairs, says he, 'are reduced to such a crisis, that unless I meddle in 'things wherein I am resolved never to intermeddle '[meaning the Engagement] I shall be turned out of 'all my Professorships in the university, or rather, am 'already in effect turn'd out. I have learnt, and 'made it the unalterable principle of my soul, to 'keep peace, as far as in me lies, with all men; to 'pay due reverence and obedience to the higher 'powers; and to avoid all things that are foreign to 'my profession or studies; but to do any thing that 'would ever so little molest the quiet of my consci'ence, would be more grievous than the loss, not on'ly of my fortune, but my life. But, please, Sir, to 'be assured, that I never followed these studies, with 'mercenary views. Therefore, when it shall please 'God (as I trust in his endless bounty that it will) to 'vouchsafe me a safe and obscure retirement, I will, 'with greater alacrity than ever, apply myself to 'these studies, and promote them with my best endea'vours'.

[*DD*] *He was saved by the intercession, &c.*] When the news of this vote came to Oxford, many there were so sensible of the damage it would bring to the university, that without his request or knowledge, they drew up a petition to the Committee in the following form:

'To the Right Honourable the Committee of Par'liament for regulating the university.

'The humble petition of several, the Governours of hou'ses, publick Officers, Masters of Arts, and other Gra'duates and Students, sheweth: That your petitioners 'knowing Mr Edward Pococke, late Prebendary of 'Christ-church, to be a man of a very ingenuous and 'peaceable conversation, excellently learned in the ori'ental languages; and considering that there is no power 'or trust going along with the Hebrew and Arabic lec'tures in this university, that the stipend of both is but a 'very small maintenance, and should they be put into 'several hands, no way competent for a learned man; 'that he is able (above any we have heard of) to 'discharge them both, as having travelled abroad and 'been trained up for many years in the midst of those 'tongues and nations; that he hath been very useful 'here, and a great ornament to this university, where'in we understand he desires still, in all peaceable 'manner, to continue to serve this state and his own 'country in this employment

'We therefore humbly pray, that out of that zeal 'you bear to the advancement of learning, this part 'especially so useful in itself, and so generally at this 'day promoted in these western nations, and as an act 'of your favour and clemency, you will be pleased to 'suspend the execution of the said vote, as to the Ara'bic lecture at least, 'till such time as you shall be 'provided of some other person, who in regard of his 'abilities shall be thought fit to succeed in that place 'with satisfaction to the university.' John Wilkins, Warden of Wadham, Joshua Cross, George Marshall, N. C. C. Tho. Owen, Sen. Proc. Henry Cornish, Ralph Button, John Wallis, Tho. Smith, Johua North, Fra. Howel, Dan Greenwood, Vice Can. Oxon. Paul Hood, Rector C L. Edmund Staunton, C. C. C. Presid. Gerard Langbaine, Presid. of Qu. Coll. Rob. Harris, Presid Trin. Phil. Stephens, Proc. Jun. John Milwashe, Rob Hancock, Christopher Rogers, Princ. of New-Inn-Hall. Then follows the names of 38 Masters of Arts and Bachelors of Law. All these, except two heads of colleges (59), and the two Proctors, had been put into the places of ejected loyalists, and as they pray the execution of the vote may be suspended 'till a proper person be found for the Arabic lecture, accordingly some pains were taken to procure such a one. To this purpose, *Manasseh Ben Israel* was desired to send over a learned Jew of his acquaintance in Holland, but that Jew being lately turned Christian, was more inclined to accept of an offer he had from some Protestants in France, and *Manasseh* being offended at his perversion, as he called it, would not concern himself any further with him. *Christianus Ravius* (60), also, who came into England about two years before, in hopes of being preferred by the Parliament, was long encouraged by the Committee to expect their favour in succeeding his friend Mr Pococke; but neither was this intention carried into effect So that no body being found of any tolerable abilities for the place, the petition here inserted being probably seconded strongly by Mr Selden, our author was suffered to enjoy both the lectures without any further disturbance; and he took a chamber in Baliol college for his residence, when obliged to be in Oxford.

(59) Ger. Langbaine and Paul Hood.

(60) See more of this Ravius in the article Usher, who laboured at this time with Mr Selden to diswade him from it, and possibly might prevail. Twells, p. 33.

[*EE*] *He was concerned in the edition of the Polyglott Bible.*] Our author had been informed early this year of that undertaking, as appears from a letter of Mr Selden to him, dated in February 1651-2; wherein he writes thus: 'It seems not yet, that there is any 'such naming of men for that employment, divers are 'in discourse talked of, and there be, I doubt, but a 'few fit: how to have it proceed without you, I 'know not, but I know too, that it must be a great 'diversion to your excellent studies, and a turning 'them to an illiterate attendance. Whatsoever you 'wish in it, I shall, as far as I have opportunity, se'cond.' On the 28th of July following, Dr Walton wrote to him, desiring to know, whether his occasions would permit him to assist, if the impression went on, either by correcting the Arabic, the proofs being weekly transmitted, or by comparing of copies or otherwise. Mr Pococke declined (61) engaging any farther than collating the Arabic Pentateuch, with two copies of Sardius's translation, the one a manuscript, the other printed in the Constantinopolitan Bibles, noting the difference of each. But he drew up a preface concerning the Arabic versions of that part of the Bible, and the reasons of the various readings in them, which preface, together with the various readings, are published in the appendix to the Polyglott Bible, Tom. 6. Our author, likewise, at the repeated request of Dr Walton, sent several directions relating to this design, respecting the apparatus or prolegomenon and appendix, one

(61) Upon which the correcting that press was undertaken by Mr Abraham Wheelock, Professor of Arabic at Cambridge, and after his death by Mr Hyde, who had been recommended by Mr Pococke, ibid. p. 50. whom he also afterwards succeeded in the Arabic Professorship at Oxford.

publishing his long-expected Arabic Lexicon, sent our author a copy of it with this inscription, *Virtute atque doctrina eximio ac præclaro viro Dno. Edv. Pococke, literaturæ orientalis peritia nulli secundo.* But notwithstanding this, and numberless other the like attestations about the same time, the Berkshire Committee of the *Commissioners for ejecting scandalous, &c. ministers*, entered a prosecution against him for ignorance and insufficiency, with a design to eject him from his living of Childrey; but he was sheltered from the fury of that storm by the learned Independent Dr John Owen [*FF*], who was himself a Commissioner under the

one of which related to the antiquity and authority of the Arabic version as it stands in *Michael de Jay*'s Heptaglott, or Paris edition of the Bible in seven languages. Dr Walton conceived, as he wrote to Mr Pococke, that the editor of this work had followed that Arabic version, which the French Ambassador brought out of the East, and which Sionita and Esionita were then translating into Latin, being in the judgment of Erpenius *elegans & antiqua*. But Mr Pococke convinced him, that the Arabic in Jay's edition was no other than the version of Sardius, which is printed in the Constantinopolitan Bible. Our author also communicated to Dr Walton the three following manuscripts. 1. His Persian Gospels sent him from Aleppo as abovementioned (62). These had never been printed before they were published in the Polyglott Bible wholly from his copy, which was 300 years old, and being a translation from the Syriac, was preferred to that of Mr Abraham Wheelock (63), which was of a late date, and only a version from the Greek. 2. His Syriac manuscript of the whole Old Testament, of which, though Mr Thorndike declares Primate Usher's copy to be more correct, yet it was sometimes to be helped thereby; and in respect to that part which corresponds to the second tome of the Polyglott, Dr Walton declares they found his copy more correctly written than the Lord Primate's, and therefore more useful. 3. An Ethiopic manuscript of the Psalter, which Dr Walton pronounces to be so exactly written, that they made it a rule, whereby to correct the faults of the two printed copies (64). The proposals for publishing the Polyglott came out March 1, 1652-3; Wherein Mr Pococke is mentioned among others in preparing of copies, correcting the press, overseeing the management of the work, &c. He had not long before wrote to Dr Walton and Mr Thorndike, upon two points of importance relating to the edition. The first was a proposal to have his own copy of the Syriac Gospels of another translation, printed together with that of the Paris edition; and the expence of this being then objected by Mr Thorndike, two years afterwards an offer was made by Dr Walton, that if Mr Pococke's Gospels should, in his own judgment, be fit to be translated and joined with the other translation, he would publish it with the rest of the New Testament; but after the above intimation our author pressed it no further. Thus it happened, that no manner of use was made in the Polyglott of these Syriac Gospels; they not having been so much as collated for various readings. The other motion of Mr Pococke concerned the Latin of the Arabic version, which, on account of it's uncorrectness, he moved to have revised and amended. To this Mr Thorndike replied, 'I conceive the like might be said of 'the Syriac, but I do not hear you advise that any 'thing be done to rectify it; that is a work that 'would indeed be profitable, but troublesome; and 'I know not how plausible in another man's work, 'and truly I am of advice, that the business of this 'work is rather to settle the originals, resting contented with giving the translation anciently printed. 'It were too much to undertake that for all, which 'were fit to be done in time.' It is true, the motion came too late, and thus it happened that this is still a considerable defect in the Polyglott, which has led some into mistakes (75). We must not conclude this note, without taking notice that Mr Pococke has been censured for some things in his preface to the Arabic various readings beforementioned. This was done by the Abbé Renaudot (66), who having charged Abulfeda with ignorance, in not knowing that the Old Testament had been translated into Arabic in his time. This, adds he, deceived the learned Pococke, when he grounded his conjectures as to the antiquity of the Arabic version upon Abulfeda's testimony. But Mr Gagnier has shewn (67), that a double mistake is here committed by that learned Abbé. For, says he, first, Abulfeda, in the place referred to by Renaudot, says nothing of the antiquity of the Arabic version, but only that the version into that language had not then been written in Arabic characters, as is shewn by Mr Pococke (68). Secondly, even in this point, Mr Pococke does not follow Abulfeda, declaring in that very preface, 'that he could not rashly affirm what the other did, that the said version was at that time first put into a Saracenic dress; since Aben Ezra asserts of Rabbi Sardius himself, that he turned the law into the Ismaelitic tongue and character.' But this was done by Sardius, above 300 years before the time of Abulfeda (69).

(62) In remark [*P*].

(63) This Professor had made a good progress in preparing about this time an edition of the Persian Gospels; when, upon the lent of Mr Pococke's MSS. he declared in a letter to him, that had it not been for fear of oppressing his amanuensis, he would have begun his work again.

(64) Our author contributed also three Ethiopic MSS. and ten Ethiopic MS. liturgies for Dr Castel's Lexicon. Twells, p. 76.

(65) Particularly Matthew Poole, concerning which see his article.

(66) In Histor. Patriarch. Alexand. p. 77.

(67) In Præf. ad Vitam Moham.

(68) They were written in Hebrew characters, as is still the custom of the Jews, lest they should be read by those of a different religion. Pococke's preface, &c.

(69) R. Sardius died A. C. 947. Abulfed. ibid.

[*FF*] *He was saved from the fury of that storm by Dr John Owen.*] The Berkshire Committee received a charge from some of his parishioners against him, consisting of nine articles, and summoned him to appear at Abingdon. This he complied with, and gave in his defence; upon which several depositions were made against him, together with an answer to his defence (which was there called a reproachful declaration, put into the court of godly commissioners) and a proposal of our desires to be granted by the Commissioners. To the propositions he made such a reply, that the charge of scandalous Minister was dropt. But some one of the witnesses against him having declared, that 'he believed Mr Pococke to be destitute of the 'spirit, tho' he preached saving truths according to 'the letter;' and another having also deposed, that 'he sometimes preached pretty well, but at other 'times not so well; and that his deadness and dull'ness drove people from hearing him.' These judges had thought of proceeding to deprive him for ignorance and insufficiency. But this new danger filled several learned men of much fame and eminence at that time in Oxford, with a great deal of indignation; and they resolved to go to the place, where the Commissioners were to meet, and expostulate with them about it. In the number of those that went, were Dr Seth Ward, Dr Wilkins, Dr Wallis, and Dr Owen; who all laboured with much earnestness to convince those judges of the strange absurdity of what they were undertaking. But particularly Dr Owen, who proceeded with some warmth to make them sensible of the infinite contempt and reproach which would certainly fall upon them, when it should be said, that they had turned out a man for insufficiency, whom all the learned, not of England only, but of all Europe, so justly admired for his vast knowledge and extraordinary accomplishments. And being himself one of the Commissioners appointed by that act, he added, that he was now come to deliver himself, as well as he could, from a share in such disgrace, by protesting against a proceeding so strangely foolish and unjust. The Commissioners being very much mortified at the remonstrances of so many eminent men, especially of Dr Owen, in whom they had a particular confidence, thought it best for them wholly to put an end to the matter, and so discharged Mr Pococke from any further attendance. However, this persecution, which lasted for many months, had been the most grievous to him of all that he had undergone; rendering him, as he declared some time after, utterly incapable of study, it being impossible for him, when he attempted it, duly to remember what he had to do, or to apply himself to it with any attention (70). And as he took the first opportunity of expressing his gratitude to his worthy deliverers, so he did not spare to express his indignation against his prosecutors, whom he calls, *genus hominum plane ἄτοπον καὶ ἄλογον, atque hujus seculi lues — a quibus quid passus fuerim (quanto majora, nisi apparuisset Deus μετακύμιος, passurus, nec tamen alia de causa quam quod & doctos amem, & a doctis licet indignus amer) qui noverit haud mirabitur, si in præsentiarum nec plura nec meliora præstiterim. Sed liberavit me Deus virorum insignium, quibus meliora cordi sunt, ope ultro oblata, quibus gratias quantas possum maximas refero, aliasque quibus impar sum plures adhuc debere mihi palam testatum volo. Deus, qui hanc* mentem

(70) Præf. in Annales Eutychian. p. 6.

the same act. In 1655 he published his *Porta Mosis* [*GG*], and had some thoughts the following year of putting to the press *Rabbi Tanchum's Commentaries upon the Old Testament* [*HH*]; but that design proved abortive. In 1658, he published the *Annals of Eutychius*, in pursuance of a promise he had made some years before to Mr Selden (*ll*). In the latter end of the year 1659, when the secluded members of the House of Commons were restored to their seats in Parliament, Dr Wallis (*mm*), who had been constantly his friend, applied unknown to him to procure his restitution [*II*] to the Canonry of Christ-Church.

(*ll*) See his article.

(*mm*) He was afterwards much obliged to Dr Pococke's MSS in his history of Algebra, and particularly inserted an account of the original of the game of chess, from a note of Dr Pococke upon the Carmen T[illegible]

mentem illis indidit, bene ipsis omnia rependat, & boni omnes bene cupiant (71).

(71) Præf. in Portam Mosis, edit. 1655.

[*GG*] *Porta Mosis.*] This work contains six præfatory discourses of Moses Maimonides (the best Jewish writer); giving, in a very clear method, an account of the history and nature of the Talmud, and the Jewish faith and discipline. The original was written in Arabic, but (as usual, among the Jews, for the reason abovementioned) (72) expressed in Hebrew characters. Our author added a Latin translation, and a very large appendix of miscellaneous notes. It was printed at Oxford, and was the first fruits of the Hebrew press there. The letters being founded, at the charge of the university, upon a motion of Dr Gerard Langbaine, that something of Mr Pococke's should be speedily printed with them. The book had then never been printed in the original Arabic, but only in a Hebrew translation made from imperfect copies. Whereas the MSS. he now made use of, were very good, and some of them as he thought the very originals, written by the author's own hand: in the notes, his chief design is to shew, by many instances, how much the knowledge of Arabic and Rabbinical learning will contribute towards finding out the genuine sense of many difficult texts in the Bible. In the four first chapters he largely considers and explains several texts in the New Testament, which being cited from the Old, for the most part according to the version of the Septuagint, seem to be very different from the original Hebrew; and as he gives very learned accounts of their true meaning, so he proves there is no sufficient reason from these seeming differences, that the ancient Hebrew copies made use of by the seventy interpreters had, as some learned men have thought, other readings in those places than what are still extant. And as the seeming difference, is scarce wider any where, than in these passages cited from the Septuagint in the New Testament; our author, in them, gave an excellent specimen of his abilities, in performing the like reconciliation to other parts of scripture, which he afterwards put into execution in his commentaries, especially the two latter on Hosea and Joel. By this means asserting the just authenticity of the Hebrew original, without impeaching the soundness of the Septuagint version. The principles on which he proceeded in this attempt, are; (1). That the present version of the Septuagint, is in many places corrupted. (2). That the authors of that translation, did not always design it to be literal. (3). That they often followed such acceptations of Hebrews words, as are now no longer known, and are irretrievable without the help of the Arabic and Syriac tongues, between which and the Hebrew there is a manifest affinity. As the truth of these rules are not contested, so he has applied them (as the learned writer of his life justly observes) with much learning and judgment. In the 5th chapter of these notes he shews, that the *Sepulchres appearing beautiful*, Matt. xxiii. 27, are the same with the *Graves that appear not*, Luke xi. 44. The sixth chapter contains an account of the several opinions of the Jews, concerning the resurrection, as the seventh does that of the Mahometans. In the 8th, by the help of two MS. copies of Kimchi's commentaries on the latter prophets, he restores several passages relating to the Christians, which in the printed copies of that work are now left out; and then proceeds to vindicate that prophecy concerning the Messiah at Jeremy, xxxi. 22, which was so readily given up by Mr Calvin. The 9th chapter is an exposition of Matt. vii. 11. wherein occasionally he throws much light into several obscure passages of the Bible. The index to the Porta Mosis was compiled by one Mr Henry Chapman, and probably that also for the notes (73).

(72) In remark [*FF*]. However, this piece contained more of that kind than had ever been so printed, as our author observes in his preface.

(73) Twells, p. 45.

[*HH*] *Rabbi Tanchum's, Commentaries upon the Old Testament.*] It happened unluckily for this design of Mr Pococke, that the two great works, viz. the *Polyglott Bible*, and Bee's edition of the *Critici Sacri*, were printing about this time, so that there was less room to expect the assistance, which so large a work as this of R. Tanchum's would necessarily require. We are told, that the learned Mr John Boncle, then Fellow of Eton College (74), tho' deeply engaged in a great variety of business, generously offered to correct two books after the press, desiring that Leviticus might be one. He farther proposed to get some bookseller in London, to undertake the printing of the commentaries, but at the same time, he apprehended that the two works just mentioned, (neither of them then finished) would prove an obstruction to his wishes. The miscarriage of this design, to whatever cause it was owing, was no small damage to sacred literature, as may be inferred from the noble use which Mr Pococke made of the commentaries, not only in his miscellaneous notes to Porta Mosis, but especially in his own commentaries; for which use they seem to have been equal, if not superior to any other Rabbinical writings. Besides, for ought that appears, our author was the only person in Europe that was possessed of any MS. of Rabbi Tanchum. The learned among the Jews, were surprized to hear of this, and many other curious things of the like kind, in his hands, as Manasseh Ben Israel professed to Mr Boncle. But these lie still in MSS. only, in the archieves of the Bodleian library. Mr Pococke, 'till the day of his death, had it much at heart to compass this design, and was very earnest and frequent, in his entreaties with Dr Huntington, at Aleppo, to procure him all this rabbi's commentaries; and by letter written in 1672, it appears, that our author was then possessed of those upon Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and the two books of Kings, as also of Jeremy, Ezekiel, and the twelve minor prophets. But he pressed his friend most of all for the piece called, by Tanchum, *Generalia: or Metaphors, Parabolical Expressions, and words either unusual or of diverse significations, in chronology, diverse readings, and the like* (75).

(74) [illegible] at him in Wood's Fasti, Vol. II. col. 100, 101.

(75) Twells, p. 68, 69.

[*II*] *Dr Wallis applied for his restitution.*] As this letter contains many facts not elsewhere found, we shall insert it at length. It was sent March 6, 1659-60, to one Major Finister, probably a member of that parliament, and runs thus: 'The disposal of the deanery 'and canonships of Christ-church, were heretofore 'reputed to belong to the King, who did accordingly 'from time to time dispose of them. In the time of 'King James, he did annex one of the canonships to 'to the divinity professor and his successors for ever; 'and King Charles another of them to the Hebrew 'professor; and a third to the university orator; which 'were accordingly enjoyed. Upon the death of 'Dr Morris, then Hebrew professor, the committee of both houses (who did then manage the affairs of the university) (76), did put Mr Pococke into 'his place and canonship, who did accordingly enjoy it, 'for some time, 'till for refusing to subscribe to the 'Engagement, he was at the same time with Dr Reynolds and Dr Mills put out of his canonship, but 'remained (as still he does) Hebrew professor. Upon 'the death of Dr French, who was put into his 'place, the Engagement being before that time taken 'off, it was thought that Mr Pococke's right did 'again revive, and that he ought to be restored to 'that canonship as Hebrew professor for the time 'being, there being now no bar in the way. While 'there were motions in the university to petition for 'it, Dr Owen then vice chancellor, and in favour 'with the protector, undertook to manage that business himself, and went up to London about it. But 'thereupon, instead of Mr Pococke, Mr Pointer was 'put into the place by the protector, who was supposed to have no power to dispose of it to any other 'person than the Hebrew professor for the time 'being. And besides, by an act of parliament before 'the last interruption, all grants of the protector were 'made void, and therefore this among the rest; and 'before that act they were yet presumed so weak, 'that

(76) The doctor seems to have thought the matter of the lodgings too insignificant to be mentioned.

Church. But the effect of that kindness was happily prevented by the King's return in 1660, when Mr Pococke, among other Loyalists, felt the benefit of that national deliverance [KK]. Being now reinstated at Oxford, he took his Doctor of Divinity's degree September 20th that year (*nn*), and continued afterwards, without interruption, to discharge the duties of both his lectures, and to give the world, to the end of his life, new proofs in the books which he published of his unrivalled skill in that learning. He was applied to as a master by all the most learned men in Europe in that way [LL]; and the ministry at home were obliged to beg his assistance (*oo*). But unluckily for him, that kind of learning, which had been in the highest esteem for several years immediately before the Restoration, fell into a general neglect for many years immediately after; so that he got nothing thereby but fame [MM]: and this being the unavoidable consequence of his merit, kept still increasing by several pieces, which he published with a view of restoring that learning to it's former credit [NN]. Some time afterwards, Dr John Fell, Dean

(*nn*) Wood's Fasti, Vol. II. col. 137.

(*oo*) Sir Joseph Williamson, in April 1668, sent him an Arabic letter from the Emperor of Morocco to King Charles II. desiring him to translate it, there being nobody in town masters enough of that language to give the contents of it. Twells, p. 65.

'that Dr Wilkins got new grants (to the places which 'the protector had bestowed on him) from the parliament, and the like was endeavoured for Mr Poynter, but could not be obtained. So that upon the 'whole matter there seems very little to be said, 'why Mr Pococke should not be restored. That 'which is to be done in order to it, is, that a motion 'be made to the house for this business to be referred 'to the same committee with that of Dr Reynolds, 'and that, if need be, summons be sent to Mr Poynter 'to appear, if he have any thing to say, why Mr Pococke should not be restored.' Whether the house would have hearkened to this remonstrance, there was no time to judge. For on Tuesday following, they dissolved themselves (77).

(77) Wood's Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. in this year.

[KK] *The benefit of that national deliverance.*] Dr Sheldon, remembring that our author had no patent for his Hebrew professorship, given him by the King's father, being now Dean of the Chapel to his Majesty, took care to have that defect supplied with the soonest, for which purpose Letters Patents, passed the great seal, June 20th, constituting him Hebrew Professor, and Canon of Christ Church; by virtue of which, he was solemnly installed on the 27th of the ensuing month. But still the lodgings belonging to Dr Morris, were in the possession of Dr Mills, Doctor of Law, and then Member of the House of Commons; who tho' a layman, had been put into the Canonry of Dr Morris, by the Committe of the two Houses, and being removed thence for refusing the Engagement; at the Restoration, he got possession of Dr Morris's apartments, and detained them from Dr Pococke, in right of his pretension to his Canonry, out of which he had been ejected. In order therefore to the recovery of these lodgings, the university joined with our author in a petition to the Delegates appointed by the King to visit that university for a hearing; the result of which was, that these Delegates first removed Dr Mills from the Canonry, for which he was unqualified, and put Dr Pococke into the lodgings proper to the estate that was annexed to the Hebrew Professorship, by virtue of the Letters Patents he had so lately obtained (78).

(78) Id. ibid.

[LL] *He was applied to, &c.*] He had been so from his last arrival out of the East. Of which we have already given an instance in Hornius, and among Dr Pococke's papers there were found to this purpose, letters likewise from Jacobus Alting (79), Professor at Groningen, John Henry Hottinger, Professor at Groningen, Zurich, and Heidelberg, successively; and from Golius at Leyden, which last begs his judgment about the religious principles of Averroës, and about the Chater, who they were, and what their religion, learning, and customs. Mr Boyle, May 28, 1663, sent him a paper of Mr Oldenburg, secretary to the Royal Society, desiring in the behalf of a certain French gentleman, his thoughts upon an inscription found at Persepolis. In 1670, Hieronymus Harder (80) who probably succeeded Golius at Leyden, consulted our author upon several difficulties, relating to the history of Saladine, which he was then preparing for the press, with a Latin translation. Besides these and other applications from abroad, there appeared several at home, as (not to repeat those of his friend Greaves) particularly one from Thorndike, in Usher's name; thanking him for the resolution of some questions, and proposing fresh ones. From John Tombes, upon questions relating to his controversy with Dr Hammond, about infant-baptism. From Dr Cudworth, upon some passages of *Emir Chond*; and several from Will Seaman, while he was preparing to publish his Turkish New Testament, (a copy of which he afterwards presented to Dr Pococke) as also his Turkish Grammar and History (81). Our author was constantly consulted by Dr Hammond, while he was writing his Annotations on the New Testament. And in June 1662, Isaac Avendane, who had taught Hebrew at Cambridge, brought him letters from Dr Castel, who therein calls him an oracle, unto whom all who travel with any public designs are wont to make resort. Dr Pococke's universal reputation likewise brought many youths of rank and quality, as well as others, from several parts of Europe to Oxford, for his assistance in the study of the Eastern languages. As two Hungarian youths upon the recommendation of Jacobus Alting, already mentioned. Two others from Germany, with a letter from Mr Theodore Haak (82), acquainting our author, that one of these students there named, was likely to succeed to the Professorship at Zurich. A Transilvanian youth of an illustrious family, after his return from the East, recommended by Golius. Charles Elector Palatine, likewise sent young Miege, son to his Vice-Chancellor, to be taught the Eastern languages by our author. Of this gentleman Hottinger writes, that he had been in the universities of Germany, and was now gone for England, *abstrusioris literaturæ sedem*, as he calls it. And how he behaved upon these occasions, Mr Locke (83), an eye-witness for several years of it, informs us, who observing, that 'tho' he was a man of the greatest temperance in himself, and the farthest from ostentation and vanity in his way of living, yet he was of a liberal mind, and 'given to hospitality; which considering the smallness 'of his preferments, and the numerous family of 'children he had to provide for, might be thought 'to have outdone those who made more noise and 'shew. His name, which was in great esteem beyond 'sea, and that deservedly, drew on him visits from all 'foreigners of learning, who came to Oxford to see 'that university. They never failed to be highly satisfied with his great knowledge and civility, which 'was not always without expence.'

(79) He dedicated his book *De Sidlo Vaticinio* to our author and Dr Reynolds.

(80) This gentleman was also well known to Mr Greaves, as is seen in his article.

(81) In the preface to this, he makes particular mention of our author's assistance therein. See more of this Seaman in the article of John Greaves.

(82) The first proposer of those meetings which preceded the Royal Society. See Dr Wallis's letter to Dr Smith, in Hearne's Appendix, No. I. to Peter Langtoft, Oxf. 1725, 8vo.

(83) In his letter to Mr Smith of Dartmouth, ubi supra.

[MM] *He got nothing thereby but fame.*] Dr Pococke's behaviour in regard to this neglect of his merit, is justly mentioned by the last mentioned writer as another part of his unexampled character. 'Tho', says he, 'at the restoration of King Charles, his merits were so 'overlooked, or forgotten; that he was barely restored to what was his before, without receiving 'any new preferment then, or any time after; yet I 'never heard him take any the least notice of it, or 'make any the least complaint, in a case that would 'have sorely grated on some men's patience, and 'have filled their mouths with murmuring, and their 'lives with discontent. But he was always unaffectedly chearful, no marks of any thing that lay heavy at 'his heart, from being neglected, ever broke from him. 'He was so far from having any displeasure lye concealed in him there, that whenever any expressions 'of dissatisfaction, for what they thought hard usage, 'broke from others in his presence; he always diverted the discourse: and if it were any body with 'whom he might take that liberty, he silenced it 'with visible marks of dislike.'

[NN] *Pieces which he published, with a view of restoring that learning to it's former credit.*] The first of these was an Arabic Poem, intituled, *Lamieto'l Ajam, or Carmen Abu Ismaelis Tograi*, with a Latin translation and large notes, which are the substance of several lectures thereon. One view in printing it, being to give a specimen of the Arabic poetry; the Doctor observes in the preface, that the author, a man of virtue,

Dean of Christ-Church, having concerted a scheme for a Commentary upon the Old Testament, to be written by some learned hands in that university, engaged our author to take a share in that design. This gave occasion to his Commentaries *(pp)* upon Micah and Malachi,

(pp) Ever since the appearance of his Specimen Hist. Arab. and Porta Mosis, the learned world had eagerly wished him to employ his pen this way. Legh on Relig. and Learn. lib. 5.

virtue, was accounted the Phœnix of his age, for eloquence and poetry; which last, says he elsewhere (84), was in such esteem among the ancient Arabs, that when any one, in any tribe, first began to be eminent therein, it was a matter of publick congratulation; and all the kindred and friends met together, to rejoice in the most solemn manner, as for the greatest happiness in the world. There is also prefixed his Latin speech, spoken at the opening his lectures upon this poem. This speech contains a very succinct and no less accurate historical and critical account of the Arabic tongue, which he recommends for it's peculiar excellence above other languages, in these four qualities. First, says he, it's perspicuity is very striking, by means of a most surprizing prompt way of expressing therein many things clearly in a few words. Secondly, it's elegance charms by sweetly adapting the sound of the words to the sense, and by it's softness, in avoiding absolutely all collision of consonants. Thirdly, it's copiousness is even astonishing, there being reckoned 12350082 words, whence it abounds amazingly in synonymous terms (85). Lastly, in the most important point, that of usefulness; tho' before, and something above 100 years after the time of Mahomet, the Arabian knowledge for want of letters was very deficient; yet from the epocha of the Abbisidæ, when the Grecian writers were translated, and their learning cultivated, the books of the Arabic authors became so many and excellent in all sciences, that in human learning they want not other languages more than others want Arabic; and as to Divinity, neither can the religion of Mahomet be well understood, nor any accurate skill in the Hebrew tongue, (the original language of the Old Testament) be acquired without it (86). By this too, Divines will be able to peruse the greatest part of those things which are worth reading amongst the Jews (87), and also to consult the several versions of the Scriptures made into this language, both by Jews and Christians; together with many Christian books of good account that are written in it. Lastly, he concludes with another use, upon which his own were particularly engaged at this time (88), that by means of this language, the piety of those who are zealous for the promotion of divine knowledge, may make some provision against the ignorance of the Eastern Christians, who are so miserably oppressed under the Turkish bondage *.

In 1603, our author published at Oxford, *Gregorii Abul Farajii Historia Dynastiarum*, 4to. This both the nature of the work, and the great reputation of it's author in the East, as well as his own particular duty, in the character of the King's Hebrew Professor, seemed to require; but he had still another motive thereto, he was glad of an opportunity of placing a specimen of this learning under his Majesty's eye, being desirous by all means, if possible, to bring it into publick esteem. The delegates of the university, had desired him to print this book, and voted 140*l.* to be given towards the expence of printing it, which was confirmed by the convocation, May 16, 1660, soon after his specimen had been received with so great satisfaction. But notwithstanding that, he was so sensible of the alteration in the publick taste at this time, that had it not been Dr Langbaine's dying request to go through with it, the publication would probably have been dropt (89). In a letter to Dr Thomas Greaves, sent by our author, with a copy of the history, which at that learned friend's request, he forced, as he tells him, from the printer, before the index was wrought off, he adds the following remarkable words. 'If you find any thing in it worth the publishing, you 'must be fain to speak for it; for I perceive it will be 'much slighted, the genius of the times as for these 'studies is much altered, since you and I first set 'about them, and few will be persuaded they are 'worthy taking notice of. My Lord of London asked 'me, if there were any remarkable passages in the 'book? I answered him only in general, that I 'thought there were many. If you should fall into 'any discourse with him about it, I pray note some 'particulars; as I think you may, that of the first

(84) Viz. in his speech inserted next after this preface.

(85) For instance, there are 200 names for a serpent, 500 for a lion, and for calamity so many, that one of their authors, busied in making a catalogue thereof, observes it is no small calamity to recite them.

(86) Aben Ezra, Maimonides, Kimchi, and others, the best Rabbinical authors, refer upon every difficulty to the Arabic language.

(87) As Maimonides, Cozari, Chobath, Lebaboth, Demunoth, Sardias, and several more, which are for the most part in Arabic.

(88) Consult remark [S].

* Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 870. from Reg. Univ. Oxon. anno 1660, p. 16.

(89) Compare his own words in the preface, with what Mr Twells says of it in his Life, p. 60.

'rise of Mahomet's religion p. 100, &c. and that of 'the rise and spreading of the Tartars empire, and 'their incursions; which is in the Latin p. 280, or 'any other passages that you shall think worthy. And 'if you speak with any of your acquaintance, concerning the book, your good word may help bear 'up it's credit.' In answer to this, Dr Greaves writes from Fulham thus. 'How these studies are esteemed 'in the universities, I know not; in these parts, for 'ought I observe, they are not much followed or regarded, and receive small encouragement from those, 'who I thought would have been fautors and promoters of them.' At Cambridge also, where Dr Castel was settled in the Arabic Professorship in 1666; tho' he was heard very well at first, yet his lectures in a little time, grew to be so much neglected, that once when he was to read the next day, being then easy and in a pleasant mood, he affix'd a paper upon the door of the publick school, with these words upon it. *Prælector linguæ Arabicæ cras ibit in desertum.* It appears that Arabic learning, begun to decline too in Holland. In 1669, Dr Bernard complains from Leyden to our author, that *Harder* there could not find a bookseller to undertake his history of Saladine, [abovementioned] (90), *because oriental learning decays here, and books of that nature, will turn to no advantage*; neither adds he, can Mr Thevenot find a bookseller, either here or at Amsterdam, to undertake his Abulfeda (91). But to return to the history of Abul Farajius. It is a compendium of the general history of the world, from the creation to his own time, viz. about the end of the thirteenth century, and is divided into ten Dynasties. First, that of the Patriarchs from Adam. The second, of the Judges in Israel. The third of the Kings. The fourth of the Chaldeans. The fifth of the Magi or Persians. The sixth of the Greeks, idolaters. The seventh, that of the Franks or Romans. The eighth, of the Greeks, Christians. The ninth, of the Saracens, and the tenth, of the Mogul Tartars. Our editor added a supplement to the work. The author was a learned Christian of the Jacobite sect, first a Bishop, and lastly primate of that sect in the East; born at Malatia, a city of Armenia, in Syria, in which post he died; but not without the slander of having renounced Christianity before his death (92). Dr Pococke, in his preface, defended him from this charge of apostacy, observing, that if he had apostatized, the Christians would never have talked of him with much esteem, but rather have anathematized him; whereas even after his death, they call him *our Holy Father, the Prince of the Christians, The purest substance of the Jacobites. Pater noster Sanctus, Christianorum Princeps Primarius, sectæ Jacobitæ purissima substantia.* However, Abbé Renaudot pretends this is no convincing argument; because such epithets do not relate to a man's morals, but only to his dignity; and therefore the Christians might give him all these titles notwithstanding his apostacy. This is denied by Assemannus (93), and indeed, needs no confutation. Dr Loftus of Ireland, in a letter to our Professor, dated April 10, 1683. observes, that he had lately met with a panegyrical oration upon Abul Faraji, written by Dioscorus, Bishop of Gassarto, and a contemporary of his; which clears him from this imputation (94). This Renaudot having a design to publish a collection of all the oriental Liturgies, as also a treatise, *De fide, moribus, & institutis Orientalium Christianorum*, wrote to Dr Pococke, in 1691, desiring to consult him on that occasion, in which he had the misfortune to be prevented, probably by the Doctor's death that year; but be that as it will, when the collection, &c. was published, the Abbé thought proper (95) to mark an error in our author's preface to the piece now under consideration; where he says, this Abulfaragius was the same with Abulfaragius Abdalla Ebn Attiba, a learned Monk and Philosopher, who flourished above 200 years before our Abulfaragius; who in this history, places the death of Ebn Attiba in the year 435 of Hejira. i. e. A. C. 1244 (96).

(90) In remark [L L]; the life of Saladine being an extract from Abulfeda's General History, was afterwards published at Leyden in 1732, fol. by Mr Schultens.

(91) This was his Geography, two provinces of which had been published by Mr Greaves, and after him, (besides Thevenot) Sam. Clerk, and Will. Guise at Oxford, undertook the same province, but were all prevented by death, or some other accident, from executing their purpose. See Tho. Smith in Vita Greav. V. Renaudot's pref. to the Accounts of India and China, p. 12, 13. Mr Gagnier of Oxford once published proposals for printing it, but met with no good encouragement.

(92) The Syrians call Chaldea and Assyria the East, and Syria and Mesopotamia the West. Assemanni Biblioth. Orient. Tom. I. p. 252.

(93) Biblioth. Orient. Tom. II. in art col Abulpharagii.

(94) Twells, p. 62.

(95) At the end of his preface to that collection.

(96) In p. 233. of it, as translated by Dr Pococke himself, which makes this mistake of his in the preface more surprising, and which Mr Twells thinks is the only one to be found upon his writings, p. 77.

[O O] Commentaries

Malachi, after which he finished those upon Hosea and Joel (*qq*) [*OO*] in the same method. The last of these was published in 1691; and if he intended (which is not certain) to pursue this plan in other commentaries upon the Minor Prophets, he was prevented therein by his death, which happened on the 10th of September that year (*rr*), and in the 87th year of his age. A gradual decrease of strength and bodily vigour for some time before had indicated his approaching dissolution, but his parts and his memory not much impaired continued to the very last. His only distemper being great old age, which hindered him not, even the night before he died, from praying with his family, as his custom had always been, in the forms of the publick liturgy (*ss*). His body was interred in one of the north isles joining to the choir in the cathedral of Christ-Church, and on the north wall there is a monument with an inscription [*PP*] to his memory erected by his widow. As to his person, he was of a middle stature, inclined to tallness, and slender; his hair was nearly black, so were his eyes; his complexion fresh, with a lively and chearful look, and a sound and healthy constitution. In his conversation he was free, open, and affable [*QQ*], retaining even to the last the briskness and facetiousness of youth. His temper was naturally modest, humble [*RR*], and sincere, abhorrent of every thing that had the appearance of hypocrisy or falseness, but without the least mixture of sourness or morosity. His charity brought such numbers of necessitous objects to him, that Dean Fell, himself a munificent person, used to tell him complainingly, that he drew all the poor of Oxford into the college; and his readiness to forgive injuries appears very conspicuously in his behaviour to those parishioners who laboured once to eject him, whom he treated with his accustomed humanity, did particular kindnesses to their families, and to keep them as much concealed as possible from the knowledge and resentments of his friends, would never mention any thing of the trouble they had given him; but, on the other hand, industriously secreted the papers of their depositions against him as long as he lived,

(*qq*) The two first were published in 1677, and that upon Hosea in 1685.

(*rr*) See the inscription on his monument.

(*ss*) Twells, p. 81.

[*OO*] *Commentaries on Micah, Malachi, Hosea, and Joel.*] In the end of his preface to the first of these, he informs us, that the original proposal was to give the meaning of the the text in brief marginal notes (97); but that was laid aside, as liable to be deemed too magisterial, a reproach to which, perhaps, his modesty was too sensible. At least these performances of his have been objected to, as leaving us in several material articles altogether undetermined; of which objection he was apprehensive, but declared, he dared not do otherwise. However, this is very far from being generally the case, even in the two first; and upon Hosea (which is as long as all the rest) it has been observed, that for one instance of this kind, where after reciting the various opinions of other expositors, he avoids giving his own, there are twenty on the contrary; in which, he either absolutely declares himself, or at least manifestly inclines to some one. His general view in them is, to give the genuine literal sense of the Hebrew text, the purity of which he defends against Capellus and others, in his preface to Micah, and, together with that, the fidelity of our authorized English translation (98). The particular point which he had chiefly in view, was to rescue the predictions concerning Jesus, from the artful confusion thrown upon them by the Jews, whose writers he knew better than themselves did. In this point therefore, the service he has done to Christianity will always endear his memory. That which contributes to swell his commentary upon Hosea so much, was the then late repeated attempts (besides those made by Capellus) of Isaac Vosius (99), to depreciate the Hebrew text. Whereupon (to avoid entring into an express controversy against his temper, and especially disagreeable in his present declining age) he took this method of answering them, viz. to be large and particular in guarding the Masoretic text from the charge of various readings, which those learned men were ready and glad to suggest upon every seeming difference between it, and the ancient translations (100) and paraphrases. In doing this, he followed that noble conciliating scheme already mentioned, of which he was the first founder, and his great success in it, manifest in the notes on the Porta Mosis and these commentaries especially the two last, would make one hope, that no seeming difference between the Hebrew and the Septuagint would have been too hard for him, had he been at leisure to pursue it through (101) the whole Old Testament. It has been thought by some of Dr Pococke's greatest admirers, that he carried his veneration for the Masoretic text rather too high, in supposing it (as he does in his preface to Micah) to be utterly uncorrupt. But it ought to be observed, that tho' he seems in general not to admit any various readings in the Hebrew, at the time when that version was made; yet sometimes he grants it to be a probable tho' not a necessary supposition. This appears from his commentary on Hosea, ch. x. 12. towards the end of the verse; and on ch. xi. 7. in the latter part of the notes; also ch. xii. 1. at the beginning, and at ver. 8. of the same chapter towards the conclusion. Moreover, as to the justness of our English translation, his good opinion of it in representing the literal sense, does not always hinder him from owning, that better renditions might have been found. These commentaries, with the Porta Mosis, were published in 1740, in 2 Vols. Fol. by Leonard Twells, A. M. who prefixed a life of the author, to which these memoirs are greatly obliged.

(97) In the manner, perhaps, of those by Dean Fell upon St Paul's Epistles.

(98) To adjust that of our last deservedly approved translation with the original, I look upon as my main business; are his words on Hosea v. 2.

(99) In his treatise De Sibyllis, edit. 1680.

(100) See a particular instance of this in the article of Dr Middleton.

(101) See what is said upon this subject by Mr Lee, in his prolegomena to that part of Grabe's Septuagint, which contains the historical books, chap. i.

[*PP*] *With an inscription.*] In these terms. Edwardus Pocock S. T. D. *cujus si nomen audias, nihil hic de fama desideres. Natus est Oxoniæ Nov.* 8. *Anno Dom.* 1604. *Socius in collegium corporis Christi cooptatus* 1628, *in Lecturæ Arabicæ lecturam publice habendam primus est institutus* 1636, *deinde etiam in Hebraicam Professori Regio successit* 1648. *Desideratissimo marito Sept.* 10, 1691. *in cœlum reverso Maria Burdet, ex qua novenam suscepit sobolem, tumulum hunc mœrens posuit.*

[*QQ*] *Free, open, and affable.*] Mr Locke, in the place abovementioned, having observed, that he would talk very freely and very well of all parts of learning, besides that wherein he was known to excel, continues thus. 'But that was not all, he could discourse very well of other things: he was not unacquainted with the world, tho' he made no shew of it; his backwardness to meddle in other peoples matters, and to enter into debates, where names and persons were brought upon the stage, and judgments and censures were hardly avoided, concealed his abilities in matters of business from most people; but yet I can truly say, that I knew not any one in that university, whom I would more willingly consult in any affair that required consideration, nor whose opinion I thought better worth the hearing than his, if he could be drawn to enter it and give his advice.'

[*RR*] *His temper was humble.*] Mr Locke gives us what he had experienced of this part of our author's character, in the following terms. 'I don't remember, that in all my conversation with him I ever saw him once angry, or to be so far provoked as to change colour, or countenance, or tone of voice; displeasing accidents and actions would sometimes occur, there is no help for that; but nothing of that kind moved him, that I saw, to any passionate words, much less to chiding or clamour. His life appeared to me one constant calm. To conclude, I can say of him what few men can say of any friend of theirs, nor I of any other of my acquaintance; that I don't remember I ever saw in him any one action, that I did, or could, in my own mind blame, or thought amiss in him.'

lived, scarce any of his friends or children having seen them before his death. As to his intellectual abilities, besides other learning, he was profoundly skilled in the Hebrew, Arabic, and Syriac, tongues; was well acquainted with the Persic, Samaritan, Æthiopic, Coptic, and Turkish; *he also understood Italian, and something of Spanish. In Greek* and Latin his friends say he was critically conversant, and his writings and letters bear testimony to his abilities in both. His style in English was clear and expressive, but never cultivated even from his youth; whereas in Latin, he wrote not only with propriety and perspicuity, but also with a good degree of elegance (*tt*). Though he had been father of nine children, we have only an account of his eldest son Edward Pococke [*SS*], who, under the doctor's direction (*uu*), published, in 1671, 4to. with a Latin translation, an Arabic piece, intitled, *Philosophus Autodidactus* [*TT*]: *Sive Epistola Abu Jaafir Ebn Tophail*

(*tt*) Twells, towards the conclusion of the doctor's Life, ubi supra.

(*u u*) *A preface, containing an account of the author, and the nature of the work*; as also an *Elenchus Scriptorum*, or an account of [illegible] writers [illegible] quoted in, was p[illegible] by the doct[illegible]

[*SS*] *Mr Edward Pococke.*] Mr Wood tells us (102) he became student of Christ-church in 1661, took the degrees in Arts (103), and was beneficed in his native country of Berks: Prebendary of Winterbourn-Earles in the church of Sarum, 1675; Prebendary of Durnsford in the said church, 1677. He afterwards became Rector of Minal or Midenhal in Wiltshire (104).

[*TT*] *Philosophus Autodidactus, &c.*] The design of the author *Abu Jaafir Ebn Tophail*, who was a Mahometan Philosopher, is to shew by an ingenious fiction how human reason, by observation and experience, without any assistance, may arrive at the knowledge of natural things, and from thence rise to supernatural; particularly, the knowledge of God, and of a future state. In order to this, he supposes a person [*Hai Ebn Yokdhan*] brought up by himself, where he was altogether destitute of any instruction but what he could get by his own observations. He lays the scene in some fortunate island situate under the equinoctial; where he supposes this philosopher either to have been produced (according to Avicen's hypothesis, who conceived a possibility of a man's being formed by the influence of the planets upon matter rightly disposed) without either father or mother, or else exposed upon the sea in his infancy, and, which he rather inclines to, being thrown upon a desolate island, to be there providentially suckled by a roe; not that our author believed any such matter, (for he proposes both these ways, without saying any thing in favour of either) but only makes use of it to serve his purpose. Accordingly, supposing his hero to be of a discerning and contemplative spirit, he represents him, by several progressive reasonings with himself from what he saw, forming a system of natural philosophy, morality, and metaphysics, agreeable to the philosophy of Aristotle and his Arabian commentators. About the 50th year of his age, one *Asal*, a person also of a contemplative disposition, who was accidentally brought thither from a neighbouring island, which he had left for the sake of retirement, found Yokdhan, taught him his language, and got from him all the account he was able to give of his original, and the history of his gradual approaches to a knowledge of, and intimate conjunction with, God, which he then enjoyed. Asal was so much pleased with his story, and particularly struck with the notion of his happy state in an union with the supreme Being, that he prevailed with Yokdhan to accompany him to the island whence he came, in order to convert and bring the people there to the same happy state of perfection, which he had acquired solely by continually contemplating and looking steadily upon God alone. Thither they go; and by this means Yokdhan comes to the knowledge of the Alkoran, and all the ceremonies of that religion, which he does not disapprove; but upon the trial to make converts to his own way, finding himself treated with scorn and contempt, he drops the design, as being impracticable, on account of the inveterate blindness and corruption of those people; observing, however, that the institutions of Mahomet were well suited to correct their depravity; and allowing, that by a due observation of these they might be saved, and come to sit at the right hand of God: but withal, that their place would be next after him, and such as he, to whom the first place would be given. In this principle he returns with Asal to his former residence, where they continue to live in the same blessed state of union with God, 'till their deaths. The conclusion of this story shews, that the hero was not only persuaded of the absolute certainty of his own salvation by virtue of this union, but also that such an union could not be obtained, nor consequently the same degrees of happiness in a future state, by the practice of any external means of religion, though instituted by a person sent from God. This language concerning an extraordinary union and intimate conjunction with God, obtained by a steady looking upon him, without the help of any external means, is evidently the principle of the Quietists; and this principle induced the Quakers to translate the book into English, seeing there was something in it that favoured their enthusiastic notions: and to prevent any such mischief thereby, Simon Ockley, M. A. Vicar of Swavesly in Cambridgeshire, gave a new translation in 1711, 8vo; under this title *The Improvement of human Reason, exhibited in the Life of Hai Ebn Yokdhan, &c.* with an appendix, in which the possibility of man's attaining the true knowledge of God, and things necessary to salvation, without *instruction*, is briefly considered. In this appendix Mr Ockley endeavours to refute the enthusiastic notions just mentioned. It appears from the introduction, and several passages in the original book, that the author of it, *Abn Jaafir Ebn Tophail* had imbibed this notion; and it was in order to describe the nature of this mystical union, as well as to recommend the means of attaining it, that he undertook the treatise (105). He also declares this was the true, though mystical, sense of the philosophy of *Averroës, Avicen, Amenpace, Algazali, Alpharabius*, and the best Mahometan philosophers, who were all of them what he therefore calls Mystics. But, notwithstanding, he supposes his foundling *Hai Ebn Yokdhan* to arrive at the knowledge of these τὰ ἄγγαλα, without any assistance; yet he declares, as to himself, that he did not attain thereto, but by a diligent reading and studying the works of the just mentioned philosophers, and that too, expresly with a view of searching it out *. Nay, he even inculcates the necessity of education to polish the understanding. 'For, says he, if a man attains the state of '*union* without that, he runs out into strange expressions, and speaks he knows not what; so that one 'of this sort of men, when in that state, cried out, '*Praise be to me* (106), *How wonderful am I!* another said, *I am truth!* another, *That he was God* '(107)! But Abu Hamed Algazali, when he had attained to it, expressed himself thus: '*Twas what it was, 'tis not to be expressed; enquire no further but conceive the best* (108). Algazali was a man that had 'good learning and was well versed in the sciences.' It is worth seeing what he thought of these wild enthusiasts, as we have it related by Dr Pococke (109), who quotes the following passage from him. *People ran on*, says he, *to such a degree, as to pretend to an union with God, and a sight of him, without the interposition of any veil, and familiarly discourse with him*; and a little after, *which sort of speeches have occasioned great mischiefs among the common people; so that some country fellows laying aside their husbandry, have pretended to the same things: for men are naturally pleased with such discourses, as give them a liberty to neglect their business, and withal promise them purity of mind, and the attainment of strange degrees and proprieties. Now the most stupid wretches in nature may pretend to this, and have in their mouths such false and deceitful expressions. And if any one denies what they say, they immediately tell you*, that this unbelief of your's proceeds from learning and logick, and that learning is a veil, and logick labour of the brain; but these things which they affirm, are discovered only inwardly by the light of the truth. And this which they affirm has spread itself through a great many countries, and produced a great deal of mischief. Thus far Algazali. How justly his description fits the enthusiasts of later times, let themselves judge, and learn withal from hence, the modesty not to pretend to be the first after the Apostles,

(102) Fasti, Vol. II. col. 1054. See also ibid. col. 158, 169.

(103) In the title to Philosophus Autodidactus, he stiles himself A. M. ex æde Christi.

(104) Mr Ockley, in the dedication of his English version of this book, addresses him by that title in 1711.

(105) In the original it is stiled a letter, as Dr Pococke observes all short tracts are by the Arabians. Pococke's Pref.

* In this particular Jaafir was followed by Mr Norris. See his article.

(106) An expression never used but when they speak of God.

(107) Viz. Al Hosain Ebn Mansur Al Hallaj, *de quo vid. Elenchus Scriptorum*, at the end of Dr Pococke's preface to this book. He flourished anno Heg. 300.

(108) In Dr Pococke's Latin it is *Fuitque quod fuit, de eo cujus mentionem non feci Puta autem bonum fuisse, nec sciscitare quomodo se res habuerit.* N. P. The translator has here undesignedly slipt into a couplet of verses in just measure and rhyme.

(109) In Specimin. Hist. Arab. p. 267.

phail de Hai Ebn Yokdhan. In qua ostenditur quomodo ex inferiorum contemplatione ad superiorum notitiam ratio humana ascendere possit. Mr Pococke had also prepared an Arabic history, with a Latin version, and put it to the press; but this performance not being worked off there when his father died, was withdrawn thence by him some little time after, upon a disgust at his being disappointed of succeeding his father in the Hebrew Professorship (*ww*). The copy, as much of it as was then printed, and the manuscript history, was, in 1740, in the hands of Mr Pococke's son, then Rector of Minal in Wiltshire (*xx*).

(*ww*) He was succeeded therein by Roger Altham, B. D. of Christ-Church, Nov. 14, 1691. And into that of Arabic, Tho. Hyde of Queen's-college, D. D. was elected Dec. 22d following. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 870.

(*xx*) Twells, p. 79.

Apostles, who had endeavoured to turn men from darkness to light, since they see so many worthy persons among the Mahometans gone before them. Upon the whole, Abu Jaafir, from many passages in this book, appears to have been one of the (110) sect among the Mahometans called Sufis, or Suphians, not much unlike our Quakers, who began to spring up about the year of the Hegira 200; concerning whom it is remarkable, that the Sultan of Persia is often called the Sophy, because Ismael the first Sultan of that family now in Persia, who began to reign anno Hegir. 605, or anno Chr. 1554-5 (111), was of this sect. However, Jaafir was evidently, as Dr Pococke observes, of the soberer sort of them; being a man of virtue and good morals, as well as great learning. The doctor likewise tells, he has good reason to think the author was contemporary with Averroës (112), who died very old, anno Heg. 595, or anno Dom. 1198 (113). That he wrote some other pieces which are not come to our hands. That the book had been very well received in the East, one argument of which is, that it had been translated by R. Moses Narbonensis into Hebrew, and illustrated with a large commentary. The doctor's view in putting his son to translate and publish it, was (besides his son's reputation) to make another effort towards bringing the Arabic learning into vogue *; in which, a thing of this kind (being a sort of romance or novel) might, perhaps, be more likely to succeed than any other, in the sauntering pleasurable Court of King Charles the Second. 'Qui 'tanti pridem habitus, non dubito quin & jam ali- 'quos non minus faventes inveniet, si non aliam ob 'causam, saltem ob brevitatem & argumentandi sub- 'tilitatem, qua si non multum proderit aut delectabit, '*saltem paucarum horarum tædium non inutiliter fallet*.' He proceeds to recommend it to the lovers of these studies, on account of the politeness, sweetness, and elegance of the stile, the choice of words being such, as, when understood, would enable them to read with ease all the philosophical authors in that language; which (as a further incitement to the study of it) he observes began early to flourish in England by the means of Adhelard of Bath, a person of great learning, probably contemporary with this author; and was not only the first of our countrymen, but also of all the Latins, who brought the treasures of Arabia into Europe (114), and the cultivation of this treasure, particularly at Oxford, was provided for by a special decree of the council of Vienne, A. D. 1311. P

(110) Mr Thevenot, who was possessed of a MS. Life of him, observes in a letter to Dr Pococke, that he was an eminent Philosopher, and had like to have made a new sect among the Mahometans, being wholly of an active spirit. Twells, p. 67.

(111) See Golius Lexic. Arab. under the word Sufi.

(112) From one or two passages in the book it appears that he lived in Spain. (113) He was Averroës's master in Philosophy. See a letter of Mr Thevenot to Dr Pococke, in Twells, p. 67.

* It was in the like view of promoting these studies, that the doctor published the *Carmen Tograi*, with a Latin translation and notes, in 1661; and an English translation of that poem came out in 1759, 4to. in the same Iambic measure as the original, with this title: *The Traveller: an Arabic Poem, entituled* Tograi, &c. By Leonard Chappelow, Arabic Professor at Cambridge.

(114) About the year 1130, in the time of Henry I. this particular was communicated by his friend Dr Langbaine to Dr Pococke.

POLE [Reginald], Cardinal, and Archbishop of Canterbury, was descended of royal blood, being a younger son [*A*] of Sir Richard Pole, Lord Montague, Knight of the Garter, and cousin-german to Henry VII. and Margaret his wife, daughter of George Duke of Clarence, younger brother to King Edward IV. He was born most probably at Stoverton-castle in Staffordshire (*a*), in the year 1500. After the greatest care had been taken by his mother to form his mind and manners from his cradle, he was sent at seven years of age (*b*) to be instructed in Grammar by the Carthusians, in the monastery at Shene near Richmond (*c*) in Surry; and, at about the age of twelve, became a Nobleman of Magdalen-college in Oxford, where an apartment was provided for him in the President's lodgings (*d*), who perhaps was his tutor. However that be, 'tis certain that the famous Linacre [*B*], and Will. Latimer (*e*), two of the greatest masters of those times in the Greek and Latin tongues, were our young nobleman's principal preceptors; and it is as certain, that he made a considerable progress in his studies under their directions and assistance. In June 1515, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, having first kept the regular

(*a*) Camden's Britann. under Staffordshire. A better authority than Lud. Bacatellus, who in the Life of the Cardinal tells us, he was born in London in the month of March; so it stands in the first edition, printed at Venice in 1563, fol. 7. b. as cited by Wood, in Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 114. note (*k*); but in the edition of 1690, *London* is left out, the words being *Natus est Polus anno M. D. mense Martio*, p. 7.

(*b*) Ath. Oxon. where last cited.

(*c*) In a school joining to the college. Bacatelli, p. 8.

(*d*) Ath. Oxon.

(*e*) To what is said of him in Linacre's article, rem. [*B*], may be added, that the parsonage house at Saintbury was thought to be built by him, which is the size of a little college, and in the same fashion. Knight's Erasmus, p. 29.

[*A*] *A younger son.*] There are different accounts of the rank he stood in among his brethren: Godwin, after Archbishop Parker's Antiq. Britan. calls him the second son of his father (1), whereas the third place only is given to him by the writer of his life, who tells us, there were six children of them, four boys and two girls, who all survived their father: that both the girls married into the nobility; and that the names of the boys were Henry, who succeeded to the honour and estate; the second Arthur, the third Reginald, and the fourth Geoffry [Gofredus] (2). And it is something remarkable, that Godwin, from the same authority as before, speaking on another occasion of the Cardinal's younger brother, calls him by the name of Alfred (3).

[*B*] *Tho. Linacre.*] A particular account of this learned doctor has been inserted in it's proper place in this work; we shall add here what is naturally suggested by his instructing the Cardinal in Greek, that he was the first person who taught that language at Oxford (4). We shall also take this opportunity of mentioning some other particulars not taken notice of under his article. The incident that gave birth to his acquaintance with Hermolaus Barbarus, whose assistance he made use of in the study of natural philosophy and physick, is pleasant enough. 'Tis said, that one day as he was studying in the Vatican library, in comes Hermolaus, and going up to him, after a courteous salute, In good faith, my studious stranger, says he, with a polite freedom, You cannot be as I am, plainly Barbarous, since you so diligently turn over the choicest piece of Plato [this was his Phædo]. To which Linacre replied, in the same air of pleasantry, Nor can you, O consecrated hero, be any other than the much renowned *Latin* Patriarch of Italy, Latinissimus Patriarcha Italorum. To this friendship, so happily begun, it was owing, that Linacre at length returned home as he did, enriched with several excellent books of literature (5). In order to avoid giving any offence, it will not be amiss to mention here, since it escaped our notice in it's proper place, that though Linacre was chiefly bred at Oxford, yet the sister university has a just claim to some share in him, he belonged to it, and the physick lecture, which he founded there, was given by him to St John's College (6). To this may be added, a criticism upon his Latin stile by Huetius, who having made him a very high compliment for his eminent skill in physick, and particularly for the elegance of his translations, remarks, that, *fidelem verborum affectionem raro quidem, at aliquando tamen omisit* (7). Erasmus hath also bantered him for giving himself too much to grammatical studies (8). Our Bishop Gardiner censures him too, in that he could not endure the style of Cicero (9). To conclude the present remark in the same design that it was begun, we shall observe, that Linacre's dedication of his version of Proclus on the sphere is printed by Mattaire (10).

[*C*] *The*

(1) Godwin de Præsulib. &c. edit. 1743, fol. under Pole's article.

(2) Vita Reginaldi Poli, &c. p. 7. edit. 1690, 8vo.

(3) See remark [*L*].

(4) Knight's Life of Erasmus, p. 109.

(5) Jortin's Life of Erasmus, p. 10. note (*b*), from Paulus Jovius.

(6) Knight, p. 24.

(7) Huet de Claris Interpret. p. 234.

(8) Moriæ Encomium, c. 458. See Knight's Life of Colet, p. 139.

(9) *Certe Linacer Ciceronis dictionem nunquam probare potuit, nec sine fastidio audire.* Gard. Epist. ad Chek. Baker's Reflections, p. 46.

(10) In Annal. Typogr. Vol. I. p. 253.

regular exercise for it; and the same year supplicated the congregation, for leave to wear such a habit and robes as were suitable to his birth (*f*), and to be admitted into the publick library. Some time afterwards he entered into Deacon's Orders, and, on the 19th of March, 1517, was made Prebendary of Roscomb in the church of Salisbury, to which was added the Prebend of Yatminster Secunda in the same church, April 10, 1519 (*g*); the Deanery of Wimbourne monastery or Minster in Dorsetshire, and that of Exeter in Devonshire, being conferred on him about the same time. These early promotions were no more than the genuine effects of the munificent temper of King Henry the Eighth, to whom he was related, and who directed his breeding to the church, with a design to raise him to the highest dignities in it. Nor was Pole undeserving of the royal bounty. To a good share of natural parts were joined a sweet and noble temper, and a love of letters. He was now nineteen years of age, and having laid a good groundwork of learning at Oxford, it was determined, according to the custom of those times, to send him for further improvement to Italy, where the liberal arts and sciences then particularly flourished. This destination was very agreeable to him; he had himself sollicited it, and a support suitable to his rank was provided by the King, who allowed him a large yearly pension (*h*), besides the profits of his dignities [*C*]. He went, therefore, accompanied with a learned attendance; and on his arrival, after visiting several other universities, he made Padua his choice, then most flourishing for eloquence. Here he hired a handsome house, and settled a proper houshold (*i*). Such a distinguished figure could not fail of drawing the eyes of all the learned men in that place upon him, and put it into his power to make the best advantage of their abilities towards perfecting the plan of his studies. To this end, for Philosophy he made use of Nich. Leonicus, a learned Philosopher and an excellent Grecian, whose lectures he heard upon several parts of the works of Plato and Aristotle. He likewise entertained in his family Christopher Longolius, a Belgian, famous for the studies of eloquence [*D*]. At the same time he entered into a familiarity with the celebrated Italian

(*f*) The words in Wood are, *Panni pretiosi & Pelluræ pretiosæ*. Athen. Oxon. ubi supra.

(*g*) Wood. And we are told by Godwin, that he was also Vicar of Piddletown in Dorsetshire. Godwin, ubi sup.

(*h*) Quingenta aureos. Vita Reg. Poli, p. 8.

(*i*) Id. p. 8, 9.

[*C*] *The profits of his dignities.*] Bacatellus tells us (11), that these revenues were carefully managed and returned to him by Rich. Paice. And Mr Wood observes, that Paice was at this time his most familiar friend, was appointed to do the duty of his deanry, in which Pole succeeded this friend. But here is some inconsistency with other accounts of Paice, who we are told, was probably born at or near Winchester, and was trained up at school at the charge of Thomas Langton, bishop of that diocese, to whom he was amanuensis. The bishop being much pleased with his proficiency sent him to Padua to complete his studies. There he met with Tonstall and W. Latimer, by whom he much profited. Upon his return he settled at Queen's College in Oxford; thence he was sent for to Court, his accomplishments rendering him very acceptable to Henry VIII. who made him Secretary of State, and employed him in matters of high concern. Though so much immersed in political affairs he went into Orders; in 1514 was admitted Prebendary of Bugthorp, in the church of York; and the same year Archdeacon of Dorset. In 1519, he became Dean of St Paul's, in the room of Dr Colet, and about that time Dean of Exeter (12). Stow, under anno 1521, says Pope Leo died this year; whereupon Dr Paice, Dean of Paul's, was sent to Rome to make friends in behalf of Cardinal Wolsey for the papacy. But Adrian the Sixth was chosen before Dr Paice's arrival. Paice, proceeds the Oxford Antiquary, was afterwards sent ambassador to Venice, and carried with him Thomas Lupset as his secretary; but during this embassy he fell into the displeasure of Wolsey, for which two reasons are assigned; first, that he had shewed a readiness to assist Charles Duke of Bourbon with money, for whom the Cardinal had no great affection. And secondly, that he had not forwarded the Cardinal's designs to succeed Pope Adrian the Sixth, who died in 1523. Upon these two reasons he was sadly distressed by that great man, who stopped his allowance, and almost starved him, and pursued him with the utmost vengeance, so that it did at length bereave him of his senses; though he had some lucid intervals, in which he remonstrated to the king against his ill usage (13). But the Cardinal was too hard for him (14), and he was confined in the Tower [of London] two years. He resigned his two Deanries of St Paul's and Exeter some time before his death *; to the first of which, if I am not mistaken, succeeded Dr Rich. Sampson, Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry; and in the other Reginald Pole (15). At last retiring for his health to Stepney he died there, and was buried in the chancel of that church in 1532, not being quite fifty years old. Soon *after an epitaph, consisting of twelve verses, was put over his grave. Leland's encomium on his return from* Venice, contains an elegant and just character of him. He was excellently well versed in the Greek and Hebrew tongues, as well as the Italian, and in all polite literature. His learning procured him the esteem of Linacre, Grocyn, Sir Thomas More, and others, at home and abroad, particularly of Erasmus, who was greatly pleased with his candour and sweetness of temper, and wrote more letters (16) to him than almost to any other correspondent. *He wrote several things, as may be seen in Wood, among which is a remarkable letter to king Henry VIII. written in 1527, wherein he very honestly gives his opinion of the divorce* (17); and Dr Fiddes observes, that Paice always used a faithful liberty to Cardinal Wolsey, which brought him at last to confinement and distraction (18). Besides the incongruities here in respect to Pole, which the reader will readily see without the help of a fescue, it is something unaccountable, that no notice is taken of any acquaintance or visit Paice made while he was at Venice with our Cardinal: By the silence of all who make any mention either of Pole or Paice, we are to conclude, that the Cardinal took no notice of him during his residence there. This strangeness is, I say, unaccountable, even if we consider Paice merely as a person of distinguished learning; and it becomes much more so, when we find the Cardinal cultivating a particular familiarity with Paice's secretary, Lupset. Perhaps in the ticklish terms Pole stood then with Henry, he might think it too hazardous to cultivate an acquaintance with his ambassador.

[*D*] *Christopher Longolius, famous for eloquence.*] This learned man kept a correspondence with Erasmus, from whose letters we have the following account of him; he was born of Dutch parents, at Schoonhove in Holland, probably not many years before the Cardinal, since he was a young man in the year 1518, but a young man of very extraordinary parts and learning. Erasmus having then seen something he had written, calls him a youth perfectly made for all good learning, and especially for eloquence. This, says he, if I am not mistaken, is one of those who will shortly eclipse the name of Erasmus. However, that is a pleasure to me, as the loss of my name is the gain of the literary republick (19). He was bred at Louvain (20), and applying himself to the study of Cicero, he contracted such a implicit veneration for the Roman orator, that he stands among the chiefs of the Ciceronianists (21), on which account he had a little variance with Erasmus, between whom and Budeus he drew up a comparison, in which he gave the preference to the latter. His comparison turns chiefly upon their stile, and in that point some of his remarks are allowed by Mr Jortin to be not injudicious (22). *This letter was wrote from Rome in the beginning of the year 1519; but he came* not long after to Padua, and lived with our Cardinal, in

(11) In Vita Poli, p. 8.

(12) Lord Herbert is mistaken in saying he was Dean of Salisbury in 1536. Life and Reign of Hen. VIII. p. 405. edit. 1649.

(13) The King hearing his misfortune, had sent for him home, where the Physicians restored him to his senses, so that he studied Hebrew.

(14) When the King ordered the Cardinal to purge himself, he sat in judgment with the Duke of Norfolk and others, not as a defendant, but as a Judge in his own cause.

* Knight says a little time; if so, then Pole could not succeed him in 1519.

(15) Ath. Oxon. *under the article* Tho. Lupset.

(16) Extracts *from several of them may be seen passim in Jortin's Life of* Erasmus, edit. 1758, 4to.

(17) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 29—31.

(18) Knight's Append. p. xxv.

(19) Epist. 347.

(20) Erasmi Epist. 799.

(21) Of these there were two sorts, one who servilely copied Cicero; and another who adopted his turn and manner more particularly, yet not disdaining any pure and classical expression. The heresy arose in the latter end of the XVth century, and lasted about a century, when it expired.

(22) Jortin's Life of Erasmus, p. 169. where this letter of Longolius is inserted as the prettiest of his writings; 'tis dated from *Rome 29 Jan.* 1519.

Italian Peter Bembo (*k*), and with Tho. Lupset an Englishman, eminent for eloquence, learning, and piety, as any person of his country [*E*]. These were his masters, with whom he constantly conversed; and they have told us, that he became the delight of that part of the world, for his learning, politeness, and piety. At the same time he grew not less the darling of his own country, where every one endeavoured to heap favours on him; and particularly Fox, Bishop of Winchester, entered and made him Fellow of his lately founded college of Corpus-Christi in Oxford, on the 14th of February, 1523 (*l*). From Padua our nobleman went to Venice, where he continued for some time, and then visited some other parts of Italy, and in the neighbourhood. Having spent five years abroad, he was recalled home; but being very desirous to see the jubilee, which was celebrated this year at Rome, he took a tour to that city; and passing by the way of Florence, he was received honourably, and had presents made to him there, as well as at other places on the road. At Rome likewise he was entertained with the same respect (*m*); and after he had satisfied his curiosity in visiting the court (*n*), the churches of the Apostles, religious houses, and rarities there, he returned to England before the expiration of 1525 (*o*), and was received with great affection and honour by the King and Queen, the Court, and all the Nobility, being much caressed, not only for his learning, but for the sweetness and politeness of his manners, being greatly improved in all by his travels. Thus he saw every thing at Court which could possibly create a fondness for it; but these had no charms for his taste at present. Devotion and study were his sole delight; and, in order to have a full and free enjoyment of those delights, he resolved to retire to his old habitation, among the Carthusians at Shene, having obtained a grant from the King of the apartment which Dr Colet, the worthy Dean of St Paul's, had lately built for his own use in the same exercises (*p*). He had passed two years with great pleasure in this retirement, when Henry VIII. began to start some scruples about the lawfulness of his marriage to Queen Katharine of Spain, in order to a divorce (*q*). His kinsman foreseeing the commotions which this incident must needs occasion, and that he should not escape being involved in them, if he stay'd in the kingdom, resolved to withdraw, and making use of the pretence of completing his studies, he obtained his Majesty's leave to go to Paris. Here carrying some learned persons in his train, he passed his time in that tranquillity, which is so much the desire, and is so necessary for studious persons; 'till the King prosecuting the affair of the divorce, sent to the most noted universities in Europe for their opinion on the illegitimacy of his marriage. On this occasion, Pole was sent to, and desired, or rather commanded, to concur with the King's agents for procuring the suscriptions and seal of the university of Paris, and other universities in France. This threw him into some perplexity for a while, but at length he resolved to leave the negotiation wholly to those who were joined with him in the commission, and to excuse himself to the King, as unfit for the employ, since the course of his studies had lain another way. But Henry, whose temper knew not how to brook the least incompliance with his humour, was so much displeased, that when his kinsman returned home, not long after, he was advised by all means, for the preventing of further mischief, to clear himself of all disloyalty, and appease his Majesty's anger. Having by this means averted the storm for the present, he retired to his former habitation at Shene, where he prosecuted his studies and devotions, and undisturbed for the space of two years. In the mean time Henry perceiving the court of Rome's resolved intentions to baffle his proceedings carried on under their authority against Katharine, kindled into a resolution to shake off the yoke of that assumed authority, and to rely wholly on his own subjects. In order to effectuate this so extraordinary a change, it became adviseable to found the minds

(*k*) See an account of him in Bayle's Dictionary.

(*l*) Ath. Oxon. ubi supra.

(*m*) John-Mathew Gibertus, Bishop of Verona, was his friend in procuring these favours for him. Vita Reg. Poli, p. 10, 11.

(*n*) Ath. Oxon. col. 115. but the writer of his life p. 11. says, he was never at the Court of Clement VII. who was then Pope, and made but a short stay at Rome.

(*o*) This year, probably soon after his return, he commenced an acquaintance with Erasmus, who wrote him a letter of compliments, which is printed among Erasmus's Epistles, No. 772. He had also received the like compliments from Bembo, Sadolet, and others.

(*p*) See the doctor's article.

(*q*) Viz. in the year 1528. Salmon's Chron. Hist. under that year.

in a letter to whom Erasmus laments his death (23), which happened, in 1522, at 34 years of age*. He had affected, in his life-time, to pass for a Frenchman, and some other places pretended a right to his birth; but Erasmus claims him for his countryman, a Dutchman, and an honour to that nation. The French cities, says he, claim Longolius from us; Mechlin also pretends to him †, but he is truly a pure Dutch-man, descended from a Dutch father in a celebrated town of Holland, called, from it's beautiful gardens, Schoonhove; and to put an end to all disputes about it, be it known, that I had this account from his uncle Peter Longolius, a person of distinguished learning. I think we ought not to suffer Holland to be deprived of this honour; and it adds to the glory of Longolius, that being born in such a country he became so great a man (24). Erasmus also speaks of some commentaries of Longolius, which he supposes might be in the hands of the Cardinal, whom he sollicits to publish them as a work that would be very acceptable to all the lovers of learning (25). Bacatellus tells us, that he died in the house of the Cardinal, who also wrote an account of his life, which was printed with his works (26).

[*E*] *Tho. Lupset, &c.*] This learned person deserves a place here. He was the son of Will. Lupset, citizen and goldsmith of London, and was born there, in the parish of St Mildred, Breadstreet. While a boy he was taken into the care and protection of Dr Colet, and educated in his school, under Will. Lilye (27), and thence removed to Pembroke-Hall in Cambridge (28); after some time he went to Paris, and returning about 1519, settled in Corpus-Christi-College in Oxford, and succeeded John Clement in Cardinal Wolsey's rhetorick lecture, which he read both in Greek and Latin (29), June 19, 1521, he commenced A.M. soon after which he went secretary to Paice in his embassy to Venice. He was at Padua in 1523, with Reg. Pole, and coming back to England was soon after sent again at the earnest request of Cardinal Wolsey to Paris, as tutor to Tho. Winter, where they were both maintained at Wolsey's expence. He wrote several books, a list of which may be seen in Wood and Pits; among these are some letters to Lee, Archbishop of York, in behalf of Erasmus (30), by whose advice he quitted betimes the study of the scholastick writers, and sold those praters to buy Greek classics (31). He was in orders (32), but obtained only a Prebend in the church of Salisbury, two years before his death, which happened 27 Dec. 1532 aged thirty-six, leaving a widow, who was buried in 1545, near him in the church of St Alphage, within Cripplegate, London, afterwards translated to that now called St Alphage by Sion College. He assisted Linacre and More, in revising and correcting their works at the press; and Sir Thomas makes very honourable mention of him.

(23) Epist. 799.

* See his life prefixed to his letters printed at Basil, 1558, 8vo.

† The writer of his life, says, he himself claimed Mechlin for his birth place, whence he was sent to Paris, at nine years old. Afterwards studied the law at Valens, and at length was made free of the city [Rome] by Pope Leo X. for his writings against Luther.

(24) Epist. 467.

(25) Epist. 799. a little before his death he made his will, and put it into the Cardinal's hands as his executor. Life. *Ubi supra.*

(26) Vita Reg. Poli, p. 9, 10.

(27) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 32.

(28) Caius in Hist. Cantab. p. 59.

(29) The university, in a letter of thanks to Wolsey, for having sent them Lupset, gave the Cardinal the title of *Majestas*. Regist. Univ. Oxon. FF. Ep. 83.

(30) They were printed at Basil, 1530, 4to. intituled, *Epistolæ aliquot eruditorum Virorum, ex quibus perspicuum quanta sit Edvardi Lei virulentia.*

(31) Erasmi Epist. 112. to More.

(32) This appears by his *Sermones ad Clerum*, printed mostly at Calais.

[*F*] *The*

minds of the chief perfons in the nation, how they ftood affected towards it. This politick ftep brought new troubles upon Pole. He was now univerfally efteemed for his learning and piety, and was befides of the royal blood. It was obferved therefore, that his confent would be of great fervice as an example to the reft. Accordingly no means were left untried to win him over. Among other arguments made ufe of to that purpofe, his friends and near relations put him in fure hopes, that if he would clearly fhew his willingnefs to pleafe the King, and give his free confent in the matter of the divorce, he fhould have the Bifhoprick of Winchefter, or Archbifhop of York, conferred on him, the firft, if not the laft, being then void. It was further alfo urged, that the prefervation or fubverfion of his family depended, probably, upon his conduct at this critical juncture. Thus irrefiftibly preffed on every fide, he yielded at length to the occafion, and repaired to the King, with a defign to give him fatisfaction; but his confcience checking him the moment he was about to fpeak, he was not able to utter a word. The extremity infpired him with courage (*r*), and quitting his former purpofe he fpoke his mind to the King, which being fuch as was not pleafing nor expected now from him, Henry, with a countenance brim full of anger, put his hand, fometimes to his poniard hanging at his girdle with an intention to kill him, but was overcome with the fimplicity, humility, and fubmiffion of his kinfman's addrefs, and difmiffed him in tolerable temper, without urging the point any more. Pole, however, being apprehenfive that further danger would inevitably accrue to him, if he continued in England, laid hold of this opportunity, of the King's pacific difpofition, to apply to him, by fome friends, for leave to withdraw, under pretence of a farther improvement in the univerfities abroad, which he obtained; and his Majefty was fo far fatisfied at prefent, that he continued his penfion for fome time (*s*) [*F*]. The firft place he went to was Avignon, in the province of Narbon in France, which then flourifhed in the ftudies of the liberal arts and fciences. The town was under the Pope's jurifdiction, and our author continued there unmolefted for the fpace of a year; but finding the air not to agree with his conftitution, he left it and went to Padua, where he before had experienced a better air, befides good company, and the love of learned men (*t*) [*G*]. In this beloved Univerfity he fixed his refidence a fecond time, making excurfions now and then for diverfion to Venice. With regard to ftudy, Divinity had now his principal attention, yet not fo as to exclude the inferior fciences. At the fame time Learning and Religion went hand in hand; nature had given him a ftrong turn to that kind of devotion which is characteriftically diftinguifhed in the Roman Church by the name of piety. There was one Mark, a Monk, faid to be a perfon of great learning, and greater piety, who then taught Theology; with this mafter Pole was exceedingly delighted, and attended his lectures affiduoufly. In the fame difpofition he admitted into an

(*r*) The writer of his Life, who reprefents the Cardianal on all occafions, as Heavens peculiar favourite, attributes this fudden change to the particular Providence of God. Vita Reg. Poli, p. 15.

(*s*) Id. p. 16.

(*t*) Of thefe we have the names of Tryphon Gabrielus; Antoninus Pafferus, furnamed Genua; Bonamicus Baffianus, mentioned in Vita Poli, p. 17. otherwife, whatever merit they had feems to have been long buried in oblivion's grave. The reft, who have furvived that fate, are mentioned below.

[*F*] *The King was fatisfied for the prefent*, &c.] Bifhop Burnet gives the following reafon for this inftance of his Majefty's good will to Pole at this time. Having related that an inftrument acknowledging the King's fupremacy paffed the Convocation in 1531, being figned by nine bifhops, and fixty two abbots and priors, and the major part of the lower houfe of Convocation, he obferves, that Pole was very probably of this number, for in his book to the king, he fays, he was then in England; and adds, that the king would not accept of the fum offered by the clergy, unlefs they would acknowledge him fupreme head. He being then, continues our hiftorian, of the lower houfe of Convocation; and it is not likely the king would have continued the penfion and church preferments, if he had refufed to fign that petition and fubmiffion (31). However, in juftice to Pole it muft not be omitted, that the acknowledgement then made of the King's fupremacy was fubfcribed with this referve, *in as far as it was agreeable to the law of Chrift*; fo we find that Fifher Bifhop of Rochefter was one of the nine Bifhops that figned it, and the King, it feems, was pleafed that it paffed any how.

[*G*] *He obtained the love of many learned men.*] Among thefe are mentioned Lampridius of Cremona, and Jacobus Sadoletus. This laft was a native of Modena, a moft polite writer both in verfe and profe (32). Erafmus fpeaks with rapture of his ftile, and prefers it to his own in thefe terms. *R P. Sadoleti librum in deliciis habeo: verum illius aureum dictionis flumen confiderans, video quem meus rivus fit & turbidus & exilis. Pofthac ad hoc exemplar meum quoque ftylum conabor attemperare* (33). He was firft made Bifhop of Carpentras, and afterwards raifed to the Purple at the fame time with Pole, and both are reckoned with Contarenus, as well difpofed to fome reformation, by Seckendorf*, who hath collected fome things which fhew the chriftian temper of Sadolet. For inftance, being fent Legate to Avignon, in 1539, with orders to extinguifh herefy, together with a power to punifh the guilty, he wrote to Cardinal Farnefe, that he was employed day and night to prevent their increafe; but fays, that he fhould not eafily make ufe of this power to punifh them, fince the truth itfelf, and chriftian mildnefs, were ftronger arguments to bring them to a confeffion of their errors, which would then alfo proceed as it ought from the heart, and not from the mouth only. In another letter to the fame Cardinal, he blames the Pope for perfecuting the Lutherans, whilft he granted new privileges daily to the Jews in the province of Avignon (34). He was a great favourer of Melancthon and Bucer (35), and fpeaks with more moderation and candour, than Luther does of the unfortunate death of Zuinglius and Oecolampadius (36). He died at Rome in 1547, aged 70 (37); yet not without fome fufpicion of being poifoned (38).

Bendict Lampridius, the other friend of Pole juft mentioned, was a celebrated poet, he went to Rome with John Lafcaris, and there taught Greek and Latin. After the death of Pope Leo X. he went to Padua in 1521, and taught the youth of that univerfity; but, as is faid, with a greater regard to his intereft than to his reputation. He was called from Padua to Mantua, by Frederick Gonzago, to be tutor to the Prince his fon. It is obferved of him, that he was fo bafhful, that he could never fpeak in publick. There are in print feveral of his epigrams and lyric poems, both in Greek and Latin, which are printed feparately, and are reckoned among the deliciæ of the Italian poets. His odes are grave and learned. In them he aims at imitating Pindar, but he had not force enough to reach the high flights of that poet (39).

Our Cardinal alfo took into his family Ludovicus Bacatelli, then a ftudent at Padua, who lived with him 'till his death, and wrote his life in Italian, which was afterwards tranflated into Latin, and publifhed under this title, Vita Reginaldi Poli, S. R. E. Cardinalis, & Cantuarienfis Archiepifcopi, Italici confcripta a Ludovico Bacatello Archiepifcopo Ragufino [Ragufa] ipfius familiari. Latine reddita ab Andrea Dudithio Epifcopo Tinienfi*, Venet. 1563. 4to. It was reprinted at London in 1690, with the fame title, to which is added, Juxta exemplar Venetiis excufum, Anno MDLXIII And an Epiftle to the Reader is prefixed, where the anonymous editor fays, it was written by a bigotted Papift, who hath thrown feveral calumnies upon our firft Reformers, and befmear'd his hiftory with lies.

[*H*] *Sampfon*,

(31) Burnet's Hift. of the Reformation, p. 109. 4th edit.

(32) Thuanus, lib. iii. p. 99.

(33) Some of Sadolet's letters to Longolius, are printed with thofe of the latter, *ubi fupra*, Erafmus in Epift. 1170. names him with Bembo and Julius Pflug, as three of the beft writers of that age. After all, a pure and elegant ftile, was perhaps the fmalleft of his accomplifhments; he was a man of piety, probity, and moderation; affable and good natured. Jortin's life of Erafmus, p. 509.

* Hift. Lutheran in Præloqu.

(34) Id. lib. iii. p. 244. See alfo Thuani Hift. lib. vi. p. 189.

(35) Seckendorf lib. i. p. 43, and Supplem. lxiv.

(36) See Epift. 1220. in Sadoleti Epift. Colon. 1564. 8vo. *N. B.* Zuinglius was flain in the wars, it being the cuftom in his country for the head minifters of a parifh to take arms with their countrymen.

(37) Thuanus, lib. iii. p. 99.

(38) Boiffard.

(39) Paul Jovius's Elog. c. 9. Baillet Jugement des Savans fur les Poetes Modernes, Tom. IV. P. i. p. 164, 165. n. 1269. edit. Amfterd. 1725.

* i. e. Knin in Croatia. See his Life in Du Pin, B. E. xv. p. 193. This Andrew afterwards renounced his religion, became a Proteftant and a Socinian, and dying at Wentzlaw in Silefia, in Feb. 1589, was buried there. Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 123.

an intimate familiarity. *Cosmo Sherius*, Bishop of Fano, a city in Umbria, in whom, tho' young, he found an eminent knowledge in several branches of literature, joined to a singular honesty in manners and conversation, and an ardent desire of piety. At Venice also our Nobleman became acquainted with the famous Gaspar Contarenus, who afterwards was elected into the college of Cardinals, as likewise he did with Peter Caraffa, Bishop of Theate, who about that time had founded a new religious order at Venice, called Theatines, but became afterwards the turbulent Pope Paul IV, and an enemy to Pole. Several other persons of the first reputation in the republick of letters, are ranked among his acquaintance. But above all, there was none so familiar with him as a noble Venetian, called Aloisius Priuli. He was a person of singular worth and integrity, and friendship was now begun between them which ended not but with the death of Pole *(u)*. Thus the days passed very agreeably in Italy, but fresh troubles were brewing in England. Henry had not only divorced Katherine, but married Anne Boleyn, and resolved to throw off the papal yoke, and assert his right to the Supremacy, with the title of Supreme Head of the Church. To this end he had procured a book to be written in defence of that title by Dr Richard Sampson, (*w*) Bishop of Chichester [*H*], and observing the high esteem in which Pole was held, both at home and abroad, he was not a little desirous to have it confirmed by his kinsman. He therefore dispatched a courier with Dr Sampson's book, and a letter, requiring his opinion upon the matter. No body was better acquainted with the King's violent temper in general than Pole; the fate of Sir Thomas More and Bishop Fisher particularly had also reached his ears; and seeing the method practised in order to bring them over to acknowledge the new title, he perswaded himself that the like means were designed to bring on the like conclusion; and that the present application was a snare laid purposely to usher him to the block. He therefore contrived some excuses for deferring his answer; and when he found no delays could prevail any longer, taking courage from the security of the Pope's protection, he not only disapproved the King's divorce, and separation from the Apostolick See, in answer for the present, but shortly after drew up his piece *pro Unitate Ecclesiastica* *, and sent it to King Henry. This confidence was a notorious proof of his zeal and attachment to the see of Rome. Besides using very rude and indecent language to Bishop Sampson, he not only pressed the King earnestly to return to the obedience he owed to that see (*x*), but excited the Emperor to revenge the injury done to his aunt, the divorced Queen, with many sharp reflections [*I*]. Henry was much displeased with this conduct, and knowing that the book could not long lie concealed in Italy, though Pole had promised not to publish it, sends for our author to come to England, that he might explain some passages of it to him. But Pole, well aware that it was made treason there to deny his Majesty's Supremacy, which was the principal scope of his book, chose not to obey the call, but desired the King, as being now freed from her who had been the occasion of all this, to take hold of the present occasion, and redintegrate himself with the Pope, and accept the council now summoned, whereby he might have the honour of being the cause of the reformation of the Church in doctrine and manners, assuring him, that otherwise he would be in great danger. This was the language of a superior. It was manifest from what fountain he now drew, and the King therefore resolved to keep measures with him no longer, accordingly his pension was withdrawn, he was stripped of all his dignities in England, and an act of attainder of high treason passed against him. But he was abundantly compensated for these losses and sufferings by the bounty of the Pope and the Emperor. He had been created a Cardinal [*K*] in January preceding *(y)*, by the title of S. Nereus and Achilleus, then

(*u*) Ibid. p. 18. See more of this Venetian hereafter.

(*w*) The title of Sampson's book was, *Oratio Hortatoria ad Obedientiam Regis contra Papam.*

* Burnet says, this piece was more esteemed for the high quality of the author, than for any sound reasoning, that is in it, Hist. of the Reformat. Vol. I.

(*x*) He wrote also to Tonstall, Bishop of Durham, to incline the King to it. Herbert's Life of Henry VIII. sub anno 1535. Strype's Life of Archbishop Parker, B. I. ch. x.

(*y*) Upon the eleventh of that month, says Bacatellus, p. 23. but we are told by another writer, that he was made Cardinal-Deacon of Nereus and Achilles, December 20, 1536. Ciacon. Vit. Pontif. Tom. III. col. 677.

[*H*] *Sampson, Bishop of Chichester.*] Sampson was first of Clement's Hostel, and then of Trinity Hall, in Cambridge, where he became acquainted with Erasmus; and meeting with him afterwards at Tournay, used his utmost endeavours to procure him a prebend in that church, of which, Wolsey was then Bishop, had Sampson in his retinue (40), who became treasurer of the church of Salisbury (41), Dean of the royal chapel of St Stephen's, and chaplain to the King. Being neglected by Wolsey, he wrote him an expostulating letter for preferment, which did not succeed, the Cardinal ever bearing hard upon those that would not run the lengths he would have them (42). However, he entirely complied with all the King's proceedings (43), which he extolled in a dedication to his Majesty of a commentary published by him on the first fifty psalms; running into a severe invective against the Bishops of Rome, and the corruptions and usurpations favoured by that see. So that in 1536, he was raised to the Bishoprick of Chichester *, and translated to Lichfield in 1543; was of the Privy Council, and sent abroad on embassies (44).

[*I*] *With many sharp reflections*] He compared the King to Nebuchadnezzar; and indeed, the indecencies of his expressions against the King, not to mention the scurrilous language he bestows on Sampson, whose book he undertakes to answer, are such, that it appears how much the Italian air had changed him. Thus far Bishop Burnet, who however allows, that Sampson had reflected severely upon Pole. His old friend Tonstal, Bishop of Durham, sent him a severe letter in answer to his book; in which he reproved his bitterness, and advised him to burn it. He also in a sermon preached at St Paul's, in his grave way, set forth Pole's unnatural ingratitude (45).

[*K*] *He was created a Cardinal.*] We have the following particulars, relating to Pole's conduct on this occasion, from Bacatelli, who tells us, that Contarenus, who was made a Cardinal a little before, being consulted by the Pope, [Paul III.] about the best means for restoring ecclesiastical discipline, advised his Holiness to call to his assistance, Sadolet, Caraffa, Cortesius, Abbot of St George; Gibert, Bishop of Verona; Tregosius, Archbishop of Salerno; and Pole. That these learned persons drew up a method for the purpose, which is extant in the books of the councils, being unanimously approved, but could not then be carried into execution. However, it being Christmas festival, the Pope resolved upon a creation of Cardinals, and thought of Pole * among others, who was particularly approved by Contarenus †, and the Emperor's Ministers, as being the properest person to reduce England, to the Roman pale. In short, all were pleased but Pole himself, who both begged and prayed it might not be done, at least not at present; so that the Pope, promised to defer it. But that going to the college of Cardinals, to create the others without Pole, he had no sooner taken the chair, than suddenly changing his mind,

(40) Knight's Life of Erasmus, p. 43.

(41) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 135.

(42) Knight.

(43) Burnet's Reformation, Vol. I. p. 215. who tells us, that he was exempted out of the general pardon, only for sending some alms to one Abel, in extreme want and misery in prison, for denying the King's Supremacy.

* The temporalities were given to him 4 July this year. Pat. 28. Hen. VIII. p. 2.

(44) Knight.

(45) Burnet.

* He had been taken into the palace and lodged there, being highly recommended by Contarenus to the Pope, who found him to be entirely devoted to the Roman see. Vita Poli.

† Some say he was recommended by Bembo. *Godwin de Praesulib.*

(z) Wood; but with regard to this last title, from what authority, does not appear; neither Burnet, nor Godwin, nor Parker, nor Bacatelli, make any mention of it. *N.B.* Sadolet and Caraffa received the Purple at the same time. Vita Poli, p. 23.

(aa) Viz. quinquaginta millia aureorum nummum, fifty thousand ducats. Vita Poli, p. 25.

(bb) Ibid. from p. 25 to p. 29.

(cc) Ibid. p. 31.

(dd) See more of this hereafter.

(ee) Viz. Cardinal Monte, and St Crucis, both afterwards raised to the Papacy, the first by the name of Julius III. and the other by his own name, Marcellus II. Sleidan & Ciacon. Vit. Pontif. Tom. III.

(ff) In this Council he asserted the German doctrine of Justification by Faith. Burnet, ubi supr. See also Pole's Treatise of Justification.

(gg) Vit. Poli, p. 33.

then of St Mary in Cosmedin, and at length of St Prisca (z), and soon after was sent by the Pope with the character of Nuncio, both to France and to Flanders, that being near England, he might hold a correspondence with the Catholicks there, in order to keep them stedfast in the faith of that Church. At Paris he was received by the King very honourably, but did not stay long there; for Henry being informed of it, sent to demand him of the French monarch [*L*], which being notified to him by that Prince, he removed to Cambray, and put himself under the protection of that Bishop Yet neither was this a place of safety for him, by reason of the war then between France and the Empire, in which Henry was engaged, so that the English soldiers were continually harrassing those parts. The Nuncio was therefore very desirous to leave the place, and the more for this reason, that he now heard of his being proclaimed a traitor in England, and a price set upon his head (*aa*). During this perplexity Cardinal *Erardus à Marchia*, Bishop of Liege, inviting him thither, he immediately posted from Cambray, and was received as a brother, and most liberally entertained by that Cardinal. Here he continued six months, waiting 'till all things should be amended in England, according to the desire of France and the Emperor; but these expectations proving vain, our Nuncio found himself still in danger of being delivered up to Henry VIII. hereupon he left Leige, and by the Pope's command returned through Germany to Rome, where he was very graciously received; and not long after attended his Holiness to Nice, in the Province of Narbonne in France, to assist in making a peace between the Emperor and that King, which he did all that lay in his power to effect, and the former gave orders that his minister there should pay all imaginable respects to him. Afterwards he was employed by the Pontiff to these two Princes, and some others, to perswade them to enter into a league against England, in order to restore it to the ancient religion, cleanse it of heresy, and relieve the devotees to the Apostolick See, then in a lingring and groaning condition, a thing of greater necessity and merit, than to war against the Turk. To dispatch this embassy with quickness, and to avoid the toils of Henry VIII. our Cardinal went incognito, and with very few attendants, first to the Emperor, then at *Toledo* in Spain, and in the design to proceed from thence to France (*bb*). But this project being counterworked by Henry (*cc*), the Cardinal met with a cool reception from his Imperial Majesty; whereupon he returned by the same road to Avignon, where he acquainted the Pope with his ill success, and receiving a letter from his Holiness to continue in those parts, he took this opportunity of making a visit at Carpentras, to his acquaintance and beloved friend Cardinal Jacob Sadolet, with whom he spent six months much to his satisfaction, and in the utmost safety, this place as well as Avignon, being under the Pope's jurisdiction; and being recalled hence, and sent by the Pope to Verona, he found much friendship and hospitality from John Matthew Gibert, Bishop of that place. At length his Holiness considering how to reward his services, sent him Legate to Viterbo, an easy employ, and near the city, where he might reside entirely safe, and out of the reach of his enemies. In this post he still maintained his character for piety and learning, and particularly obtained the love of the people, by his moderation towards Protestants, for which, however, he was charged by the bigots with favouring heresy (*dd*). Our Legate continued at Viterbo 'till 1543, when the Pope having called the Council of Trent, appointed him, together with the Cardinal of Paris, and Cardinal John Merone, his three Legates there, but as the council could not then assemble, by reason of the wars which arose in Germany, and other Christian countries, Pole returned to Viterbo, between which place and Rome he passed his time, following his studies in great repose and tranquillity, 'till the Pontiff resolving not to have his views in calling a council defeated, issued a second citation for holding it at the same place, and appointed Pole again, but with two different Cardinals, his Legates there (*ee*). Accordingly he attended in that council, as long as he was able (*ff*), but the bad state of the air bringing a dangerous catarrh upon him, he obtained leave to go to Padua for the benefit of advice, and a better air; after a while the council also was removed to Bononia on the same account. About which time our Cardinal having recovered his health returned to Rome, and was received very graciously, as usual, by the Pope, who made him his chief counsellor in matters relating to Kings and sovereign Princes, and particularly when it was concluded to make a defence in writing Cardinal Pole was the penman (*gg*). Thus, for instance, when the Pope's power to remove the council was contested by the Emperor's Ambassador, Pole drew up a vindication of that proceeding, and when the Emperor set forth the *Interim*, the same Cardinal was employed to answer it [*M*]. This was in 1548, and Pope

mind, he called one of his bed-chamber, and sends him for a barber, and at the same time orders him to go to Pole, and let him know that it was his pleasure, he should not refuse the offered dignity. That Pole was much troubled at it, but at length submitted, giving his head to the razor like a lamb under the shearer's hands (46).

(46) Vita Poli, p. 20—23.

[*L*] *Henry* VIII. *demanded him of the French King.*] 'Tis said that on his arrival in France, he sent letters to his friends in England to stir up a rebellion there, which being discovered to the King by his younger brother Alfred *, proved fatal to his mother, and to his eldest brother the Lord Montague (47). Pole's two other brothers, Arthur and Jeffrey, were both arraigned, in 1562, for a conspiracy against Queen Elizabeth (48).

* See remark [*A*].

(48) Fulman, in the Appendix to Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 325. 4th edition.

[*M*] *He wrote an answer to the Interim.*] This famous decree, contained a scheme for an accommodation, or

(47) Godwin de Præsulib. from Sleidan, who says his mother, the Countess of Salisbury, was 70 years of age when she suffered, viz. in the 33d of Hen. VIII. having been condemned by the Parliament in the 31st, anno 1540; but Salmon has placed her execution in 1541, and says, she was thought too near related to the House of York. The Cardinal consoled himself for this loss, with the confidence of their dying martyrs, *Vita Poli* p. 38.

Pope Paul III. dying the next year our Cardinal was twice elected to succeed him, but refused both the elections; one as being too hasty, and without due deliberation, and the other, because it was done in the night-time. Such an unexampled delicacy (*bb*) disgusted several of his friends in the conclave. They thereupon joined with the party of Cardinal John Maria de Monte, Bishop of Paletrina, who by that means being chosen Pope, took the name of Julius the third [*N*]. This happened March 30, 1550; and the tranquillity of Rome being soon afterwards much disturbed by the wars in France, and on the borders of Italy, Pole retired, with the Pope's leave, to a monastery of the Benedictines called Magazune, situated near the lake of Benacus in the territory of Verona. In this pleasant retirement he continued 'till the death of Edward VI. July 1553. But on the accession of Queen Mary it was determined by the court of Rome, that Pole should be sent Legate into England, as the fittest instrument, on all accounts, to effect the reduction of the kingdom to their obedience to the Pope [*O*]. The undertaking, however, required some consideration. The act of attainder,

(*bb*) Bacatelli observes, that he had never heard or read of any one that had done the like. Ibid. p. 39.

or a truce to be observed between Papists: but gave great offence to both sides, each thinking too much to be conceded to the other. The tenor of it was in general very favourable to the Romish doctrines, somewhat softened, disguised, and palliated. The only concessions to the Protestants, were the use of the cup in the eucharist, and of marriage to the clergy; and even these were only conditional and temporary, and to continue 'till a general council should decide about it.

[*N*] *Pole refused the election, and De Monte was chosen Pope.*] There were three parties in the conclave, the French, the Emperor, and Cardinal Farnese. This last joining with the Emperor, unanimously chose Pole. The majority of votes was undeniable, but the French objected that some of their party were not arrived by reason of the distance, and complained that the election was hurried. This party was joined by Caraffa, who hoping if Pole was set aside, to be chosen himself; not only backed their arguments but began to load Pole with calumnies, objecting that he lay under a suspicion both of heresy and incontinency. In support of which, he alledged that in Germany at the council of Trent, he was familiar with the Lutherans, and that his familiarity with Tremellius (49) confirmed the suspicion, which was further ascertained by his keeping Flaminius a suspected Lutheran among his domestics for some time, and then enriching him with some ecclesiastical dignities. That he had spared several hereticks at Viterbo (50), punishing but few in any moderate way, and none at all with death. Neither was that gravity of countenance which he wore, so far removed from the suspicion of luxury, but that many persons thought the young Nun which he maintained at his own expence, was really the fruit of his own loins. To conclude, he wondered what they meant by running with so much hurry to chuse a foreigner, as if Italy, could not produce any who were worthy of the Pontificate, so that they were under a necessity of sending to Britain; and to what end, continues he, viz. That Cæsar, whose creature Pole was known to be, might plunder Rome a second time (51) Pole effectually defended himself against these calumnies; with regard to the first, appealing to all that he had done and suffered for the dignity of the Roman Church, and the Catholic doctrines. Secondly, as to his conduct at Viterbo, it was observable, that he had lived so as to preserve the peace, without the necessity of having much recourse to any punishment, much less to extremity. And thirdly, with respect to the young nun, he made it appear that she was the daughter of an English woman; who dying at Rome, he had placed the girl in a nunnery, to save her from falling into a wicked course of life: that for a provision, besides the small matter that was left by her mother, he had deposited a hundred *aurei in Fidei Monte*, as it is called. Upon the whole, his answer was so clear and satisfactory, that his party grew warmer in his behalf; and immediately proceeding to confirm their election by a second scrutiny, they went thence to Pole's apartment, and finding he was gone to bed (for it was now late at night) they spoke to Priuli, who was then in waiting as gentleman of the bedchamber, to awake his master; and acquaint him that they were come to adore him, and so to bring the matter to a final issue; Priuli performed the request with much joy, but Pole received it in a different temper; he was very angry with his friend, and drove the Cardinals away, telling them, that he would not have a thing which was to be feared rather than desired, to be carried on tumultuously and rashly, but decently and orderly. That the night was not a proper time, God was a God of light and not of darkeness, and therefore it ought to be deferred 'till day came. The Italians attributing this coldness to a stupid meanness of spirit, despised him for it, and shrinking all from him, after some intrigues chose the Cardinal De Monte (52), as abovementioned; who, as Burnet observes, gave a strange omen of what advancements he intended to make, when he gave his own hat according to the custom of the Popes, who bestow their hats before they go out of the conclave, on a boy who was his monkey-keeper; and being asked what he saw in him to make him a Cardinal, he answered, as much as the Cardinals had seen in himself to make him Pope (53). But it is commonly said, that the secret of his advancement, was an unnatural affection to him. So says Burnet (54), whilst others ascribe it to his money (55). However that be, he certainly carried it very friendly to Pole, during his Pontificate, and on his election when Pole came among the other Cardinals to kiss his feet as usual, he rose and embraced him in a most friendly manner not without tears of joy, and frequently acknowledged, that he owed his promotion to our Cardinal's refusing it (56).

(49) This was a learned Jew, who had been baptized in the Cardinal's house, and was known to incline to Lutheranism. Burnet's History of the Reformation, Vol. I. under this year.

(50) Many who left their monasteries, and went to Germany, used to stay some time with him on their way, and were well received by him. Ibid.

(51) Godwin, ubi supra, from Parker and Ciaconius.

(52) Bacatelli in Vita Poli, p. 37, 38. and Godwin, as before.

(53) Father Paul says he was his catamite; he was then only 17 years old, and turned out a great disgrace to his dignity.

(54) History of the Reformation, ubi supra.

(55) Heideggar Hist. Papatus, p. 233.

(56) Vita Poli, p. 41.

[*O*] *It was determined to send him Legate to England*] There is some variations in the accounts of this matter. Godwin tells us, that as soon as the news of Edward's death and the succession of Queen Mary reached Pole's ears, he left his retirement and repaired to Rome in the view of procuring a legation for England; where knowing that he was beloved by Mary, he conceived great hopes, either to obtain the kingdom by marrying her, or at least some of the highest posts in it by her favour; in support of this account, it is observed, that Mary was educated by the Cardinal's mother Margaret, while he was a young man; that this appointment was ordered by Katherine, mother to Mary, in the view of marrying her to one of Margaret's children, that so her right to the crown (Margaret being niece to Edward IV.) might be strengthened by this alliance, in case Henry should die without male issue. Nor was Pole deceived in his expectations. For Mary immediately on her accession to the crown, invited him to England (57); and the Pope made him Legate; but the Emperor suspecting the design of Mary to marry her kinsman, and resolving upon his son's marriage to her, procured Dandini, the Pope's Legate at his court, to send letters to Pole by Commendunus to put off his journey; Pole receiving the letters at the monastery of Magazune, acquainted the Pope with the affair, who being incensed at the Emperor's assuming so much power, was angry with Dandini, recalled him, and transferred his legatine power to Pole, the business of which, was to negociate a peace between France and the Empire. Thus honoured with a double legation, our Cardinal set out in October; and arriving at Trent, dispatched letters thence to both the courts concerned, with an account of his new legation; and continued his journey. But the Emperor finding the thing could not be managed by cunning, recurred to force, and forthwith sent Mendoza with orders absolutely to forbid our legate's proceeding in his dominions, unless he would retire to Liege, and remain there 'till he received further orders from him. This express meeting him in the road not far from Dilling (58). He returned to the town, and there meeting with the Emperor's confessor (59), he set him to sollicit his master not to stop his journey, at the same time acquainting the Pope also with this new affront At length Cæsar being assured, that

(57) The invitation was brought by Commendunus mentioned above.

(58) Dilling lies upon the Danube, not far from Trent. Burnet and Bacatelli.

(59) His name was Petrus à Soto, he was then master of a college or school at Dilling. Vita Poli, p. 48.

tainder, which had paſſed againſt him under Henry VIII. had been confirmed by Edward, and conſequently ſtood ſtill in force, both theſe princes were held in great eſteem among the people. Our Legate therefore did not think it ſafe to venture his perſon in England, 'till he underſtood the true ſtate of things there (*ii*). However, it was not long before he received full ſatisfaction upon all theſe points (*kk*), and accordingly ſet out for England by the way of Germany in the month of October this year, 1553; but he had not proceeded far in the Emperor's dominions, when a meſſage came to him from that prince, to put a ſtop to his further progreſs at preſent. Theſe letters were ſoon followed by an expreſs from Queen Mary to the ſame purport, who, to keep him in good humour, ſent him alſo the two acts that had paſſed, for the juſtification of her mother's marriage, and for bringing all things back to the ſtate they were in at her father's death, deſiring him likewiſe to ſend her a liſt of ſuch perſons as ſhould be made Biſhops (*ll*). The Cardinal being ſatisfied, that the true cauſe of this delay was to prevent his arrival in England before the Queen's marriage to Philip ſhould be compleated, was not a little nettled at it, and wrote a letter to her Majeſty, wherein he ſaid, he knew this ſtop to his journey came chiefly from the Emperor, who was for purſuing ſuch particular courſes now, as himſelf had followed in the buſineſs of the Interim, being reſolved to have the ſtate ſettled before ſhe meddled with religion. That he had ſpoke with the Emperor's confeſſor about it, and had convinced him of the impropriety of ſuch courſes, and ſet him to work on his maſter (*mm*). He alſo told the Queen, he was afraid carnal pleaſures might govern her too much, and that ſhe might thereby fall from her ſimplicity in Chriſt, wherein ſhe had hitherto lived: he encouraged her therefore to put on a ſpirit of wiſdom and courage, and truſt in God, who had preſerved her ſo long. He aſſured her, that he had wrote to mitigate the Pope and Cardinals who there was room enough to think would reſent his being ſtopped, which he had told them was done only to wait 'till his attainder was taken off; and to make a ſhew of going forward, he had ſent his houſhold-ſtuff to Flanders. With regard to the two acts, he found fault that no mention was made in the firſt of the Pope's bulls, by the authority of which only it could be a lawful marriage; and he did not like, that in the other act, the worſhip of God, and the ſacraments, were to be as they were in the end of her father's reign (*nn*), for then the people were yet in a ſtate of ſchiſm, that the Pope's interdict ſtill lay on the nation, and 'till that were taken off, none could, without ſin, either adminiſter or receive them. He confeſſed he knew none of either houſe fit to propoſe the matter of rejecting the ſupremacy, and therefore he thought it beſt for herſelf to go to the Parliament, having beforehand acquainted ſome few, both of the ſpirituality and temporality, with her deſign, and tell the houſe, ſhe was touched with the ſchiſm, and deſired a Legate to come over from the Apoſtolick See, to treat about it; and ſhould thereupon propoſe the reverſing of his attainder. That whereas ſome might apprehend thraldom from the papacy, ſhe might give them aſſurance ſhe would ſee all things ſo well ſecured, that there ſhould no danger come to the nation from it; and he aſſured them, that he, for his part, would take as much care of that, as any of all the temporality could deſire (*oo*). But her marriage with Philip meeting with great oppoſition, it was reſolved our Legate ſhould be kept at a diſtance. Therefore by way of diverſion another Legation was contrived for him, to mediate a peace between the Empire and France (*pp*). In obedience to to the Pope's appointment he went to Paris on this errand, the buſineſs was moſt agreeable to his natural diſpoſition, and he laboured it very ſeriouſly for ſome time, 'till finding no proſpect of ſucceſs, he returned to his former reſidence in a monaſtery near Bruſſels, where

(*ii*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 119.

(*kk*) He was informed of all by Commendunus, who was diſpatched by Dandini from the Emperor's court to England privately, to ſound Queen Mary's intentions with regard to the re-eſtabliſhment of the Romiſh religion and the Pope's Supremacy. Burnet, B. ii.

(*ll*) This power was given him in the Bull of his Legation; but it does not appear that he named any at this time. Burnet.

(*mm*) See his name, &c. in remark [*O*].

(*nn*) She had complied to that ſtate of the religion before Henry's death, and it was all ſhe aſked on the acceſſion of King Edward. Burnet, Vol. II. p. 241. firſt edition.

(*oo*) Id. in the appendix of which the letter is printed, and is a very long one.

(*pp*) Burnet ſays this was a ſcheme of the Emperor's; but the reſt tell us, it was done by the Pope in revenge for the affront put upon him in the perſon of his Legate. See rem. [*O*].

that the marriage articles between Philip and Mary were completed, ſuffered Pole to come to Bruſſels (60), upon condition that he ſhould remain there 'till the nuptials were ſolemnized, and in the mean time deſired him to enter on the buſineſs of his legation to himſelf. Thus far Godwin from Parker's Antiq. Brit. and it agrees in the main, with what we have from Bacatellus. But Biſhop Burnet having mentioned Queen Mary's ordering Commendunus to move the Pope, that Pole might be ſent over with legatine power to reſtore the nation to the Pope's obedience, obſerves that the writer of the Cardinal's life inſinuates, that beſides this, ſhe had another reaſon; *for ſhe aſked him whether the Pope might not diſpenſe with the Cardinal to marry, ſince he was only in Deacons orders* (61). It was granted, proceeds this hiſtorian, that Pole ſhould go legate with a full power. But Gardiner coming to know this, ſent to the Emperor to ſtop his journey, aſſuring him that things were going well on, and that Pole's coming over would ſpoil all. At this time the Emperor began to think of marrying his ſon Philip to the Queen, which was propoſed in the beginning of November 1553, and entertained by the Queen eaſily.— It is ſaid, continues he, and I have ſhewn ſome ground to believe, that ſhe had ſome inclination for Pole, and that the Emperor fearing that might be a hindrance to his deſign, therefore the Cardinal's coming over was ſtopt 'till the Queen was married to his ſon. But of this, I find no certain footſteps. On the contrary, Gardiner, whoſe eye was chiefly upon the Archbiſhoprick [of Canterbury], would rather have promoted Pole's pretenſions to the Queen, ſince her marrying a ſubject and not a ſtranger, would have made the government much eaſier and more acceptable; and it would have been the beſt thing he could do for himſelf, if he could have perſuaded her to marry Pole, who was likely to ſtand between him and that dignity; the true account of it is, the Emperor forced her upon the marriage firſt, which he ſaid would more eaſily make way for what was to follow; and this was the reaſon of ſtopping Pole at Dilling, which the Emperor at firſt did by his own authority, and afterwards got the Queen to ſend to him for the ſame purpoſe (62). And ſo far the Biſhop has all the writers of his ſide, that Pole's journey was ſtopped on account of the Queen's marriage to Philip; but his reaſon for Gardiner's having no hand in that match, ſeems not ſo well grounded; ſince he had good reaſon to believe that Pole's marriage with the Queen, would have broke the neck of his views upon Canterbury. He was no ſtranger to the Cardinal's ill opinion of him, and could not therefore be without a juſt apprehenſion, that if he once obtained the kingdom by that marriage, tho' he could not then accept that dignity himſelf, yet he would never ſuffer his enemy to poſſeſs it (63).

(60) The Cardinal reſided in a monaſtery near the city. And perceiving the malice of his enemies, he compared himſelf to a perſon walking in the fields, who obſerved by the bending of the graſs, that there was a ſnake in it, which however, was covered by the graſs's height. Id. p. 51, 52.

(61) No ſuch paſſage as this occurs in the edition of 1690. But as Burnet wrote his Hiſtory of the Reformation before that time, he muſt cite the firſt edition in 1563. We have in note (*a*) obſerved another ſuch inſtance in a citation of Mr Wood. Yet the editor of the ſecond edition, takes no notice of any alterations in it from the firſt, except only in the addition of ſome marginal contents.

(62) Hiſtory of the Reformation, Vol. II. Part ii. B. ii.

(63) Gardiner treated Pole with contempt as a weak man, and Pole deteſted Gardiner as a wicked man. Ibid.

[*P*] To

where he had refided before this call to France. The truth is, the real defign of this fecond embaffy was now compleated in the celebration of Queen Mary's nuptials with Philip, which was no fooner finifhed, than her Majefty fent the Lords Paget and Haftings to conduct her coufin into England. Accordingly he fet out in September, 1554, but being detained by contrary winds at Calais 'till November, he did not crofs the water 'till the twenty-firft of that month; when arriving at Dover he went thence by land to Gravefend, where being met by the Bifhop of Ely, and the Earl of Salifbury, who prefenting him with the repeal of the act of his attainder, that had paffed the day before (*qq*), he went on board a yatcht, which carrying the crofs, the enfign of his Legation, at her head, conveyed him to Whitehall, where he was received with the utmoft veneration by their Majefties; and after all poffible honour and refpect paid to him there, he was conducted to the Archbifhop's palace at Lambeth, the deftined place of his refidence, which had been fumptuoufly fitted up by the Queen for the purpofe †. On the 27th he went to the Parliament, and made a long and grave fpeech, inviting them to a reconciliation with the Apoftolick See, from whence, he faid, he was fent by the common Paftor of Chriftendom to reduce *them*, who had long ftrayed from the inclofure of the Church (*rr*). On the 29th the Speaker reported to the Commons the fubftance of this fpeech; and a meffage coming from the Lords for a conference, in order to prepare a fupplication to be reconciled to the See of Rome, it was confented to, and the petition being agreed on, was reported and approved by both houfes; fo that being prefented by them on their knees to the King and Queen, thefe made their interceffion with the Cardinal, who thereupon delivered himfelf in a long fpeech, at the end of which he granted them abfolution. This done, all went to the royal chapel, where *Te Deum* was fung on the occafion (*ss*). Thus the Pope's authority being now reftored, the Cardinal two days afterwards made his publick entry into London, with all the folemnities of a Legate (*tt*), and prefently fet about the bufinefs of reforming the Church, of what they called herefy. How much foever he had formerly been fufpected to favour the Reformation (*uu*); yet he feemed now to be much altered, knowing the court of Rome kept a jealous eye upon him in this refpect. He therefore expreffed great deteftation of them, nor did he converfe much with any that had been of that party *. He came over into England, much changed from that freedom of converfation he had formerly practifed. He was in referve to all, fpoke little, and put on an Italian temper, as well as behaviour; making Priuli and Ormaneto, two Italians whom he brought with him, his only confidents (*ww*). In the mean time, the Queen difpatched Embaffadors to Rome, to make obedience in the name of the whole kingdom to the Pope; who had already proclaimed a Jubilee on that occafion (*xx*). But thefe meffengers had fcarcely fet foot on Italian ground, when they were informed of the death of Julius, and the election of Marcellus his fucceffor (*yy*); and this Pontiff dying alfo foon after (*zz*), the Queen upon the firft news of it, recommended her kinfman to the popedom, as every way the fitteft perfon for it (*aaa*); and difpatches were accordingly fent to Rome for the purpofe, but they came too late, Peter Caraffa, who took the name of Paul IV. being elected before their arrival (*bbb*). This Pope who had never liked our Cardinal, was better pleafed with the bifhop of Winchefter, whofe temper exactly tallied with his own. In this difpofition he favoured Gardiner's views upon the fee of Canterbury (*ccc*). Nor was Pole's nomination to that dignity confirmed by his Holinefs, 'till after the death of this rival (*ddd*). The Queen however, confiding in Pole for the management and regulation of ecclefiaftical affairs (*eee*), granted him a licence to hold a fynod on the fecond of November, 1554 (*fff*). In this convention, the Legate propofed the next year a book he had prepared, containing fuch regulations as he judged might be the beft means of extirpating herefy (*ggg*); thefe were paffed in the form of twelve decrees, and they are fo many proofs of his good temper, which difpofed him not to fet the Clergy upon perfecuting the hereticks, but rather to reform themfelves, and feek to reclaim others by a good example, as the fureft method to bring back the ftragglers into the fold [*P*]. How

(*qq*) The King and Queen went to the Houfe before the ufual time, on purpofe to pafs it. Vita Poli, p. 54.

(*rr*) This made fome motion in the Queen, which fhe vainly thought was a child quickned in her belly. Which redoubled the joy, fome not fparing to fay, that, as John Baptift leaped in his mother's belly at the falutation of the Virgin; fo here the like happinefs attended the falutation of Chrift's Vicar.

(*ss*) Vita Poli, p. 55 to 61.

(*tt*) The crofs was now firft carried before him, which could not be done 'till the Pope's authority was reftored by Law.

(*uu*) Sleidan tells us, that they who knew his manner both of talking and acting before, were greatly furprized to fee him act this part, having promifed themfelves very different things from him. Sleidan Hift. Lib. xxv. p. 765.

(*ww*) Id. ibid.

(*xx*) Vita Poli, p. 63, 64.

† Cranmer was in prifon, attainted of high treafon, and the Archbifhoprick fequeftred.

* 'Tis faid Secretary Cecill, was the only perfon of the reformed, that our Cardinal converfed with. Burnet, Vol. II.

(*bbb*) He was chofen May 20. Ciacon. ubi fupra.

(*ccc*) Godwin, ubi fupra.

(*ddd*) Gardiner died Nov. 13, 1555, and the Pope's Bull of provifion for Pole bears date 3 id. of Decemb. that year. Regift., Pole, fol. 1.

(*eee*) See Gardiner's article.

(*fff*) Burnet.

(*ggg*) This book was afterwards printed with the title of the Reformation of England, by the Decrees of Cardinal Pole, and is now inferted into the Collections of the Councils.

(*yy*) Julius died March 20th, and Marcellus was elected the 9th of April. Ciacon. de Vitis Pontif. col. 808, 809.

(*zz*) One day, as he fat mufing after dinner upon the difficulties and dangers of his fituation, he laid his hand upon the table, faying, I don't fee how they can be faved that hold this high dignity; whereupon he fell into a languifhing diforder, and died in ten days, viz. on the firft of May. Ciacon; and Burnet, Vol. II. p. 310. (*aaa*) This was unknown to Pole, who was then negotiating a peace with the French King at Ardres near Calais, together with Gardiner, Arundel, and Paget, to whom Mary's letter was directed, defiring them to apply to the Cardinal of Lorraine for that monarch's intereft. See the letter in Burnet's Collections; 'tis dated May 30, 1ft and 2d year of our reign.

[*P*] *To bring the ftragglers into the fold*] The fubject matter of thefe decrees we have in Burnet (64), who, after that which directs the clergy in conferring benefices not to be biaffed by partial affection, tells us, that '*in this Pole himfelf was a great example; for that he had an only brother (as, fays he, I find him called, in one of the Cardinal's commiffions to him, with fome others, though I believe he was a baftard brother) David, and had continued all King Henry's time in his archdeaconry of Derby. He, either to punifh him for his former compliance, or to fhew he had no mind to raife his kindred, did not advance him, 'till after he had been two years in England, and then gave him only the bifhoprick of Peterborough, one of* the pooreft of the bifhopricks; which, confidering his alliance to the crown, and high birth, was a very fmall preferment.' But upon this paffage Mr Fulman remarks, that 'David was not the Cardinal's brother, nor yet a baftard; there being no bull of difpenfation in his favour among thofe fent over at that time (65).' We have an account of this Bifhop in Mr Wood, who apparently having feen Burnet's account with Fulman's remark upon it, expreffes himfelf cautioufly thus: 'David Pole, or Poole, fays he, of noble race, as it feems, fome fay baftard-brother to Cardinal Pole, became Fellow of All fouls college in 1520, proceeded in Law, and commenced Doctor in 1527; being then archdeacon of Salop, and efteemed for his great knowledge

(64) Hiftory of the Reformation, as before.

(65) Appendix to the Hiftory of the Reformation, p. 325. 4th edition.

How unſuitably to the temper of theſe decrees, he was prevailed upon to act in many inſtances afterwards, has been already mentioned to his diſgrace, in the courſe of this work*. The ſame thing is confeſſed alſo by Burnet, who moreover plainly ſuggeſts his belief of the report, that Cranmer's execution was of Pole's procuring. It is indeed ſomething remarkable, that tho' the Cardinal had his conge d'eſlire, as well as two bulls diſpatched from Rome, for the Archbiſhoprick of Canterbury, ſome months before Cranmer's death; and deferred his conſecration thereto, apparently becauſe he thought it indecent whilſt Cranmer lived; yet he choſe to have it done the very next day after that Prelate's execution [Q] (bbb); when it was performed by the Biſhops of London, Ely, Lincoln, Rocheſter, and St Aſaph, in the Church of the Grey Friars at Greenwich. On the 28th (iii); he went in ſtate to Bow-Church, where the Biſhops of Worceſter and Ely, after the former had ſaid maſs, put the pall upon him. Thus inveſted he went into the pulpit, and made a ſermon about the origin, uſe, and matter of that veſtment (kkk), and on the 31ſt of the ſame month, he was inſtalled by his Commiſſary (lll). In November, the ſame year, 1556, he was elected Chancellor of the Univerſity of Oxford, and ſoon after of Cambridge; and in the beginning of the year following, he viſited both by his Commiſſaries, reforming them in the ſenſe of thoſe times, but not without committing ſome uncommonly inhuman proſecutions [R]. We have already obſerved how unacceptable he was

* Under Gardiner's article.

(bbb) Cranmer was burnt March 21, and Pole was conſecrated March the 22d. and Mr Wood tells us it had been aſſigned a fortnight before. Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 120.

(iii) Wood ſays on the 25th, being Lady-day.

(kkk) Burnet obſerves the pall was a device ſet up by Pope Paſchal II. in the beginning of the XIIth century, for the engaging of all Archbiſhops to a more immediate dependance upon that ſee, they being, after taking the pall, to act as the Pope's Legates born, *Legati nati*.

(lll) Who Wood ſays was a Proctor, named Collins. Ibid. col. 121.

knowledge in the civil and canon law. He was afterwards made Dean of the Arches, and Chancellor of the dioceſe of Lichfield and Coventry, and at length was conſecrated to the ſee of Peterborough, Aug 15th 1557, but was deprived in 1559, for denying the Queen's [Elizabeth's] ſupremacy, and impriſoned; yet was ſoon ſet at liberty by the Queen's clemency; and being eſteemed a very quiet ſubject, was courteouſly treated by all perſons among whom he lived, and at laſt died upon one of his own farms, in a good old age, in 1568. He left his library of books then at London and Peterborough, to All-ſouls college (66).'

[Q] *He was conſecrated to the ſee of Canterbury the next day after Cranmer's death*] Burnet obſerves, that though Cranmer was legally diveſted of the Archbiſhoprick by the bill of attainder, and that the profits were ſequeſtred into Pole's hands, yet he was not formally degraded, and was ſtill eſteemed Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Queen not intending to put him to death. And upon this occaſion, the words of Elijah to Ahab were applied to Pole. *Thou haſt killed, and alſo taken poſſeſſion.* And indeed, continues that hiſtorian, the ſuſpicion of his having adviſed Cranmer's execution is the fouleſt blot of his life, and that which will remain a ſtain upon his memory (67). Yet the remarker upon Burnet (68) ſays, he thinks he can clear Pole from this ſuſpicion by his own manuſcript letters to Cranmer, for which purpoſe he quotes the following paſſage from one of them; wherein he profeſſes to have Cranmer's ſafety ſo much at his heart, that if by any means he could deliver him from the condemnation both of body and ſoul, which, unleſs he repented, was impendent upon him, he ſhould prefer it (calling God to witneſs) before the greateſt riches or honours. *Ea eſt mea ſalutis tuæ cura ac ſtudium, ut ſi te ab horribili illa quæ tibi, niſi reſipiſcas, impendet non ſolum corporis, ſed animæ etiam mortis ſententia, ullo modo liberare poſſem, id profecto omnibus divitiis atque honoribus, qui cuiquam in hac vita contingere poſſint, (Deum teſtor) libentiſſime anteponerem.* But a late writer thinks that theſe expreſſions do not clear the Cardinal ſo much as this anonymous annotator imagines. It was eaſy, ſays he, to appear generous and charitable as far as words would go (69). Perhaps this laſt opinion may be thought to be countenanced by Bacatelli, who mentions the Cardinal's writing twice to Cranmer, perſuading him to recant; and that when he gave ſome hopes of it, Pole obtained his pardon from the Queen; notwithſtanding he was obnoxious to her Majeſty, both on a publick and private account: but upon his retracting that recantation, he ſuffered the law. 'Non minorem antea quoque curam & ſtudium Polus adhibuerat, ut ſaluti Thomæ Cranmeri, qui ante ſe Archiepiſcopus Cantuarienſis fuerat, quique tum Oxonii—in cuſtodia aſſervabatur, conſuleret; ad eumque bis etiam ſcripſerat, ſi poſſet, pravis ejus opinionibus contra ſacramentum altaris & primatum Pontificis Romani confutatis, ad ſanitatem illum perducere. Cujus rei magnam quidem ſpem initio illi dederat, eique veniam Polus ab ipſa Regina impetraverat, quanquam ea non publico ſolum ſed etiam privato nomine illi meritiſſimo jure eſſet inſenſa. Verum poſtea cognita ejus ſimulatione ad quam natus & factus eſſe videbatur, & qua omnibus in rebus tota vita uſus ſemper fuerat*, ea tandem pœna eſt affectus, quæ ejus regni legibus in hæreſim conſtituta erat, vivuſque crematus eſt (70).'

[R] *Committing ſome inhuman proſecutions*] The Commiſſioners ſent to Oxford, were *Brooks*, Biſhop of Glouceſter; *Cole*, Dean of St Paul's; and the Cardinal's truſty ſervant *Ormanet*. The purport of their commiſſion was to reſtore the Pope's authority, and to enquire if there were any who neglected the Popiſh ceremonies, and upon the leaſt ſuſpicion to eject them. Under this commiſſion they raged againſt a great many in the univerſity, and burnt all the Engliſh Bibles, and ſuch other heretical books as they found, in the publick market-place. They alſo made a proceſs againſt Peter Martyr's wife, that lay buried in one of the churches there. And ſhe being a foreigner that underſtood no Engliſh, no witneſſes were to be found that had heard her utter any heretical points. Hereupon they gave notice thereof to the Cardinal, who wrote back, that her body ſhould be taken up, becauſe it lay near that of St Frideſwide, *quoniam juxta corpus ſanctiſſimæ Frideſwidæ jacebat corpus Katherinæ Harris, Petri Martyris hæretici, uxoris.* This was accordingly done (71), and her body buried in a dunghill. Melchior Adamus (72) gives her the character of an excellent matron, and ſays the Cardinal had been a particular friend to her huſband before his laſt departure from Italy; but then he broke the friendſhip, and entirely threw off the maſk of Lutheraniſm which he had wore for ſome time.

To Cambridge was alſo ſent *Ormaneto*, with *Scot* Biſhop of Cheſter, and the two Biſhops elect of Lincoln and Chicheſter, *Watſon* and *Chriſtopherſon*, who practiſed the like ſeverities againſt heretics and heretical books, as thoſe at Oxford. And, particularly, on their arrival, on the 11th of January, they put the churches of St Mary's and St Michael's under an interdict, becauſe the bodies of Bucer and Fagius, two hereticks, were laid in them; after which they proceeded againſt them in the following formal courſe of law: The bodies were cited to appear, or if any would come in their names, they were required to defend them; after three citations, the dead bodies not riſing to ſpeak for themſelves, and none coming to plead for them (for fear of being ſent after them) the viſitors thought fit to proceed. And, January 26th, the Biſhop of Cheſter made a ſpeech, ſhewing the earneſtneſs of the univerſity to have juſtice done; to which the Commiſſioners, though moſt unwillingly, were pleaſed to condeſcend. Therefore, having examined many witneſſes of the hereſy that Bucer and Fagius had taught, they adjudged them obſtinate heretics, and appointed their bodies to be taken out of the holy ground, and to be delivered to the ſecular power. The writ being accordingly brought from London on the 6th of February, their bodies were taken up, and carried in coffins, and being tied to ſtakes, with many of their books, and other heretical writings, were all burnt together (73).

Yet, after all, impartiality obliges us to do ſo much juſtice to our Cardinal-Chancellor, that he took care to have the ſtatutes, at leaſt at Oxford, reviſed, and ſome

(66) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 697. from Godwin, in Epiſc. Petrib. and Biſhop Andrews, in Tortura Torti, &c. &c. p. 146.

(67) Hiſtory of the Reformation, Vol. II. where it is alſo obſerved, that he had come over a Cardinal Deacon, and was laſt year made a Prieſt, and now Archbiſhop.

(68) In the Appendix.

(69) Jortin's Life of Eraſmus, p. 392.

* This abuſe of Cranmer is one of the calumnies upon our Reformers, with which Bacatelli is charged, as has been obſerved by his editor.

(70) Vita Poli, p. 71, 72.

(71) Hiſtoria de exhumatione Katharinæ, nuper Uxoris Petri Martyris, by James Calfhill, D. D. 1562, 8vo. who obſerves alſo, that her body was taken up again in Queen Elizabeth's time, and mixed with St Frideſwide's bones, that they might run their fortunes together in all future times. See alſo Strype's Life of Archbiſhop Parker, chap. v.

(72) Melchior Adami Vita Pet. Martyris, p. 20.

(73) Burnet, who likewiſe obſerves, that in Queen Elizabeth's time publick honours were done at this univerſity to the merits of theſe two learned men.

was to Paul IV. who now ſat in the Papal chair, and the war which England was drawn into with France, this year by King Philip, furniſhed the haughty Pontiff with a pretence for gratifying his ill-will to the Legate. He had paſſionately eſpouſed the quarrel of the French Monarch, and being inflamed to ſee England ſiding againſt his friend, he reſolved to revenge it on Pole (*mmm*). In this ſpirit having declared openly that it might now be ſeen how little the Cardinal regarded the Apoſtolic ſee, when he ſuffered the Queen to aſſiſt their enemies againſt their friends. He firſt made a decree in May, for a general revocation of all Legates and Nuncio's in the King of Spain's dominions, Cardinal Pole being mentioned among the reſt; and tho' he was diverted from carrying this project into execution for the preſent, by the repreſentations of Sir Edward Carne, then the Engliſh Ambaſſador at Rome; yet upon the fatal blow given to the French at St Quintin (*nnn*), and the ill ſucceſs of his own forces in Italy (*ooo*), his wrath burſt out with freſh fury, he became utterly implacable, accuſed Pole as a ſuſpected heretic, ſummoned him to Rome to anſwer the charge, and depriving him of the Legatine powers, conferred them upon Peyto, a Franciſcan Friar [*S*]; whom he had ſent for to Rome, and made a Cardinal for the purpoſe, deſigning him alſo to the ſee of Saliſbury (*ppp*). This apointment was made in September, and the new Legate was actually on the road for England, when the bulls came to the hands of Queen Mary, who having been informed of their contents by her Ambaſſador, laid them up without opening them, or acquainting her couſin with them; in whoſe behalf ſhe wrote to the Pope, and aſſuming ſome of her father's ſpirit, ſhe wrote alſo to Peyto, forbidding him to proceed in his journey, and charging him at his peril not to ſet foot upon Engliſh ground. But notwithſtanding all her caution to conceal the matter from the Cardinal, it was not poſſible to keep it long a ſecret, and he no ſooner became acquainted with the holy Father's pleaſure, or if you will his diſpleaſure, than out of that implicit veneration, which he conſtantly and unalterably preſerved for the Apoſtolic ſee, he voluntarily laid down the enſigns of his Legatine power, and forbore the exerciſe of it; diſpatching his truſty miniſter Ormaneto to Rome, with letters wherein he cleared himſelf in ſuch ſubmiſſive terms, as 'tis ſaid even mollified and melted the obdurate heart of Paul (*qqq*). The truth is, the Pontiff was brought into a better temper by ſome late events, which turned his regard from the French towards the Spaniard [*T*], and the ſtorm againſt Pole blew over entirely, by a peace that was concluded this year (*rrr*), between his Holineſs and Philip; in one of the ſecret articles of which, it was ſtipulated that our Cardinal ſhould be reſtored to his Legatine powers. But he did not live to enjoy the reſtoration a full twelvemonth, being ſeized with a double quartan ague, which carried him off the ſtage of life early in the morning, of the 18th of November, 1558 (*sss*). His death is ſaid to be haſtened by that of his royal miſtreſs and kinſwoman, Queen Mary; which as if one ſtar governed both their nativities, happened about ſixteen hours before (*ttt*). His body being put into a leaden coffin, lay forty days in great ſtate, at Lambeth; after which, it was conveyed thence with as great funeral pomp to Canterbury, and interred with ſolemnity on the North ſide of Thomas à Becket's chapel, in that cathedral (*uuu*). Over his grave there was erected a tomb, on which were inſcribed only theſe three words, as ſufficient to his fame, *Depoſitum Cardinalis Poli* (*www*). As to his character; in his perſon, he was of a middle ſtature and compact, tho' ſlender habit; his complexion was fair, agreeably tinctured with red, and his beard yellow in his youth. He had a large open countenance, enlivened with a chearful and pleaſant eye, a true index of the temper, which

(*mmm*) Bacatelli ſays, Pole always ſtudied to promote peace, and wrote to Paul to that effect, which he reſented as a monition to do his duty. p. 74.

(*nnn*) King Philip came over from Flanders about the 20th of May, in order to perſwade Mary to enter into the war againſt France, which was declared June 7th by the Queen, who ſent 8000 men to Philip's aſſiſtance, by which means he obtained the victory at St Quintin ſoon after. Burnet, Vol. II.

(*ooo*) Upon the defeat at St Quintin the Duke of Guiſe withdrew his troops from Italy, whereupon the Duke d'Alva entered and laid all waſte there. Id. ibid.

(*ppp*) He was actually made Biſhop of that ſee ſoon after, on the death of Dr John Salcot, or Capon. Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 686.

(*qqq*) Bacatelli, Godwin, Burnet.

(*rrr*) D'Alva's ſubmiſſion was made on the 14th of September, and the news arrived in England October 6th. Burnet, p. 354.

(*sss*) Id. ibid. and Bacatelli ſays it was *ad tertiam noctis horam*. Vita Poli, p. 83. During his illneſs he often inquired after her Majeſty.

(*ttt*) Godwin obſerves, that ſuch another coincidence happened to his predeceſſor at Canterbury, called *Deus dedit*, who expired on the ſame day with Ercombert King of Kent.

(*uuu*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 122.

(*www*) Godwin, ubi ſupra.

ſome new ones added, for the better regulation of the univerſity, which flouriſhed more in his time, than either before, under King Edward, or after, under Queen Elizabeth; as appears by a paſſage in the preface to thoſe ſtatutes, reviſed and publiſhed under Archbiſhop Laud's Chancellorſhip, where, ſpeaking of what had been done before in that way, the authors expreſs themſelves in theſe terms. Edwardo ſexto ad clavem ſedente novo ſudatum eſt molimine, &c. Præſcribente Rege & lenocinante novitate, primo viſum opus admitti, &c. Paulo poſt potienti rerum Maria ſub Cardinalis Poli auſpiciis idem recruduit labor. Novæ exinde datæ leges, ſed pari cum prioribus anguſtia; interim tamen inter incerta vacillans ſtatuta viguit academia, colebantur ſtudia, enituit diſciplina, & optanda temporum felicitate tabularum defectum reſarcivit innatus candor, & quicquid legibus deerat, moribus ſuppletum eſt. Decurrente temporum ſerie & vitiis & legibus pariter laboratum eſt.

It is remarkable that this paſſage was charged upon Archbiſhop Laud at his trial, as reflecting on the Reformation, by dignifying Queen Mary's, and depreſſing King Edward the Sixth's reign, with that of Queen Elizabeth and her ſucceſſors. But his Grace anſwered, that the preface was none of his; and if it had been, yet the words related only to the ſtatutes of the univerſity of Oxford in thoſe times, not to the church and religion (74).

(74) Canterbury's doom, 420 & tria. 548.

[*S*] *Peyto, a Franciſcan friar.*] This friar was deſcended from an ancient family of his name at Cheſterton in Warwickſhire, educated for a time, among the Grey Friars at Oxford, and afterwards became Chaplain and Confeſſor to Queen Katherine, in whoſe behalf he boldly reproved Henry the Eighth to his face, when he was about to divorce her: he alſo withſtood the King's marriage with Anne Boleyn (75), which, at length, occaſioned an attainder to be brought againſt him. But upon the acceſſion of Queen Mary, ſhe not only procured his attainder to be repealed, but recalled him from his exile, and made him her Confeſſor. In 1557 he was made Cardinal and Legate as abovementioned to thwart Pole; but upon the Pope's reconciliation to the Cardinal, Peyto being forbidden to enter into England, ſtaid in France 'till his death, which happened in April 1558. He had the character of a pious and devout perſon, but unacquainted with buſineſs, and no ways fit for the dignity of a Cardinal (76).

(75) See Stowe's Annals, under the year 1553.

(76) Ath. Oxon Vol. I. col. 686. 687. See more, of him in Hiſtoria Minor Provinciæ Angliæ Fratrum Minorum, in the firſt tome of the Scholaſtical and Hiſtorical Works of Francis à Sancta Clara, ſect. 25. p. 53.

[*T*] *An incident turned his mind towards the Spaniard.*] There is ſcarcely in all the Hiſtory of the Popes, any inſtance equal to this of the ſuperſtitious veneration that was paid to the Apoſtolick ſee. The Duke d'Alva, the Spaniſh General, had ravaged the Pope's dominions, and reduced him to the laſt extremity; yet the Pontiff, conquered by extreme reſolution, haughtily declaring he would ſuffer any death rather than yield to a ſurrendry. The Duke, ſeized with the dreadful apprehenſions of ſpilling the blood of Chriſt's Vicar, yielded on his ſide to a ſurrendry, and even ſubmitted to aſk pardon of his Holineſs upon his knees *.

* Burnet.

which was sweet and placid, of the inhabitant within. Tho' his constitution was not strong, yet in general he enjoyed a good state of health, which however was sometimes disordered by a catarrh, that fell upon one of his arms, and brought an inflammation into both eyes. He used a spare diet, eating only on plain dishes; tho' he always kept a table suitable to his station and quality, which even rose to a kingly magnificence, when there was occasion. Yet he was a good oeconomist, and his expences were constantly proportioned in general to his revenues. In his dress he called for little help, and often rose out of bed, and dressed himself without any attendants. In regard to the qualities of his mind and manners; he was a learned [*U*], eloquent, modest, humble, and good natured man; of exemplary piety and charity, as well as a generosity becoming his birth [*W*]. Tho' by nature he was more inclined to study and contemplation, than to an active life, yet he was prudent and dextrous in business; so that he would have been a finished character, had not his superstitious devotion to the see of Rome, carried him against his nature to commit several cruelties in persecuting the Protestants (*xxx*) [*X*]. During his last illness he

(*xxx*) Bacatelli, Godwin.

[*U*] *He was learned and eloquent.*] This is allowed by the greatest enemies to his fame, and indeed is evident beyond all contradiction from his writings; which, however, it cannot be denied, with regard to the stile, that as in his younger days he affected too much the Asiatic luxuriancy, so, afterwards, when he saw his error, he sunk rather into the other extreme of flatness. His works in print are, 1. *Pro Unitate Ecclesiastica ad Henricum octavum, Romæ* 1536, fol. 2. Oration or Speech in Parliament, Nov. 27, 1554 (77). 3. Letter to Pope Julius III. touching the Restoration of the Realm of England (78). 4. *Unitatis Ecclesiasticæ Defensio ad Hen.* 8. *lib.* 4. Argentorat. 1555, fol. and again at Ingolst. 1587, 8vo. 5. *Unitatis Ecclesiasticæ Defensio ad Edwardum Henrici filium.* This is set by way of preface to the former book. 'Tis said the Cardinal entertained hopes of restoring England to the see of Rome on the accession of Edward to the throne; and that he sent one of his domestics, Richard Hilliard, an Englishman, on this errand to that Prince (79). 6. *Oratio in materia de pace,* Venet. 1558, 4to. 7. *Reformatio Angliæ ex decretis Reg. Poli* An. 1556. Rom. 1562, 4to. and again at Louvain 1569, 8vo. 8. *De Concilio, lib.* 1. Rom. 1562, 4to. again at Louvain 1567, fol. again ibid, 1569, 8vo. It is likewise inserted in *Canones & Decreta Concilii Tridentini,* by Phil. Labbé, Paris. 1667, fol. 9. *De baptismo Canstantini Imperatoris,* printed with the former book. 10. *De summi Pontificiis officio & potestate,* Louv. 1569, 8vo. This was written by way of dialogue, in the conclave of Cardinals, when they were electing him Pope. He also wrote five other books on the same subject, when he was out of the conclave. 11. A Treatise of Justification, Louv. 1569; to which are added the following translations by him, viz. the sixth session of the general council of Trent, which is of Justification; with the canons of the same session. A Treatise of St Austin, of faith and works. A Sermon of St Chrysostom of praying only unto God. A Sermon of St Basil, of fasting. Certain Sermons of St Leo the Great, on the same argument. A notable Sermon of St Cyprian, on almsdeeds. Besides these he left the following manuscripts: *Of Restoring the goods to the Church, lib.* 1. written to King Philip and Queen Mary. *De Natali Die Christi, lib.* 1. *Comment. in Esaiam. Comment. in Davidis hymnos,* with other, of some books of the scripture, particularly on St Paul's epistles, but imperfect. *Catechismus. Dialogus de passione Christi, &c. De modo concionandi,* a large volume, but imperfect. *Epistolæ ad Jacob. Sadoletum & alios.* He also wrote three homilies, which were put into Latin; and had been several years collecting various readings, emendations, and castrations, &c. of Cicero's works, with intention to publish a compleat copy of them, but was prevented by his death, and the papers are now lost (80). We are told by Mr Strype, that Pole wrote a book about 1530, to persuade King Henry to continue the negotiation of his marriage with Anne Boleyn, which was perused by Cranmer (81).

[*W*] *His generosity becoming his birth.*] Bacatelli gives the following instances of this temper. That he was a very kind master to his domestics, but he never suffered any of them to take presents, as is the custom of the English: that in his second Legation, four thousand *aurei* * being paid to him at Trent, to support his expences, he distributed the money among his servants, according to the merit and station of each. That a certain lady having left him by her will nine thousand *aurei,* he would not touch the money, but bestowed it on her niece at her marriage. That in a town, the royalty of which fell to him as Cardinal, he set up a woollen manufactory to employ the poor. These are proofs of it. The same author adds some others, which shew a true spirit of magnanimity. When his life was attempted at Viterbo, by three Italian ruffians, who were secured and sent to prison for it, he freely forgave them, and ordered them to be discharged. In the same spirit, when two Englishmen who had been sent by Henry the Eighth to murder him, were seized at Capranica, where he had retired, in order to avoid the scorching heat of the summer; he would not consent to have them put to death, and suffered them only to be sent for a few days to the gallies. It is also mentioned to his honour, that he never asked for any thing, not even though it was his right; nor could he be prevailed with by his friends to apply for the Earldom of Warwick, which, no doubt, would have been granted by Mary, since it would have devolved upon him as next heir, had not that Earl been attainted by Henry the Eighth (82).

[*X*] *His devotion to the Church of Rome drew him to commit several cruelties in persecuting the Protestants.*] Burnet also acknowledges this charge; but imputes these sanguinary proceedings to the Pope, pitying the Cardinal's weakness, in not having courage enough to contend with so haughty a Pope as Paul IV. was, who thought of no other way of bearing down heresy, but by setting up the Inquisition every where; and indeed a commission of enquiry was issued in this reign something like it, and seemed to be intended as an introduction to it (83). But it does not appear that the Cardinal had any hand in advising or consenting to that commission, or even that he consented to it, and perhaps it might be done without his privity. 'Tis more than probable, that he hindered the Jesuits from coming among us in this reign. This mungrel order had been erected about twelve years before, in the view of adding a firm support to the see of Rome; to which, besides the usual oaths of other Regulars, they swore an implicit universal obedience. Therefore, knowing how superstitiously devoted Pole was to support that see, there was reason enough to hope for his countenance and protection in England, upon which, as a good morsel, they presently fixed their eyes. To this end, they got a petition put into the Cardinal's hands, wherein they suggested to him, that whereas the Queen was restoring the goods of the Church that were in her hands, it was but to little purpose to raise up the old foundations, since the Benedictine order was become rather a clog than a help to the Church. They therefore desired that those houses might be assigned to them for maintaining schools and seminaries, which they would set on quickly; and they did not doubt, by their dealing with the consciences of those who were dying, they should soon recover the greatest part of the goods of the Church. But the Cardinal rejected this proposal (84), and indeed it seems not to be penned with that artful address for which this order is distinguished; since Pole was known particularly devoted to the Benedictines, and was patron and protector at Rome of that order (85). Thus we owe it to Cardinal Pole, that we were preserved from the Jesuits in Queen Mary's reign; and that mischievous brood have never had an opportunity of procuring an establishment in England since. Bishop Burnet scruples

(77) It is printed in Fox's Acts and Monuments under that year.

(78) This is also printed in Fox, and is dated the last day of Novemb. 1554.

(79) Vita Poli, p. 95, 96.

(80) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 122.

(81) Memorials of Cranmer, lib. ii. c. 2. p. 6. edit. 1694, fol. *Verum sit fides penes authorem.*

* Ducats.

(82) Vita Poli, p. 86, 87, 88, 89, 93, 99.

(83) See the Commission in Burnet. Collections, No. 32. It is dated Feb. 8. in the 3d and 4th year of Philip and Mary.

(84) Idem, Vol. II. p. 328.

(85) Vita Poli, p. 43.

he made his will, wherein he appointed his best beloved friend, Aloysi Priuli, his sole executor, and testamentary heir. But that Italian was of a more noble temper, than to enrich himself by his friend's wealth whom he survived only twenty months, which time was wholly spent in collecting the Cardinal's effects, that lay dispersed in diverse countries; and having discharged all the legacies, he gave away the remainder in such a manner, as he knew to be most agreeable to the Cardinal's mind, reserving to himself only the breviary and diary, particularly endeared to him by his friend's frequent use of them (yyy). Indeed the Cardinal was not a man to raise a fortune, being by the greatness of his birth and his excellent virtues, carried far above such mean designs. So that the Archbishoprick was little advantaged by him, only in a grant which he obtained from Queen Mary, of the Patronage of nineteen parsonages for it; all that he did besides, was endowing it with some houses built by him, and a ground-rent on the East side of Lambeth. However, it is said that he designed, if he had lived, to have built a stately Archbishop's palace at Canterbury, to which church he gave two silver candlesticks gilt, very heavy; a silver incense pot, in the form of a ship, partly gilt; a silver mitre, adorned with jewels; a silver pastoral staff and cross, partly gilt; two pontifical rings set with jewels of great value; and a very large silver cistern for the holy water (zzz).

(yyy) Baeatelli. Burnet, who tells us also, that Priuli became acquainted with the Cardinal in 1532, and had such an entire friendship for him, that he refused a Cardinal's hat, because it would have separated him from this friend.

(zzz) Godwin.

scruples not to ascribe to our Cardinal 'such qualities, 'and such a temper, that if he could have brought 'the other Bishops to follow his measures, or the Pope 'and Queen to approve of them, he might probably 'have done much to have reduced this nation to Popery again. But God, continues that Historian, 'designed better things for it; so he gave up the 'Queen to the bloody counsels of Gardiner and the 'rest of the clergy. It was the only thing in which 'she was not led by the Cardinal. But she imputed 'his opinion in that particular, rather to the sweetness of his temper, than to his wisdom and experience; and he seeing he could do nothing of what 'he projected in England, fell into a languishing, first 'of his mind, *that* brought after it a decay of his 'health, of which he died.' The Bishop proceeds to declare, that 'what mistakes soever his education, and 'heats with King Henry, and the disasters of his family, might have involved him in, it cannot be denied that he was a man of as great probity and virtue as most of the age, if not all of that Church in 'which he lived (86).' 'Tis true, a late writer observes, that the Bishop has commended Pole in every respect, rather more than he deserves (87); and indeed he seems to be conscious of it himself, and expresly owns it in respect to the Cardinal's lenity; observing from Strype (88), that Parker calls the Cardinal *Ecclesia Anglicanæ carnifex & flagellum*, the scourge and executioner of the Church of England. This is certainly an *ardens verbum* in that worthy Archbishop; and 'tis hoped the same apology will be accepted for some blackenings of the Cardinal's character, as well as some blanchings in that of Gardiner which have unluckily passed the press in this work (89). P

(86) History of the Reformation, Vol. II.

(87) Jortin's Life of Erasmus, p. 384.

(88) In his Antiquitates Britannicæ.

(89) See Gardiner's article.

POOLE [MATTHEW], an eminent Nonconformist minister, was son of Francis Poole, Esq; [A] of York, by his wife, daughter of Alderman Toppin in that city (a), where he was born in 1624. Having laid a competent foundation of Grammar learning, he was sent to Emanuel College in Cambridge, and put under the tuition of Dr John Worthington *. He afterwards took the degree of Master of Arts there; and falling in with the Presbyterian opinions, concerning Ecclesiastical Polity, which then prevailed, he entered into the Ministry, and about the year 1648, became Rector of St Michael Le Querne in London (b). In 1654, he published a piece in 12mo, entituled, *The Blasphemer slain with the sword of the Spirit: or, A Plea for the Godhead of the Holy Ghost, wherein the Deity of the Spirit is proved, against the Cavils of* John Biddle (c). In 1657, in that act at Oxford, when the Protector Cromwell resigned that Chancellorship, and was succeeded therein by his son Richard (d), our author was incorporated Master of Arts of that University, and on the first of April, the following year, he projected a plan for maintaining at those places some choice students designed for the ministry [B]. In 1659, he wrote a letter, in one sheet 4to. to the Lord Charles Fleetwood,

(a) Dr Calamy's Account of the Ministers silenced after the Restoration, p. 14. Vol. II. edit. 1713.

* What particular improvement he made is not here said; but the proofs of his classical genius in writing are, a poem, and two epitaphs on Jeremy Whitaker; two others upon the death of Mr Richard Vines; and another on the death of Jacob Stack.

(b) In the room of Dr Anthony Tuckney. Calamy.

(c) This author's 12 arguments against the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, had, together with his Confession of Faith touching the Three Persons, been reprinted the year before, so much altered and augmented (as the title declares) that they may justly seem new.

(d) Wood's Fasti, Vol. II. col. 114—118.

[A] *Francis Poole, Esq;*] This gentleman's father, who was descended from the ancient family of the Poole's of Sprinkhill in Derbyshire, being inclined to the Protestant religion at the Reformation, was obliged to leave that part of the country: after which, he lived first at a place called Sykehouse, and then settled at Drax-Abbey in Yorkshire (1).

(1) Account of the Ministers silenced, &c. as above.

[B] *He projected a plan of education*] This was published in 1658, 4to, with the following title. A model for the maintaining of students of choice abilities at the university, and principally in order to the ministry; together with a preface before it, and after it a recommendation from the university; and two serious exhortations, recommended unto all the unfeigned lovers of piety and learning, and more particularly to those rich men who desire to honour the Lord with their substance. As it was actually begun and put in execution in some instances, we shall give the main of it in the following heads.

1. That a subscription be made.

2. To prevent the mischiefs of a failure, those whose estates will bear it, are earnestly desired to subscribe for eight years, or more, or for ever.

3. That the money collected be disposed of by chosen trustees, not exceeding the number of fifty, whereof thirty to be gentlemen, or citizens of eminence, and twenty to be ministers, in or within five miles of London, of which number, seven to be a quorum, whereof, three to be ministers; and that the trustees do solemnly engage themselves to fidelity: and when any Minister who is a trustee dieth, or refuseth to act, or removeth ten miles from London, or by the rest of the trustees is judged to deserve dismission from the trust, the rest, or any nine of them (general notice being given of the meeting, and the end of it) proceed to chuse another fit for it, by his piety, activity, publick spiritedness, and ingenuity, first taking an oath to act impartially in that choice; and the like method to be observed in filling up the vacancies of the lay trustees.

4. That

wood, which was delivered to him on the 13th of December, in reference to the juncture of affairs at that time. In the same view of supporting the Presbyterian power, he published

4. That a treasurer be chosen yearly, who shall be accountable to the trustees once a quarter; and that the treasurer's discharge shall be sufficient for any money that shall be paid, and not to dispose of any money without the direction of the trustees in a meeting, of which general notice is to be given in writing, which shall be registred in a book by one of the trustees appointed for that purpose.

5. That the trustees, or any five of them (whereof three to be ministers) appointed by the rest or any nine of the rest, &c. shall go about to schools, in or within twenty miles of the city of London, or thereabouts, and confer with the schoolmasters, and out of six of the most ingenious boys, being strictly examined, two of the best be chosen; and so to go from one school to another. And, in order to raise a subscription from all parts of England, which may enjoy the ministers thus bred, ingenious boys of any county to be capable of it. And therefore, if any lad of rare parts, from any place, be recommended, and found to be such, that care be taken to maintain him, and instruct him more perfectly in some eminent school where the trustees think fit, and send him to the university; or that for the present time (but no more) the students be picked out of the most ingenious scholars of the first or second year, that now are in the university, six out of twelve; and that more respect be had to their parts than to their learning, seeing learning may be added; and that for such as shall be chosen, if they have any parents, or such friends as have a power to dispose of them, both the students and their parents and friends shall promise in writing, that they will submit to the trustees for the education of such students, as to the manner and time of it, as both are expressed in the model.

6. That the boys so chosen be placed under tutors appointed by the trustees, which tutors to have four pounds yearly, for the tuition of each.

7. That the students shall have 10 *l.* 15 *l.* or 20 *l.* a year a-piece, allowed them at the discretion of the trustees, 'till they become A. B. and if need require, to be considered for the expence of their degree, as also for that of A. M. and after they are A. B. to be allowed 20 *l.* or 30 *l.* a year, as the trustees think fit. To be obliged to study to be eminent in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and other oriental languages; and in the several arts and sciences; still reserving a power to the trustees to consider the difference in the parts and dispositions of the lads, and to accommodate them accordingly, and that besides the ordinary university exercises, they be tied to others, as shall be thought fit by the trustees; as the making of speeches, verses, epistles, &c. in the languages, holding disputations, and making lectures in the Mathematics, Civil Law, &c..

8. That their allowance be continued for eight years, and that they intend and direct their studies toward the ministry. And that if the contributions shall be found sufficient to maintain more than twenty scholars for the ministry, some more eminently able be picked out from the rest, who shall be allowed to take Fellowships, and also have such allowance as the trustees shall judge meet, upon these conditions: First, that they be obliged to take no pupils but by the consent of the trustees, 'till they are A. M. and then not too many. Secondly, that as every one's genius leads him, and as he is judged fit, so he principally prosecute some one kind of study, one to be the Linguist, and principally for Greek and rabbinical learning; another the Historian and Antiquary; another the Philosopher and Mathematician; another the polemical Divine, one or more; another the practical and casuistical Divine; another the Universalist. Thirdly, that each of these employ themselves (when occasions shall require, and the trustees shall reasonably desire it) in such works as shall be useful and necessary. And if still the contributions shall more than suffice the already mentioned ends, that the rest be employed, as the trustees shall think fit, provided it be for the advancement of learning and piety. And whereas divers, after they have been four years at the university, are forced, through poverty, to go away before they commence A. B. or presently after, and to enter into the ministry while they are raw; that a special regard be had to such, as during those four years have most approved themselves, and are most eminent, both for learning and godliness, that they have an allowance for their degree, and also to support them at the university three or four years more, provided it be bestowed upon *such bachelors as do truly intend to enter into the ministry.*

9. That once a year the trustees, or any five of them appointed by the rest, whereof three to be ministers, go to the university, and there (with the help of some able university men) find out the proficiency of their several exhibitioners, that if any excel the rest, the trustees shall give them such encouragement as they shall see fit; and that if there be evidence of the idleness or dissoluteness of any, the trustees either then, or at any other time, after admonition or trial for a certain time longer, as they shall see fit, may withdraw the exhibition from them, and chuse others in their place.

10. That once a year there be picked out two or three of the students to come up to London, their charges being borne, to do some learned exercises in the city, for the satisfaction of the present contributors, and to excite new ones.

11. That there be an accurate method of studies prescribed for them, with some latitude for the variety of geniuses, that so no time may be lost that way.

12. That their tutors be desired to have a special eye upon them, as to their godliness; and to press a diligent attendance upon all means publick and private, conducing thereto.

13. That after eight years well spent there, the trustees and contributors do, by themselves and friends, endeavour to promote them to a place answerable to their merit.

14. That the addition or alteration of circumstances be left to the wisdom of the trustees, or any nine or more of them, whereof four to be ministers, provided that general notice be given of the meeting, and the design of it; provided also, that the substantials remain untouched, viz. the bringing up of eminent scholars at the university, in order to the ministry, and (in case of sufficient contributions) the leaving of others at the university, according to the eighth article.

15. That there be two or three chosen out of the university, who shall be intrusted to have some inspection over them.

16. That those of the trustees, who shall be chosen by the rest, for the publick work, shall have their charges borne; and that all charges incidental to the work, in the management of it, shall be allowed out of the stock.

17. Although the great aim of this business is to breed up such as may be pillars of the Church; yet, considering the deplorable condition of Ireland and Wales, and some desolate parts of England, the trustees, after provision made for the forementioned branches of the design, shall endeavour to provide for the maintenance of poor scholars (of competent abilities and good inclinations, though, it may be, not of eminent parts) at the university, allowing them as they think fit. And such lads, as also their parents and such friends as have the disposal of them before they be admitted, shall in writing engage themselves to be willing to submit to the discretion of the trustees, and be sent into Ireland or Wales, or some destitute parts of England, as the exigencies of the Church require; provided always, that they be not sent to any such places, unless there be competent encouragement for them, of which the trustees shall be judges.

18. The contributors in any counties of England are desired to take care for the payment of their monies in London quarterly.

At the end is subjoined a testimonial in favour of this model, signed by several heads of houses in Cambridge (z).

Our author appears to have been particularly fond of this scheme, and bestirred himself so diligently to compass it, that he procured a subscription of nine hundred pounds for the purpose; and some students then

(z) Viz. John Worthington, John Arrowsmith, Anthony Tuckney, Benjamin Wichcot, Ralph Cudworth, and Will. Dillingham.

published also that year, in 4to. his *Quo Warranto (e): A moderate Debate about the preaching of unordained Persons: Election, Ordination, and the Extent of the ministerial Relation, in vindication of the* Jus Divinum Ministerii, *from the Exceptions of a late piece intitled,* The Preacher sent. In 1660 he took a share in the Morning Exercise [*C*], which was then set up by those of the London Clergy, who were thus puritannically inclined. The same year he printed a sermon upon John iv. 23, 24. preached before the Lord-Mayor of London, against re-establishing the Liturgy of the Church of England [*D*]; and refusing to comply with the Act of Uniformity in 1662, he incurred an ejectment from his rectory; upon which occasion he printed a piece in Latin, entitled, *Vox clamantis in deserto.* However, he submitted to the Law with a commendable resignation. Being unmarried he was free from the charge of a family, and enjoying a paternal estate of 100 l. per annum *(f)*, he sat down to his studies, resolving to employ his pen in the service of religion in general, without regard to the particular disputes among Protestants. In this view, meeting with suitable encouragement from all parties, he drew the design of a very laborious and useful work *, which was published by him in 1669, and the following years, under the title of *Synopsis Criticorum Bibliorum* [*E*]. In the midst of this employment he found leisure

(*e*) In the title-page 'tis said to be written by the appointment of the Provincial Assembly at London.

(*f*) Near Drax-abbey in Yorkshire.

* He also printed a specimen, which was approved particularly by Dr Lightfoot, who also offered him assistance in the work. Preface.

then at Cambridge, were, pursuant to the plan, supplied with money out of it (3). But however useful and suitable it might be for the time in which it was first offered to the publick, when the ignorance of the university was really deplorable enough; yet, at the Restoration, when those seminaries were restored to their former dignity, all such projects were superseded. Besides, the principles of our schemist, as also of his coadjutors, shew what Church he meant to support by his select pillars; which, becoming odious at the Restoration, instead of raising more choice pillars to secure it, all the old ones were taken away by the Act of Uniformity in 1662.

(3) Particularly Mr (afterwards Dr) Will. Sherlock, father to the present Bishop of London. See his article.

[*C*] *He took a share in the Morning Exercise.*] Among the sermons published in the volumes of this Exercise, there is one of our author's upon the Satisfaction of Christ; another about the right method of application to the sick for their good, on the part of ministers and people: a third upon detraction; and a fourth against an external and infallible judge in the Church of God, in that against Popery.

[*D*] *A sermon against the Liturgy.*] It was preached at St Paul's on the 20th of August this year, and printed with the title of *Evangelical Obedience.* In the preface, he declares his printing it was occasioned by several calumnies cast on him about it; one of which was, says he, that I wished their fingers might rot that played upon the organs. In answer to this he alleges, that he only expressed his dislike of organs under the head, that carnal worship is a great obstruction to edification; and the salvation of souls, he says, was by other things. 'Better all the organs in the world to be broken, than one soul lost (4). And again, in speaking to the distraction bred by this way to spiritual worship, which ought to be done without distraction, he writes thus: 'the more inveiglements there are to sense, the more disadvantage to the spirit. To instance in one thing, I appeal to the experience of any ingenuous person, whether curiosity of voice and musical sounds in churches does not tickle the fancy with a carnal delight, and engage a man's ear and most diligent attention unto those sensible motions and audible sounds, and therefore must necessarily, in great measure, recal him from spiritual communion with God; seeing the mind of man cannot attend to two things at once with all it's might [to each], and when we serve God we must do it with all our might. And hence it is, that the Ancients have, some of them, given this rule; that even vocal singing [in churches] should not be too curious, *sed legenti similiter quam canenti:* and Paul himself gives it a wipe, Eph. v. 19. *Speaking to your selves in psalms, and hymns, and spiritual songs, making melody in your hearts to the Lord.*' We thought it not foreign to the design of these memoirs, to retail so much of our author's discourse, as a specimen of his abilities in the way of argument, which is part of the character of his genius as a preacher; and in the same view the following instance is produced, to shew of what kind were his persuasive talents. In recounting the signs of a carnal heart, in the spiritual worship of God, he gives this for one: 'When you come to a sermon, what is most pleasing to you? what do you like best, and hear with greatest attention? Is it some florid and elegant expression, some high and unusual notion, some historical passage, some acute sentence, and the like? or is it a spiritual discourse? a sin-discovering, and soul-affecting, and heart-breaking passage? He had just before complimented his brethren the Dissenters, upon account of these concerns, as humble, close-walking Christians (5).' This sermon was reprinted in 1698, in 4to; with the title of *A Reverse to Mr Oliver's Sermon of Spiritual Worship.*

(4) P. 17. edit. 1698, 4to.

(5) Ibid. p. 22.

[*E*] *Synopsis Criticorum Bibliorum*]. Our author no doubt, took the hint of this work, from the Polyglott Bible, and the *Critici Sacri*, then lately published. He was ten years in compiling it. It is worth while to see what Father Symon says of it; having passed his judgment, on the two just mentioned books, he proceeds to our author, whose method he commends, but thinks the task above his abilities. 'Matthew Poole, says he, who printed this last collection, called *Synopsis Criticorum*, has indeed made a good collection of the authors which he has added, besides those in the *Critici Sacri*, which he has abridged. But he considered not that he undertook a work above him. He seems to have done well, in not following Father De la Haye's method, but he perceived not that he committed greater faults himself, by giving these same different versions of the Bible, as they are in the Latin translation of them; without considering that most of the varieties, which he sets down under the specious title of the Hebrew text, Samaritan, Chaldean, Syriac, and Arabic versions, were only invented by himself; who understood not any of those tongues.' In support of this animadversion, he observes, that our author 'censuring the confusedness of De la Haye's method, expresly declares of himself that he has begun all things anew, and consulted all things in the originals themselves. There is no one but would conclude, that a person who promises so great exactness, had read both the Jewish and Samaritan Hebrew text; the Samaritan, Chaldee, Syriac, and other versions in their own proper tongues. But *by the originals, which he had consulted,* he understands nothing more than the Latin translations, both of those texts and versions; which fills his work with errors, that are impossible to be corrected, any other way than by beginning all anew. Thus, for example, with respect to various interpretations, he says, that it was otherwise in the Samaritan, than in the Hebrew, and yet it is certain, that the Hebrew and Samaritan, are in those places the same: this mistake is imputed to his not considering, how equivocal the Hebrew words are, whence he has multiplied variations without cause. In like manner he asserts the same of the Samaritan, Chaldee, Syriac, and Arabic versions, which differ not so often from the Hebrew text, as this author pretends they do. It is sufficient to take notice in general, without producing any instances, of this fault, which he very often commits.' Father Symon likewise complains, that the method of the Synopsis is a little intricate, and thinks that in giving the various expositions, he ought to have determined which was best in his opinion; but in this censure, he has not sufficiently considered our author's particular situation in England at that time, and his sentiments as a Nonconformist (6). The French critic also adds, that there are several frivolous repetitions in this work: 'in a word, says he, the method of this abridgment is intricate, and it requires a great deal of time to unravel all the different senses which have hardly any relation to each other. If any one considers but never so little, how the first word of Genesis,

(6) Dr Pococke followed the same method, and was censured for it. See his defence in rem. [*O O*] of his article.

leisure to testify his zeal against Popery, in a treatise concerning the Infallibility of the Church [F], printed in 1666 (g), 8vo. which was followed by another the next year, in 8vo. entituled, *Dialogues between a Popish Priest and an English Protestant, wherein the principal points and arguments of both Religions are truly proposed, and fully examined* (h). The first of these pieces was reprinted in 1679. And the same year he observed his name in the list among those that were to be cut off, printed in the depositions of Titus Oates concerning the Popish Plot; and an incident which befel him [G] not long after, gave him so great an apprehension of his danger, that he thought proper to retire into Holland, where he died this year, about the middle of October (i), not without some suspicion of being poisoned. His body was interred in a vault which belongs to the English merchants at Amsterdam. Besides what he published, he left behind him a MS. of English Annotations on the Holy Scripture, which being carried on to the prophecy of Isaiah, the 59th and 60th chapters were afterwards added by Mr Jackson of Moulsey, and several persons, who were friends to our author's memory and religious sentiments, joined in undertaking to compleat the whole according to his plan, of the following shares, Dr Collings drew up the Notes on the rest of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Lamentations; as also those on the four Evangelists, the two epistles to the Corinthians, and that to the Galatians, those to Timothy, Titus, Philemon, and the Revelations; Ezekiel, and the minor Prophets, were done by Mr Hurst; Daniel by Mr Cooper; the Acts by Mr Vinke; the epistle to the Romans by Mr Mayo; to the Ephesians by Mr Veale; to the Philippians and Colossians by Mr Adams; to the Hebrews by Mr Obadiah Hughes; the epistle of St James, the two of

(g) The second edition was printed in Oxford, 1667, 8vo.

(h) This was reprinted several times; the last edition, corrected and amended, was printed in 1676. Besides these, he wrote a Seasonable Apology for Religion, on Matth. xi. 14. Lond. 1673, 4to.

(i) Mr Wood says, he retired for the free exercise of his religion. Ubi supra.

Genesis, *In principio*, is explained, I am persuaded he will agree to what I have said:' the Padre however, does not conclude without taking notice of what is most commendable in this work, and that, he says, is the author's great pains in carefully gathering together, what was scattered up and down in several places, and putting every thing in it's proper place, abridging it for the reader's conveniency. We find for instance, continues he, many places of the Scripture explained by Bochart, both in his Phaleg, and *Hierozoïcon*, without being at the trouble of turning over such large volumes; the difficulties also in chronology, explained by the best authors, are there abridged; so that most of the hard places of Scripture, upon which whole volumes have been composed, are well enough explained, since the author has taken the pains to read what he could find best upon difficulties of this kind, and to insert extracts thereof. It would, for example, have been fruitless to have reprinted the treatises in the two last volumes of the *Critici Sacri*; because most of those observations contained in them, are of no use in expounding Scripture; therefore it was very proper to extract out of those books, what was most conducing to that end.' To these advantages mentioned by Father Symon, another advantage may be added, which is preserving the substance of some tracts, which would otherwise have been lost; as that of Dr Potter, upon the number of 666, of which here is an extract (7). To conclude, Father Symon's charge of ignorance upon our author, in respect to the oriental languages, can hardly be reconciled with the following passage in his preface to this work. *Arabica versio quam quidem nullius esse pretii, nec textum Hebræum sed Græcum, eumque corruptum exprimere asseruit Arnoldus Bohnius in utroque certè falsus. Versionem enim illam non raro accuratam & fidam deprehendi, nec tam Græcam sed Syriacam sequi, quam ad verbum plerumque exprimit etiam in erroribus & ineptiis.* To suppose our author asserting, as he does here, that he found (contrary to what Bohnius had maintained) the Arabic version accurate and faithful, and not to follow the Greek but the Syriac, and that for the most part, word for word; to suppose him, I say, entirely ignorant in both these, as well as the rest of the oriental languages, is a censure too harsh for common candour to digest.

(7) See Vol. IV. Part ii.

[F] *A treatise upon the Infallibility of the Church.*] The title runs thus. *The nullity of the Romish faith: or a blow at the root of the Romish Church; being an examination of that fundamental doctrine of the Church of Rome; concerning the Church's infallibility, and of all those several methods, which their most famous and approved writers, have used for the defence thereof. Together with an appendix, tending to the demonstration of the solidity of the Protestant faith, wherein the reader will find all the material objections and cavils, of their most considerable writers, discussed and answered by way of remarks upon Capt. Robert Everard's epistle, and his late account of his submission*, and pretended conversion to the Romish Church, and upon Mr Cressy's *Exomologesis*, by Matthew Poole, Minister of the Gospel, Oxford 1666. 8vo. and 1667, and again, London 1679, 8vo. In this treatise, chap. v. he treats of oral tradition, and the testimony of the present Church, which he calls another shift, lately invented by some subtle Romanists, to support the declining infallibility. Who those subtle Romanists here intended were, is seen by his proceeding to quote the words of Richworth in his *Dialogues*; Mr White in his treatise *de Fide*, and *Apology for tradition*, and Sancta Clara's *Systema Fidei*. He also puts Sir Kenelm Digby and Mr Holden in the same roll (8). He then proceeds to answer this new plea, which was one main if not the only reason of his entring into the controversy; 'since it was not at all considered by Mr Chillingworth, nor by Stillingfleet; nor indeed by any except the ingenious Lord Faulkland, who yet handles it in quite another way, and so hath left room for some gleanings after his harvest.' He expressly divides what he has to say in the appendix, into two heads; whereof the first is personal reflections, 'under which he allows he has used some harshness of expression against Captain Everard; and to this he says, he was obliged in discharge of his duty, which is to rebuke such as he ἀποτόμως sharply.' And indeed, the Captain's character, as he gives it drawn by his own pen, would have authorized perhaps more sharpness than is used by Mr Poole. 'When I professed myself, says Everard, against infant-baptism, I had run thro' almost, if not altogether, all the several professions of Christianity then appearing in this kingdom;' upon which our author observes, 'that it is no new thing, that a 'giddy-headed man should get a fall; and it is not 'strange, that he that loved to wander, should *anti-* '*quum obtinere*; and having passed thro' all the va- 'rieties which England affords, should gratify his tem- 'per, and follow his inclinations to see what news at 'Rome (9).' Upon the whole, it is evident that Mr Poole wrote his controversial pieces, *haud invita Minerva*. He displays no mean degree of promptness, not to say liquorish flippancy in this way; and it is observable, that in his model for breeding choice ministers and pillars of the Church, whereas he confines each one to some one thing or branch of study, in the other parts of learning; yet he allows one or more in Polemical divinity.

(8) See the preface.

(9) Appendix, p. 4. second edit. Oxf. 1667.

[G] *An incident befel him.*] The incident was this. Having passed an evening at Alderman Ashurst's, he took one Mr Chorley to bear him company home. When they came to the narrow passage, which leads from Clerkenwell to St John's Court, there were two men standing at the entrance; one of whom, as Mr Poole came along, cried out to the other, *Here he is*; upon which the other replied, *Let him alone, for there is somebody with him.* As soon as they were passed, our author asked his friend, if he heard what those men said; and upon his answering that he had, *Well*, replied Mr Poole, *I had been murdered to-night, had not you been with me.* It is said, that before this incident, he gave not the least credit to what was said in Oates's deposition (10).

(10) Calamy's Continuation, p. 16.

[H] His

of St Peter, and that of St Jude, by Mr Veale; and the three epistles of St John by Mr Howe (*k*). These Annotations [*H*] were printed at London in 1685. in two Vols. folio.

(*k*) Q. Who did the Thessalonians? Mr Wood, by mistake, gives us the names of Bates, Jucomb, Clarkson, and Alsop; as also of Dr Owen, as having a hand in this Work. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 747.

[*H*] *His Annotations*] Those gentlemen tell us in the preface, 'that they had taken out of Mr Poole's *Synopsis*, as much as was proper for his design in this work, and made use of a great number of other authors; some of which he left out, or very little considered in his Synopsis, upon a design to make use of them in this English work;' and to this purpose it is observable, that he expresly declares he had not brought Calvin into his Synopsis (11). Dr Calamy informs us, that 'while he was engaged in both these laborious works; his common rule was to rise very early in the morning, about three or four o'clock; and take a raw egg about eight or nine, and another about twelve, and then continue his studies 'till the afternoon was pretty far advanced, when he went abroad, and spent the evening at some friend's house in chearful conversation. In which he observes he was very facetious, as well as very true to his friend.' And to crown his character, the same writer adds, that he was also very strict in his piety, and universal in his charity (12). As to his learning, Mr Wood tells us, he left behind him; the character of *Clarissimus Criticus & Casuista* (13). P

(11) In the preface to his Synopsis.

(12) Continuation, ubi supra.

(13) Ath. Oxon. ubi supra.

POPE (Sir THOMAS), Knt. and founder of Trinity-College, in Oxford, was born [*A*] at Dedington (*a*) in Oxfordshire, in the year 1508 (*b*). His father was William Pope, of the same place (*c*), who appears to have lived in the character and circumstances of a gentleman [*B*], and of whose second wife Margaret [*C*], daughter of —— Yate, a gentleman of Stanford, in the abovementioned county, Sir Thomas was the issue. He received the first rudiments of grammatical learning at the publick school at Banbury in Oxfordshire [*D*], which afterwards he compleated at Eton-College. Whether he was from thence removed to the University, I have not been able to discover. It may, however, be conjectured with some probability, both from his hand-writing, of which many specimens remain in his college at Oxford, and from the business in which he was employed by Henry the Eighth, that he passed some of his younger years in the Inns of Court; or, at least, that he was bred to some branch of the Law. However that be, he appears to have been a scholar. The promotion of this man from an inconsiderable fortune [*E*], and from an obscure, although reputable, family, to riches and honour, seems to have been remarkably rapid, and demonstrates no common share of vigorous and active abilities. What was his first step to Court, and to the notice of the King, we cannot find: but Sir Thomas was not more than twenty-eight years of age, when he had sufficient interest to procure (*d*) the treasurership of the court of Augmentations, upon the first establishment of that court in the year 1535 [*F*]. This was a valuable office, and appears to have

(*a*) Wood's Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 301.

(*b*) This date is collected from an inscription on his tomb, and from another on his picture, lately presented by Trinity-college to the picture-gallery at Oxford.

(*c*) Wood, ubi supra. See notes [*B*] and [*C*].

(*d*) Collin's Baronetage, Vol. IV. p. 667.

[*A*] *Was born, &c*] Fuller is greatly mistaken, with regard to the place of his nativity. Among the Worthies of London, he tells us: 'Thomas Pope, Knt. was born in this city; as my worthy friend Dr Seth Ward, and others of the society of Trinity-college in Oxford have informed me (1).' But Dr Ward (however the rest might be) was but little qualified to give information on this subject; as all the connection he had with the college, was that of being presented to the Presidentship of it by the Presbyterian visitors, from which office he was removed in less than a year (2).

[*B*] *Of a gentleman.*] This is confirmed by the following abstract from his Will; which will likewise throw some light on the condition in which he left his son. 'I bequeathe to the mother church of Lincolne 3 s. 4 d. My land, my wife to have the one halfe of the rent, and th' other halfe to be kept to th' use of my sonne, 'till he be of lawfull age. Item, I bequeathe to Thomas Pope [the aforesaid son] an hundreth more; and to every daughter fourtie poundes; and if any of them dye, their part remaine to other; and to have a priest singing one yeare; and my wife and my sonne to occupy my holdings, the which I hold now, as long as she is widowe; and after, Thomas Pope to have the occupying and th' use of them. And residue of my goods I give to Thomas Pope my sonne, Margaret my wife, &c. . . . Item, I bequeathe to the torches, the bellis, our Lady-beame, St Thomas-beame, to every of them 3 s. 4 d. Item, to Clifton chapel 6 s. 4 d. Item, to every god-child a shepe.' This will (3) is dated Feb. 2, 1520; and it was proved, in the year 1523; so that William Pope must have died while his son Thomas was very young.

[*C*] *Margaret.*] As a further proof and illustration of what is said in the text, I shall insert her epitaph. 'Here lyeth under this stone buryed Margarett Bustarde widowe, sometyme the wyf of William Pope of Dedington in the county of Oxford, Gent. and afterward married to John Bustarde, Gent. dwellinge at Atterbury in the said county; which William and Margaret were father and mother to Syr Thomas Pope, Knight; and John Pope, Esquyer. And the said Marg[t]. dep[ted] out of this worlde the xxv day of August, 1557; and hopeth to ryse and lyve agayne with Christe eternally (4).'

[*D*] *The publick school of Banbury, &c.*] Of this he has himself informed us, in the statutes of his college, viz. —— 'Ex scholis, Etonensi, vel Banburiensi: in quibus ipse olim in grammaticæ rudimentis educatus fui (5).' —— *From the schools of Eton, or Banbury, in which I myself was formerly educated in the rudiments of grammar.* With regard to Banbury-school, it may not be improper to observe, that, about the age of which we are now speaking, it was a school of particular note and eminence. Wood, in a manuscript history of the free-schools of England, which was never printed, and is now reposited among his papers in the Ashmolæan Musæum at Oxford (6), acquaints us, that Hugh Oldham, Bishop of Exeter, and a munificent benefactor to Corpus-Christi-college in Oxford, founded a school adjoining to the college in Manchester, and directed the Master and Usher to teach the children grammar, after the form and manner of the school of Banbury-in Oxfordshire, now there taught, and called Standbridge-grammar.

[*E*] *Inconsiderable fortune.*] Fuller, in his quaint manner, has observed much the same thing concerning him. 'I behold him as fortunæ suæ fabrum, the smith who, by God's blessing, hammered out his own fortune without any patrimonial advantage. Indeed he lived in an age, which one may call the harvest of wealth, wherein any one that would work might get good wages, &c (7).'

[*F*] *Court of Augmentations.*] It was established for the business of estimating and selling the lands lately belonging to the monasteries; it was dissolved in the year 1553. The salary of Sir J. Williams, who was treasurer of it in the reign of Edward VI. was 320 l. (8). A very considerable income at that time.

[*G*] Upon

(1) Worthies of England, p. 223. edit. 1662.

(2) Regist. Coll. Trin. Oxon. W. Pope's Life of S. Ward, p. 48.

(3) In Musæo Ashmol. Oxon. inter codd. A. Wood. D. 15. 4to. M.SS.

(4) From a brass plate in the chancel of Wroxton church, Oxfordshire.

(5) Cap. 7.

(6) Mark'd D. 11. 4to. sub tit. SCHOOL-NOTES.

(7) Worthies of England, article London, p. 223. edit. 1662.

(8) Fuller's Church History, B. 6. p. 348. edit. 1651.

have been moſt commonly conferred upon favourites [*G*]. He was ſoon afterwards appointed a viſitor * for the diſſolution of religious houſes, and was one of thoſe into whoſe hands the ſeal of the magnificent and opulent abbey of St Alban's was ſurrendered (*e*), on the fifth day of December, 1539. It ſhould be remarked, that in this employment, which afforded ſo many temptations to rapacity, fraud, and oppreſſion, that he behaved [*H*] with ſingular decency, moderation, and honour. About this time he was alſo maſter of the Jewel-houſe in the Tower (*f*), was knighted by the King, and preſented by his Majeſty with a chain [*I*] of gold, as a token of affection and eſteem, which he ever afterwards wore, and with which he is always painted. By theſe poſts, but chiefly by purchaſes [*K*] which he made while he was concerned in the court of Augmentations, he became at length poſſeſſed of thirty-two extenſive manors (*g*) in various counties, beſides other large eſtates. In the reign of Henry VIII. his name occurs in the performance of other ſervices about the Court. He was appointed, together with Sir Edward North, afterwards Lord North, on the twenty-firſt day of April, 1544, to convey the Great Seal of England, being reſigned by the Lord Chancellor Audley, into the hands of the King, who delivered it into the cuſtody of the Lord Wriotheſley (*h*). He appears, likewiſe, to have been called upon, and examined by the Privy Council, 1547, concerning ſome treaſonable expreſſions, which had dropped from the unfortunate Duke of Norfolk, concerning the Act of Uſes (*i*). He was a ſingular and moſt intimate friend of Sir Thomas More; and was ſent by the King, to advertiſe that illuſtrious ſufferer in the cauſe of conſcience, of the time appointed for his execution. As the interview between theſe two friends, on this caſion was remarkable, I ſhall here inſert it at length. On the twenty-third day of December, 1537, Sir Thomas Pope waited on Sir Thomas More, then in the Tower, early in the morning, and acquainted him, that he was ordered by the King and council, to convey to him the melancholy meſſage, that he muſt ſuffer death before nine of the clock that ſame morning, and that therefore he ſhould immediately prepare himſelf for it. Upon this, More, without the leaſt ſurprize or emotion, replied chearfully, 'Mr Pope, I 'moſt heartily thank you for your good tidings: I have been much bound to the King's 'Highneſs, for the benefits of his honours, that he has moſt bountifully beſtowed upon 'me; yet am I more bound to his Grace, I aſſure you, for putting me here, where I 'have had convenient time and ſpace to have remembrance of my end. And, ſo help me 'God, moſt of all am I bound unto him, that it hath pleaſed his Majeſty ſo ſhortly to 'rid me out of the miſeries of this wicked world.' Then Sir Thomas Pope ſubjoined, that it was the King's pleaſure, that at the place of execution he ſhould not uſe many words. To this More anſwered, that he was ready to ſubmit to the King's commands, and added, 'I beſeech you, good Mr Pope, to get the King to ſuffer my daughter Mar'garet to be preſent at my burial.' Sir Thomas Pope aſſured him, that he would uſe his utmoſt intereſt with the King; and having now finiſhed his diſagreeable commiſſion, he ſolemnly took leave of his dying friend, and burſt into tears. More perceiving his concern, ſaid, with his uſual compoſure, 'Quiet yourſelf, good Mr Pope, and be not diſcomfort'ed; for I truſt that we ſhall, one day, in heaven, ſee each other full merrily, where we 'ſhall be ſure to live and love together in joyful bliſs eternally (*k*).' But this method of conſolation availing but little, More, to divert the melancholy of his friend, and to diſmiſs him in better ſpirits, called for a glaſs, and diſcharging his urine into it, he held it up to the light, and with the air of a Phyſician declared, 'This man might have lived 'longer, if it had pleaſed the King (*l*).' What were the ſervices of Sir Thomas Pope, in the court of Edward VI. does not appear. When Queen Mary aſcended the throne he was taken

* See note [*I*].

(*e*) Stevens's Addit. to Dugdale's Monaſtic. Vol. I. p. 264. Weever's Funeral Monuments, p. 112. edit. 1631.

(*f*) Collins, ubi ſupra.

(*g*) Wood's Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 294. & ex evidentiis.

(*h*) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XV. p. 10. 'Super deliberatione magni ſigilli.'

(*i*) Herbert's Hiſt. Hen. VIII. p. 564. edit. 1649.

(*k*) Roper's Life of More, by Hearne, 4. 57.

(*l*) Th. Mori Vita & Exitus; by J. H. Gent. Lond. 1652, p. 127.

[G] *Upon favourites.*] As was alſo the Maſterſhip of the Jewel-houſe, which he afterwards obtained. Edward North, afterwards Lord North, was Treaſurer of the Court of Augmentations, ann. 32 Hen. VIII.——Cromwell was Maſter of the Jewel-houſe, with a ſalary of 50l. ann. 23 Hen. VIII (9). Sir J. Williams, mentioned in the laſt note, had been likewiſe a Maſter of the Jewel-houſe (10).

(9) Dugdale's Baronage, Tom. II. p. 370, 394. edit. 1675.

(10) Stow's Survey, p. 234. edit. 1599.

[H] *He behaved, &c.*] This merit is allowed him by Fuller, who has been remarkably ſevere on the viſitors in general, and who is ſeldom ſparing of his invectives, wherever he finds the ſlighteſt foundation for abuſe. Speaking of Sir T. Pope as one of the viſitors, he ſubjoins, 'However, by all the printed 'books of that age, he appeareth one of a candid 'carriage; and in this reſpect ſtands ſole and ſingle 'by himſelf. That of the abbey-lands which he re'ceived, he refounded a conſiderable proportion, for 'the building and endowing Trinity-college in Ox'ford (11).' Fuller, in another place, mentions him with honour on the ſame account. 'But the moſt 'pleaſant object to entertain us at this time in Eng'land, is, the beholding of two fair and freſh foun'dations in Oxford; the one Trinity-college, built 'by Sir Thomas Pope.... I find this Mr Pope as yet 'unknighted, principal viſitor at the diſſolution of 'abbies..... Now, as none were loſers employed in 'that ſervice, ſo we find few refunding back to cha'ritable uſes; and, perchance, this man alone the 'thankful Samaritan (12), who made publick ac'knowledgment (13).'

(11) Worthies, article London, p. 223.

(12) Luke xvii. 16.

(13) Church Hiſtory, B. viii. p. 39.

[*I*] *A chain, &c.*] The author of the life of Chaucer informs us, that Chaucer, in a picture belonging to George Greenwood, Eſq; of Chaſtleton in Glouceſterſhire, is repreſented with a chain of gold about his neck, which he had received as a mark of favour from Richard II (14).

(14) Prefixed to Urry's Chaucer.

[*K*] *By purchaſes.*] Although I have mentioned him as a viſitor for the diſſolution of abbies, yet I believe he was leſs concerned in that buſineſs than it is generally imagined. It is remarkable, that his name never occurs, as I remember, among the names of the viſitors in their letters of commiſſion from the King. On this account I am induced to think, that he chiefly enriched himſelf by purchaſing the abbey-lands, rather than by receiving them as a grant from the King, in reward for any particular ſervices done by him, in diſſolving the houſes to which they reſpectively belonged. Many purchaſes, which he made while he was Treaſurer of the Court of Augmentation, may be ſeen in Dugdale's Warwickſhire (15). That he was *occaſionally* employed as a viſitor is manifeſt, from what is ſaid in the text concerning the abbey of St Alban's.

(15) Paſſim.

[*L*] *Sir*

taken into high favour, and was made one of her Privy-Counsellors (*m*). In the year 1554, we find him appointed, together with Sir Robert Rochester, Sir Richard Southwell, Sir Thomas Cornwallis, Sir Edmond Peckham, and Sir Edward North, Knights, a commissioner, to examine the accounts of Sir Thomas Gresham [*L*], who was agent to the Queen at Antwerp, for taking up money of the merchants there (*n*). In the year 1557, he was likewise constituted a commissioner, together with Edmond Bishop of London, Thomas Bishop of Ely, the Lords Windsor and North, Sir John Bourne, and others, for the more effectual method of proceeding against hereticks (*o*). Some time before, that is in 1555, the Princess Elizabeth having been imprisoned, and severely treated by her keeper, Sir Henry Beningfield, had been placed under his care and inspection (*p*). To this unfortunate lady Sir Thomas behaved with the utmost tenderness and respect; residing with her at Hatfield in Essex, rather as an indulgent and compassionate guardian, than as a rigorous and oppressive governor. That he regarded her as a Princess, will appear from testimonies in the notes [*M*], and from the following anecdote. Two of the Fellows of Trinity-college, just founded by him, had violated one of the statutes of it, and were accordingly expelled. Upon which they repaired to their founder, then at Hatfield, humbly petitioning a re-admittance into the college (*q*). Sir Thomas, unwilling to be the first who should pardon the infringment of laws which himself had made, and, at the same time, perceiving an opportunity of paying a compliment to the Princess, referred the matter to her gracious arbitration, who was pleased to order, that they should be immediately restored to their fellowships. While he was concerned in the care of the Princess, he received a letter from the privy council, directing him to use all possible means to prevent her from being disturbed at the malicious attempts of one Clayberdo, who pretended to be the Earl of Devonshire, and who had dispersed many proclamations about the kingdom, containing false and scandalous insinuations against her honour and reputation (*r*). He soon afterwards received a second letter from the privy council, ordering him to sound the dispositions of the Princess with regard to a treaty of marriage proposed to be executed between her and the elected king of Sweden. His answer to this letter, which is too long to be inserted in the notes, may be found in Burnet (*s*). But the most memorable circumstance of his life, (before, occasionally, mentioned) by which he conferred immortality upon his name, and a perpetual emolument upon his country, was the foundation of Trinity-College in Oxford. While yet in the vigour of his age, he obtained a charter for the erection of it from Philip and Mary [*N*], which is dated (*t*) the fourth day of May, 1554, and about the same time endowed it with a competent revenue for the liberal maintenance and education of one president [*O*], twelve Fellows, and twelve Scholars; which number continues to this day, without diminution or addition. How he had acquired [*P*] his great riches, the reader has before seen; and is now left to determine, whether or no he could possibly have applied them with greater propriety, or generosity, than in the establishment of a college, which, if we consider the extent of it's foundation, and it's age, will be found inferior to none in the production of learned and eminent men [*Q*]. While he meditated further donations to this his society, and projected (*v*) likewise the foundation and endowment of a school [*R*], he died at his house in Clerkenwell, London, in the fiftieth year

(*m*) Speed, p. 854. Hollinshed, Vol. III. p. 1159.

(*n*) Rymer's Foedera, Tom. XV. p. 371. 'Pro Thoma Gresham, &c.'

(*o*) Fox's Acts and Monuments, edit. 1684, p. 798. Speed and Hollinshed, ubi supr.

(*p*) Burnet's History of the Reformation. In the Collection of Records, Part ii. B. ii. p. 311.

(*q*) From a letter written by himself to the college.

(*r*) Burnet's History of the Reformation, Part ii. B. ii. p. 314. No. 33.

(*s*) Ut supra, p. 325. No. 37.

(*t*) Ex ipsa Chart. Orig.

(*v*) Wood's Hist. &c. lib. ii. p. 301.

[*L*] *Sir Thomas Gresham*] He had been before concerned in the same business for Edward VI. and was afterwards employed in it by Queen Elizabeth (16).

[*M*] *Testimonies in the notes.*] Thomas Heywood, in his *England's Elizabeth*, who likewise wrote a play called 'The Troubles of Queen Elizabeth from her 'Cradle to the Crown,' tells us (17), 'within seven 'days after, she was discharged of her keeper Sir 'Henry Biningfield; yett, so that Sir Thomas Pope 'one of her Majesties Privy councell, and Master Gage 'her Gentleman-Usher, were made superintendants 'over her. The change was however most happy. 'She was now in *liberâ custodiâ* under the hands of her 'loving friends with whom she went down into the 'country, and there spent the remainder of her sister's 'reigne.'——Hollingshed speaks to the same effect.

[*N*] *Philip and Mary*] Heylin observes, that Queen Mary, in rebuilding the publick schools at Oxford, 'gave encouragement to two worthy gentlemen, 'to add two new colleges in Oxford, to the former,' viz. Trinity and St John's.——'Had it not been, 'adds he, for these foundations, there had been nothing 'in this reign to have made it memorable, but only 'the misfortunes and calamities of it (18).'

[*O*] *One president*, &c] The house being not yet ready for their reception, they were not admitted 'till the thirtieth day of May, 1556, which was the eve of Trinity-Sunday (19).

[*P*] *How he had acquired*, &c] I will here take occasion to vindicate the founder's character from a gross misrepresentation in Wood (20). We are told that the founder furnished his chapel, in a very superb manner; with vessels and crosses of gold and silver, with copes of tissue, tapestry, &c. &c (21). That he also bestowed much plate upon the college, besides what he left it by his will. But our idea of his munificence is soon suppressed by the following words. 'Ea autem omnia 'olim, e Cœnobii Wroxtoniensis, aliorumque spoliis, 'quo tempore ab Henrico Rege VIII. dissoluta sunt, 'ipse corraserat.' These are the words of Wood's translator, who, it is well known, often took the liberty to misrepresent his author's sense. The original words in Wood's MS. English copy (22) are these. 'These he obtained from the Priory at Wroxton, and 'others, which he had bought of the King at the 'dissolution.' Now if the founder, in reality, had *illegally obtained*, or *pilfered*, this furniture; no man, would have been more likely to have mentioned it, than Wood; who, tho' a most valuable writer, has been notoriously careful to collect and record scandal. I think therefore, that Wood's favourable representation of this matter, is alone sufficient to acquit the founder.

[*Q*] *Learned and eminent men.*] Thomas Allen, Sir Edward Hoby, William Chillingworth, John Selden, James Harrington, Sir John Denham, Sir Thomas Pope-Blount, Ralph Sheldon, Ralph Bathurst, Daniel Whitby, William Derham, &c.

[*R*] *A school.*] This he first designed to found at Hook-Norton, in Oxfordshire; but he afterwards resolved to place it at Dedington, his native town (23). It was to have been called the school of Jesus. Wood, but I think with little probability, conjectures, that he intended it as a seminary for his college at Oxford.

(16) His Life, by Ward, p. 7, &c.

(17) Lond. 1631, 12mo. p. 202.

(18) Ecclesia Restaurat. Hist. of Queen Mary, p. 84.

(19) Regist. Coll. Trin. Oxon.

(20) Hist. &c. Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 294. The printed Latin translation is here referred to.

(21) They were all abolished by an order from the Queen's Commissioners, 1570

(22) In the tower of the schools at Oxford.

(23) Ex Chartis Orig.

year of his age, on the twenty-ninth day of January, 1558, and was buried [S] in the north-isle of the choir of St Stephen's Walbrook (u). Stowe has preserved the inscription upon his tomb, which has been since destroyed with the old church, 'Hic jacet Thomas 'Pope primus Thesaurarius Augmentationum, & Dna Margaretta, uxor ejus, quæ quidem 'Margaretta obiit 16 Jan. 1538.' 'Here lies Thomas Pope, first Treasurer of the Aug- 'mentations, and Dame Margaret his wife, &c.' In the latter part of his life, he seems chiefly to have resided at Clerkenwell, at Hatfield in Essex, and at Tyttenhanger in Hertfordshire; of which last mentioned county he was twice Sheriff, in the years 1552, and 1557 (w). He appears to have been married twice. His first wife was Margaret Dodmere (x), mentioned in the abovecited epitaph. By her he had a daughter [T] named Alice. His second and last wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Walter Blount [U], Esq; of Blount's-Hall in Staffordshire: but, when married to Sir Thomas, she was the widow of William Basford, Esq; of Bentley in Derbyshire. This Lady survived Sir Thomas many years; and soon after his death was married to Sir Hugh Paulet (y), of Hinton St George in Somersetshire, father of the great Sir Amias Paulet. She died at Tyttenhanger [W], on the twenty-seventh day of October, 1593, and being brought to Oxford, her funeral ceremonies were solemnized, on the first of November following, in St Mary's church (z). Her body was then conveyed to the chapel of Trinity-College, where it was pompously interred, near the altar, under a sumptuous Gothick monument; upon which we read this inscription [X]: 'Hic jacent corpora Tho. Pope, militis, fundatoris hujus 'collegii Trinitatis, & D. Elisabethæ, & Margaretæ, uxoris ejus. Qui quidem Thomas 'obiit 29 die Januarii, 1558.' 'Here lie the bodies of Thomas Pope, Knight, Founder 'of this college of the Trinity; and of the lady Elizabeth, &c.' He left behind him one * brother [Y], whose name was John. He was often painted by Hans Holbein, and appears to have been a man of a majestick stature, and a comely countenance.

(u) Stowe's Survey, p. 245. fol. edit. 1633.

(w) Chauncy's Hertfordshire, p. 23.

(x) From a manuscript entry in Sir T. Pope's Breviary.

(y) Collins's Baronetage, Vol. IV. p. 667.

(z) From Wood's original M.SS. History of Univ. Oxon. in English, never printed, kept in the tower of the schools.

* See note [Y].

[S] *Was buried*, &c.] In his will, he directs his executors to bury him in the church of that parish, in which he should chance to die. See note [X].

[T] *A daughter.*] Wood informs us (24), that she died without issue; but the founder, in his appointments for five dirges or obits to be yearly sung in his college, directs, that one of them should be celebrated for the souls of Dame Margarett his late wife, and Alice his daughter; begotten by him of the body of the said Dame Margarett.

[U] *Daughter of Walter Blount*, &c.] This appears from various authentic evidences. Newcourt is therefore entirely mistaken when he tells us, that a certain manor was granted 'to Sir Hugh Paulet, from 'whence it came to Sir Thomas Pope, Knt. by his 'intermarriage with Elizabeth, daughter, and one of 'the co-heirs, of the said Sir Hugh (25).' In another place (26), however, he contradicts himself; where he says, that Sir Thomas Pope's widow, Elizabeth, became the wife of Sir H. Paulet. Chauncy and Salmon, in their accounts of Hertfordshire, have both adopted the above error; they have likewise both still further perplexed this matter, by asserting, that Sir Thomas and Lady Elizabeth Pope had issue a daughter, who was married to Sir Thomas Blount, Knt. of Staffordshire (27). See the next note.

[W] *At Tyttenhanger.*] This seat Sir Thomas Pope demised by will to his lady Elizabeth; she dying, left it to Thomas Blount, Esq; her nephew, who in remembrance of Sir Thomas Pope, called himself Pope-Blount; as most of his descendants have been named ever since (28). Of this family, there have been three eminent writers, viz. Sir Henry Blount, and Sir Thomas Pope-Blount, Knights, and Charles Blount, Esq; See the article, Sir Henry Blount, &c.

[X] *This inscription*] It is probable, that the founder's body, together with that of his first wife Margaret, was *removed* from St Stephen's Walbrook, to the chapel of his college. This we may reasonably conclude from the inscription on the monument there. Wood (29) acquaints us, that the Founder died at Clerkenwell, and was *buried* in his college chapel. It is, indeed, hard to reconcile the epitaph at St Stephen's Walbrook, with this at Trinity college.

[Y] *One brother.*] This gentleman had an only son, William, born at Wroxton in Oxfordshire, and educated at Trinity college, Oxon. Upon the arrival of James the I. in England, he was created Knight of the Bath, and a Baronet, July 24, 1603: and afterwards in the fourth of Charles I. he was made Baron of Belturbett, and Lord of Downe in Ireland (30). With this family of the Popes, many noble alliances have been made by intermarriage (31): Nor is it the least honour to it, that our illustrious poet, Mr Pope, was regularly descended from it (32). W

(24) Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. Lib. ii. p. 301.

(25) Repertorium Eccles. Parochial. Lond. Vol. II. p. 874.

(26) Vol. I. p. 632.

(27) Chauncy, p. 502. Salmon, p. 60.

(28) Collins's Baronetage, Vol. IV. p. 667.

(29) Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. in Append. p. 447.

(30) Stowe's Annals, continued and augmented by Howes. Lond. 1615, p. 827. Ex quodam Registr. in Coll. Trin.

(31) Collins, ubi supra.

(32) I have heard that he once intended to give a piece of plate to Trinity college, in memory of his ancestor the founder.

POPE [Alexander], a much admired Poet, was descended of a good family by both his parents [A], and born the 8th of June, 1688, in London (a), where his father was then a considerable merchant (b). He was taught to read very early by an aunt, and he learned to write without any assistance, by copying printed books, which he executed with great neatness and exactness. The family being of the Romish religion, he was put, at eight years of age, under the direction of one Taverner a priest, who taught him the rudiments of the Latin and Greek tongues together (c). He imbibed these elements of classical learning with the greatest facility, and the first sight of the poets discovered at once both the peculiar bent of his inclination, and the excellency of his genius [B]. About this

(a) Life of A. Pope, Lond. 1745, 8vo. p. 1.

(b) He is said to be worth 20000*l.* when he left off business, at the Revolution. Warton's Essay on the Writings and Genius of Alex. Pope, p. 79. edit. 1756, 8vo.

(c) See his Works, Vol II. p. 18. edit. Warburton.

[A] *Descended of a good family by both his parents.*] We are obliged for the account of Mr Pope's family to the satires that were made upon him. In answer to which he thought proper to publish the following short genealogy. That Alexander Pope, his father, was of a gentleman's family in Oxfordshire: the head of which was the Earl of Downe in Ireland *, whose sole heiress married the earl of Lindsey. His mother was Editha, the daughter of William Turner, Esq; of York: she had three brothers, one of whom was killed; another died in the service of King Charles I. and the eldest following his fortune, and becoming a general officer in Spain, left her what estate remained after the sequestrations and forfeitures of her family (1), which, as well as that of her husband, was of the Popish religion.

[B] *Both his inclination and genius to* [illegible] Mr Pope frequently declared, that the time of [illegible] ginning to write verses, was so very early in h[illegible] that he could scarcely recall it to his memory. [illegible] he was yet a child, his father would frequently [illegible] him to make English verses. It seems he was [illegible] to be pleased, and would make the lad corre[illegible] again and again: when at last he approved them [illegible]

* See remark [Y], in the preceding article.

(1) Note to the Epistle to Dr Arbuthnot, at the lines: [illegible]

this time accidentally meeting with Ogilby's translation of Homer, he was so much struck with the force of the story, that notwithstanding the deadness and insipidness of the versification, Ogilby became a favourite book. The Ovid of Sandys fell next in his way, and it is said, that the raptures these translations gave him were so strong, that he spoke of them with pleasure all his life after. From his private tutor he was sent to a Popish seminary at Twyford, near Winchester, whence he was removed to a school at Hyde-park corner. He was now about ten years of age, and being carried sometimes to the Play-house, the sight of those theatrical representations put him upon turning the chief events in Homer into a kind of play, made up of a number of speeches, from Ogilby's translation, connected by verses of his own. He perswaded the upper boys to act this piece, a curiosity which one would have been glad to have seen. The master's gardener represented the character of Ajax, and the actors were dressed after the prints of his favourite Ogilby *(d)*, which indeed make far the best part of that book, being designed and engraved by artists of note (*e*). In the mean time, he was so unfortunate as to lose, under his two last masters, what he had acquired under the first. In this condition, at twelve years of age, he retired with his parents to Binfield, in Windsor-Forest, where his father had provided a convenient little box, not far from Oakingham in Berkshire; and, at his first coming, 'tis said, was put under another Priest *(f)* for a few months, but with as little success as before; so that he resolved to become his own master. This country retreat, however, suited his melancholy and reflective temper; and it was about this time that he wrote his *Ode on Solitude*, which appears as the first-fruits of his poetical genius *(g)*. It was here too that he first perused the writings of Waller, of Spencer, and of Dryden. But on the first sight of Dryden he abandoned the rest, having now found an author whose cast was extreamly congenial with his own [*C*]. His works therefore he studied with equal pleasure and attention; he placed them before his eyes as a model: in short, he copied not only his harmonious versification, but the very turns of his periods. And hence it was that he became enabled to give to rhyme all the harmony of which it is capable (*h*). Binfield being near Easthamstead, where Sir William Trumbull then resided [*D*], our young genius was introduced into the acquaintance of that gentleman; who being struck with admiration at his extraordinary parts, and pleased with his good sense, as well as the decency and regularity of his manners, gave him great encouragement, and presently admitted him to a share of his friendship In the mean time, master Pope was not wanting to himself, in improving his talents for poetry. At fourteen years old he had composed several elegant pieces that way (*i*) [*E*]. At fifteen he had acquired a ready habit in the two learned languages; to which he soon after added French and Italian (*k*). It is a common observation, that some seeds of vanity and self-conceit are necessary ingredients in the composition of a poet. Accordingly our author was not without a proper share of these qualities, and now thought himself able to undertake an epic poem. In that spirit he set about writing his Alcander this year; and the performance, as might be expected, was a glaring proof of his childish folly. However, he had either sense or modesty enough, or both, to keep it in his study; and in his riper years spoke of it with a frankness and ingenuity that does more than atone for the

(d) Pope's Works, as in the preceding note. It is a remarkable circumstance, that Ogilby should give our author his first poetick pleasures.

(*e*) These, no doubt, had also a share in procuring our young student's favour, and engaging his attention.

(f) Perhaps Mr Tho. Deane, of whom some account may be seen in Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 940.

(g) See a copy of it in a letter to Henry Cromwell, dated July 17, 1709; wherein he observes, it was wrote before he was twelve years of age.

(*h*) Essay on the Writings and Genius of Pope, p. 82. See remark [*G*].

(*i*) See an advertisement prefixed to a miscellany printed by B. Lintot in 1711.

(*k*) See remark [*K*].

took great pleasure in perusing them, and would say, these are [illegible]od rhymes (2). 'These early praises, says my autho[illegible] of a tender and respected parent, co-operating with the natural inclinations of the son, may possibly be the causes, that fixed our young bard in a resolution of becoming eminent in this art (3).'

[*C*] *He abandoned the rest for Dryden, &c.*] After he met with that favourite's works as mentioned above, he was never easy 'till he had seen the author; and for that purpose, he procured a friend to bring him to a coffee house where Dryden was, only that he might be blessed with the sight of that great Poet. This could not have been long before his death, which happened in 1701; so that Mr Pope never was known to him, a misfortune which he laments in the following pathetic words: *Virgilium tantum vidi* (4). He never mentioned him afterwards without a kind of rapturous veneration. Thus, for instance, having run over the names of his great friends and encouragers, he concludes with the person whom he esteemed above all the rest, in the following distich:

> And St John's self, great Dryden's friend before,
> With open arms receiv'd one Poet more (5).

[*D*] *Sir William Trumbull resided then at Easthamstead.*] This statesman was bred at Oxford, where he [illegible]red first of St John's college, and chosen thence [illegible]llowship at All-Souls, he took his degree of [illegible] Laws in 1667, became an advocate in Doc[illegible]nons, Chancellor of the diocese of Roche[illegible] one of the Clerks of the Signet. He was [illegible] November 1, 1684; and in the same month [illegible]ing year was sent Envoy Extraordinary to [illegible]d in the beginning of 1687, he went Ambassador to the Ottoman Porte, which journey he performed on foot. He continued there 'till 1691, when he was appointed one of the Principal Secretaries of State, his colleague being the Duke of Shrewsbury. This office he resigned in 1697, and retired to Easthamstead near the place of his nativity (6); and we see he had not been there many years when Mr Pope was first introduced to him; and the literary correspondence between them was kept up as long as Sir William lived, and upon his death Mr Pope wrote his epitaph (7).

[*E*] *Composed several poetical pieces.*] These are printed among his juvenile poems in the first and second volumes of his works; after they had made their appearance without his name, some in the sixth volume of Tonson's Miscellanies in 1709, and others in Lintot's Miscellanies in 1711. They consist of A translation of part of the first book of Statius's Thebaid; several translations from Homer, and imitations of English poets, viz. Chaucer, Spencer, Waller, Cowley, &c. The translations were performed by way of exercises at school, to improve himself in the language; and he chose rather to do them in verse, as easier to him than prose (8). The imitations were generally condemned; and 'tis no wonder so young an author should mistake his fondness for his genius. He was sensible of it afterwards, and seems to hint at the mistake, in the preface to the first volume of his poems published in 1717, where he takes particular notice of this, as one of the difficulties and dangers that attend the profession of a Poet. Mr Pope's miscarriage is said to have animated another to make a like attempt, which produced six very humorous epigrams upon a pipe of tobacco, in the manner of six distinguished Poets, each admirably performed (9).

(2) Pope's Works, Vol. IV. p. 18. Warburton's edition.

(3) Essay on the Writings and Genius of Pope, p. 79, 80. He says of himself, I lisp'd in verses, and the verses came. Epistle to Dr Arbuthnot.

(4) See one of his letters to H. Cromwell.

(5) Epistle to Dr Arbuthnot.

(6) Notes to his first letter to Pope. And Wood's Fasti, Vol. II. col. 170.

(7) It is printed in Pope's Works, Vol. VI. p. 73.

(8) Advertisement prefixed to them.

(9) The author was Mr Hawkins, an ingenious gentleman still living.

[*F*] He

the forwardneſs of his attempt [F]. And the following year, 1704, he entered upon a taſk more ſuitable to his age. This was his Paſtorals, which brought him into the acquaintance of ſome of the moſt eminent wits of that time. He communicated theſe firſt to Mr Wycherley (l), who was highly pleaſed with them, and ſent a copy to Mr Walſh, Gentleman of the Horſe to Queen Anne, and author of ſeveral ingenious pieces, both in proſe and verſe. This introduced him into the acquaintance of that gentleman (m), who proved a very ſincere friend to him, and having immediately diſcerned that our Poet's chief talent lay, not ſo much in ſtriking out new thoughts of his own, as in improving thoſe which he borrowed from the Ancients, and an eaſy verſification, told him, among other things, that there was one way left open for him to excel his predeceſſors, and that was correctneſs; obſerving, that though we had ſeveral great Poets, yet none of them were correct: he, therefore adviſed him to make that his ſtudy. The advice was not loſt (n): Mr Pope received it very gratefully, and obſerved it very diligently, as appears by the ſubſequent letters in this correſpondence; and no doubt the diſtinguiſhing harmony of his numbers was in a great meaſure owing to it [G]. This year, 1704, he wrote alſo the firſt part of his *Windſor Foreſt*, though the whole was not publiſhed 'till ſeveral years afterwards, in 1710 [H], with a dedication to Lord Lanſdowne, whom he mentions as one of his earlieſt

(l) He was probably firſt introduced to Wycherley by Sir Will. Trumbull. Life of Pope, ubi ſup.

(m) His anſwer to Wycherley on this occaſion ſtands at the head of Pope's Letters, in Vol. VII. of his Works.

(n) One remarkable inſtance of his gratitude to this friend is taken notice of below. We have another in that humorous letter to Swift, where he propoſes a ſubſcription for ſaving the ſouls of ſome of his friends. Among theſe he reckons Walſh who was, ſays he, not only a Socinian, but a Whig, and cannot be rated but at 100 *l*. Orrery's Life of Swift, Letter V. See alſo Gay's article, rem. [*E*].

[F] *Which does more than atone for the forwardneſs of the attempt.*] 'I confeſs, ſays he, there was a time when I was in love with myſelf, and my firſt productions were the children of ſelf-love upon innocence. I had made an epic poem and panegyrics on all the princes, and I thought myſelf the greateſt genius that ever was. I cannot but regret theſe delightful viſions of my childhood, which, like the fine colours we ſee when our eyes are ſhut, are vaniſhed for ever (10).' This early piece was long afterwards communicated by him to Dr Atterbury, with a declared intention to burn it, in which that friend concurred: 'though, adds he, I would have interceded for the firſt page, and put it, with your leave, among my curioſities.' So far ſeemed a little cruel, and to ſoften it, the Biſhop concludes with this high-ſtrained ſoothing panegyric. 'In truth, it is the only inſtance of that kind I ever met with from a perſon good for any thing elſe, nay, for every thing elſe to which he is pleaſed to turn himſelf (11).' After all, though the written copy might undergo this cruel execution, yet the original, it ſeems, was faithfully preſerved in the author's memory; at leaſt, if what a late writer tells us he had received from credible information be true, that ſome of the anonymous verſes quoted as examples of the *Art of ſinking in Poetry*, in the incomparable ſatire ſo called, were ſuch as our poet remembered from his own Alcander (12). Nor was the vanity of writing an epic poem cured by this failure in the firſt attempt. On the contrary, the errors and imperfections he obſerved in it, ſeem to have remained upon him as ſo many ſtimulations to a ſecond attempt, in compoſing which, the faults of the firſt would be of uſe, by way of a leſſon to avoid them. However that be, we are aſſured by his editor, that he had framed a deſign of writing an epic poem on our old Annaliſts, and therefore more engaging to an Engliſhman; this was on the arrival of Brutus, the ſuppoſed grandſon of Æneas, in our iſland, and the ſettlement of the firſt foundations of the Britiſh monarchy (13) In this poem he deſigned to treat amply of all that regarded civil regimen or the ſcience of politicks; the ſeveral forms of a republick were here to be examined and explained, together with the ſeveral modes of religious worſhip, as far forth as they affect ſociety. And the whole was to be written in rhyme (14). The author of the eſſay juſt cited, thinks that the ſucceſs of this attempt would have been no better than the former. And to ſupport that cenſure he obſerves, that Pope's genius was chiefly of the didactic kind, with very little of the ſublime and pathetic, which are the main nerves of the Epopœa; that he would have given us many elegant deſcriptions and many general characters well drawn; but would have failed to ſet before our eyes the reality of theſe objects, and the actions of theſe characters; that Pope's cloſe and conſtant reaſoning had by this time (15) impaired and cruſhed the faculty of imagination; that the political reflections would, in all probability, have been more numerous, than the affecting ſtrokes of nature; that it would have more reſembled the *Henriade* than the Iliad, or even the *Gieruſalemme Liberata*; that it would have appeared, if this ſcheme had been executed, how much and for what reaſons the man that is ſkilful in painting modern life, and the moſt ſecret foibles and follies of his contemporaries, is therefore diſqualified for repreſenting the ages of heroiſm, and that ſimple life, which alone epic poetry can gracefully deſcribe. He alſo adds, that the ſingle circumſtance of rhyme was ſufficient of itſelf alone to overwhelm and extinguiſh all enthuſiaſm, and produce endleſs tautologies and circumlocutions. This writer concludes with imagining Dr Warburton's opinion to be the ſame with his, ſince there could not have been a more improper ſubject for an epic poem, than the particulars of which that editor informs us it was chiefly to conſiſt. The ſame writer remarks, that the firſt poem that appeared in France any thing like an epic poem, was on this identical ſubject of Brutus's arriving in England (16). It was written by *Euſtache* in the reign of Louis VIIth, who came to the throne in 1137 and was huſband of the celebrated Eleonora, afterwards divorced and married to our Henry II. (17)

(10) Pope's Works, in the preface.

(11) This letter is dated Feb. 18, 1717. See Pope's Letters.

(12) Eſſay on the Writings and Genius of Pope, p. 82, 83.

(13) See the ſtory in Milton's Hiſtory, who ſeems pleaſed with it, as ſuiting the romantic turn of his mind.

(14) Pope's Works, Vol. III. Warburton's edition.

(15) It was in 1739 that this deſign was thought of.

(16) It was called *Le Roman de Brut*, according to the humour of thoſe times, when every piece of poetry was denominated a romance.

(17) Eſſay on the Writings of Pope, p. 280, 281, 282.

[G] *Pope's harmonious verſification was owing, in a great meaſure, to Walſh.*] This gentleman died in 1708, which year the Paſtorals were publiſhed by our author (18), who was then writing his Eſſay on Criticiſm, which concludes with his elegy.

Such late was Walſh, the Muſes judge and friend, &c.

Pope however has not eſcaped the cenſure of ſpeaking here too magnificently of this friend (19). Walſh, it is ſaid, was in general a flimzy and frigid writer. The Rambler calls his works *pages of inanity*. However, in Mr Dryden's opinion, he was the beſt critic of our nation in his time (20): and it is allowed that his three letters to Pope are well written *. His remarks on the nature of paſtoral poetry, on borrowing from the Ancients, and againſt florid conceits, are worthy peruſal (21). To what has been ſaid in another article (22) of theſe memoirs upon the Paſtorals, we ſhall only add, that their principal merit conſiſts in their correct and muſical verſification; muſical to a degree of which rhyme could hardly be thought capable: and in giving the firſt ſpecimen of that harmony in Engliſh verſe, which is now become indiſpenſibly neceſſary, and which has ſo forcibly influenced the publick ear, as to have rendered every moderate rhymer melodious. Thus muſic-charmed, the reader becomes blind to the great defect in this poem, the want of invention. 'I remember, continues the laſt cited author, to have been informed by an intimate friend of Pope, that he had once laid a deſign of writing American Eclogues. The ſubject would have been fruitful of the moſt poetical imagery, and, if properly executed, would have reſcued the author from the accuſation here urged, of having written eclogues without invention (23).'

(18) He had never left correcting them 'till that time.

(19) Eſſay on the Genius of Pope, p. 201.

(20) See preface to his tranſlation of Virgil.

* In Pope's Works, Vol. VII. p. 65, & ſeq.

(21) Eſſay on the Genius of Pope, p. 201.

(22) In Gay's article.

(23) Eſſay on the Genius of Pope, p. 10, 11.

[H] *He publiſhed Windſor Foreſt in* 1710.] The circumſtance of our author's writing the firſt part of this poem ſo early as 1704, furniſhes no bad apology for the general fault charged upon it; few images, it is ſaid, are introduced, which are not equally applicable to any place whatſoever. It is true, deſcriptive poetry, of which kind is this piece, was manifeſtly none of the ſhining talents of Pope; but when it is remembered, that he pitched upon a deſcription of Windſor Foreſt, (then the place of his abode) at ſixteen, an age for which this kind of poetry has the greateſt charms, it may

earlieſt acquaintance. Mr Wycherley was another. To theſe, beſides Bolingbroke and Walſh, he adds Congreve, Garth, Swift, Atterbury, Talbot, Somers, and Sheffield, as perſons with whom he was not only converſant, but beloved, at ſixteen or ſeventeen years of age; an early bard for ſuch acquaintance. And the catalogue might be made yet more illuſtrious, had he not confined it to the time when he wrote the *Paſtorals* and *Windſor Foreſt* *. No part of our bard's life is more intereſting than that of his conduct in cultivating friendſhips, eſpecially with his brother poets. At the age of eighteen he was grown ſo high in the eſteem of Wycherley, that he thought him capable of correcting his poems (which had been damned) ſo as they might appear again in print. Pope complied with the requeſt, and executed it with equal freedom and judgment (*o*). But the faults proved too many for the author of them to be told of; he was old, became jealous, and conſtrued his young maſter's ingenuity, and plain dealing, into want of reſpect. Not only the deſign of publiſhing was dropt, but all correſpondence with the corrector ſuſpended. This ungenerous return was lively reſented by Pope [*I*]. And though Wycherley was prevailed with afterwards, by the mediation of a common friend, to reſume the correſpondence, yet this went no farther than bare complaiſance (*p*). However, ſome time after Mr Wycherley's death, his poems being republiſhed by ſome mercenary hand in 1728, our author the following year printed ſeveral letters that had paſſed between them, in vindication of Mr Wycherley's good name, againſt ſome miſconſtructions prefixed to that edition (*q*). Our Poet's conduct, throughout this whole trying affair, was greatly above his years [*K*]. But young as he was, his talents were now beginning to ripen into full maturity. This appeared conſpicuouſly in his Eſſay on Criticiſm, which though wrote ſo early as 1708, yet placed him among thoſe of the firſt rank in his art. It is indeed eſteemed a maſter-piece in it's kind, and ſo diſcovered the peculiar turn of his genius. He was not yet twenty years old, ſo that every body ſtood amazed to find ſuch a knowledge of the world, ſuch a maturity of judgment, and ſuch a penetration into human nature as are there diſplayed; inſomuch that it became a ſubject for the criticks to diſplay their profoundeſt ſkill in accounting for it. The greateſt geniuſes in painting, as well as poeſy, were generally obſerved, not to have produced any of their maſter-pieces before the age of thirty, or thereabouts (*r*), and that Mr Pope's genius ripened earlier, was owing, 'tis ſaid, to a happy conjuncture of concurring circumſtances. He was happily ſecured from falling into the debaucheries of women and wine (the too frequent bane of hopeful youth) by the weakneſs and delicacy of his conſtitution, and the bad ſtate of his health. The ſenſual vices were too violent for ſo tender a frame, he never fell into intemperance or diſſipation, which is of the greateſt conſequence in preſerving each faculty of the mind in due vigour. Even his mis-ſhapen figure is alledged to be of uſe to him as a writer. It is an obſervation of Lord Bacon, that whoſoever hath any thing fixed in his perſon that induces contempt, hath alſo a perpetual ſpur within to reſcue and deliver himſelf from it (*s*). Hence it has been thought not improbable, that our

* Epiſtle to Dr Arbuthnot; and Warburton's note.

(*o*) The brouillons of theſe corrections were found in Pope's ſtudy after his death. Warburton, in a note to the Eſſay on Criticiſm.

(*p*) Id. ibid. The ſame gentleman mentions it in another place as one of Mr Pope's faults, that he was too eaſily provoked, and too difficult to be reconciled.

(*q*) Soon after the breach, Pope was informed that ſomebody had inſinuated malicious untruths of him to *Wycherley*. Warburton.

(*r*) Du Bos's Reflections upon Poetry, &c. §. 2. N. B. Milton produced his *Comus* earlier.

(*s*) Bacon's Eſſays, No. 44. His feeling the truth of this obſervation, contributed towards the fondneſs which he had for theſe Eſſays. Warton.

may as truly be ſaid, that he could not then be ſenſible which way the chief force of his genius lay *; and though we ſhould grant that he muſt have diſcovered that before the year 1710, yet he might not be willing to loſe the pains he had taken, and therefore choſe rather to exerciſe his pen, though a little againſt the grain, in completing the plan. It is allowed that he breaks out into a true poetical enthuſiaſm more than once, and particularly in the concluſion; and there was indeed a circumſtance which no doubt ſtrongly animated his muſe in that part. The peace, afterwards concluded at Utrecht, was this year, 1710, projected by his particular friends Harley and St John, who were now at the head of the Miniſtry. Accordingly, we find the influences, and effects of peace, and it's conſequence, a diffuſive commerce, marked by ſelect circumſtances ſuch as are beſt adapted to ſtrike the imagination by lively pictures, the ſelection of which conſtitutes true poetry. At the cloſe of all there appears a groupe of allegorical perſonages, in the rear of which ſtand the following figures painted in living colours with their proper *inſignia* and attributes:

——— Envy her own ſnakes ſhall feel,
And perſecution mourn her broken wheel:
There faction roar, rebellion bite her chain,
And gaſping Furies thirſt for blood in vain.

It is ſaid, that 'Addiſon was inexpreſſibly chagrined at this noble concluſion of *Windſor Foreſt*, both as a politician, and as a poet. As a politician, becauſe it ſo highly celebrated that treaty of peace, which he deemed ſo pernicious to the liberties of Europe; and as a poet, becauſe he was deeply conſcious, that his own Campaigne, that Gazette in rhyme, contained no ſtrokes of ſuch genuine and ſublime poetry as the concluſion before us †.'

* He was ſenſible of this afterwards; and accordingly we find him ſaying of this poem, While pure deſcription held the place of ſenſe. Epiſt. to Dr Arbuthnot.

† Eſſay on the Writings and Genius of Pope. But ſurely the remarker forgets the much famed ſimile of the Angel in the Campaigne.

[*I*] *This was reſented by Pope.*] Mr Cromwell gave him the firſt hint of Wycherley's chagrin, and as he never wanted quickneſs of apprehenſion in thoſe points, we find him expreſſing his reſentment in theſe words. 'I may derive this pleaſure from it, that whereas I muſt otherwiſe have been a little uneaſy to know my incapacity of returning his obligations, I may now, by bearing his frailties, exerciſe my gratitude and friendſhip more, than himſelf either is, or perhaps ever will be ſenſible.'

Ille meos, primus qui me ſibi junxit, amores
Abſtulit; ille habeat ſecum, ſervetque ſepulchro.

In the laſt viſit which Pope made to him, the breach was openly intimated. He told me (ſays Pope, in a letter to Cromwell) he was going inſtantly out of town, and 'till his return was my humble ſervant. Hereupon, our young poet finding this journey into the country not ſo inſtantaneous as was pretended, did not ſpare to return the compliment. I beg you (ſays he to the ſame friend), to do what you may with all truth, that is, aſſure him [Wycherley] I have ever borne all the reſpect and kindneſs imaginable to him; I don't know to this hour what it is, that has eſtranged him from me; but this I know, that he may for the future be more ſafely my friend, ſince no invitation of his ſhall ever make me ſo free with him (24).

[*K*] *His conduct with regard to Wycherley, was above what might be expected from his years.*] It is obvious on the ſight of Pope's earlieſt letters to Wycherley, Walſh, and Cromwell; that he was at that time not only acquainted intimately with ſome of the beſt Greek and Roman, as alſo the moſt celebrated of the French and Italian Claſſics, but that he judged admirably well, and acutely, both of men and books.

(24) Pope was acquainted with Cromwell in 1704, as appears by a letter dated Decemb. 26th that year, in Pope's Collection. And it is remarkable, that he afterwards loſt this friend too, by taking the ſame freedom with his ill taſte, as he had done with Wycherley's poetry. See Pope's firſt letter to Gay, dated at Binfield, Nov. 12, 1712. Pope's Works, Vol. IX.

our poet might be animated by this circumstance to double his diligence, to make himself distinguished by the rectitude of his understanding, and beautiful turn of his mind, as much as he was by the deformity of his body [*L*]. 'Tis certain that he strictly fulfilled the precept of Horace in each particular, *Multa tulit fecitque puer, sudavit & alsit (t)*. It was another circumstance equally propitious to the studies of Pope, in this early part of his life, that he inherited a fortune that was a decent competency (*u*), and sufficient to supply the small expences which, both by constitution and reflection, he required. Thus he was preserved from the two most destructive enemies to a young genius, want and dependance. Nor was the circumstance of being placed beneath opulence, and an high station, less propitious, since these almost unavoidably embarrass and immerse the possessor in the cares, the pleasures, the indolence, and the dissipation, that accompany abundance (*w*). Thus it is conceived, that these external aids, as so many auxiliaries, assisting the active inborn strength of our poet's genius had their share in this triumphant production [*M*]. But how triumphant soever may be the merit of the Essay on Criticism, yet it was still surpassed in a poetical view by *the Rape of the Lock*. The former indeed excelled in the didactic way, for which he was peculiarly formed; a clear head and strong sense were his characteristical qualities; his chief force lay in the understanding, rather than in the imagination. But it is the creative power of the last that constitutes the proper characteristick of poetry, and therefore it is in *the Rape of the Lock* that Pope principally appears a Poet; since in this performance he has displayed more imagination than in all his other works put together. The poem took it's birth from an incidental quarrel that happened between two noble families, that of Lord Petre and Mrs Fermor, both of our author's acquaintance, and of the same religion. His Lordship, in a party of pleasure, carried it so far, as to cut off a favourite lock of the Lady's hair. This tho' done in the way of gallantry, was seriously resented, as being indeed a real injury. Hence there presently grew mutual animosities, which being seen with concern by a common friend to all (*x*); that friend requested Pope to try the power of his muse on the occasion, intimating, that a proper piece of ridicule was the likeliest means to extinguish the rising flame. Pope readily complied with the friendly proposal; and the juncture requiring dispatch, his first design was compleated in less than a fortnight, which being sent to the Lady, had more than the proposed effect. Pleased to the highest degree with the delicacy of the compliment paid to her, she first communicated copies of it to her acquaintance, and then prevailed with our author to print it (*y*): as he did, though not without the caution of concealing his name to so hasty a sketch. But the universal applause which the sketch met with (*z*), put him upon enriching it with the machinery of the Sylphs; and in that new dress the two cantoes, extended to five, came out the following year, 1712, ushered by a letter to Mrs Fermor; to whom he afterwards addressed another, which is esteemed far superior to any of Voiture [*N*]. This year he

(*t*) Horat. Epist. ad Pisonem.

(*u*) See more of this presently.

(*w*) To this purpose is that celebrated saying of Charles IX. of France. *Equi & Poetæ alendi sunt, non sagi-nandi*. Horses and Poets are to be fed, but not fattened.

(*x*) Mr Caryl, author of a play called Sir Solomon Single, and several translations in Dryden's Miscellanies; and Master of the Horse to Queen Mary, wife of King James II. whose fortunes he followed into France. Notes to the Rape of the Lock.

(*y*) This request is intimated in the motto, *Nolueram, Belinda, tuos violare capillos: Sed juvat, hoc precibus me tribuisse tuis.*

(*z*) Letter to Steele, dated November 26th, sent with a copy of the poem to be communicated to Mr Addison, to whom our author constantly paid his court.

[*L*] *His deformity might be a spur to distinguish himself.*] This remark is thought to receive some countenance from our author himself, in the following lines.

> What crops of wit and honesty appear,
> From spleen, from obstinacy, hate or fear:
> See anger, zeal, and fortitude supply;
> Ev'n avarice, prudence; sloth, philosophy;
> Nor virtue, male or female, can we name,
> But what will grow on pride, or grow on shame (25).

[*M*] *These outward advantages were serviceable in the production of this piece.*] Whatever may be thought of the abovementioned remarks, it is certain that the Essay on Criticism, besides it's intrinsic merit, was not without some adventitious and foreign aids, which helped it forward in making it's way into the world. It had the good luck to meet with a rival whose impotent attempts to blast it's beauties rendered them the more conspicuously manifest (26). This was Mr Dennis, a critic at that time of no bad repute, having a tolerable good nose at smelling out a fault, though loud and harsh in the utterance of it, but miserably misled by a false scent in the present subject. We have borrowed this observation of Mr Warburton (27) for the sake of what follows, which more immediately falls under the plan of this work, as exhibiting a very interesting part of Mr Pope's character. Mr Pope, continues his learned annotator, saw the blindness of his antagonist's fury, and felt the happy effects of it. He enjoyed these in silence. There was a *dignity* in that conduct, a *point* which he set before him very early in life, rarely lost sight of it afterwards, and pursued it with a remarkable steadiness; a felicity rarely met with in the composition of a Poet. There was still a further advantage in this conduct upon the present occasion; Mr Walsh had convinced him that correctness would infallibly lead him to fame, and the composure of his mind being entirely calm and unruffled, fitted him for making all the use he could, even of an enemy's remarks. In that view we find him freely acknowledging the justice of one or two of Dennis's, and prudently resolving to correct the faults in the next edition of his Essay. It was translated into French verse by General Anthony Hamilton in 1713, but not printed. The two printed ones are done, one by Mr Roboton (28), Amsterd. in 4to, and Lond. 1717; and the other by the Abbé Resnel, with a large preface and notes, Paris, 1730, 8vo; and Mr Pope often wished to see it in Latin verse, and such a version by Dr Kirkpatrick was published at London 1749, 4to *. It is said this essay was first written in prose (29), according to the precept of Vida, whose merit he has celebrated in it.

> ——Immortal Vida, &c.

[*N*] *With a letter to Mrs Fermor, &c.*] The insertion of the machinery in proper places, as it is done without the least appearance of being awkardly stitched in, so it was always esteemed by Pope himself, as an effort of his greatest skill and art, as a poet †; and I have always esteemed the letter abovementioned to Mrs Fermor, as the most engaging effort of his skill and art, as a letter writer. But let the reader judge.

'To Mrs Arabella Fermor, after her marriage.

'Madam,

'*You are sensible by this time, how much the tenderness of one man of merit, is to be preferred to the addresses of a thousand; and by this time the gentleman you have made choice of, is sensible how great is the joy of having all those charms and good qualities, which have pleased so many, now applied to one only. It was but just, that the same virtues which gave you reputation, should give you happiness; and I can wish you no greater, than that you may reap it in as high a degree, as so much good nature must infallibly give it to your husband.*

'*It*

(25) Essay on Man, Epist. ii. ver. 185, & seq.

(26) Mr Addison may, perhaps, be reckoned among these; 'tis certain the praises of it in the Spectator, No. 253. are bestowed with too sparing a hand, the effect, possibly, of envy, and it's adjunct ill-nature.

(27) See his notes upon this Essay.

(28) Private Secretary to King George I.

* With some others, intituled, *Poëmata quædam A Popio Latine reddita.*

(29) Essay on the Writings of Pope, p. 110. This was the practice of Racine, who, when he had thus laid out a tragedy, used to say, *My* tragedy is finished.

† Warburton.

he also published his Temple of Fame, having, according to his usual caution, kept it two years in his study [O]. That object of the universal passion, was full upon his thoughts at this time. He had been from the first setting out in full stretch after it [P], and saw it now within his reach; accordingly we find him in high spirits, diverting himself with the ladies, to one of whom he sent a copy of his Temple, with an humorous gay epigram [Q], in a letter by a passage of which it appears, that he had now begun to translate Homer's Iliad, and made a good progress in it, and in 1713, he gave out proposals for publishing that translation by subscription. He had been pressed to this undertaking some years before by some of his friends (aa), and was now greatly encouraged in the design by others. His religious principles disqualified him from receiving any solid testimony of his merit, in the usual way of a place at Court. Common prudence therefore prompted him, to make the best advantage he could of the reputation he had obtained in his trade, and try to raise an independent fortune by it. And the success was such, as must needs answer, if not exceed, his most sanguine expectations (bb); he acquired a considerable fortune by a subscription so large, that it does honour to the kingdom (cc). He saw all parties and denominations join in it, notwithstanding the underhand practices of some pretended friends, who in vain opposed the stream; at the head of these, was found Mr Addison. Our author had long paid an awful veneration to that rival, the consciousness of which, served to set a keener edge upon his resentment now. But though the sense of so much treachery and falseness tingled in every vein; yet he managed it with the nicest prudence [R], and at last revenged it by a satire, which does honour to himself (dd). Thus

(aa) Particularly Sir W. Trumball, so long before as 1700. See his letter to our author, dated August 9th that year, in Pope's Works, Vol. VII.

(bb) Lintot the Printer gave him 1200 *l*. for it, besides all the copies for his subscribers. Warburton.

(cc) 'Tis said to have amounted to 6000 *l*. Warton.

(dd) Some have esteemed it the best that ever was wrote. Bishop Atterbury well understood the force of it, and in one of his letters to Pope says, 'Since you know where your strength lies, I hope you will not suffer that talent to lie unemployed.'

'*It may be expected perhaps, that one who has the title of being a wit, should say something more polite on this occasion, but I am really more a well wisher to your felicity, than a celebrater of your beauty. Besides, you are now a married woman, and in a way to be a great many better things, than a fine Lady; such as an excellent wife, a faithful friend, a tender parent, and at last, as the consequence of them all, a Saint in Heaven. You ought now to hear nothing, but that which is all that you ever desired to hear, (whatever others may have spoken to you) I mean truth; and it is with the utmost that I assure you, no friend you have, can more rejoice in any good that befals you, is more sensibly delighted with the prospect of your future happiness, or more unfeignedly desires a long continuance of it.*

'*I hope you will think it but just, that a man, who will certainly be spoken of as your admirer after he is dead, may have the happiness, while he is living, to be esteemed,* Your, &c.'

Here Pope appears the man of gallantry, good nature, and a thorough knowledge of the world. This letter is sometimes annexed to the poem not injudiciously, as rendring the entertainment full and compleat, in the happy marriage of the Heroine. The *Rape, &c.* was translated into French, and printed at Paris in 1728. In Italian verse by the Abbé Conti, a noble Venetian, and by the Marquis Rongoni, Envoy Extraordinary from the Duke of Modena, to King George the Second. Moreover, as it was our author's only attempt in the heroi-comical way, so it met with a very singular fate: Besides the versions into foreign languages, there was a prose irony of it done in English. It happened to step forth upon the stage of the public, at a time when the tide of parties ran very high, and among other subjects of dispute, the famous Barrier Treaty, was much bandied as the boast of the Whigs. Hereupon Mr Pope being known, both by his birth and breeding, to be cast among the Tories, there came out a very humorous piece (30), wherein the author maintained, that *the Rape of the Lock*, was an allegorical poem, written purely with a malevolent design to expose and ridicule that treaty; for the proof of this position, the author only desired to have it granted, that the Treaty was meant by the Lock, and by the sole help of that *reasonable* postulatum, he made out his point, from the characters and machinery, beyond contradiction; all the under-parts following this principal very appositely.

(30) Intituled, *A Key to the Lock*, by Eldras Barneveldt, Apothecary.

[O] *He kept the Temple of Fame two years in his study.*] Steele was not a little pleased with the compliment mentioned above *, and was encouraged by it to beg our author's assistance in the Guardian, of which he had just then formed the project. Mr Pope complied, and accordingly, we find some pieces of his in [illegible] periodical paper, but these are only a few of the [illegible]. For he left all correspondence with Sir Richard soon after, upon his giving a more political turn to these papers (31). Party violence was Mr Pope's detestation, insomuch that he was willing to think Sir Richard had then got nothing by it; but in this he was mistaken, for Steele had obtained the patent for the play-house before. It was Sir Richard's natural good humour which chiefly pleased Pope, and to this we owe that excellent little poem called *The dying Christian to his Soul*: The request for it was made in the frank ingenuous way, and the performance was returned in the same spirit; *I don't send you word, says Pope, I will, but I have already done it (32).'

* In note (z).

(31) St[illegible] had [illegible] Oxford [illegible] be or- [illegible] article.

(32) Pope's Letters to and from Steele, in December 1712.

[P] *He had been, from his first setting out, in full stretch after Fame.*] In the hurry of this race he run his head against the old saw, *the more haste the worse speed*. It was apparently owing to the eager impetuosity of this passion, that he attempted his *Ode upon St Cecilia's Day*. Mr Dryden had obtained immortal fame by his *Alexander's Feast*: and the scholar, young as he was, fed himself with the hopes of hitting the same mark by shooting in the same bow. But here he met with a very sensible mortification. The Ode upon St Cecilia's Day was universally condemned for want of judgment, whatever wit there may be in the composition, which is very great in Mr Warburton's opinion. It is not improbable that it cost our author a great deal of pains, since he seems to have worked against the grain; whereas he complained that his Essay on Man was too easy, because, as his friend observed, that design was exactly suited to his genius (33); and from this instance, among some others, another author has inferred, that Pope's genius was not turned to the elevated and sublime species of poetry (34): So hazardous is the road to Fame.

(33) Warburton's notes.

(34) Essay on the Writings and Genius of Pope, passim.

[Q] *A gayly humorous epigram.*] He introduces it in the following words. 'Now I talk of Fame, I send you my *Temple of Fame*, which is just come out, but my sentiments about it you will see much better by this epigram.

'What's fame with men, by custom of the nation,
Is call'd in women only reputation (35);
About them both why keep we such a pother,
Part you with one, and I'll renounce the other.'

(35) Letter 17, to the Ladies, in Vol. VII. of his Works.

A couplet in the same taste had slipt into the Rape of the Lock.

Oh! hadst thou, cruel, been content to seize
Hairs less in sight, or any hairs but these.

Some of the fair sex taking offence, as 'tis said, to these lines, occasioned the two following, wherein that delicacy is handled very roughly, as being no better than a mere affected piece of prudery.

Who censure most, more precious hairs would lose,
To have the Rape recorded by his muse.

[R] *He managed it with the exactest prudence.*] The several steps of his conducting this very critical affair may be seen in his letters on the occasion, to which

(*ee*) Upon the road he met with Lintot, with whom he had that conversation, of which we have so humorous an account in a letter of our author to Lord Burlington, who had lent him a mare for the journey.

(*ff*) Letter to Blount, dated Aug. 27, 1714.

Thus with admirable temper and spirit he preserved his dignity, and keeping his mind attentive to every means that might render his translation more perfect, he took a journey, a little before the death of Queen Anne, to Oxford (*ee*); to consult some books in the Bodleian and other libraries in that university (*ff*), and the first part of his proposal was delivered to the subscribers the following year. This gave great satisfaction, so that his finances were now put into such a flourishing state, that he resolved to place himself nearer his friends, in the capital (*gg*). In that view, the small affair at Binfield being sold, he purchased a house at Twickenham, whither he removed with his father and mother before the expiration of this year, 1715 (*hh*). He calls this one of the grand æra's of his days*, and the taste he displayed in improving the seat, became the general vogue [*S*]. His father survived this removal only two years, dying suddenly, after a very healthy life, at the age of seventy-five (*ii*). He was buried by his son at Twickenham, who erected a handsome monument to his memory, with an inscription celebrating his innocence, probity, and piety. As he was a Papist, he could not purchase nor put his money to interest on real security, and as he adhered to the interest of King James, he made it a point of conscience, not to lend it to the new government; so that though he was worth near twenty thousand pounds, as has been observed, when he left off business, from the same principles, at the Revolution, yet afterwards living upon the stock (*kk*) [*T*]. He left our poet

(*gg*) He was now possessed of an easy fortune in his own opinion, as may be inferred from a letter to Lord Hallifax; wherein he declares, that living agreeably in the town, or contentedly in the country, was all the difference he set between an easy fortune and a small fortune. His Works, Vol. VII. Letter 24.

(*hh*) Letter to Mr Blount, dated March 20, 1715, and 30th. * Letters to Blount, June 22, 1716. (*ii*) See the inscription in remark [*GG*], as also his letter on this occasion to Mr Blount. (*kk*) Watton, from Pope's Works, Vol. IV. p. 18. in the preface.

which the reader who has not perused them, will thank us for referring him. We shall only observe in general, that among other contemptibly mean artifices made use of by Addison to suppress the rising merit and fame of his rival; it appears from these letters, that he discouraged Pope from inserting the machinery in the Rape of the Lock; that to hurt him with the Whigs, he industriously gave it out, that Pope was a Tory and a Jacobite, and said he had a hand in writing the Examiners. That Addison himself translated the first book of Homer's Iliad, published under Tickell's name, which he declared, after Pope's was printed, was still the best that had ever been done in any language. And last of all, he privately encouraged Gildon to abuse Pope in a virulent pamphlet, and gave him ten guineas for the performance. In short, this was the most dangerous attack that Pope ever experienced. How much then does it raise the character of his parts and prudence, that he was able absolutely to defeat it, and even to break these darts, which envy and malignity had forged against him, upon the head of the forger.

[*S*] *He purchased a house at Twickenham*.] While he was employed in this delightful work, he could not forbear doubling the pleasure he took in it, by communicating it to his friends. 'The young ladies, says he, in a letter to Mr Blount, may be assured that I make nothing new in my gardens without wishing to see them print their fairy steps in every part of them. I have put the last hand to my works of this kind, in happily finishing the subterraneous way * and grotto. I there found a spring of the clearest water, which falls in a perpetual rill that echoes thro' the cavern day and night. From the river Thames you see thro' my arch up a walk of the wilderness, to a kind of open temple wholly composed of shells in the rustic manner, and from that distance under the temple you look down thro' a sloping arcade of trees, and see the sails on the river passing suddenly and vanishing as thro' a perspective glass. When you shut the door of this grotto, it becomes on the instant from a luminous room, a *camera obscura*: on the wall of which all the objects of the river, hills, woods, and boats, are forming a moving picture in their visible radiations; and when you have a mind to light it up, it affords you a very different scene. It is finished with shells, interspersed with pieces of looking-glass in angular forms, and in the cieling is a star of the same materials, at which, when a lamp of an orbicular figure, of thin alabaster, is hung in the middle, a thousand pointed rays glitter and are reflected over the place. There are connected to this grotto by a narrower passage, two porches, one towards the river, of smooth stones, full of light, and open; the other towards the garden, shadowed with trees, and rough with shells, flints, and iron ores. The bottom is paved with simple pebble, as is also the adjoining walk up the wilderness to the temple, in the natural taste, agreeing not ill with the little dripping murmur and the aquatic idea of the whole place. It wants nothing to complete it but a good statue, with an inscription like that beauteous picturesque one, which you know I am so fond of.

* From his house to his garden, under the high road which separated them above.

Hujus Nympha loci, sacri custodia fontis,
Dormio, dum blandæ sentio murmur aquæ:
Parce meum, quisquis tangis cava marmora, somnum
Rumpere; seu bibas, sive lavere, tace.

Nymph of the grott, these sacred springs I keep,
And to the murmur of these waters sleep:
Ah! spare my slumbers, gently tread the cave,
And drink in silence, or in silence lave.

You'll think I have been very poetical in this description, but 'tis pretty near the truth.' This letter was wrote in 1725: he afterwards wrote a poem upon it in a peculiar cast and kind. And Mr Warburton informs us, that the improving this grotto was the favourite amusement of his declining years; so that, not long before his death, by enlarging and incrusting it about with a vast number of ores and minerals of the richest and rarest kinds, he had made it one of the most elegant and romantic retirements that is any where to be seen. And, adds that writer, the beauty of his poetic genius, in the disposition and ornaments of those romantic materials, appears to as much advantage as in any of his best contrived poems (36).

(36) Notes to the letter and poem.

[*T*] *He lived on the stock.*] This rigidness of the old gentleman's Jacobite principles betrays an uncommon degree of bigotted weakness, which it was the son's care, as much as possible, to keep out of sight. This was a part of prudence as well as piety, and we find him throwing a veil over it more than once.

For right hereditary tax'd and fin'd,
He stuck to poverty with peace of mind.
———What fortune pray? their own,
And better got than Bestia's from the throne.
Born to no pride, inheriting no strife,
Nor marrying discord in a noble wife.
Stranger to civil, and religious rage;
The good man walk'd innocuous thro' his age.
No courts he saw, no suits would ever try;
Nor dar'd an oath, nor hazarded a lye.
Unlearn'd, he knew no schoolman's subt'e art,
No language but the language of the heart.
By nature honest, by experience wise;
Healthy by temperance and by exercise.
His life, tho' long, to sickness past unknown.
His death was instant, and without a groan (37).

(37) Epist. to Dr Arbuthnot.

[*U*] He

poet to the management of ſo narrow a fortune, that any one falſe ſtep would be fatal (*ll*). The old gentleman had ſometimes recommended to him in his earlieſt years, the ſtudy of Phyſick (*mm*), as the beſt means of repairing that waſte of the ſubſtance, which from his own principles was rendered unavoidable. But this muſt have gone no further than a ſimple propoſal, ſince we are aſſured by the ſon that he broke no duty, nor diſobeyed any parent, in following the trade of a Poet (*nn*); and his father had the ſatisfaction of living long enough to ſee him in a ſure way of making a genteel fortune by it. In verity, want of a due attention to this neceſſary point was none of our poet's weakneſs; on the other hand, we find him taking all opportunities to puſh it to the utmoſt: In this ſpirit, not ſatisfied with the golden tide that was now continually flowing in from his tranſlation, he publiſhed, in 1717, a collection of all the poetical pieces he had wrote before; in which the regard to his fortune had undeniably a conſiderable ſhare (*oo*); he proceeded in the ſame ſpirit to give a new edition of Shakeſpear, which being publiſhed in 1721, diſcovered that he had conſulted his fortune in the undertaking more than his fame (*pp*). The Iliad being finiſhed, he engaged upon the like footing (*qq*) to undertake the Odyſſey [*U*]. And that work being compleated in 1725; the following year was employed, in concert with his aſſociates, Dean Swift and Dr Arbuthnot, in printing ſeveral volumes of Miſcellanies [*W*]. About this time he narrowly eſcaped loſing his life as he was returning home in a friend's chariot; which, on paſſing a bridge, happened to be overturned, and thrown with the horſes into the river: The glaſſes were up, and he not able to break them; ſo that he was in immediate danger of drowning, when the poſtillion, who had juſt recovered himſelf, came to his relief, broke the glaſs which was uppermoſt, took him out, and carried him to the bank; but a fragment of the broken glaſs cut one of his hands ſo deſperately, that he loſt the uſe of two of his fingers *. He had now made ſuch a fence about his fortune, as put it out of danger; and the like fence, which he had been long labouring to ſet about his fame being finiſhed in the Dunciad, that ſatire came out in 1727, 4to. He ſomewhere obſerves, that the life of an author, is a ſtate of warfare; and he has in this attack, or rather ſeries of attacks, ſhewed himſelf a complete general in the art of this kind of war. *Fabius cunctando*, &c. Our poet bore the inſults of his enemies full ten years before he hazarded a general battle; he was all that while climbing the hill of Parnaſſus, during which, he could not forbear ſome ſlight ſkirmiſhes, and the ſucceſs of theſe was of uſe, in ſhewing him his

(*ll*) Letter upon the death of his father to Mr Blount.

(*mm*) Letter 8th to Cromwell, Jan. 17, 1709.

(*nn*) Epiſtle to Dr Arbuthnot.

(*oo*) See Warburton's preface.

(*pp*) He made amends, however, for it, by the excellent monument of Shakeſpear in Weſtminſter-abbey, which was chiefly owing to him. He alſo wrote the inſcription, in which the expreſſion, *Publicus amor poſuit*, has been cenſured as unclaſſical. He alſo publiſhed Parnell's Poems this year.

(*qq*) It was publiſhed in the ſame manner, and ſold on the ſame conditions to Lintot, except only, that inſtead of 1200 *l.* he had but 600 for the copy. Warburton.

* Note to letter xix. in his Works, Vol. X. dated November 16, 1726.

[*U*] *He undertook the Odyſſey.*] While he was employed upon the Iliad, Mr Broome and Mr Fenton, who had aſſiſted him in it, entered into a deſign of tranſlating the Odyſſey; and having done ſeveral books by that time Pope had finiſhed the Iliad, they communicated them to him for his reviſal; Mr Pope performed the requeſt, but acquainted them that he was upon the ſame deſign, and had made a good progreſs in it, and would, if they approved of it, make uſe of what they had ſent him for the furtherance of the work. This was eaſily yielded to ſo good a friend, and ſo much better a verſifier (38). Mr Pope being charged ſeveral years after, with ſelling another man's labours printed under his own name (39), obſerves, it ought to have been added, that he bought them. That he gave 500 *l.* for them, for which he was ready to produce a receipt. Mr Broome, who wrote the notes at the concluſion of them, gives an account of his ſhare in the performance (40). When the ſubſcription-books were completed, Mr Pope ſold the copy as abovementioned to Lintot, and obtained a patent for his ſole printing of it for fourteen years, as he had done for the Iliad. The latter patent, however, was drawn up with ſuch a variation from the former, as the difference of the two caſes required (41): no objection was made at that time to the form by Mr Lintot; but when he found the ſale of the book fall greatly ſhort of what his expectations had been raiſed to by the ſucceſs of the Iliad; he ſpared not to make loud complaints of this difference in the two patents, and ſaid he had always underſtood there was none, nor any occcaſion for it, and even alledged that Mr Pope had been guilty of ſome management in order to deceive him into that opinion; and it is certain he was deceived (42). But this might be occaſioned not unlikely, by his own fond attention to the gains ariſing from it, the proſpect of which occupied his thoughts ſo entirely, as to leave no room to imagine, or enquire after, any difference. However that be, 'tis certain that in this ill humour, by way of revenge, he not only railed himſelf, but printed the railings of others againſt our author; who, in return, gave him a place in the Dunciad, where we ſee him matched in a race againſt Curll.

(38) Communicated by Mr Fenton.

(39) In an Epiſtle from a Doctor of Divinity to a Nobleman at Court, was this line:
And ſold Broom's labours printed with Pope's name.
See a Letter to a Noble Lord, &c. 1733, in Pope's Works, Vol. VIII.

(40) 'Tis ſaid he gave Mr Broome 600, and Mr Fenton 300 *l.* Eſſay on the Genius and Writings of Pope.

(41) In the former 'tis ſaid he *tranſlated* the Iliad; in the latter, that he had *undertaken* a tranſlation of the Odyſſey. See the two patents prefixed to the reſpective works.

(42) He even laid a wager of ten guineas with Pope himſelf, that they were drawn up in the ſame form. Communicated by Lintot.

[*W*] *Employed with Swift and Arbuthnot in the Miſcellanies.*] Among other things that make up this work, there are inſerted The Memoirs of *Martin Scriblerus*, concerning which we are obliged to Mr Warburton for the following anecdote: That Pope, Arbuthnot, and Swift, projected to write a ſatire in conjunction, on the abuſe of human learning in every branch; and, to make it the better received, they propoſed to do it in the manner of Cervantes, the original author of this ſpecies of ſatire, under the hiſtory of feigned adventures. But the ſeparation of theſe friends, which ſoon after happened, with the death of one [Arbuthnot in 1734], and the infirmities of the other, put a final ſtop to their project, when they had only drawn out an imperfect eſſay towards it, under the title of *The Firſt Book of the Memoirs of Scriblerus* (43). And the ſame gentleman tells us elſewhere, that the Travels of Gulliver, the Treatiſe of the Profound, of Literal Criticiſm on Virgil, and the Memoirs of a Pariſh-Clerk, are only ſo many detached parts and fragments of this work (44). Theſe remarks are confirmed by Mr Pope himſelf; from whom we learn alſo, that the project was formed as early at leaſt as the year 1714, when Dean Swift being retired into Berkſhire, on the quarrel of Oxford and Bolingbroke, our author, to divert his friend on that melancholy occaſion, ſent a humorous letter, containing ſeveral conjectures about the cauſe of his retreat; and, among others, mentions the following: 'Dr Arbuthnot is, 'indeed, ſays he, ſingular in his opinion, and imagines your only deſign is to attend at full leiſure to 'the Life and Adventures of Scriblerus. This, indeed, 'muſt be granted of greater importance than all the 'reſt, and I wiſh I could promiſe ſo well of you; the 'top of my own ambition is to contribute to that great 'work, and I ſhall tranſlate Homer by the bye (45).' Accordingly Mr Warburton declares, that polite letters never loſt more than in the defeat of this ſcheme, in which each of this illuſtrious triumvirate would have found exerciſe for his own peculiar talent, beſides conſtant employment for that they all had in common. Arbuthnot was ſkilled in every thing which related to ſcience, Pope was maſter of the fine arts, and Swift excelled in the knowledge of the world; wit they had all in equal meaſure, and that ſo large, as no age, perhaps, ever produced three men, to whom nature had more bountifully beſtowed it, or art brought it to higher perfection (46).

(43) Note to theſe Memoirs.

(44) Note to letter i. in Pope's Works, Vol. IX.

(45) The laſt cited letter, which is dated June 28, 1714.

(46) Concluſion of the note to the Memoirs of Scriblerus, as before.

his superior strength, and thereby adding confidence to his courage; but he was now seated safely on the summit: Besides, he had obtained what in his own opinion is the happiest end of life, the love of valuable men; the next felicity he declares, was to get rid of fools and scoundrels; and to that end, after having by several affected marches and counter-marches, brought the whole army of them entirely into his power, he suddenly fell upon them with a pen as irresistible as the sword of Michael the Arch-angel †, and made an absolutely universal slaughter of them, suffering not a single soul to escape his fury. The poem cautiously made it's first appearance, as a masked battery, in Ireland; nor, indeed, was the triumph completed, without the assistance of our author's undoubted second, Dean Swift, who having furnished it with some exquisitely wrought artillery, in that pompous figure it made a new apperance, printed at London in 1728. This edition was presented to the King and Queen, by Sir Robert Walpole; who probably at this time, offered to procure Mr Pope a pension ‖ [*X*], which he refused with the same spirit, as he had formerly done to an offer of the same kind, made to him by Lord Hallifax. In 1729, our poet, in the view of setting yet another fence about his fortune, purchased an annuity of 100 *l.* for his own life, that of his mother being likewise included (*rr*). The same year, by the advice of Lord Bolingbroke, he turned his pen to subjects of morality (*ss*), and accordingly we find him, with the assistance of that friend, at work this year upon his *Essay on Man* [*Y*]. This subject was exactly suited to his genius; he found the performance easy to a degree that surprized himself, and he thereupon employed his leisure hours in pursuing the same design in his *Ethic Epistles*, which came out separately in the course of the two following years (*tt*). The clamour raised against one of these [*Z*] put him upon writing satires, in which he ventured to attack the characters of some persons of high rank. The affront was resented in such a manner, as provoked him to let loose the whole fury of his satirical rage against them [*AA*], which was poured forth both in prose and verse (*uu*). After this he continued

† Which, nor keen nor solid might resist. Milton's Paradise lost, B. i.

‖ In the epilogue to his satires he writes thus of Sir Robert:
Seen him I have, but in his happier hour
Of social pleasure, ill exchang'd for pow'r.
Seen him, uncumber'd with the venal tribe,
Smile without art, and win without a bribe.

(*rr*) See his letters to Dr Swift.

(*ss*) He had joined with his Lordship in assisting the Craftsman. See some letters in the name of John Trothead, printed in the appendix to that paper in 1731.

(*tt*) The Essay on Man came out also in the same manner, the first book being published in 1732, and the last in 1734.

(*uu*) In prose, in a letter to Lord Harvey; and in verse, in an epistle to Dr Arbuthnot.

[*X*] *Sir R. Walpole offered him a pension*.] This seems to be hinted in a letter of our author to Dean Swift (47). 'I was once before, says he, displeased 'at you for complaining to Mr ———, of my not 'having a pension, I am so again, at your naming it 'to a certain Lord. I have given proof, in the course 'of my life, from the time when I was in the friendship 'of Lord Bolingbroke and Mr Craggs, even to this time 'when I am civily treated by Sir Robert Walpole, 'that I never thought myself so warm in any party's 'cause, as to deserve their money, and therefore would 'never have accepted it. I desire you to take off any 'impressions which that dialogue may have left upon his 'Lordship's mind, as if I ever had any thoughts of 'being beholden to him, or any other, in that way *.' One of the proofs here intimated, was the refusal he had given many years before, to an offer of the same kind by Lord Hallifax; as appears by a letter to that Lord as early as the year 1714, where he writes in these terms.

(47) Dated Dec. 18, 1729. Letters to and from Dr Swift, No. 44.

* Mr Craggs, in 1720, gave him a subscription for a hundred pounds in the South Sea, of which he made no manner of use.

'My Lord,

'I am obliged to you, both for the favours you have 'done me (48), and for those you intend me. I distrust 'neither your will, nor your memory, when it is to 'do good: and if ever I become troublesome or solli-'citous, it must not be out of expectation, but out of 'gratitude. It is indeed a high strain of generosity in 'you, to think of making me easy all my life, only 'because I have been so happy as to divert you some 'few hours; but if I may have leave to add, it is be-'cause you think me no enemy to my native country, 'there will appear a better reason; for I must of conse-'quence, be very much, as I sincerely am, Your's &c (49).' As these offers must be understood to be made in the view of taking him off from his attachments to his friends, his refusal of them, are so many illustrious proofs of his steadiness in that point (50). Yet he declares, in a letter to Dr Swift, that he had personal obligations, which he would ever preserve, to men of different sides.

(48) His Lordship not only subscribed himself to the translation of the Iliad but promoted it in the Hanover club, and rallied their Secretary Phillips, for keeping the subscriptions in his hands some time, out of enmity to Pope.

(49) This letter is dated Decemb. 1, 1714. It is Letter 24th, in Pope's Works, Vol. VII.

(50) This was his frequent boast; Unplac'd, unpension'd, no man's heir or slave. Epistle to Dr Arbuthnot.

[*Y*] *Lord Bolingbroke advised the Essay on Man*.] The following extract of a letter to Dean Swift, discovers the reason of his Lordship's advice. 'Bid him '[Pope] talk to you of the work he is about, I hope in 'good earnest, it is a fine one, and will be in his hands 'an original. His sole complaint is, that he finds it too 'easy in the execution. This flatters his laziness. It 'flatters my judgment; who always thought, that uni-'versal as his talents are, this is eminently and pecu-'liarly his, above all the writers I know, living or 'dead; I do not except Horace.' Pope tells the Dean in the next letter, what this work was. 'The work 'he [Bolingbroke] speaks of with such abundant par-'tiality, is a system of Ethics, in the Horatian way.' In another letter written probably in the entrance, of the following year, we see the general aim which at least he wished might be attributed to this work. 'I 'am just now writing (or rather planning) a book to 'bring mankind to look upon this life with comfort 'and pleasure, and put morality in good humour '(51).'

(51) Pope's Letters, ubi supra.

[*Z*] *The clamour raised against one of these*.] This was the fourth epistle addressed to Lord Burlington upon Taste; the character of Timon in it gave much offence. The description 'tis said was too plain not to be known who was pointed at. And the Duke of Chandois 'tis said wrote to our author in such a manner as made him sensible, that he ought to have confined himself to a made character. Mr Pope, we are told, began to wish he had not carried the matter so far, but there was no receding; all he could do was to palliate the business, and this was done in a letter by Mr Cleland to Mr Gay, in December 1731 (52). But this letter did not satisfy, nor yet one that he wrote to the Duke, professing his innocence. All this while he had the pleasure to see the Epistle sell so, that it went through the press a third time very soon. Thereupon, in high spirits, he published a letter to Lord Burlington, the March following (53); wherein having taken notice of the clamour, which, he says, through malice and mistake still continued; he expresses his resentment of this usage, disavows any design against the Duke, makes him several high compliments, and then proceeds thus: 'Certainly the writer deserved more can-'dour, even in those who know him not, than to pro-'mote a report, which in regard to that noble person 'was impertinent; in regard to me villainous. I have 'taken, continues he, an opportunity of the third 'edition (54), to declare his belief not only of my in-'nocence, but of their malignity, of the former of 'which my heart is as conscious, as I fear some of 'theirs must be of the latter; his humanity feels a 'concern for the injury done to me, while his great-'ness of mind can bear with indifference the insult 'offered to himself.' After this, he concludes with threatning to make use of real names, not fictitious ones, in his ensuing works; and how far he went into the execution of that menace, will be seen in the next remark.

(52) 'Tis dated Decemb. 16th that year. See his Letters, ubi supra.

(53) Viz. Mar. 7, 1731.

(54) In the last edition the title is changed for this; The Use of Riches.

[*AA*] *He let loose his satirical rage, against some persons of high rank*.] In the first satire of the second book of Horace, he had described Lord Harvey and Lady Mary Wortley Montague, so characteristically, under the names of Lord *Fanny* and *Sappho*, that these two noble personages did not only take up the same weapon against the aggressor, but used all their interest among the nobility, and even with the King and Queen, to hurt him; this last injury was what Pope complained of most; and for that reason, the letter which

continued writing ſatires 'till the year 1739 [*BB*], when he entertained ſome thoughts of undertaking an Epic poem (*w w*), which, however, proved abortive *. In the interim, ſeveral of his familiar letters having ſtole into the publick without his privity, he publiſhed a genuine collection of them in 1737 [*C C*]. About this time he fell into the acquaintance of

(*w w*) This is hinted at the end of his epilogue to his Satires.

* See remark [F].

which he wrote in anſwer to it, was ſhewn to her Majeſty, as ſoon as it was finiſhed, which concludes in theſe words. ' After all, your Lordſhip will be careful not to wrong my moral character, with thoſe under whoſe protection I live; and through whoſe lenity alone I can live with comfort. Your Lordſhip, I am confident upon conſideration, will think you inadvertently went a little too far, when you recommended to their peruſal, and ſtrengthened by the weight of your approbation, a libel mean in it's reflections upon my poor figure, and ſcandalous in thoſe on my honour and integrity; wherein I was repreſented as an enemy to human race, a murderer of reputations, a monſter marked by God like Cain, deſerving to wander accurſed through the world.—— A ſtrange picture of a man, who had the good fortune to enjoy many friends, who will be always remembered as the firſt ornament of his age and country, and no enemies that ever continued to be heard of, except Mr John Dennis and your Lordſhip. A man who never wrote a line, in which the religion orgovernment of his country, the royal family, or their miniſtry, were diſreſpectfully mentioned; the animoſity of any one party gratified at the expence of another; or any cenſure paſt, but upon known vices, acknowledged folly, or aggreſſing impertinence. It is with infinite pleaſure he finds, that ſome men who ſeem aſhamed and afraid of nothing elſe, are ſo very ſenſible of this ridicule; and 'tis for that very reaſon, he reſolves by the grace of God, and your Lordſhip's good leave,

' That while he breathes, no rich or noble knave
' Shall walk the world in credit to his grave.

' This he thinks is rendering the beſt ſervice he can to the publick, and even to the good government of his fellow-creatures. For this, at leaſt he may deſerve ſome commendations from the greateſt perſons in it. Your Lordſhip knows of whom I ſpeak ——— their names I ſhould be as ſorry, and as much aſhamed to place near your's on ſuch an occaſion, as I ſhould to ſee you, my Lord, placed ſo near their perſons, if you could ever make ſo ill an uſe of their ear, as to aſperſe or miſrepreſent an innocent man.' Pope did not think proper to print this letter (55), nor yet, what is more remarkable, to communicate it to his friend Swift; to whom he excuſed himſelf in a letter, ſent with his fourth Eſſay on Man, and his epiſtle to Lord Cobham. ' There is a woman's war, ſays he, declared againſt me by a certain Lord, his weapons are the ſame which women and children uſe, a pin to ſcratch, and a ſquirt to beſpatter. I writ a ſort of anſwer, but was aſhamed to enter the liſts with him, and after ſhewing it to ſome people ſuppreſſed it: otherwiſe it was ſuch, as was worthy of him, and worthy of me (56).' He had before given that friend an account of this affair, and of his own conduct in it, as follows. ' That I am an author, whoſe characters are thought of ſome weight, appears from the great noiſe and buſtle, that the court and town make about me. I deſire your opinion as to Lady——s and Lord——s performance. They are certainly the top wits of the court; and you may judge by that ſingle piece, what can be done againſt me, for it was laboured, corrected, pre-commended, and paſt diſapproved, ſo far as to be diſowned by themſelves, after each had highly cried it up for the other's: I have met with ſome complaints, and heard at a diſtance of ſome threats occaſioned by my verſes. I ſent fair meſſages to acquaint them where I was to be found in town, and to offer to call at their houſes to ſatisfy them, and ſo it dropped. It is very poor in any one to rail and threaten at a diſtance, and have nothing to ſay to you when they ſee you (57).' He knew well the nature of his friend, and that this addreſs was *ad hominem*, accordingly he received a moſt comforting anſwer, which concludes thus: ' Give me a ſhilling, and I will inſure you, that poſterity ſhall never know one ſingle enemy, excepting thoſe whoſe memory you have preſerved (58).'

(55) It's firſt appearance in print was in Mr Warburton's edition of our author's Works in 1751.

(56) Letter 70, dated Jan. 6, 1734.

(57) Letter 65, dated April 2, 1733.

(58) Letter 66, dated May 1ſt following.

Mr Warburton ſpeaking of our author's proſe letter, as well as that in verſe, juſtly obſerves that they are both maſter pieces in their kind. The former more lively, critical, and pointed (59); the latter more grave, moral, and ſublime. However, Dr Arbuthnot, who did not long ſurvive the epiſtle (60) in verſe to him, ſome time before his death gave his friend a hint of what indeed is the greateſt fault in his ſatires, by adviſing him to ſtudy in them more to reform, than chaſtiſe. This gentleman ſeems to have been indued with all the qualities requiſite for the deareſt friendſhip, and knew in what it conſiſted. *As for you, my good friend*, ſays he on this occaſion, *I think ſince our firſt acquaintance, there have not been any of thoſe little ſuſpicions, that often affect the ſincereſt friendſhips. I am ſure, not on my ſide* (61). The whole letter is in the ſame ſpirit, and I believe no body can read it without the tendereſt emotion. His hint upon the fault in Pope's ſatires, of being too virulent, was undeniably juſt. But then indeed it muſt be allowed, that the fault is common to Pope with all others, who have engaged in this ſpecies of writing. They all take greater pleaſure in chaſtizing, than reforming; though by that means, they are ſure to turn the edge of their wit upon themſelves, ſince it muſt be owing to the predominance of ill-nature above benevolence. In ſhort, the true qualities of a ſatiriſt, are uſually and not amiſs expreſſed by an alluſion to the operations of ſurgery. The three qualifications requiſite to that art; are, an eagle's eye, a lion's heart, and a lady's hand. But this laſt, being founded on a neceſſary tender feeling and concern, both for the future recovery and preſent pain of the patient, is only ſeen in humane and benevolent diſpoſitions *.

(59) If we conſider his Lordſhip's effeminate voice, the livelieſt point is, perhaps, the following: Whoever begot it [the ſatire againſt Pope] your Lordſhip brought it forth.

(60) He died February 27, 1734-5.

(61) Letter 47, in the ſecond volume of Pope's Letters.

* Mr Pope was charged with ſpreading a ſtory, that Lady Mary Wortley Montague, when at Conſtantinople, once made a viſit in the abſence of her huſband to the ſeraglio; and perhaps he was not quite clear. Warburton.

[*B B*] *He continued writing ſatires 'till* 1739.] He has told us in the epilogue the reaſon of laying down his pen †, and he gave the true one for laying down his moral eſſays to Dr Swift long before. ' I am, ſays he, almoſt at the end of my morals, as I have been long ago of my wit; my ſyſtem is a ſhort one, and my circle narrow. Imagination has no limits; that is a ſphere in which you may move on to eternity: but where one is confined to truth, or, to ſpeak more like a human creature, to the appearances of truth, we ſoon find the ſhortneſs of our tether (62).' This was not his caſe as a ſatiriſt; the tartneſs of that laſh was too liquoriſh to be cloying. Though he was drawn out of the ſphere for a while by ſome more immediately intereſting views (63), yet we ſhall find him returning to it again in a little time, and continuing to move in it 'till death arreſted his ſteps.

† That he found he did no good by them. Satires, like laws that are too ſevere, never fail to eat out their own profeſſed purpoſe.

(62) Letter 73, dated Decemb. 19, 1734.

(63) The ſurreptitious edition of his letters, mentioned in the enſuing remark.

[*C C*] *He publiſhed his letters in* 1737.] The avowed incident which occaſioned this publication is retailed in the preface, and the truth of it reſts upon our author's name. The ſtory is undeniably ſomewhat intricate, which cauſed a ſuſpicion that ſome cunning had been uſed by him; but the cloud may poſſibly be blown away by Dr Warburton (64), in his promiſed hiſtory of this friend's life. In the mean time, we muſt content ourſelves with another reaſon for publiſhing theſe letters at this time, which conſiders them as part of the deſign of his *magnum opus* (65), or his Eſſay on Man, Ethic Epiſtles, and Satires. ' My opinion is, ſays he, that there might be collected from them the beſt ſyſtem that ever was wrote for the conduct of human life, at leaſt to ſhame all reaſonable men out of their follies and vices (66); and no doubt, the manner in which Mr Curll got poſſeſſion of ſome of them, is a flaming inſtance of the corruption of the age.' Whatever may be thought of this reaſon, 'tis certain the increaſe of his purſe had no ſmall ſhare in the motives for publiſhing them. Familiar letters betwixt perſons of any reputation will always meet with readers; and the reaſon of it is well expreſſed in theſe very letters by Lord Bolingbroke, who, in a poſtſcript to one of Pope's to Swift, writes thus: ' I ſeek no epiſtolary fame, but am a good deal pleaſed to think that it will be known hereafter, that you and I lived in the moſt friendly intimacy together.—Pliny, continues his Lordſhip, writ his letters for the publick; ſo did Seneca; ſo did Balzac, Voiture, &c. Tully did not; and therefore theſe give us more pleaſure. We

(64) This gentleman tells us, the firſt volume was publiſhed at the requeſt of Mr Allen, of Wydecombe near Bath. Note to letter 90. in Vol. IX.

(65) Pope calls it ſo in a letter to Dean Swift, letter 70.

(66) Letter 87, dated July 23, 1737.

of Mr (now Dr) Warburton (Dean of Bristol); who having wrote a commentary on the *Essay on Man*; that poem was republished in 1740, with the Commentary [*DD*]. It was at the instance of this friend too, that our author added a fourth book to the Dunciad [*EE*]; which was first printed separately in the year 1742. But the year after, the whole poem came out together [*FF*], as a specimen of a more correct edition of his works, which he had

'We see Cato, and Brutus, and Pompey, such as they 'really were, and not such as the gaping multitude of 'their own age took them to be, or as historians and 'poets have represented them to us.—That is another 'pleasure. I remember to have seen a procession at 'Aix la Chapelle, wherein an image of Charlemagne 'is carried on the shoulders of a man, who is hid by 'the long robe of the imperial saint. Follow him in-'to the vestry, you see the bearer slip from under the 'robe, and the gigantic figure dwindles into an image 'of the ordinary size, and is set by among other lum-'ber (67)' His Lordship's remark is undeniably very just, and unavoidably turns our eyes upon his pupil, who is the person chiefly concerned in it. Accordingly we find in these letters, not only that he had given into some gayeties in his youth, as well as other poets, for of that he had made public confession long before; but what was at this time particularly interesting; these letters discover the peculiar sting, in the name of Sappho, under which he satirizes Lady Mary Wortley Montague. That pretieuse, Mrs Elizabeth Thomas*, being so called by her keeper Mr Cromwell, to whom our author sent the following rondeau to be communicated to her.

(67) Letter 45. in the 9th volume of Pope's Works, ubi supr.

* Several of Mr Pope's letters to Cromwell being entrusted by the latter to this lady, she sold them to Curll, who, 'tis said, made use of them as so many decoy-ducks to draw in others; and, by that means, the surreptitious edition of our author's letters was completed.

'You know where you did despise,
'T'other day, my little eyes,
'Little legs, and little thighs,
'And something else of little size,
'You know where.

'You, 'tis true, have fine black eyes,
'Taper legs, and tempting thighs;
'Yet what more than all we prize
'Is a thing of little size,
'You know where (68).'

(68) See Letter 14. to H. Cromwell.

[*DD*] *The Commentary on the Essay on Man.*] The ill state of Mr Pope's health had frequently drawn him to Bath, where he could not be unknown to Mr Allen (69), who was greatly pleased with his letters, and contracted a friendship with the author. The result of this friendship was his acquaintance with Mr Warburton (70), who tells us, he had before this acquaintance wrote his commentary upon the *Art of Criticism*, as also another on the *Essay on Man*. The great complaint of that essay was it's obscurity (71); our author had been told of it by his friend Dean Swift at it's first appearance. 'I confess, says that friend, in some 'few places, I was forced to read twice. I believe I 'told you before what the Duke of D—— said to me 'on that occasion; how a judge here who knows you, 'told him, that, on the first reading these essays, he 'was much pleased, but found some lines a little dark: 'on the second, most of them cleared up, and his 'pleasure increased; on the third, he had no doubt 'remaining, and that he admired the whole.' But their obscurity was comparatively a small fault; the author was also charged with having laid a plan of Deism (72). It was against this objector, that Mr Warburton first entered the lists in defence of Mr Pope, in these commentaries; and Mr Pope, in a letter to him on this occasion, acknowledges the obscurity of his piece. 'You have, says he, made my system as clear as I 'ought to have done, and could not; you understand 'me as well as I do myself, but you express me better 'than I could express myself (73).' And, in a subsequent letter upon the same subject, he goes still further. 'You understand my work, says he, *better* than I do 'myself.' It seems as if Lord Bolingbroke, who confessedly furnished the matter of the Essay, had put more into our author's head than he was able perfectly to comprehend. This edition, with the comment, was translated into French, by a gentleman belonging to Monf. Cromby, an ambassador. Mr Pope desired his friend Warburton to procure a good translation of the *Essay on Man* into Latin prose, which was begun by a gentleman of Cambridge; but a specimen which was sent to our author not happening to please him, that project proved abortive (74).

(69) An eminent Quaker, who farms all the cross posts in England, and has a good estate and a sumptuous house at Wydecomb, about a mile from Bath, in which city one of his post-offices is kept. Letter 90. Vol. IX.

(70) Mr Warburton lived then at Wydecomb.

(71) Particularly the maxim, *Whatever is, is right*, has been always thought oracular; and a late writer hints the use of it to the Church of Rome. Jortin's Erasmus, p. 224. edit. 1758, 4to.

(72) By Mr Crousaz, a German Professor, whose plausible objections were owing to a faulty translation of this poem into French by the Abbé Resnel, printed at Paris in 1738. Warburton.

(73) Letter 72.

(74) Warburton's notes.

[*EE*] *The fourth book of the Dunciad.*] About the time that Pope acquainted his last mentioned friend with his design to add this book to the three former of the Dunciad, they went together to Oxford, where Mr Pope had the compliment made to him of an offer of a Doctor's degree in Law (75); which he chusing to wave, went further west to visit some friends leaving his fellow traveller in the university; who staying there a day longer to visit his friend Dr John Conybeare, Dean of Christ-Church, received a message that day from the Vicechancellor, by a person of eminence in the university, with the like compliment, to know if a Doctor's degree in Divinity would be acceptable to him. The offer was entertained in a very different manner from the former to Mr Pope. But this latter proved a meer compliment, the makers of it being, as it seems, mistaken in imagining, that one friend would not chuse to be doctored without the other; so that, when the congregation met for the purpose, the grace passed in the negative. This affront was warmly resented by Mr Warburton (76); but he had sufficient amends for it made to him by Dr Tho. Herring, Archbishop of Canterbury, who conferred that degree upon him not long after; and it is needless to observe, that besides a Prebend of Worcester, he has been since promoted to the Deanery of Bristol.

(75) Besides Mr Pope's distinguished personal merit, he had another in respect to this university by his birth, being lineally descended from Sir Tho. Pope, the founder of Trinity-college. Collins's Baronetage, Vol. IV.

(76) Pope's Works, Vol. X. Letters 107, 108. Dr Lee, Master of Baliol-college, was then Vice-chancellor.

[*FF*] *The whole poem came out in* 1743.] In the former edition in 1742, Mr Cibber being now become Laureat, was promoted to the throne of Dullness; which indignity he was judged to have merited by a late attack upon our author, wherein, among other things, was revealed a ludicrous passage of his youthful days, to this purport: That Mr Pope was decoyed to a brothel by a certain nobleman, in company of Cibber; who there, out of pure compassion, pulled him off of one of the ladies whom he had mounted, and might have done himself a mischief (77). The story was told with humour, and, indeed, was no more than a very apposite return to a reflection cast upon Cibber some years before, in the epistle to Dr Arbuthnot.

(77) Cibber's Letter to Pope, edit. 1742.

And has not Colley still his lord, and whore?

The truth is, there had been between them an irreconcileable quarrel of a long standing, the original of which we have already related in the course of this work (78). It begun, unluckily for Mr Pope, with some little blemish to his fame, in the play-house; and he continued in a state of warfare with the players ever after. In the mean time, Cibber thrived, procured many valuable friends, and at last obtained the Laureat's place. All this was apparently beheld with no pleasing eyes by his antagonist, who now resolved to take his full revenge, by making him the heroe of the Dunciad. To this purpose, no art that he could devise was left untried against this hated rival. The farce began with an Act of Settlement upon the throne, which runs thus:

(78) In Mr Gay's article, remark [*I*].

By virtue of the authority in us vested, by the act of subjecting poets to the power of a licenser, we have revised this piece; where, finding the stile and place of King have been given to a certain pretended pseudo poet, or phantom, of the name of Theobald; *and apprehending the same may be deemed in some sort a reflection on Majesty, or at least an encroachment on that legal authority, which has bestowed on another person the crown of Poesy: We order the said pretended pseudo-poet, or phantom, utterly to vanish and depart out of the work, and declare the said throne of Poesy from this instant to be abdicated and vacant, unless duly and lawfully supplied by the Laureat himself: and it is hereby enacted, that no other person presume to fill the same.*

And, lest this should not be sufficient, there was prefixed the following advertisement: 'It was express-'ly confessed in the preface to the first edition, that 'this poem was not published by the author himself.

'It

had then reſolved to give to the publick. And he made ſome progreſs in that deſign, but did not live to compleat it. He had all his life been ſubject to an habitual head-ach, and that hereditary complaint (*xx*) was now greatly increaſed by a dropſy in his breaſt, under which he expired *, May 30th, 1744, in the fifty-ſixth year of his age. His body was depoſited, purſuant to his own requeſt, in the ſame vault with thoſe of his parents, to whoſe memory he had erected a monument, with an inſcription written by himſelf [*GG*]. Not long before his death, he made his Will (*yy*); in which he conſtituted Miſs Blount his teſtamentary heir during her life (*zz*): and, among other legacies, he bequeathed to Dr Warburton the property of all ſuch of his works already printed, as he had written, or ſhould write, commentaries upon, and had not been otherwiſe diſpoſed of or alienated; with this condition, that they were publiſhed without future alterations [*HH*]. In diſcharge of this truſt, that gentleman gave a compleat edition in 1751 of all Mr Pope's works, executed in ſuch a manner, as he was perſuaded would have been to the author's ſatisfaction [*II*]. In 1749, there was publiſhed a treatiſe (*aaa*) by Lord Bolingbroke, with a preface,

(*xx*) It was hereditary from his mother. See note to Epiſtle to Arbuthnot.

* London Magazine for the year 1751.

(*yy*) It is dated Decemb. 12, 1743.

(*zz*) He is ſaid to have been many years in love with this lady; and it is agreeable to the conſtant devotion paid to her in all his writings; and by ſome paſſages in Dr Swift's letters, that friend ſeems to have been no ſtranger to it.

(*aaa*) Intituled, Letters of the Spirit of Patriotiſm, on the Idea of a Patriot King, and on the State of Parties at the Acceſſion of King George I.

'It was printed originally in a foreign country; and 'what foreign country? Why one notorious for blun'ders; where, finding blanks only inſtead of proper 'names, thoſe blunderers filled them up at their plea'ſure. The very heroe of the poem has been miſtaken 'to this hour; ſo that we are obliged to open our 'notes with a diſcovery who he really was. We learn 'from the former editor, that this piece was preſented 'by the hands of Sir Robert Walpole to King George 'the Second. Now the author directly tells us, his 'heroe is the man

'——Who brings

'The Smithfield Muſes to the ears of Kings.

'And it is notorious to whom this prince conferred the 'honour of the Laureat.' To theſe jocoſe attempts to fix the intended infamy upon Cibber, there was added another in the ſerious way, in the edition of 1743, by Mr Warburton, who tells us, he had long had a deſign of giving ſome ſort of notes on the works of this poet, before he had any acquaintance with him. He thought ſome were wanting of a more ſerious kind. 'I had lately, continues he, the pleaſure of paſſing 'ſome months with the author in the country, where 'I prevailed upon him to do what he had long de'ſigned, and favour me with his explanation of ſeveral 'paſſages in his works. It happened, juſt at this 'juncture, that there was publiſhed a ridiculous book 'againſt him, full of perſonal reflections, which fur'niſhed him with a lucky opportunity of improving 'this poem, by giving it the only thing it wanted, a 'more conſiderable heroe (79). He was always ſen'ſible of it's defect in that particular, and only let the 'piece paſs with the heroe it had, purely for want of a 'better; not entertaining the leaſt expectation, that 'ſuch a one was reſerved for this poſt as had obtained 'the Laureat. He could no longer deny this juſtice. 'And yet I ſhall venture to ſay, there was another 'motive which had ſtill more weight with our author; 'this perſon, who, from every folly, not to ſay vice, 'of which another would be aſhamed, has conſtantly 'derived a vanity, and therefore was the man in the 'world who would leaſt be hurt by it.' All this while the general cry ran in favour of Colley, and this laſt effort on Pope's ſide was ſo far from having the deſired effect, that it was turned againſt him, and conſtrued to proceed from a conſciouſneſs of his newly-dubbed heroe's ſuperiority in the ſkirmiſh; it being obſervable, that in theſe pen-wars, contrary to thoſe of the ſword, he that keeps the field, i. e. has the laſt word *, has generally the worſt of it. The truth is, Cibber, in his pamphlet, promiſed to keep his temper, and did ſo; by which means our author was deprived of his uſual weapon of advantage, and the Laureat got ſome reputation by his performance, which, conſequently, Mr Pope muſt have loſt. Thus it happened, that he was a little unlucky in the choice of both the heroes to the Dunciad. His edition of Shakeſpear proved no better than a foil, to ſet off the ſuperiority of Theobald's; and Cibber bore away the palm from him in the drama. We have an account of two attempts of Pope's, one in each of the two principal branches of this ſpecies of poetry, and both unſucceſsful. The fate of the comedy has been already mentioned (80) in this work; and the tragedy was ſaved from the like fate by one not leſs ignominious, being condemned, and burnt by his own hands (81).

(79) In a letter dated July 12, 1743, Mr Pope writes thus: 'I am told the 'Laureat is go'ing to publiſh 'a very abuſive 'pamphlet; 'that is all I 'can deſire; 'tis 'enough if it be 'abuſive, and if 'it be his.' Letter 119. in Vol. IX. of his Works.

* 'Tis true, Cibber in his own life ſays, he was reſolved to have the laſt word, as indeed he had; for his antagoniſt was then diſabled by illneſs to conteſt any longer, and died ſoon after.

(80) See Mr Gay's article. But in this he had only a ſhare with that friend and Dr Arbuthnot.

(81) It was called Cleone, and formed upon the ſame ſtory as a late one wrote and publiſhed by Mr Dodſley, with the ſame title, in [illegible] See Dodſley's preface.

[*GG*] *With an inſcription written by himſelf.*] It is a ſhort inſcription, in capital characters, as follows.

D. O. M.

Alexandro Pope, viro innocuo, probo, pio;

Qui vixit an. 75. ob. 1717.

Et Edithæ conjugi, inculpabili, pientiſſimæ;

Quæ vixit annos 93. ob. 1733.

Parentibus bene merentibus

Filius fecit.

Et ſibi. Obiit an. 1744. ætatis 56.

This laſt line was added after his death, in purſuance to his Will; the reſt was done on the death of his parents.

[*HH*] *He bequeathed to Mr Warburton, &c.*] After he had made his Will, he wrote this legatee a letter; in which, having informed him of his legacy, he ſays, 'I own the late encroachments upon my conſtitution make me willing to ſee the end of all further care about me or my works. I would reſt for the one, in a full reſignation of my being to be diſpoſed of by the Father of all Mercies; and for the other, though, indeed, a trifle, yet a trifle may be ſome example, I would commit them to the candour of a ſenſible and reflecting judge, rather than to the malice of every ſhort-ſighted and malevolent critic, or inadvertent and cenſorious reader; and no head can ſet them in ſo good a light, or ſo well turn their beſt ſide to the day, as your own (82).'

[*II*] *To the author's ſatisfaction.*] The elegance of this edition is very commendable, and it is not to be doubted, but that the author's deſign, as to the collection, is faithfully obſerved, as far as it could be done (83). How far the editor's privilege in writing notes extended, is only known to himſelf. Several, inſerted in the firſt edition, were left out in the ſecond; but ſtill ſeveral were retained, which contain ſevere, not to ſay ill natured, reflections, upon the author's deareſt friends (84). Theſe have not eſcaped cenſure. 'Tis ſaid, that allowing the remarks to be juſt, yet the inſerting them in his works muſt either be an injury to his Will, or leave his moral character abſolutely indefenſible. One of theſe gives room to ſuſpect this laſt to be the caſe with regard to theſe friends. In the 84th letter of the 9th volume, Mr Pope expreſſes himſelf to that old friend, Dean Swift, thus: 'You aſk me if I have got any ſupply of new friends to make up for thoſe that are gone; I think that impoſſible: but as, when the continual waſhing of a river takes away our flowers and plants, it throws weeds and ſedges in their *room*; ſo the courſe of time brings us ſomething, as it deprives us of a great deal: and, inſtead of leaving us what we cultivated, and expected to flouriſh and adorn us, gives us only what is of ſome little uſe by accident. Thus I have acquired ——But I had my heart hardened, and blunt to new impreſſions. Adieu. I can ſay no more, I feel ſo much.' To the word *room* we ſee the following note: 'There are ſome ſtrokes in this letter, which can no otherwiſe be accounted for, than by the author's extreme compaſſion and tenderneſs of heart, too much affected by the complaints of a peeviſh old man, labouring and impatient under his infirmities, and too intent on the friendly office of mollifying them.' The editor, we ſee, attributes theſe expreſſions of the author's love to an extremity of compaſſion, that is to weakneſs; but it is a very pardonable

(82) Letter 120. in Vol. IX.

(83) He obſerves, that it could not be done with regard to ſome of our author's juvenile pieces of gaiety. Preface.

(84) See, for inſtance, notes upon Atterbury's epitaph, and ſeveral upon the letters of Lord Bolingbroke and Dean Swift, in the edition of 1751.

a preface, wherein Mr Pope's conduct, with regard to that piece, was represented as a most inexcusable act of treachery to his noble friend [KK]. A slur of such an odious nature, Mr Warburton, as guardian of our author's fame, thought himself obliged to take some notice of. He endeavoured to wipe off the stain from our poet's memory; but the fact was too notorious to be distinguished away. However, it may, perhaps, be overlooked; especially after the just volume of his life, which that gentleman has promised, shall have made it's appearance (*bbb*); since he assures us, that to have been one of the best poets in the world was but Mr Pope's second praise; he was in a higher class; he was one of the noblest works of God, *he was an honest man* (*ccc*) [LL]. And Lord Orrery observes (*ddd*), 'That if we may judge of him by his works, his chief aim was 'to be esteemed a man of virtue [MM]. His letters are written in that style; his last 'volumes

(*bbb*) In the advertisement last cited.

(*ccc*) Our poet used to say, he had rather be known under this character, than that of the best poet or writer in the world. And he begins Mr Fenton's epitaph, which, perhaps, is the best of his writing, thus:
This modest stone, which few vain marbles can,
May truly say, Here lies an honest man.

(*ddd*) In his Letters, containing Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Dr Swift. N. P. His Lordship is now, 1759, Earl of Cork and Orrery.

donable one, as long as we don't know them to be inconsonant to some other warm expressions of love to any of his new friends, which may well be supposed to be the case at the time of his writing this letter, that is, before he knew Dr Warburton, or wrote those letters to him that are printed in this volume; wherein, if the expressions are sincere, it cannot be denied that our author had changed his heart a little since the time of his writing the letter here cited to Dean Swift. Be that as it will; Lord Orrery very justly disliked the continual complimenting turn of these letters (85); and those that have been since added by Mr Warburton, will give him no reason to like them better on that account. What is here observed will receive further light by the following remark.

(85) In his Life of Dr Swift.

[KK] *A preface complaining of an act of treachery.*] It was intitled an Advertisement, and was drawn up in these terms. 'The following papers were written several years at the request and for the sake of some particular friends, without any design of ever making them public. How they came to be made so at this time, it may be proper to give an account. The original draughts were entrusted to a man on whom the author thought he might entirely depend after he had exacted from him, and taken his promise, that they should never go into any hands except those of five or six friends who were named to him. In this confidence the author rested securely for some years, and though he was not without suspicion, that they had been communicated to more persons, than he intended they should be, yet he was kept by repeated assurances even from suspecting that any copies had come into hands unknown to him. But this man was no sooner dead, than he received information, that an entire edition of 1500 copies of these papers had been printed; that this very man had corrected the press, and that he had left them in the hands of the Printer to be kept with great secrecy 'till further orders. The honest Printer kept his word with him better than he kept his with his friend; so that the whole edition came at last into the hands of the author, except some few copies which this person had taken out of the heap and carried away. By these copies it appeared, that the man who had been guilty of this breach of trust, had taken upon him further to divide the subject, and to alter and omit passages according to the suggestion of his own fancy.

What aggravates this proceeding is, that the author had told him on several occasions, among other reasons, why he would not consent to the publication of these papers was, that they had been wrote in too much haste and hurry for the public eye, though they might be trusted to a few particular friends; he added more than once, that some things required to be softened, others perhaps to be strengthened, and the whole most certainly to be corrected, even if they were to remain, as he then imagined they would, in the hands of a few friends only.'

The main particulars of this fact were too notorious to be denied. But Mr Warburton entered heartily with great zeal into his friend's vindication, and endeavoured even to throw the greatest part of the infamy, that necessarily stuck to such a piece of treachery, upon that noble Lord, and by that means drew part of the resentment due to Mr Pope upon himself, in an answer which was published with this title: *To the most impudent man alive.*

A slip of the like kind with this of our author, in respect to his friend Lord B——, was made by his friend Dean Swift in regard to himself. 'They 'have printed, says he, in Ireland my letters to 'Dr Swift, and, which is the strongest circumstance, 'by his own consent and direction, without acquainting me 'till it was done.' Thus he writes to Mr Warburton *, to which that friend notes, that this was the strongest resentment he [Pope] ever expressed of this indiscretion of his old friend; as being persuaded that it proceeded from no ill will to him, though it exposed him to the ill will of others.

* Letter 104. in Vol. X. of Pope's Works.

[LL] *An honest man.*] 'In this history of his life 'the editor assures us, will be contained a large account of his writings, and a critique on the nature, 'form, and extent of his genius, exemplified from those 'writings, and a vindication of his moral character 'exemplified by his most distinguished virtues. His 'filial piety (86), his disinterested friendship; his reverence for the constitution of his country; his love 'and admiration of virtue, and what necessarily attends upon it; his hatred and contempt of vice; his 'extensive charity to the indigent †; his warm benevolence to mankind; his supreme veneration of the 'Deity; and, above all, his sincere belief of Revelation. Nor shall his faults, continues he, be concealed; 'it is not for the interest of his virtues that they should, 'nor indeed could they be concealed if we were so 'minded, for they shine through his virtues: no man 'being more a dupe to the specious pretences of virtue 'in others. In a word, I mean not to be his panegyrist but his historian.'

(86) This is judiciously set at the head of his virtues, since that place is evidently given to it by Mr Pope himself, and is excellently touched by Swift in his letter to Dr Delaney, a piece which pleased our author more than any thing that friend did ever for him. Warburton.

† We have a remarkable instance of this in regard to Mr Savage. See that unfortunate poet's life.

This promise, however, notwithstanding the ardent wishes and expectations of the public, lies still dormant in the breast of the giver. In the interim, another gentleman hath prudently taken the advantage of Dr Warburton's delay, the first part of whose plan he has undertaken, and made some progress in the execution (87). As to the other and more important part, Mr Pope's moral character; we see in this advertisement a list of his most distinguished virtues; and several remarkable exemplifications of them are to be met with in the course of the notes, where his greatest faults and weaknesses (88) are also noticed and exemplified: In these too the nature and force of his genius is likewise occasionally marked in the same manner; and as the circumstances of his birth, breeding, family, and fortune, together with the most material occurrences and transactions of his life are there inserted, the learned editor may, perhaps, see less occasion for re-publishing the whole in a continued narrative.

(87) An Essay on the writings and genius of Pope, 1756, 8vo. said to be written by Mr Warton, author of some remarks on Spencer's Fairy-Queen.

(88) His reflection upon Dr Waterland is an exemplification of both these blemishes at once. The consigning of that divine to eternal damnation, only for a little peevishness under extreme pain from a disorder which killed him soon after, being an inexcusable fault; and the doing it out of a high strain of compliment to Mr Warburton a no less unpardonable weakness. Letter dated Bath, Feb. 4, 1740.

[MM] *His chief aim was to be esteemed a man of virtue*] His Lordship, we see, politely throws a veil over our poet's religion, which his annotator observes was the effect of a weak head and a tender heart; intimating, that therein he followed the steps of his family and his parents. And the remark is confirmed by his answer to Bishop Atterbury (89), who made some attempts to convert him. In reality, that answer is drawn in such a latitudinarian spirit, as puts one in mind of Isaac Orobius the Jew, who being beaten out of all his holds by Limborch, had recourse at last to this shift, that every one ought to continue in his own religion, since it was much easier to refute that of another, than to defend his own: so that, says he, if I had been born of parents who worshipped the sun, I can see no reason for changing (90). But we have, perhaps, the truest account of Mr Pope's Church principles in the following letter, wrote on occasion of his *Essay on Man* to M. Racine, a French poet, in these terms: 'J'ai reçu enfin vôtre poeme sur la religion; le plaisir qui me causa cette lecture eût été sans melange, si je n'avois eu le chagrin de voir, que vous m'imputiez des principes que j'abhorre. Je puis vous assurer Monf. que vôtre entiere ignorance de nôtre langue m'a été beaucoup moins fatale, que la connoissance imparfaite qu'en avoient mes traducteurs, qui les a empêchés de pénétrer mes véritables sentimens. Toutes les beautés de la versification de M. D. R. ont été moins honorables a mon poeme que ces méprises continuelles sur mes raisonnemens & sur ma doctrine ne 'lui

(89) Dated Nov. 20, 1717.

(90) Collatio Amica De Veritate Religionis Christianæ, cum Erudito Judæo a Phil. de Limborch.

'volumes are all of the moral kind; he has avoided trifles, and consequently has escaped 'a rock, which has proved very injurious to Dr Swift's reputation. He has given his 'imagination full scope, and yet has preserved a perpetual guard upon his conduct. The 'constitution of his body and mind might really incline him to the habits of caution and 'reserve. The treatment which he met with afterwards, from an innumerable tribe of 'adversaries (*e e e*), confirmed this habit, and made him slower than the Dean in pro- 'nouncing his judgment upon persons and things. His prose writings are little less har- 'monious than his verse; and his voice, in common conversation, was so naturally musi- 'cal, that I remember *honest Tom Southern* used to call him the *little nightingale* (*fff*). 'His manners were delicate, easy, and engaging; and he treated his friends with a 'politeness that charmed, and a generosity that was much to his honour. Every guest 'was made happy within his doors, pleasure dwelt under his roof, and elegance presided 'at his table.'

(*eee*) He had all the pamphlets that were wrote against him, which were bound up in folio, 4to. 8vo. &c. according to their various sizes, in several volumes, and each of them superscribed with this verse from the book of Job, *Oh! that mine adversary had written a book*, &c. Warburton's notes.

(*fff*) Mr Pope was small every way in his person, being of a thin habit and low of stature, occasioned by his crooked shape, which he inherited from his father; but his eye was fine, sharp, and piercing. Notes to the Epistle to Dr Arbuthnot.

lui ont été prejudiciables. Vous verrez ces méprises, relevées & réfutées dans l'ouvrage Anglois que j'ai l'honneur de vous envoyer. Cet ouvrage est un commentaire critique & philosophique par le savant auteur de la *Divine Legation de Moïse*. Je me flatte que le Chevalier de Ramsay rempli comme il est d'une zele ardent pour la vérité, voudra bien vous en expliquer le contenu (91). Alors je m'en rapporterai a vôtre justice: & je me flatte, que tous vos soupçons seront dissipés. En attendant ces eclaircissemens, je ne saurois me refuser le plaisir de répondre nettement à ce que vous desirez savoir de moi. Je déclare donc hautement & très sincérement que mes sentimens sont diamétralement opposés à ceux de Spinoza, & même à ceux de Leibnitz, puisqu'ils son parfaitement conformes à ceux de M. Paschale & de M. l'Archeveque de Fenelon, & que je ferai gloire d'imiter la doclité du dernier, en soumettant toujours toutes mes opinions particulieres aux décisions de l'Eglise. Je suis, &c.

A Londres, le 1 Septemb. 1742 (92).' P

(91) Ramsay had wrote two letters to Racine, in vindication of our author, who he says was offered a considerable place by the late Queen Caroline, with a dispensation for not taking the oaths, in case he would only dissemble or conceal his religion, without renouncing it.

(92) Oeuvres de Racine, Vol. I. p. 271, & seqq. Paris, 1747. where are also the two letters of Ramsay.

POTTER [Dr JOHN], Archbishop of Canterbury, was son of Mr Thomas Potter, a Linnendraper at Wakefield in Yorkshire, where he was born about the year 1674; and being put to school at the same place, he made an uncommon progress in a short time, especially in the Greek language. At the age of fourteen he was sent to Oxford, and entered a Battler of University-college in the beginning of the year 1688; where, having taken the degree of Bachelor of Arts (*a*), he published in 8vo. for the use of the young students in the university, *Variantes Lectiones & Notæ ad Plutarchi librum de audiendis Poëtis cum Interpretatione Latina Hugonis Grotii*; *item Variantes Lectiones & Notæ ad Basilii Magni Orationem ad Juvenes quomodo cum fructu legere possint Græcorum libros* [*A*]. This piece came out of the university press in 1693, and the following year our author was chosen Fellow of Lincoln-college (*b*); and proceeding Master of Arts October 16th (*c*) the same year, he took pupils, and went into Orders (*d*). These new engagements were looked on as additional motives to prosecute his studies, the fruits of which appeared in 1697, when the same press produced his beautiful edition of Lycophron's Alexandra * in folio. The same year he likewise printed the first volume of his *Archæologiæ Græcæ*: or, The Antiquities of Greece; which was followed by the 2d volume the subsequent year (*e*). These works established his fame in the literary republick both at home and abroad, and engaged him in a correspondence with some learned foreigners (*f*). July 8th, 1704, he commenced Bachelor of Divinity (*g*); and being about the same time appointed Chaplain to Archbishop Tenison, he removed from Oxford to reside with his Grace in the palace at Lambeth (*h*). He proceeded to the degree of Doctor of Divinity on the 18th of April, 1706 (*i*), and soon after became Chaplain in Ordinary to her Majesty Queen Anne (*k*). In 1707, he published in 8vo. *A Discourse of Church Government* [*B*]; and, in the beginning

(*a*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 941.

(*b*) Id. ibid.

(*c*) Rawlinson's Catalogue of all the Graduates at Oxford, edit. 1727.

(*d*) Communicated by Mr Whitehead, when curate of Rochdale in Lancashire, who was his pupil, and received many favours from him afterwards.

* The second edition came out in 1702, and it is reckoned the best edition of that tenebrose author.

(*e*) Several additions were made by him in the subsequent editions of this useful and learned work, of which the seventh edition was published in 1751.

(*f*) The late Dr Mead was possessed of some letters of our author to Mr Grævius, who had been that Physician's tutor at Leyden in Holland. See Catalogue of Dr Mead's library of books, among the manuscripts, No. 39.

(*g*) Rawlinson's Catalogue, as before.

(*h*) Communicated by Dr Tenison, L.L.D. great-nephew to the Archbishop, and husband to Dr Potter's eldest daughter, who died in childbed of the first child in 1729-30.

(*i*) Rawlinson.

(*k*) From Dr Tenison, as before.

[*A*] *He published Variantes Lectiones, &c.*] This book was printed at the Theatre in Oxford, at the charge of Arthur Charlett, D. D. and master of University College, who presented copies of it, as a new-year's gift, to the young students of his house, and others of his friends (1). Our author in the preface acquaints us, that it was undertaken by him at the request of that patron of learning. His words addressed to the reader, are: *Totum opus debes eximis Viro Arturo Charlotto cujus hortatu susceptum est, Viro inter præcipua Oxoniæ nostræ ornamenta memorando, tam impense colit studia, studiosos amat, fovet, provehit.*

[*B*] *A Discourse of Church Government.*] His residence and post at Lambeth, apparently turned his thoughts upon the subject of this piece; in which he asserts the constitution, rights, and government, of the Christian Church, chiefly as described by the Fathers of the three first centuries against Erastian principles; his design being to vindicate the Church of England from the charge of those principles. In this view, among other ecclesiastical powers distinct from the state, he maintains the doctrine of our Church, concerning the distinction of the three orders of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, particularly with regard to the superiority of the episcopal order above that of presbyters, which he endeavours to prove was settled by divine institution; that this distinction was also in fact constantly kept up to the time of Constantine, and in the next age after that, the same distinction, he observes, was constantly reckoned to be of divine institution, and derived from the Apostles down to those times. In pursuing this argument he considers the objection, that had been raised against it from St Jerom's conjecture (so he calls it) about the original of Episcopacy, of which he gives us the following account from the writings of that Father (2). 'Having observed, says he, that the 'names of Bishop and Presbyter are used promiscu- 'ously in the scriptures, and that the Apostles call 'themselves presbyters (3), he concludes, that at first 'there was no distinction between their offices, but 'that Apostle, Bishop, and Presbyter, were only dif- 'ferent names of the same thing, and that the Church 'was then generally governed by a college of Presby- 'ters, equal in rank and dignity to one another. Af- 'terwards divisions being occasioned by this parity 'among presbyters, when every presbyter began to 'claim as his own particular subjects, those whom he 'had baptized; and it was said by the people, I am 'of Paul, I of Apollos, and I of Cephas; to remedy 'this evil, it was decreed all the world over, that one 'of the presbyters in every Church should be set over 'the rest, and peculiarly called Bishop, and that the 'chief care of the Church should be committed to 'him. Our author thinks it strange, that such a con- 'jecture as this should prejudice any considering man 'against the divine institution of Episcopacy; and ob- 'serves, that in this account St Jerom founds the right 'of episcopal primacy over presbyters, on the synony- 'mous use of the names of Apostles, Bishops and Pres- 'byters, which was observed by St Chrysostom, Theo- 'doret,

(1) Ath. Oxon. ubi supra.

(2) In his Epistle to Evagrias, and his Commentary on the Epistle to Titus, chap. i.

(3) See particularly 1 Pet. v. 1, 2. and 3 John, ver. 1.

beginning of the next year he succeeded Dr Jane as Regius Professor of Divinity, and Canon of Christ-Church in Oxford, which brought him back to the university. This post was obtained of the Queen for him by the particular application of the illustrious Duke of Marlborough [C]; and it was apparently the same interest that raised him to that

doret, and other ancient Fathers, who drew no such inference from it, but constantly affirmed, that there was a disparity of order among them, notwithstanding their names were used promiscuously; and I hope, continues the Doctor, it has been fully made out in this and the last chapter, that this was no good foundation for that opinion. But it is not strange that having raised presbyters to a parity with the Apostles, contrary to the most plain testimony of the scriptures, he should equal them with Bishops, contrary to the sense of the ancient Fathers. Thus the premises on which the opinion is founded being inconclusive, there is no reason to regard what he says of the decree passed in all Churches for the raising of one presbyter above the rest, which he does not pretend to support by any testimony, but only conjectures that such a decree must have been passed, because he had before conjectured, that Apostles, Bishops, and Presbyters, were all equal at first: but when or by what authority was this decree enacted? If in the second century, as some would persuade us, for no better reason than that they are unwilling to derive Episcopacy from the Apostles; it is strange not only that no presbyter in the world should take it ill, that one of his fellow-presbyters should be advanced above him, or think it his duty to oppose this new and unscriptural model, but that so great a change should be introduced in all parts of the world, at a time when the Church flourished with men of great parts and learning, and yet not the least mention be made of it in any of their writings; but on the contrary, both they and the Christian writers in the next age after them, should constantly speak of the primacy of bishops over presbyters as no late invention, but of ancient right, and derived from the Apostles themselves. We may as well affirm, contrary to the accounts of all historians, that all nations in the world were first republics, and afterwards, on a certain time, upon the consideration of their being obnoxious to factions, by general consent became monarchies. But it is needless to raise more objections against this notion, since Jerom himself plainly refers the making of this decree to the Apostles. He not only assigns as the occasion of it, the adherence of some to Paul, of others to Apollos, and of others to Peter, which is reproved in St Paul's Epistle to the Corinthians; but in his before-mentioned Epistle to Evagrias, he expresly calls the distinction of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, an apostolical tradition, and taken by the Apostles from the Old Testament, where Aaron, his Sons, the Priests, and the Levites, correspond to the three orders of the Christian Church (4); and in his catalogue of ecclesiastical writers, he affirms, that presently after our Lord's Ascension, James was ordained Bishop of Jerusalem by the Apostles, that Timothy was made Bishop of Ephesus, and Titus of Crete, by St Paul, and Polycarp Bishop of Smyrna by St. John, and he mentions several other bishops, who lived in the next age after the Apostles. So that even in St Jerom's opinion, the primacy of bishops over presbyters was an apostolical institution. But whatever was St Jerom's sense of this matter, since it has appeared to be ill grounded, and contrary both to the universal consent of primitive antiquity, and of the scriptures, we need not have the least concern about it: The truth is this; some deacons, who enjoyed wealthier places in the Church than many presbyters, claimed several privileges superior to them, and were unwilling to be admitted into that order; which irregularity was so highly resented by St Jerom, who was a man of passion, and only a presbyter, that to raise his own order beyond the competition of Deacons, he endeavoured to make it equal by it's original institution with Bishops and Apostles; as it is common even for the best of men, in the heat of disputation, to run into one extreme by avoiding another. Yet even at the same time he owns in the forementioned epistle to Evagrias, that none but bishops had authority to ordain ministers, and in many other places, he approves the subordination of presbyters to bishops; and never once allows to meer presbyters the power of ordaining, or seems inclined to introduce a parity of ministers into the Church (5).' At length it was thought proper to give this instance of our author's judgment in using the authority of the Fathers, because his true character as a churchman and a divine, may in a great measure be collected from it; in reality, we have therein a fair comment explaining his opinion, in this point, as declared in the preface. 'That these [the Fathers] especially of the three first centuries, are the best interpreters of the scriptures, and may safely be relied on as giving us it's genuine sense. And, continues he, if any of them should be thought to speak sometimes with less caution, or to carry their expression higher than might have been wished, as the best men in the heat of disputation, or through too much zeal often do, all candid and impartial readers, will easily be persuaded to make a just allowance for it.'

(4) Ut sciamus traditiones Apostolicas sumptas de Veteri Testamento, quod Aaron & filii ejus, atque Levitæ, in Templo fuerint, hoc sibi Episcopi, Presbyteri, & Diaconi, vindicent in Ecclesia.

(5) Potter's Church Government, chap. iv.

[C] *He obtained the Regius professorship by the interest of the Duke of Marlborough*] We owe this particular to the Duchess of Marlborough, who represents it as a point of considerable importance to the nation at that time; by which, however, we are to understand no more, than that the carrying of it was made a subject of contention, in the struggle between the two parties of Whig and Tory, or rather of the Marlborough and Harley-Rochestrian faction. But it is worth while to see her Grace's own words on the occasion. Having given an account of the promotion of the Earl of Sunderland, to be Secretary of State in the room of Sir Charles Hedges (6), she proceeds thus: 'But notwithstanding this point thus carried by the Whigs, they were soon alarmed again by the choice of two High-Church Divines, to fill two vacant Bishopricks (7). Several of the Whigs were disposed to think themselves betrayed by the Ministry, whereas the truth is, that the Queen's inclinations to the Tories, being now soothed by the flatteries and insinuations of her private counsellors (8), they began to make it a crime for her to consult with her ministers upon any promotion either in the Church or State. Her Majesty, however, to quiet the dissatisfaction of the Whigs for the late promotions, ordered her ministers to assure them, that she would prefer no more Tories, and she gave the same assurances with her own mouth in the Cabinet-Council: and she was afterwards by her secret counsellors suffered to observe those promises so far, as to give about the same time the Bishoprick of Norwich to Dr Trimnel (9), a particular friend of Lord Sunderland's; and she also soon after gave the Professorship of Divinity at Oxford to Dr Potter, who had Dr Smalridge for his competitor, recommended by the Tories. But, continues her Grace, this latter favour to the Whigs was not so easily obtained as the former, and upon the delays that were made in bestowing it, Lord Marlborough thought proper to try what credit he had with a Queen, whose glory he had carried to a height beyond that of her predecessors. He wrote therefore a very moving letter, complaining of the visible loss of his interest with her, and particularly of her so long deferring the promotion of the person recommended by her ministers, as a faithful friend to her government; adding, that the only way to make her reign easy, was to be true to that rule, which she had professed to lay down, of preferring none of those who appeared against her service, and the nation's interest. He wrote at the same time, and to the same effect to me, and I wrote to the Queen, and at length by much sollicitation this matter was obtained, and Dr Potter fixed in the professorship (10)'. Thus we see an ample declaration of that particular merit, which obtained the Divinity chair for the doctor. He was a Whig, and that was sufficient; and by the silence of any other merit the reader is led, without a solecism, to conclude, that he really had no other. But that is far from being the case; on the contrary, his qualifications both as a scholar and a divine were incontestible being indeed such as made it needless for the Duchess to mention this part of his character.

(6) That change was made Dec. 3, 1706. Salmon's Chronol. Hist. under that year.

(7) She means Dr Offspring Blackall to Exeter, and Sir Will. Dawes to Chester, both promoted on the 7th of Jan. 1707-8. Id. ibid.

(8) Meaning chiefly Robert Harley, afterwards Earl of Oxford, then *lately* Secretary of State, having found it necessary to resign that post. Id. ibid.

(9) According to Salmon, all the three Bishops, Blackall, Dawes, and Trimnel, were made the same day.

(10) Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough. p. 175, 176. edit. 1742, 8vo.

that see, of which he was made Bishop by King George the First, on the 27th of April, 1715 (*l*); and he published a curious edition of the Works of Clemens Alexandrinus [*D*] the same year (*m*). He still kept possession of the Divinity chair in the university; and, in reality, he filled both the dignities with great reputation, rarely failing to preside in person over the Divinity disputations in the schools, and regularly holding his triennial visitation at St Mary's church; upon which occasion his charges to the clergy were suited to the exigency of the times. And Dr Hoadly, then Bishop of Bangor, having advanced, in 1717, some doctrines about Sincerity, in print, which our prelate judged to be destructive of true religion, he took occasion in his first visitation the following year, to censure and warn his Clergy against them. This charge being printed at the request of the audience, was warmly resented by Dr Hoadly; and though neither his name nor the title of his book was mentioned in it, yet he took the rebuke to himself, and presently published an answer to it; to which our author replied [*E*]. Some time after this controversy, he grew into great favour with Queen Caroline, then Princess of Wales; and, upon the accession of his present Majesty to the throne, he preached the Coronation sermon, October 11, 1727, which was afterwards printed by his Majesty's especial command (*n*); and it was generally thought, that the chief direction of the publick affairs, with regard to the Church, was designed to be committed to his care; but as this trust must unavoidably involve him in State-affairs, he declined the proposal, and returned to his bishoprick; where he continued in the strict discharge of the duties of his pastoral office till the death of Dr William Wake, in January 1736-7, in whose room he was promoted to the archbishoprick of Canterbury (*o*). This arduous and important post he filled during the space of ten years with great reputation, wholly attentive to the devoirs of his ecclesiastical function, without engaging too busily in the secular affairs incident to that high office. Thus employed, he fell into a lingering disorder, which put a period to his life in the year 1747. He left behind him the character of a prelate of distinguished piety and learning, strictly orthodox in respect to the established doctrines of the Church of England, and a zealous and vigilant guardian thereof, against all the attempts that were made to subvert and undermine it during his presidency [*F*]. He was remarkably studious of regularity,

(*l*) Salmon's Chronol. Hist. under that year.

(*m*) It was published before he was made Bishop. Whiston's Memoirs of his own Life, p. 302. 2d edition, 1753.

(*n*) It is reprinted in his Theological Works, edit. 1753, Vol. I.

(*o*) Dr Gibson, Bishop of London, had for several years been, as Mr Whiston observes in his Memoirs, p. 219. deemed the heir apparent to this dignity; and how he lost his interest at Court, may be seen in his article, in the appendix to this Work, Vol. VI.

character. Yet at the same time, impartiality obliges us not to conceal that of his competitor Dr Smalridge, who was at least nothing at all inferior to him in either respect: and he had moreover this additional merit, that the office had been executed by him for several years with the greatest reputation, as deputy to Dr Jane (11). But this merit, which undeniably gave him a fair right to expect the succession, proved a sure bar to keep him from it. Dr Jane was known to be the great promoter of the famous judgment and decree of the university of Oxford, in 1683, and to have the chief hand in drawing it up *. Dr Jane had also a principal share in defeating the design of a comprehension, upon which commissioners appointed by King William met at the Jerusalem Chamber in 1689. At which time, he carried the election of the place of prolocutor to the lower house of convocation, by a majority of two to one against Dr Tillotson (12), and in that chair opposing every thing that was offered or intended by the royal commission, was the principal cause that nothing succeeded. These facts sufficiently shewed that the Regius Professor of Divinity had great influence, not only in the university, but, in consequence thereof, over the whole body of the clergy in those days; and there seemed to be room enough to suspect, that if Dr Jane's deputy succeeded him in that chair, and influence consequent thereupon, he would tread in the steps of his friend and predecessor.

(11) See Dr Smalridge's article.

* Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col.

(12) Birch's Life of Tillotson, p. 168, 173, 174, 184. edit. 1753. This project was first laid, and afterwards carried on, by the intrigues of the Earl of Rochester. Life of H. Prideaux, p. 54. edit. 1748, 8vo.

[*D*] *An edition of Clemens Alexandrinus.*] In the preface he tells us he has given an entire new version of the Cohortations, and intended to have done the same for the Stromata, but was prevented by other business [that of his professorship] (13). While he was printing this work, a humour fell into his eyes, which obliged him to commit the care of correcting the press to others. Hence it seems the work is generally complained of, as full of typographical errors. Hear his own words upon it. 'Quod si ea [editio] paulo quam 'expectaveras serius prodeat, vel si publici nunc juris 'facta votis tuis minus respondeat, id aliqua saltem ex 'parte oculorum meorum imbecillitati imputes, rogo; 'quæ cum in Pedagogo versantem primo invasisset, 'adeo tandem invaluit quinto Stromatum libro sub 'prælo sudante, ut alienis multo plus quam propriis 'deinceps fidere dura me sed prorsus ineluctabilis ne'cessitas cogerit.' However the edition is generally in good esteem, and is particularly commended by the ingenious, and in these matters especially learned, Mr William Whiston (14).

(13) For he had begun to prepare this edition before he obtained that post.

(14) In the Memoirs of his own Life, p. 302.

[*E*] *He vindicated his charge against the objections of Dr Hoadly.*] Among other doctrines animadverted upon, in our prelate's charge, he had particularly censured that which had been lately maintained by his brother Dr Hoadly, that equal degrees of Sincerity, intitle us to equal degrees of the divine favour (15). He had likewise glanced upon the subscription of Dr Samuel Clarke, and others of his opinion, to the xxxix articles made with this tacit reserve, *as far as they were agreeable to the holy scriptures*. And the same spirit appearing here, as had before directed the discourse of church-government, where he had carried the point of ecclesiastical power as high as any body, and had through the course of that work, enforced every article of that power in excommunicating, &c. from the like practice of civil society; this way of arguing was particularly mentioned and censured by Dr Hoadly, as inconclusive and dangerous (16). It might well therefore be thought incumbent upon Bishop Potter, to step forth in defence of what he had so frequently and strenuously advanced. Accordingly he entered into the controversy with a more fervent zeal, than was thought incident to the coolness and moderation of his temper, for which he alledged, that the very existence of the Church being struck at by the contrary doctrines, it became an indispensible duty upon the pastors thereof to defend it. To this purpose he very appositely introduced that law at Athens, which in case of any dangerous commotions and disturbances in the state, excused those who had taken the party against that which finally prevailed, as having engaged therein honestly, though with a mistaken zeal; whilst a severe penalty was inflicted upon such, as set themselves in quiet and safety under their vine at home, without engaging on either side; which was condemned as proceeding from a resolution to risque nothing for the sake of the public good. It is remarkable that Bishop Hoadly in his answer, declares he was more concerned on account of this adversary than any other; and no doubt he had more to apprehend from Dr Potter's character at that time, than that of all his other antagonists put together.

(15) Bishop of Bangor's Preservative against Popery, edit. 1717.

(16) See his famous sermon upon that text, *My kingdom is not of this world*, printed likewise in 1717.

[*F*] *Against the attempts to undermine it, &c.*] This zeal appeared in no one instance more conspicuously, than in his conduct with regard to Dr Conyers Middleton, suspected to be a masked Deist. The Doctor has himself furnished some strong hints of the Archbishop's care to prevent the suspected mischievous tendencies of his writings. Speaking of his life of Cicero, which was published by subscription, he writes thus to Mr Warburton, the present dean of Bristol,

regularity, order, and œconomy, and, in that ſpirit, not unmindful to ſupport the metropolitical dignity by a ſuitable carriage, which was ſometimes cenſured, though without any good reaſon, as proceeding from a ſpirit of pride and haughtineſs [*G*]. Since his death, there have been publiſhed *The Theological Works of* Dr John Potter, *late Archbiſhop of Canterbury, containing his Sermons, Charges, Diſcourſe of Church-Government, and Divinity-Lectures* [*H*]. Oxford, 1753, in three volumes, 8vo. His Grace engaged in marriage not long after he had obtained the Divinity-chair at Oxford, and had a very numerous family of children (*p*), but was ſurvived only by three daughters and two ſons (*q*); of whom the eldeſt ſon, John Potter, taking Orders, was preſented to the rectory of Wrotham and the vicarage of Lydd, both in Kent, by his father, who likewiſe gave him a handſome portion; but being offended with his conduct in marrying indiſcreetly (*r*), he conferred the bulk of his fortune on his younger ſon Thomas Potter, having before given him the lucrative poſt of Regiſter to the Province of Canterbury (*s*). This gentleman was bred to the Law; and, after he had made a ſufficient progreſs in the genteel part of that ſtudy, he turned his thoughts wholly to State-affairs; and obtaining a ſeat in the Houſe of Commons, ſoon made ſo diſtinguiſhed a figure there (*t*), as drew the eyes of the Court and Miniſtry upon him: ſo that, beſides his Regiſter's place juſt mentioned, he is at preſent Recorder of Bath, Joint Vice-Treaſurer of Ireland, and Member of Parliament for Oakhampton in Devonſhire (*u*).

(*p*) From my own knowledge.

(*q*) Communicated by the Clerk to the Regiſter's office.

(*r*) Viz. with a ſervant of the Archbiſhop. Ibid.

(*s*) Ibid.

(*t*) See his ſpeeches in that Houſe.

(*u*) Court Calendar for this year, 1759.

Briſtol. 'I am obliged to you for my right reverend 'ſubſcriber, and the more ſo, for the pains that it coſt 'you to draw him in. Epiſcopal gold, like that from 'the royal hand, may help to cure the Evil, with 'which I am ſaid to be infected. I have now got fifteen of that bench, one or two of whom were even 'my ſollicitors, but could not perſuade ſome of the 'reſt, that my work was not levelled againſt religion. 'This notion has been ſtrongly inculcated, and when 'in the converſation that I mentioned, (with the 'Archbiſhop) I took occaſion to urge the folly, as 'well as miſchief of it; it was anſwered, that though 'it might prove falſe, yet it did not appear to be malicious, ſince *the life of Homer* (17) might juſtly give 'a handle to ſuſpect *the life of Tully* (18).'

(17) A piece written by Dr Blackwell of Aberdeen in Scotland, an author who was more than ſuſpected of Deiſm.

(18) Dr Middleton's Letters to Mr Warburton, Letter vii. dated September 4, 1739. Middleton's Works, Vol. II. p. 479. See alſo Letter x. p. 484. edit. 1752, 4to.

[*G*] *His carriage was cenſured as the effect of haughtineſs.*] It is worth while to ſee the character of our Archbiſhop, both in general, and in reſpect to the particular here mentioned, as drawn by Mr William Whiſton; ſince, when read with thoſe allowances, which every body knows how to make for that writer's prejudices, it ſeems not to be very wide of the truth. 'On this year alſo, 1736, ſays he, the late 'Archbiſhop of Canterbury Dr Potter, was removed 'from Oxford to Lambeth. I have ſome reaſon to 'ſpeak my mind freely of him, and of the moſt unhappy change this great exaltation made in him; be'cauſe the late Queen [Caroline] when conſultation 'was had, who ſhould be made Archbiſhop, aſked me 'about his character, and the book he had written 'againſt the Eraſtians, or for the eccleſiaſtical autho'rity, as diſtinct from the ſtate. For his character at 'that time was with me, as one of great piety, learn'ing, and moderation; and an excellent paſtor of a 'pariſh, as I heard afterwards, without any marks of 'pride or vanity; whom I accordingly recommended 'to her majeſty, as one proper to be Archbiſhop, 'which I then ſincerely wiſhed he might be. As to 'his book, I ſaid it was a very good one; and that 'he proved his points very well; only that he had 'taken one thing for granted at laſt, which he could 'not prove; namely, that Conſtantine the Great did 'well in giving temporal power to the clergy. I then 'little dreamed that this Dr Potter, by going to Lam'beth, would take high and pontifical ſtate upon him; 'that he could bear the kneeling of even Biſhops be'fore him, when at a ſolemn meeting of the members 'of the ſociety for propagating the goſpel in foreign 'parts, he gave the bleſſing, which I myſelf ſaw: 'that he would procure half a dozen footmen, to 'walk bare headed by him, when he was in his coach, 'three of a ſide; beſides his train-bearer, at ſuch his 'appearances; that he would give up the poor re'mains of Chriſtian diſcipline, as his predeceſſor had 'done, and ſometimes ordain ſuch ignoramus's, as 'the great Biſhop Lloyd, of whom I know he had 'the greateſt opinion, would, upon examination, have 'hardly thought worthy any holy orders at all; that 'he would not only bear the groſſeſt flattery to his 'face, in Dr Pierce's *Concio ad Clerum*, but declare 'his approbation of it, by advancing, or confirming 'the advancement of, the preacher, to a place of great 'dignity immediately; and that in conſequence of his 'pomp while alive, his executors cauſed him to lie in 'ſtate when he was dead; that he would ſet his learned 'chaplain Dr Chapman, to preach againſt the Chri'ſtians, falſely called Arians, at the Lady Moyer's 'lecture: that he would ſend abroad ſuch mean forms 'of prayer and praiſe, upon days of humiliation and 'thankſgiving, to flatter the Court, ſuch indeed as are 'ſometimes hardly true, and frequently ſuch as are 'wholly inconſiſtent with that profound veneration, 'that Kings and Princes themſelves, as well as their 'ſubjects, owe to their Almighty Creator; from whom 'is derived all the wiſdom and courage, and victory 'of their greateſt generals. To ſay nothing of that 'horrid curſing of the Chriſtians in the Athanaſian 'Creed, which he ſtill ſupported in his own chapel 'at Lambeth, and every where elſe. And I am ſorry, 'very ſorry, to ſay it, that Archbiſhop Potter ſeemed 'to me almoſt as unwilling to open his eyes to ſee the 'grievous errors of Athanaſianiſm, which are now ſo 'fully detected, as to be ſinking out of the learned 'world, as any of the Papiſts were to ſee the other 'groſs errors of Popery at the Proteſtant Reformation '(19).' In confirmation of this laſt remark, we may add his Latin ſpeech at the opening of the Convocation, December 10, 1744 (20), and his recommending Dr Waterland to be prolocutor to the lower houſe (21).

(19) Memoirs of the Life of Mr W. Whiſton, p. 300, 301.

(20) Printed in his Works, ubi ſupra.

(21) See Dr Waterland's article.

[*H*] The anonymous editor aſſures us, that ſuch of his Sermons and Charges as were printed before, are here re-printed with ſome ſlight alterations; and that the reſt were finiſhed and prepared for the preſs by himſelf, and are printed by his expreſs orders and direction. That his Divinity-Lectures are printed from his manuſcripts, and with his expreſs conſent and approbation, and are one continued treatiſe on the authority and inſpiration of the Scriptures (22). P

(22) See the advertiſement prefixed to this edition.

POWEL [David] a learned Divine in the XVIth century, and the beſt ſkilled of any in his time in the Welſh Language and Hiſtory, as well as in other parts of Hiſtory and Antiquities, was born in Denbighſhire in North-Wales. About the year 1566, or rather later [*A*], he was admitted into the Univerſity of Oxford, but in what college doth not appear. In 1571, he tranſlated himſelf to Jeſus college, then founded (*a*); and took the degree of Bachelor of Arts March 3, 1572 (*b*), and that of Maſter July 6, 1576 (*c*). Entring

(*a*) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 246.

(*b*) Idem Faſti, Vol. I. col. 106.

(*c*) Ibid. col. 112.

[*A*] *Or rather later.*] For he did not take his firſt degree 'till 1572. Whereas, if he had been admitted in 1566, he would have been of ſtanding for it two years ſooner, namely in 1570.

[*B*] In

Entring into Holy Orders, he became Vicar of Ruabon or Rhiw' Abon, in his own native county of Denbigh-shire; and obtained likewise a Dignity in the cathedral church of St Asaph (d). He was now grown eminent for his very great learning; and Febr. 19. 1582. took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity, as also that of Doctor in Divinity, on the 11th of April 1583 (e). * In the year 1584. he published The Historie of *Cambria*, now called Wales [B]; and, the year following, Annotations on Girald Barry's (f), alias Cambrensis's, Itinerary, and Description of Wales [C]. Besides other things, of which an account is given below [D]: And left some Manuscripts behind him, fit for the press: but never published. He died about the year 1590, and was buried in his church of Rhiw' Abon; being succeeded in that living by a son of his, named Samuel (g). He had another son named *Gabriel*, who was born in 1575, and passed for a prodigy of learning in his time [E]. On which account

(d) Idem Ath. ut supra.

* Soon after, he was made Chaplain to Hen. Sidney President of Wales. Tanner Bibliotheca, p. 606.

(e) Idem Fasti, Vol. I. col. 123, 125.

(f) See above, the article BARRY [GIRALD].

(g) Wood, Ath. ut supra. W. Neve says, that he dyed in 1599. Tanner, ubi supra.

[B] *In the year 1584. he published the Historie of Cambria, now called Wales*] It was printed in Quarto; dedicated to Sir Philip Sidney; and adorned with wooden cuts of the several Princes of Wales, but taken from no better originals than the carver's Fancy. This History of *Cambria* was originally written in Latin, by Caradoc a monk of Lhangarfan; beginning at Cadwalader, in the seventh century, and thence continued through the reigns of the several Princes of Wales, 'till the year 1157. about which time Caradoc flourished. After his death, all things of moment that happened in Wales, were kept and recorded in the Abbies of Conwey in North-Wales, and Ystratflur in South-Wales, where the Princes and Noblemen of Wales were buried. The most remarkable occurrences being thus registred in these Abbies, were generally compared together every third year, when the Bards belonging to these two Houses went their visitations. So it was continued 'till the year 1270. a little before the death of the last Prince Lheweylyn.——Humphrey Lloyd, Gent. a most learned Antiquary, translated it into English in Queen Elizabeth's reign, with an intention of publishing it; but did not live to compleat his design (1) —It coming afterwards into Dr Powel's hands, he corrected, finished, and augmented it; and thus made it public. His Additions, or Notes, are chiefly Collections out of the English Historians, relating the same matter of fact; or tending to illustrate, improve, or explain the History of Wales. They are printed in a lesser character than the rest of the Book, and have for distinction-sake a cinque-foile set at the beginning of each note. In these notes he greatly courts the Cecil-family, and derives the long Pedigree he gives of them from Robert Sitsilt, an assistant to Robert Fitz Hamon in the conquest of Glamorgan-shire, Anno D. 1091.——— This edition being grown scarce, W. Wynne, A. M. put out a new one in 1697. 8vo. wherein the Language is new-modelled; Dr Powel' Notes thrown out, without troubling the Reader to see the same thing by way of Annotation out of the English Historians; the body of the History is rendered entire and uniform; several Additions made, out of the Notes of that learned Antiquarian Mr Robert Vaughan of Hengwrt. And an Appendix of Records is added at the end (2).——Mr William Clarke, in his excellent Preface to the Welsh Laws (3), observes, that there are several interpolations in Dr Powel's edition of Caradoc, and that the Chronology is often neglected and displaced: He wishes therefore, that some learned person would print Caradoc in Welsh and Latin, in the same method as the Saxon Chronicle, after having carefully collated it with the best manuscripts.

(1) See above, in the article LHWYD [EDWARD], note [B].

(2) See Mr Wynne's preface.

(3) Leges Wallicæ, &c. edit. 1730, fol. Præfat. p. 5. not. c. & p. 24. not. p.

[C] *And, the year following, Annotations on Girald Barry's Itinerary, and Description of Wales.*] This Book was printed at London, in 1585. 8vo. with a dedication to Sir Philip Sidney: and re-printed among the *Anglica, Normannica, Hibernica, Cambrica*, &c. published by Mr Camden, Francofurt. 1603. fol. Dr Powel's Annotations are at the end of each chapter. At the conclusion of the Book, there is a Letter of his to Wiliam Fleetwood Serjeant at law, and Recorder of the city of London, ' concerning the right understanding of the British History, and reconciling it ' with the Roman Authors;' *De Britannicâ, Historiâ rectè intelligendâ, et cum Romanis Scriptoribus reconciliandâ.* In this letter, he observes, that, in the first place, you must put out of your way two sorts of men, who hinder this proposed reconciliation: Namely, those who affirm, that the whole British History is only a Heap of Fables; and that nothing is to be believed but what is delivered by the Roman Authors: And those, on the other hand, who embrace all the improbable stories, absurd miracles, and false prophecies of Merlin and others, as religious truths.——These Absurdities, says he, are not extant in some of our old British books, but were added by the Latin Translator Geoffrey of Monmouth.

The rest of the difficulty consists, either in distinguishing the Governors or Kings: or in the relation of Facts: or in understanding the names of Places. As to the *Government* of this Island; it was, from the time of Dunwallo Molmutius, divided into several petty Kingdoms, or Principalities, as is manifest from Julius Cæsar, Tacitus, &c. and even from the British History; which last informs us, that Loegria, Albania, Cornwal, Wales, Deira, and Bernicia had always their own Kings. But, in case of any common danger, they chose a General. When therefore different authors mention different Kings of Britain, as they are treating of the same times, they must not immediately be thought to contradict one another; because there were several Kings reigning together in Britain. Besides, the same Princes had frequently two Names, or a Surname, or denomination, from some eminent quality or deformity; as Elidor *War*, i. e. Helidor the Pious, Uther *Pendragon*, Edoal *Ywrch*, Edoual the Hind, Gwilim *Goch*, William the Red, &c.———In *the Relation of Facts*, all Authors have a bias, or natural prejudice, in favour of their own Countrymen, so as to praise all their good actions without measure, and to conceal or extenuate their faults. Julius Cæsar himself is not free from this weakness in his Commentaries, as is plain from Lucan, Tacitus, &c. We must therefore, in that case, lay aside all prepossession; weigh every circumstance; withhold our assent in doubtful points; and adhere to what is the most probable.—— For the right *understanding of the Names of Places*; it is necessary to enquire into the occasion of the name; whether it be derived from the British or the Latin tongue; whether the old name of the place remains. In order to judge rightly of all which circumstances, it is necessary to have a thorough knowledge of the British and Roman Customs, and their Languages. Without that, 'tis impossible to trace out the origin and meaning of the Names of places in this Island; which have been strangely altered and disfigured, both by the Roman and British Authors.

[D] *Besides other things, of which an account is given below.*] Among the rest, he corrected and published, *Historia Britannica*, or the British History, written by Ponticus Virunnius, in six Books. London, 1585. 8vo. which is an Epitome of Geoffrey of Monmouth Reprinted among *Rerum Britannicarum Scriptores Vetustiores*, &c. Lugduni 1587. fol.

[E] *And passed for a prodigy of learning in his time.*] Among other things, he wrote earnestly against a *Toleration*, especially of the Roman Catholics; as appears by the titles of the following pieces of his upon that subject. 1. The Catholics Supplication to the King for Toleration of Catholic Religion, with Notes and Observations in the margin. A Supplicatory parallelwise, or Counterpoise of the Protestants to the said King. Reasons on both sides for, and against Toleration of Religions London, 1603. 4to. 2. A consideration of Papists reasons of state and religion for a Toleration of Popery in England, intimated in their Supplication to the King's Majesty, and the State of the present Parliament. Lond. 1604. 4to. 3. The Unlawfulness and Danger of Toleration of divers Religions, and connivance to contrary worship in one Monarchy or Kingdom. 4. Refutation of an Epistle Apologetical, written by a Puritan Papist, to persuade the permission of the promiscuous use and profession of all sorts of Heresies, &c. Lond. 1605. 4to (4).

(4) See Wood, Ath. Vol. I. col. 344, 345.

[A] The

account Dr Richard Vaughan biſhop of London made him one of his chaplains (*h*): He was by his Succeſſor Biſhop Ravis, collated to the Prebend of Port-pool in the cathedral church of St Paul; and obtained alſo the Vicarage of Northall, in Middleſex, being Doctor in Divinity. He died in the year 1611 (*i*). C

(*h*) Wood, Ath. Vol. I. col. 344, 345.

(*i*) Newcourt's Repertorium, Vol. I. p. 201, 703.

PRIDEAUX [Dr HUMPHRY], the very learned Dean of Norwich, was born at Padſtow in the county of Cornwall, May 3, 1648, being the third ſon of Edmund Prideaux, Eſq; by Bridgett his wife, who was daughter of John Moyle of Bake, Eſq; in the ſame county. Both parents were deſcended from ancient and honourable families well known in thoſe parts (*a*). The Doctor being a younger brother, was deſigned for the Church, in which view at a proper age he was ſent to ſchool, firſt at Leſcard, and then to Bodmin, both in Cornwall, and thence removed to Weſtminſter under the famous Dr Buſby, where he was ſoon choſen King's Scholar, and after going through that College in three years, was elected to Chriſt-Church in Oxford, and admitted a Student in the year 1668 (*b*), by Dr John Fell, then Dean of that College. June 22, 1672, he commenced Bachelor of Arts (*c*), and was immediately after employed by Dr Fell, who had at this time the management of the public printing-preſs in that Univerſity, to put ſome notes to an edition of *Lucius Florus*, to be diſtributed among the younger members of the ſociety (*d*). After this there was put into his hands out of the Bodleian Library, a manuſcript copy of Johannes Antiochenus Malela, a Greek hiſtorian, in order to have it fitted for the preſs by his care; but on peruſing it, he thought it a very fabulous and trifling book not worth the printing, whereupon the deſign was dropt (*e*) [*A*], and the rather becauſe the Arundel marbles being preſented about this time by Henry Howard Earl of Norwich, to the Univerſity, and ſet up in the court before the Theatre, as there were ſeveral very curious and valuable inſcriptions upon them, it was thought proper that they ſhould be publiſhed, with a comment to explain them; and our author, though then only Bachelor of Arts, was appointed to this work. Accordingly he undertook it, and two years afterwards, in May 1676, publiſhed his book intituled, *Marmora Oxonienſia* (*f*), in one volume folio, printed at the Univerſity preſs, and dedicated to the right honourable donor. This book being publiſhed when he was but twenty-ſix years of age, a year after he had taken his maſter's degree (*g*), gained him great reputation in the Univerſity, and was well received in the world (*h*), eſpecially among foreigners in Germany, France, and Italy [*B*]. Mr Prideaux having been ordered at the firſt publication, to preſent one copy of it to the Lord Chanchellor Finch [*C*], afterwards Earl of Nottingham; this introduced him into the patronage of his Lordſhip, who ſoon after ſent to him at Chriſt-Church Mr Charles Finch, one of his Lordſhip's ſons, to be his pupil (*i*). And in the beginning

(*a*) The Life of the Rev. Humphry Prideaux, D D. Dean of Norwich, with ſeveral tracts of his upon various ſubjects, never before publiſhed. Lond. 1748, 8vo. p. 1.

(*b*) He was firſt entered a Commoner Dec. 5th, and admitted Student on the 25th of that month. General Dictionary, from the information of our author's ſon, Edmund Prideaux of Padſtow in Cornwall..

(*c*) Wood's Faſti, Vol. II. col. 188.

(*d*) The notes are only references to other authors, who treated more at large of the matters which Florus has epitomized. A preſent of the like kind was made every New-Year's-day by that Dean. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 798.

(*e*) H's Life, as before.

(*f*) The whole title is *Marmora Oxonienſia ex* Arundelianis, Seldenianis, *aliiſque, conſlata cum perpetuo Commentario, &c.*

(*g*) He took that degree April 29, 1675. Wood's Faſti, Vol. II. col. 198.

(*h*) The demand for it was ſuch, that it grew very ſcarce in a few years, and was not to be had but at an advanced price.

(*i*) He was elected Fellow of All-Souls college, and there commenced LL.D. March 23, 1688, but died ſoon after. Life of Dr Prideaux, p. 7.

[*A*] *The deſign was dropt.*] The very learned John Gregory of Chriſt-Church, who died there, Anno 1646-7, left behind him a treatiſe in manuſcript, intituled, *Obſervationes in loca quædam excerpta ex* Johannis Malelæ *Chronographia*, which after his death coming into the Bodleian Library, were intended probably to be prefixed to an edition of Malela, prepared for the preſs, with a Latin verſion and annotations by Edmund Childmead of the ſame college, but he dying in 1653-4, this piece of Malela was publiſhed in 1691 with Childmead's verſion, and a preface or prolegomena by Humphry Hody, B. D. of Wadham College, and ſome time Greek Profeſſor at Oxford: Gregory's obſervations were laid aſide, as containing things little material (1). While our author was peruſing Malela, he loſt his brother Nicholas, for whom he had conceived a particular affection on account of his promiſing parts, and the great progreſs he had made in literature. He died of the ſmall-pox in the eighteenth year of his age, at Corpus Chriſti College in Oxford, where he had been a ſcholar three years, and lies buried in the cloyſter near the chapel, with a mural monument erected to his memory, which is ſtill to be ſeen there (2).

[*B*] *Was well received abroad, &c*] The learned Huetius ſays of it, *Plurima hujuſmodi ſuppeditat liber inſcriptionum Gruteri: at nihil in hoc genere marmora Oxonienſia æquiparare queat, quibus inſigniores Priſcorum Græcorum epochæ, fœdus Smyrnæorum & Magnentium, aliaque egregia vetuſtatis monumenta inſcripta ſunt* (3). The Marmora had been publiſhed before by Mr Selden, in 1629, 4to. to which our author now made ſeveral additions. But the book ſuffered much in paſſing through the preſs, and is full of typographical errors, which was owing to the negligence of the public corrector of the preſs. Our author was alſo obliged to furniſh a ſheet every week, whether ſufficiently prepared or no, which was another great diſadvantage to it. For theſe and other reaſons, he never had any opinion or eſteem for this work, and ſpeaks of it in the preface, as undoubtedly containing ſeveral miſtakes, on account of the difficulty of the taſk, which was above his years, eſpecially conſidering the hard condition of untimely haſte in printing it. And upon theſe accounts, a more correct edition was undertaken and printed by Mr Michael Mattaire in 1732, in folio.

[*C*] *He preſented a copy to the Lord Chancellor.*] The book was dedicated to Henry Howard, then Earl of Norwich, and heir-apparent to the Duke of Norfolk, to which title he afterwards ſucceeded. But as the preſent to the Univerſity was made at the requeſt of John Evelyn, Eſq; of Say's Court near Deptford, our editor carried another copy at the ſame time to that gentleman, with the following letter from Biſhop Fell, in the name of the Univerſity. 'Sir, we muſt 'never forget the obligations which my Lord Marſhal 'has laid upon the Univerſity, in the donation of his 'marbles, and while we remember that, cannot chuſe 'to bear in mind your great kindneſs in that favour. 'Having at laſt finiſhed the account of his, and other 'monuments, they all are dedicated to my Lord, and 'ſhould be preſented to him by the mediation of the 'ſame perſon, who was ſo inſtrumental in the gift of 'them. The bearer hereof is the editor, by whoſe 'induſtry and care the work was done, and he is or'dered by Mr Vice-Chancellor, in the name of the 'Univerſity, to preſent a copy to you, as a teſtimony 'of the ſenſe they have of your favour to them. 'This is all that I have to trouble you with at preſent, 'adding my wiſhes of all health to you.

'I remain,

'Sir,

'Your moſt faithful and humble ſervant (4).'

JO. OXON.

(1) Hody's Prolegomena, §. 43. and Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 101, 169.

(2) Life of H. Prideaux, &c. p. 3, 4.

(3) Demonſtratio Evangelica, Prop. 4. cap. ii. §. 14.

(4) Preface to Mattaire's edition of the Marbles, at the end.

[*D*] He

beginning of the year 1679, presented him to the Rectory of St Clements in Oxford, which then became void, and was in the gift of the Great Seal. Our author the same year published two tracts out of Maimonides in Hebrew, to which he added a Latin translation and annotations. The piece is intituled, *De jure Pauperis & Peregrini apud Judæos*. He had been lately appointed Hebrew Lecturer, upon the foundation of Dr Busby, in the College of Christ-Church, and his principal view in printing these tracts, was to introduce young students in the Hebrew language, into the knowledge of the Rabbinical dialect, and to teach them to read it without points. In the latter end of the next year, 1680, the Parliament meeting at Oxford, he attended on the Lord Chancellor Finch there, as his chaplain, but this was of short continuance, the Parliament being dissolved in ten days after it's first meeting (*k*). About Midsummer, 1681, Dr Herbert Astley Dean of Norwich, dying, Dr John Sharp, being now Rector of St Giles's in the Fields, London, (afterwards Archbishop of York) formerly chaplain to the said Lord Chancellor, and Prebendary of Norwich, was promoted to that Deanery, upon which his Prebend falling void and in the gift of the Great Seal, the Lord Chancellor wrote a very kind letter to Mr Prideaux at Oxford, to let him know that he gave it to him; and accordingly on the 15th of August he was installed therein, and kept his first residence at that church in the months of December and January following (*l*). He was admitted Bachelor of Divinity November 15, 1682 (*m*), and three days after had the misfortune to lose his patron the Lord Chancellor Nottingham, who died on the eighteenth of that month. However Mr Prideaux found another patron in his successor the Lord-Keeper North (*n*), whose kindness he experienced before the expiration of the year. For the Rectory of *Bladen cum capella de Woodstock* becoming void by the resignation of Dr Marshal, Rector of Lincoln College, and Dean of Gloucester, and in the gift of the Great Seal, Mr Prideaux was presented to it, and instituted on the 17th of February, 1683. This favour was the more acceptable as it did not exclude him his place at Christ-Church (to which he was so serviceable as a tutor), since he was empowered to hold it with his studentship there, by virtue of his being Library-keeper of that college (*o*). On the 15th of October following, 1683, he lost his father, who died in the seventy-eighth year of his age. He was a gentleman of great worth, sobriety, and discretion, and well learned in most parts of literature becoming a gentleman [*D*]. Our author now wholly gave himself up to his studies and attending the duties of his function, going constantly to *Bladen* and *Woodstock* every Sunday from Christ-Church. And that there might be no deficiency in the ministerial duties at any time, he kept a Curate resident at *Woodstock* to attend them, so that both churches were constantly served both morning and afternoon every Sunday. And that they might always continue to be so served, Dr Fell, who was then Bishop of Oxford, as well as Dean of Christ-Church, projected the building of a house for the Minister at Woodstock; and having accordingly purchased a piece of ground, on the left hand of the gate going into the park from the town, and formed the model for the house, he committed the care of building it to Mr Prideaux, under whose direction it was finished in 1685 [*E*]. From the time that our author was Master of Arts and a Tutor in the College, he was always very zealous and diligent in reforming such disorders and corruptions as had gradually crept into it, and made use of all opportunities in his power for suppressing them. This of course drew on him the ill-will of several of his fellow-collegians, as must always happen to those, who endeavour at the reformation of discipline (*p*). But at the same time he had the friendship and esteem of the best men, and such, whose reputation was highest in the University, particularly of Bishop Fell; Dr Pococke, the learned Hebrew and Arabic professor; Dr Marshal, already mentioned; Dr Bernard, Savilian Professor of Astronomy; Dr Mills, the editor of the Greek Testament; Dr H. Godolphin, late Dean of St Paul's; Mr Guise of All-Souls-College; and many other learned and valuable men (*q*). On the 6th of February, 1684-5, died King Charles II. and his brother James II. was proclaimed King the same day. The Summer following happened the invasions of the Earl of Argyle in Scotland, and the Duke of Monmouth in England, which having both miscarried, and both the conductors of them being cut off, King James now looked upon himself as thoroughly

(*k*) On the 12th of May following, his patron the Lord Finch was created Earl of Nottingham on the decease of Charles Howard, the last Earl of Nottingham of that family; by whose death the title was now become extinct. Collins's Peerage.

(*l*) Life of Dr H. Prideaux, p. 9. Dr Kidder, being made Prebendary soon after, our author contracted an intimate friendship with him.

(*m*) Wood's Fasti, Vol. II. col. 219.

(*n*) Sir Francis North; he was promoted from the place of Lord Chief-Justice of the Common-Pleas.

(*o*) The privilege of holding one living is granted on the consideration that no salary belongs to the office, except 40 s. a year paid to a deputy. See the statutes and ordinances of that college.

(*p*) The truth is, his temper disposed him to be a little too rigid and severe in this respect.

(*q*) Life of Dr H. Prideaux, p. 14, 15.

[*D*] *He lost his father.*] He studied first at Sidney college in Cambridge, where Dr Paul Micklethwait, afterwards Master of the Temple, was his tutor. From thence he removed to Exeter college in Oxford, at the invitation of Dr John Prideaux, then Rector of that college; and from thence he went to the Inns of Court, in order to make himself acquainted with the laws of the realm; and after this travelled abroad, and spent some time in foreign countries. By these means he improved his natural understanding, and acquired those accomplishments which made him honoured and respected beyond most of his time, in the county where he lived, to which he was very useful in the commission of the peace and lieutenancy. From the Restoration, to the time of his death, he had the chief management of affairs in the county of Cornwall, which on account of his known wisdom and integrity, were mostly referred to him (5). He was descended of a family that had flourished in many places, both in Cornwall and Devonshire, at Prideaux, Orcharton, Addeston, Thuborough, Soldon, Netherton, Ford-Abbey, and Padstow, as appears from the Heralds books (6).

[*E*] *The personage house was finished in 1685.*] It is built in the form of a cross, upon the park wall over-against Chaucer's house. The purchase of the ground, and the building of the new house thereon, was wholly at the expence of the learned and pious Bishop Fell, and cost him above 600l. but the converting the old house which stood there before, into out-houses and offices, and fitting up the same, was wholly at the charge of Dr Prideaux. It was afterwards settled for the use of the minister for ever, in case he shall reside thereon; otherwise for the use of the poor of the town of Woodstock (7).

(5) Life of Dr H. Prideaux, p. 11, 12.

(6) See also Camden, Leland's Itinerary, Fuller's Worthies, Risdon's Survey of Devon, Carew's Survey of Cornwall, and Prince's Worthies of Devon, who all make honourable mention of this family.

(7) Life of our author, p. 13, 14.

thoroughly settled on the Throne, and began to take open measures for subjecting these realms to Popery (*r*). At the same time Bishop Fell declining very fast in his health, Mr Prideaux foresaw the confusion which afterwards followed in the college upon his decease, when the King imposed a Popish Dean to succeed him (*s*); and therefore determined to retire from it and settle on his Cure, and on the sixteenth of February, 1685-6, he married Mrs Bridgett Bokenham, only daughter of *Anthony Bokenham*, of *Helmingham* in the county of *Suffolk*, Esq; who was the son of a younger brother of Sir *Henry Bokenham* of *Thornham* in the same county; and her mother was daughter of *Thomas Townsend*, of *Horstead* in the county of *Norfolk*, Esq; (*t*). In the year 1686, at the public Act, Mr Prideaux proceeded Doctor of Divinity (*u*); and having exchanged his living of *Bladen cum Woodstock* for the Rectory of Saham (*w*) in Norfolk, as soon as that Act was over he left Oxford, and settled upon his Prebend at Norwich. The last thing he did at Oxford, was to attend the funeral of his friend Bishop Fell, who died on the Saturday of that Act; and was buried on the Tuesday following in the Cathedral of Christ-Church, under the Dean's stall in the Latin Chapel [*F*]. As soon as Dr Prideaux had seen him put in the ground, he immediately left Oxford, and as it happened never afterwards returned thither (*x*). On his settling at Norwich, the whole management of the affairs of the church fell into his hands: this was a natural consequence of the pains he had before taken that way, from his entrance upon his Prebend, when he found all these matters in the utmost disorder and confusion. The first audit he was at, he found, that the Chapter were always at a loss on the renewal of their leases, both as to the value of their estates, the fine last set, and other circumstances; and that they were obliged to refer themselves to the memory of their seniors for information, which was very imperfect and uncertain. To remedy this inconvenience therefore, he contrived a book called the Private Register, in which were entered the time of every renewal, the name of the tenant, the term demised, the old rent, the provision rent, with the times of payment, the reservations, covenants and conditions of the lease, the date of the former lease, the real value of the estate, what was taken for the fine, and on what consideration it was either raised or abated, with all other circumstances relating to it, which might be of use to be known at future renewals [*G*]. And as they had no rentals whereby to receive their rents, nor any Treasurers, whereby to pay the salaries of the officers and other out-goings, the Doctor was at the pains to examine all the ledger-books, and out of them he made an exact rental in the order of the alphabet. At the same time he made a book for the Treasurer in a due and orderly method, and by the help of these two books, he reformed the audit-book, supplying what was defective therein, and putting the whole in a proper method. He examined also, and sorted all their charters and evidences, and disposed them in drawers according to their proper order, by which means they may be easily referred to; whereas they lay before in a very confused and disorderly manner, on the floor of a room which was unpaved, and covered with dirt, and the windows broken, all which he repaired. The register-books likewise, and other books, that lay neglected and dispersed up and down, he had bound up in order, to the number of thirty volumes; so that all the evidences and muniments of the church, were settled and disposed of in perfect order and method. Moreover the tomb of Herbert Losinga, Bishop of Norwich, and founder of the church, having been demolished in the civil wars, the Doctor caused it to be repaired, and

(*r*) See the general histories of England.

(*s*) Dr John Massey. See Wood's Fasti, Vol. II. col. 198.

(*t*) Life, p. 15, 16.

(*u*) Viz. on the 8th of June that year. Wood's Fasti, Vol. II. col. 229.

(*w*) Or Saham-Tony, as Mr Wood calls it. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1058. where 'tis said the exchange was made with John Harsent, B. D. some time Fellow of New-college, Oxon.

(*x*) Life, p. 16.

[*F*] *Bishop Fell was buried, &c.*] This good Bishop for his piety, learning, and wisdom, was esteemed one of the most eminent prelates of his time, and the college which long enjoyed the benefit of his wise and useful government, is so much indebted to him on that account, as well as for his buildings and other benefactions, that he may deservedly be esteemed the second founder. Some account has been given of him in the course of this work, to which we shall take this opportunity of adding, that Dr Prideaux always looked on him as the author of the book called, The reasons of *the decay of Christian Piety*, which came out in the name of the author of the Whole Duty of Man. His reasons for it were, that in the summer of 1676, he made a visit to Sir William Morrice, at Warrington in Devonshire, who was his uncle*, when, among other discourse that passed between them, Sir William told him, he thought Bishop Fell was the author of that book, for that while he attended at Court as Secretary of State, a little after the Restoration, he heard the Bishop preach a sermon in the King's Chapel, with which he was so much pleased, that he desired to have a copy of it, which was accordingly presented to him; and that some years after, on the publication of *the decay of Christian Piety*, he found the sermon in the very same words in that book, and thence concluded, that the person who preached the one, was the author of the other. Dr Prideaux was afterwards further confirmed in this opinion. For as he attended the press in the Theatre at Oxford, whilst another of the books ascribed to the same author was printing, he often found whole lines, and sometimes two or three together, blotted out, and interlineations in their stead, which he knew to be of Bishop Fell's hand-writing, and was a liberty it was unlikely should be taken by any but the author. So that his opinion upon the whole, was, that the book called *The Whole Duty of Man*, was written by an author still unknown; but that all the other books ascribed to the same author, were written by Bishop Fell, and Dr Allestry. And that whereas the first of them that was printed, either by design or mistake of the bookseller, came forth under the name of *the author of the Whole Duty of Man*, they suffered all the others to come out under the same disguise, the better to conceal what they intended should be kept a secret. And as to what Bishop Fell says in a preface to a folio edition, printed at Oxford, in which all these books are comprized together, where he mentions the author as lately dead, it was generally understood to be meant of Dr Allestry, who was then lately deceased (8).

* He married a sister of his father.

(8) Ibid. p. 17, 18.

[*G*] *The private register contained all things of use to be known at future renewals.*] This book begins from the time of the Restoration, though it was twenty years after that he set about composing it. As to the preceding time, the Doctor gathered up his information as well as he could, from the ledger and audit books of the church, and from the memories of the senior members of the Chapter. This book he kept, continually making the entries with his own hand, 'till about two years before his death; when he directed it to be done by another (9).

(9) Ibid. p. 22, 23.

[*H*] *Ordered*

and put a new inscription on it of his own composing; giving some account of the founder, and of this and his other foundations (y). The Doctor had not been long at Norwich, before he was engaged in a controversy with the Papists: King James having made open profession of their religion, they imagined, that, supported by his authority, they should carry all before them, and bring the whole nation over to their persuasion; and to this end, they sent out emissaries into all parts of the kingdom. Those, however, who were sent into the country, they would not trust with the whole controversy, for fear of over-burthening their abilities, but assigned a particular point to each, which he was to insist upon, and beyond which he was not to meddle: and the point assigned to those who came to make conversions in Norfolk and Norwich, was the invalidity of the Orders of the Chuch of England, which they were directed to make out by such arguments as their superiors had furnished them with; and from thence they were to infer, that having no Priesthood we could have no Sacraments, and consequently could be no Church, nor any salvation be had among us. The first that appeared there with this argument, was one *Webster*, who had formerly been Curate of St *Margaret's* in *Kings-Lynn*, for the Dean and Chapter of Norwich, to whom belongs the appropriation of that church; and being turned out from thence for his notorious misdemeanours, he went to London, and there kept a private school: But on King James's coming to the Crown, seeing the great encouragement that Popery met with, he early embraced that interest; and for a greater shew of zeal came into Norfolk as a missionary for Popery, with the argument abovementioned, and had the confidence to send a challenge to the Bishop of Norwich, appointing a time when he would come to him at his palace and dispute that point with him. On this the Bishop desired Dr Sharp and Dr Prideaux to be present at the time, when Webster came, bringing with him one *Acton* a Jesuit-Priest, who resided at Norwich, for the service of those of the Roman communion in that city. When all were seated, Webster began to read a paper, which he called a preface to the disputation; whereupon the Bishop interrupting, called him to an account for his apostacy, and reproved him for that, as well as for the present insult, in the manner he deserved. Whereupon Webster rose up in great anger, and departing abruptly, broke off the conference. Both Dr Sharp and Dr Prideaux offered to answer his arguments, if he would have proposed them, but he let them know, that he disdained to dispute with any but the Bishop himself; and so the conference ended. Not long after, Mr Acton having perverted a Brewer in Norwich, this produced a dispute on the same point, between Acton and two Protestant Divines, *Earbury* and *Kipping*, at which, a gentleman of Norwich who was present, pretending not to have received satisfaction for the validity of our Orders, addressed a letter to Dr Prideaux about it, and the Doctor returning an answer the next day, November 11, 1687, hence followed several letters on both sides upon the same subject; and the last of the Doctor's, being a very long one, contained the whole state of the controversy: But by the time he had finished it, understanding that the gentleman for whom it was intended, had gone over to the Popish communion, and was irrecoverably determined in it, the Doctor did not think it worth his while to get a copy of it wrote out for him, and therefore threw aside his papers in his study, as no further useful, to the end for which they were originally intended. But being challenged afterwards for not answering Mr Acton's letter, he published his papers the ensuing summer, under the title of *The validity of the Orders of the Church of England made out, against the objections of the Papists, in several letters to a gentleman of Norwich that desired satisfaction therein.* In the beginning of April following this gentleman died, owning himself a member of that communion, upon which the Papists were resolved to bury him in the cathedral, and bring him thither in a solemn procession by way of triumph: But the Doctor being then in his residence at the church, was as fully determined to obstruct this design, and gave orders that no grave there should be made for him [*H*], and that order was observed (z). At the same time there was another affair which exasperated the Popish party against him; for the Doctor observing, that the Clergy of Norwich were much intimidated, by the severe measures the King took for the propagating of his religion, especially after what had happened to the Bishop of London,

(y) It is placed before the high altar, with the arms of the Bishop at the upper end, the Dean's on the lower, and the six Prebendaries on the sides. This was done in 1682. Life, p. 19—21.

(z) Life, p. 23 to 26.

[*H*] *Ordered that no grave should be made for him.*] This being matter of great disappointment, they had a meeting at the Goat-Tavern in Norwich to consult about it; and from thence sent a message to the Doctor to expostulate with him, and demand his reason for such a proceeding. In answer to this, he wrote them a letter to the following purpose, that Mr N—— not dying within the precincts of the Cathedral Church, they were under no obligation to bury him in it; but he recommended it to his relations to bury him as the law directed, in the church or church-yard of the parish where he died, against which there could be no exception: this answer the Doctor chose to send in writing, with his name subscribed, that it might not be in the power of the messenger to misrepresent it. On the delivery of this note, a certain Knight who lived near Norwich, and had several times turned Papist and Protestant backward and forward, as either religion was most likely to be uppermost, sitting as chairman of the consultation, declared that there was nothing penal in it, and therefore advised the sending again, in order to provoke him to give another answer. The deceased's brother, who had also gone over to Popery, was sent on that errand, and coming to the Doctor's house, demanded, in an imperious manner, why he would not let his brother be buried in the cathedral; to which the Doctor answered, that he had sent his reasons in writing, which he supposed the other had seen. The reply was, that he had seen the writing, but the reason there given was not sufficient, and he would have another. The Doctor said he had no other for him, and so leaving him retired to his study; on which the other went off in great wrath; and the consult not being able to gain any advantage against the Doctor, followed his advice, and buried the deceased in the church of the parish where he died (10).

(10) Life, p. 27, to 29.

[*I*] *He*

don, and Dr Sharp, Dean of Norwich (*aa*); and that they wholly abstained from meddling with this controversy, at a time which there was most need to exert themselves, resolved, by his example, to encourage them to be silent no longer on so important an occasion, but speak out in defence of the holy religion they professed. In this spirit, having two turns for preaching in the cathedral, the first on Good-Friday, the other the Sunse'en-night following; he formed both his sermons against the Mass-Sacrifice of the Church of Rome (*bb*), wherein he declared, that *whatever were the consequence, he would not be afraid to preach the Gospel of Jesus Christ* [*I*]: These having angred the Papists, Mr Acton, the Jesuit afore-mentioned, who was chief mass-priest of a Popish conventicle then set up in Norwich, at a place formerly made use of as a grainery, sent two of his converted disciples to the Doctor, to demand an account of the said sermons; to which he answered, that he knew no obligations he had to be accountable to the *Men of the Grainery*, for what he had preached in the cathedral; if they had a mind to know what he delivered there, they might come and hear him, and that was all the answer he would give them. And as most of the ministers in Norwich took courage by his example, and preached against Popery, the party applied to a Popish gentleman, of considerable figure in Norfolk, who had an interest at Court, to complain of him to the King. But this had no effect; for as their design was to strike at the whole body of the Protestant Clergy, it was no longer worth their while to concern themselves with a particular person apart. This design was laid in the order, dated May 4, 1688, to all Ministers of churches in the realm, for reading the famed Declaration of Indulgence, &c. at the usual time of divine service, upon pain of ejectment; and to that end, bundles of the said Declaration were sent from the King's printing-house to every Bishop in the kingdom, according to the number of churches and chapels in their respective dioceses. What followed, how the Bishops petitioned the King, were imprisoned for the cause, and brought to their trial, is the subject of general history, we must confine our selves to the share which Dr Prideaux had in the affair. It is well known that a letter was drawn up by the Earl of Halifax, and directed to all the Clergy of England, persuading them not to read the Declaration. This letter being just printed off, when Dr Lloyd then Bishop of Norwich arrived at London, to consult with the Archbishop and other diocesans, what was properest for them to do, in this critical juncture (*cc*), his Lordship having got two thousand copies of it, for his Diocese, sent them down to Dr Prideaux to be dispersed among the Clergy. And this was executed so successfully, that before the third of June, on which the Declaration was to be read, every Clergyman in the diocese was furnished with one of these letters against it, which had so good an effect, that out of one thousand two hundred parishes in the diocese of Norwich, there were not above four or five in which it was read, and in those, the ministers were obliged to read it out of the Gazette. The Doctor in the distribution of these letters, undertook a dangerous task: they were conveyed down to him in the stage-coach in a box, under the care of an old gentleman in the neighbourhood, whose niece he had married; and as soon as the uncle was come home, the Doctor immediately went to enquire for the box; where he found the servant opening it to give one of them to a Physician of Norwich, who was a spy for the Papists, and had gotten into the old gentleman's acquaintance. This was very fortunate,

(*aa*) They were both suspended by the Ecclesiastical Commmission; the doctor for some unbecoming reflections in his sermons, and the Bishop for refusing to suspend him on that account. History General of England, under 1686.

(*bb*) The text to both was, Heb. ix. 24, 25, 26, 27, 28.

(*cc*) He was sent for by Sancroft, who, that the letter might not be stopped in London, where all suspected letters were opened, sent it to the next post-office in the country on the Norwich road; but, by the neglect of the Postmaster, it did not come 'till the post after it was intended; so that, before the Bishop could get to London, the petition of the seven Bishops was presented, and the petitioners sent to the Tower. Life, p. 40. See rem. [*N*].

[*I*] *He would not be afraid to preach the gospel of Jesus Christ.*] As these sermons are a remarkable instance of our author's courage at this trying time, and were never printed, we shall give the following extract from the last of them. 'And now,' says he, 'I doubt not but that there are some who will not be a little offended with me, for what I have said, both in this, and my former discourse on this text, but unto such I have these two things to say. First, that we being ministers of Jesus Christ, think our selves obliged by the law of our mission, and the vow we have entered into upon the taking this holy office upon us, to declare God's truths to all those to whom we are sent; and to warn them of those errors, which, if they fall into, will endanger their everlasting salvation. And when any party of men are so unreasonable as to take it ill at our hands, for discharging our duty and our consciences herein, we shall say unto them the same which the Apostle did unto the Jews in the the like case, Whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye. But secondly, as God and our consciences oblige us to the discharge of this duty, so do we take it, that we have full licence from the King's most excellent Majesty to authorize us so to do; and that not only by his laws, which are the most authentic expressions of his will, but also by his late Declaration, wherein, out of his abundant clemency, he hath given full liberty to all men in this realm, to own and profess each their own religion, according as their consciences shall direct.—And seeing by virtue of this liberty, so many now-a-days do take upon them to oppose the doctrines of our Church, and set up their own errors against them; who can with any reason deny us the same liberty to defend our selves. For since so many make use of the privilege of this liberty now granted to them, not only to preach up their erroneous doctrines against us, but also to hunt after the souls of men from house to house, seeking whom they can devour; without permitting those whom they think they can have any advantage over, either to live in quiet, or die in quiet in our communion: If we only, amidst this liberty, were to sit still with our hands upon our mouths, and silently behold those to be daily torn from us, for whose souls we are to answer, if they perish through our neglect, our case would of all men be the hardest. It can never enter into my thoughts, that so just a Prince, as his present Majesty is owned to be, ever designed to put any such thing upon us. This Declaration is general to all his people, which is demonstration to me, that he intended the benefit of it for all, that is, as well to those who have the laws on their side, as to those who have not. And therefore by virtue of that Declaration, as well as the impulse of my own conscience, I have thus taken upon me to discharge my duty in this particular, and think nothing can be more unreasonable, than that those who have no right at all, but by this Declaration, should take any exceptions at it. But be that as it will, since God hath called me to this ministry, I am not ashamed of, neither will I be afraid to preach the gospel of Jesus Christ.'

[*K*] A

fortunate, but still the Doctor not knowing how far the secret might have been communicated to him, by the old gentleman, was under some difficulty how to proceed any farther; for having already highly provoked the Popish party, should he be found distributing these letters, he might be very certain they would do their utmost to ruin him. However, his zeal for the Protestant religion soon got the better of these apprehensions: determining therefore not to decline any danger, where the interest of that cause was concerned, he undertook the affair, and had the good fortune to carry it through, without being discovered *(dd)*. And this was chiefly to a contrivance he made use of in the management of it, which may be seen below [*K*]. In the beginning of November following, the Prince of Orange landing at Torbay, King James soon after withdrew to France. Upon his Majesty's flight, the mob rose in many places, and created great disorders all over the nation. At first they began with rifling the houses of Papists, and such as were reckoned to be Popishly affected; 'till at last any body was accounted so, in whose house plunder was to be had, and these disorders raged no where more than at Norwich. The mob having plundered several houses in the city, at last made an appointment to do the same, by some houses within the precinct of the Cathedral, which they had marked out for that purpose. But Dr Prideaux having timely notice of their design, ordered the gates of the *Close* to be shut up; and the inhabitants arming themselves, repulsed the rabble who attacked them, to the number of five hundred men, and made them desist from their enterprize *(ee)*. The next night every body followed the Doctor's example, armed, and stood upon their defence all over the city, which soon put an end to these disorders. About this time, Dr Batteley having resigned his Archdeaconry of Suffolk, on being promoted to that of Canterbury; Dr Prideaux was on Dec. 21, 1688, collated to it by Dr William Lloyd, then Bishop of Norwich, and in May following, 1689, he made his first visitation. The new oaths, and the lawfulness of them, being then the general subject of debate, especially among the Clergy, his chief business in this visitation was, to give the best satisfaction he could to those who had any doubts about them; in which he had such success, that though they were above three-hundred parishes in that Archdeaconry, there were no more than three Ministers in the jurisdiction that refused to take them *(ff)*. Upon the great change which was wrought in State-Affairs, by the Revolution, several alterations were also projected for the Church, in which our Archdeacon made a considerable figure. For instance, in the Convocation which met in the winter of this year, 1689, with a view of settling the much bandied affair of a Comprehension, the Doctor published a piece in favour of that design, under the title of, *A Letter to a Friend, relating to the present Convocation at Westminster*; which met with so great approbation, that several thousands were sold within a fortnight after. In reality, the Doctor had great expectations from this meeting, in hopes that many things would have been done for the advantage of the Church, especially in improving and amending the Liturgy, and was much grieved at their ill success [*L*]. At his return to Norwich,

(dd) Ibid, p. 41, 42.

(ee) Some body crying out to the Bull, they all went to the Bull, a tavern kept by a Papist in the city; and having plundered and gutted that house, finished their expedition. Ibid, p. 48.

(ff) Ibid. p. 51. Though the doctor complied with the oaths himself, and acted up faithfully to them all the rest of his life, yet looking upon those that refused them as honest men, who sacrificed their interests to their consciences, he always treated them with kindness and respect.

[*K*] *A contrivance which may be seen below*] The contrivance was thus: having made up about a dozen packets, with several of these letters inclosed in each of them, he superscribed them in feigned hands, to so many ministers in the city of Norwich, and sent a trusty person to Yarmouth, with directions to disperse them in several wherries, which came up every night from thence to Norwich; and this being faithfully executed, the letters were delivered next morning as directed. Now as they were sent from Yarmouth, it was generally believed they came from Holland, and the Doctor by this device escaped all suspicion of having any hand in the affair. As to the rest, he sent them by the carriers, who go from Norwich every week into all parts of the county, so that they were dispersed over the diocese, without it's being known from whose hand they came, 'till all the danger was over. At this time there was one of the Prebendaries of Norwich strongly inclined to Popery, who intended to publish the *Declaration* in his parish-church in the country. But the two days of reading it being the third and tenth of June, and that month and July happening to be the two months for keeping his residence at the Cathedral, he sent to Dr Prideaux desiring him to excuse his coming for the two first weeks in June, and that he would reside for him those two weeks. But the Doctor being apprized of the true reason for that request, sent him word, that he would by no means comply with it; that the third of June being Whit-Sunday, and the tenth Trinity Sunday that year, the service of both these solemn days would fail, unless he came to attend it, and that the consequence would be the forfeiture of the revenue of his Prebend for the whole year; and as the Doctor was Treasurer of the Church, he farther assured him that he would certainly exact it, and not pay him one penny. This message immediately brought the Prebendary to Norwich, and he afterwards complied to the Revolution (11).

[*L*] *He was grieved at their ill success.*] Among other things, there was provided a family-book to be authorized by this Convocation; containing, directions for Family Devotions, with several forms of Prayer for worship every morning and evening, suited to the different circumstances of the families in which they were to be used. 'Till the breaking out of the civil war in 1641, which proved destructive to all order in religion as well as every thing else, family devotion was kept up all over the nation. Such masters of families as were able, often composed forms of their own; others, for the most part, used those which are in *the Practice of Piety*, a book then in much repute. Thus it continued 'till those unhappy wars, when the Puritannical party prevailing, carried this duty to an extravagant excess, and by their long extempore prayers, which were stuffed with absurd cant, and downright nonsense, brought family devotion itself into disrepute with many, who justly disliked such a nauseous and unsuitable manner of addressing the Deity; but instead of avoiding and reforming the abuse, ran into the contrary extreme, and omitted all prayer whatever with their families. Especially after the Restoration, when many, to shew their aversion to the sectaries, carried the matter too far, and branded many things with the imputation of fanaticism, only because the people had used them in a fanatical manner. Of this kind was family prayer, which many, in compliance with the prevailing vogue, from this time omitted. There was also another cause which derived its original from the same times, and helped to produce the same ill effect; that during the reign of these sectaries, and the prevalence of Puritanism, the Common-Prayer-Book being extravagantly run down, on the change of times at the Restoration, it was as extravagantly cried up by those

(11) Life, p. 43, to 45.

wich, finding the Cathedral settled under a new Dean, Dr Henry Fairfax [*M*], who, as he had no other avocation, constantly resided there, and the Popish controversy being brought to an end by the Revolution, he quitted Norwich, and retired to his parsonage of *Saham* in Norfolk, which he served constantly every Sunday morning and afternoon, during the four years that he lived there, excepting only while he was keeping his two months residence at Norwich, or visiting his Archdeaconry of Suffolk, which he did constantly twice every year, 'till disabled to bear the journey, by the unhappy disorder that afterwards came upon him. For the first three years after the Revolution, he took upon himself the office of preaching at every place, where he held his visitation, which was done to prevent such of the Clergy, as were not entirely satisfied of the justice of the Revolution, from launching out into topics, that might give offence to the government, when it should come to their turn to preach (*gg*). When the Bishoprick of Norwich became vacant by Dr Lloyd's deprivation, on refusing the new Oaths [*N*], Dr Compton Bishop of London, and Dr Lloyd, Bishop of St Asaph, being appointed by commission to govern the diocese during the vacancy, consulted and advised with Dr Prideaux in most things, which they did by virtue of that delegacy, and he served them on all occasions much to their satisfaction. So that both these Bishops earnestly recommended Dr Prideaux for the See of Norwich: but this was done without his knowledge or desire, and had he been nominated, he must have followed Dr Beveridge's example (*hh*), and refused it, because of his friendship with Bishop Lloyd. One of the last things that Prelate did in his diocese, was making our Doctor Archdeacon of Suffolk, and should he after this, have accepted of his Bishoprick, it would have sounded ill with many, and carried somewhat like the appearance of ingratitude toward his benefactor; not but that he well knew there would have been no justice in such a censure; but he considered that it was necessary, especially for one in that station, to avoid all appearance of evil, and that a Bishop must have the good esteem of his people, in order to make his ministry efficacious among them; that

(*gg*) Life, p. 67, 68.

(*hh*) He refused the bishopric of Bath and Wells, on account of his friendship with Dr Ken, the deprived Bishop; whereupon it was given to Dr Kidder, Dean of Peterborough, and one of the Prebendaries of Norwich. See his article. He was a particular friend of our author. Life, p. 77.

those of the High-Church party, as if no other form of prayer was to be used in families, any more than in churches: and this notion growing more and more fashionable, the consequence of it was, that whereas these prayers are many of them proper only to be read by men in Orders, many families of the gentry and nobility, who had no chaplains, began to disuse them, and nothing being substituted in their room, this was in a great many families the occasion of totally neglecting this duty. Dr Prideaux, with many others, being persuaded that the decay of family devotion was chiefly owing to these two causes, and that from hence proceeded a want of true Christian Piety all over the land, was very earnest for the publication of this book. Some years after the breaking up of this Convocation, as he was walking with Archbishop Tenison, in his garden at Lambeth, he pressed his Grace very much to publish it. But the Archbishop thinking it best to be done with the concurrence of the Convocation, and the Doctor not thinking it advisable to call one, in the then temper of the Clergy, it was not printed; and hath since had the misfortune to be lost, for being put into the hands of Dr Williams, Bishop of Chichester, it was somehow mislaid, and after his death could never be retrieved. It is most likely that being carelessly put among such papers, as the good Bishop at the time of his death had ordered to be burnt, it was destroyed with them. Dr Prideaux frequently made this one article in his Archiadonal charges, where he carried the matter so far, as to tell his Clergy that Prayer was so much their duty, that they should not only be constant in performing it morning and evening, in their own families, but in whatever other family any of them should happen to lodge at any time, he ought to offer his Prayers to the family, if they should not be otherwise provided for that duty, and exhort them to joyn with him in them; and should they refuse to hearken to him, let him look on that house as unfit for a Clergyman to make his abode in, and avoid it accordingly (12).

(12) Ibid. p. 71.

[*M*] *Dr Fairfax.*] When this Convocation was first called, Dr Stillingfleet, on the death of Dr Thomas, Bishop of Worcester, being promoted to that See from the Deanery of St Paul's, was succeeded herein by Dr Tillotson, Dean of Canterbury, to which Dr Sharp, being removed from the Deanery of Norwich, made way for Dr Henry Fairfaix, at this last Deanery into which he was installed, in 1689. He was now one of the Fellows of Magdalen College in Oxford, who had signally suffered in the cause of that college. For when the Fellows were all cited to appear before King James's High Commission Court, for not obeying the King's mandate, in chusing Mr Farmer for their President, and had in obedience to that citation appeared, and put in a modest answer, giving their reasons why they could not comply therewith; Dr Fairfax being present among the rest, addressed himself to the Court, and declared his dissent from that answer; upon which they encouraged him to declare the cause of his so doing; expecting it would be on the King's side: but he took out a paper, in which was contained a protestation against the legality of their commission, drawn out in full form, and read it aloud in the face of the Court. This provoked them so much, that after a great deal of foul language from the Lord Chancellor Jefferies, who sat President of the Court, he was forthwith sentenced to be expelled the college; and accordingly continued so 'till the Revolution (13). He was descended from a noble family, being the son of a younger brother of Ferdinando, Lord Fairfax, who was the father of the famous Sir Thomas Fairfax, General of the parliament army against King Charles I. (14).

(13) See more of this in Dr Hough's article.

(14) Collins's Peerage.

[*N*] *Dr William Lloyd deprived Bishop of Norwich.*] We have already mentioned an instance of his zeal for the Protestant cause, first in the dispute with Webster, and then in sending Lord Halifax's letter to our Dean, and the confidence which the Archbishop had in his wisdom and integrity, by sending for him to London on occasion of the Royal command, concerning the famous Declaration for a General Liberty of Conscience, and how he came not among the Bishops who were sent to the Tower. Those Bishops however, had this advantage thereby, that his Lordship had the opportunity of serving them as their Sollicitor, and conveying to them those advices of the nobility, lawyers, and other friends, by which they governed their conduct through the whole course of that affair; and his assiduity was so much taken notice of, that he was more than once sent to keep company with those, whose cause he so diligently sollicited. By his deprivation the diocese lost a very able and worthy pastor; for he was an excellent preacher, a man of great integrity and piety, thoroughly understood all the parts and duties of his function, and had a mind fully bent to put them all in execution, for the honour of God, and the good of the Church on all occasions. He was first Bishop of Landaff, from whence he was translated to Peterborough, and last of all to Norwich †. After his deprivation he lived very retired in some of the villages near London; first at Hogsden, next at Wandsworth, and lastly at Hammersmith, where he died, January 1. 1709, full twenty years after he had been deprived of his Bishoprick (15).

† In June 1685, upon the death of Dr Anthony Sparrow, in the preceding month. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1162.

(15) Life of Dr Prideaux, p. 40, 73. Dr Trimnell, one of the Prebendaries of Norwich, and a particular friend of Dr Prideaux, succeeded to the bishoprick of Norwich.

[O] *It*

that this esteem was as much diminished by actions, mistakenly reputed evil, as by those which are truly so; and, in short, that a Bishop should be as Cæsar would have his wife, not only clear of all guilt, but free from the imputation of it likewise. In the first Session of Parliament, after the new Bishops had taken their seats there, two bills were brought into the House of Lords, relating to the Church, in both of which Dr Prideaux happened to be concerned. One to take away pluralities of benefices, with cure of souls; the other, to prevent clandestine marriages. The first of these was chiefly pushed by Dr Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, who communicated the design, with a draught of it, to our author for his advice. He did not approve of that draught, and drew up another, whereby all pluralities for the future, were to be restrained within the limits of five miles distance, measuring it by the common road, from one church to another, which was unanimously approved by the whole Bench, and agreed to be offered to the Parliament. But it was thrown out for the reason mentioned in note [*O*]. As to the bill to prevent clandestine marriages, which was brought into the house of Lords by one of the Peers, our author in answer to Dr Kidder, then Bishop of Bath and Wells, who applied to him on the occasion, advised that friend to prevail with the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the rest of the Bishops, to put the laws in execution which were already made, against clandestine marriages, averring, that better laws could not be contrived to reform this abuse, than those which were already to be found in our Ecclesiastical Constitutions for this purpose (*ii*): and it was his opinion, that if those laws were duly observed, and vigorously prosecuted against the violaters, there would be no need of making Acts of Parliament, or establishing sanguinary laws against the Clergy, for preventing this iniquity [*P*]. The Bishop of Bath and Wells, on his perusal of this letter, forthwith sent it to the press, without our author's knowledge or consent, and the next week after, to his great surprize, it came down to him in print. This he would have had great reason to be offended at, had not the Bishop spared him so far as not to put his name to it. In the same year, 1691, toward the end of the long vacation, died Dr Edward Pocock, the very eminent Hebrew Professor, at Oxford, and Dr Prideaux was offered that place, but declined it for several reasons, which at that time made it inconvenient to him to accept it: this refusal afterwards proved a great detriment to him. About Whitsunday, 1692, Bishop Moore, who had succeeded Dr Lloyd at Norwich, came into his diocese, and Dr Prideaux attending, for the examination of candidates for Holy Orders, he was much offended at the ignorance he found among them, in regard to divinity, so that he frequently lamented the loss of Dr Busby's benefaction, who offered to found two catechistical lectures, one in each University, with an endowment of 100 pounds per annum, each, for instructing the undergraduates in the rudiments of the Christian Religion [*Q*]. In the same spirit of discipline, observing that many persons construed the indulgence of the Toleration Act, which passed in 1689, into a licence for absenting themselves from all public worship, he drew up a circular letter, which he dispersed in print to the Clergy within his district, to let them know, that notwithstanding the late indulgence granted by that Act, it was still their duty to take care that the proper presentments were made to him, of all those who profanely absented themselves from the public worship in the Church, informing them, that such absenters were still liable to the penalties of former statutes [*R*]. This letter he published in 1701, at the end of his *Directions*

(*ii*) On this occasion he mentions the particulars of those laws, together with the neglect of putting them in execution, and the great abuse in the manner of granting licences. A remedy for which has been since provided by the late act to prevent clandestine marriages, where they are restrained to the nobility, &c. See the act.

[*O*] *It was thrown out for the reasons mentioned in note* [*O*.] The Lords it seems, as Dr Prideaux apprehended, were so fond of their privilege of qualifying Chaplains for Pluralities, that they would hearken to nothing which should diminish or restrain it, and therefore would not allow the bill to be once read in their house. Our author however, in hopes that the good of the Church, as he called it, might at some time prevail so far, as to have the matter considered again with better success, when this bill and treatise might be of some use for regulating it, ordered them both to be printed in 1710, and published at the end of his book, concerning *the original of Tythes* (16), with a preface, containing an answer to the objections made by the Peers in defence of their privilege.

(16) The preface is dated at Norwich Octob. 10, 1709; i. e. 1710 according to the Printers.

[*P*] *No need of sanguinary laws against the Clergy.*] The purport of the bill being, to make it felony in the Minister who should solemnize or officiate at any clandestine marriage; Dr Prideaux declared, that should it pass into an act, it would be, in his opinion, the greatest hardship that ever was put upon the Clergy in any Christian state: for it would be a continual snare of ruin and destruction to them, since it would subject them to be tried for their lives every marriage they solemnized. That it would not be a sufficient salvo, to say the licence would be their security; for who would care to have the safety of his life depend on a slip of paper, which the rats might eat up, or a hundred other accidents might happen to destroy, and then the Minister must suffer death for want of it. And further, for his part, the Doctor declared to the Bishop, that after the passing of this bill, whatever should be the consequence, he would never marry any more persons; and was of opinion that all other Ministers who had any regard for their own safety, would take the same resolution; and then the bill, instead of preventing clandestine marriages, would operate so far as to put a stop to all marriages. These considerations when offered to the house in the debate, were thought to carry such a weight with them, that those who brought in the bill were content to drop it, and pressed it no farther. We must not dismiss this remark, without taking notice of the late bill, said to be contrived by Earl Hardwick, then Lord Chancellor (17), which has effectually prevented any such marriages in England, by making them void and of none effect; and yet a way has been attempted to evade this act by withdrawing to Scotland, and having them solemnized there according to the ecclesiastical laws of that country.

(17) This act was passed anno 1753, not without great difficulty, as the Protestant maxim, that the bond of marriage was indissoluble, was therein reversed; which is so inconsistent to the whole tenor of our ecclesiastical law, as it stood before, that 'tis no wonder we don't find any such method to be ever thought of by Dr Prideaux.

[*Q*] *Dr Busby's Catechistical Lectures.*] The offer was clogged with a clause, which provided that all the said undergraduates should be obliged to attend those lectures, and none of them be admitted to the degree of Bachelors of Arts, 'till after an examination by the Catechist, as to their knowledge in the doctrine and precepts of the Christian religion, and by him approved. This condition defeated the design, for both the Universities rejected it, and the benefaction with it *.

* Life, p. 92.

[*R*] *Absenters were still liable to the penalties of former statutes.*] Our Archdeacon's conduct in this affair, was undeniably very pious and well-becoming his station in the Church. But we must not omit, out of

rections to Church-Wardens, which was wrote with the like good intention, of exciting those officers to a faithful discharge of their duty [*S*]. At Michaelmas, 1694, he thought proper to leave Saham, and return again with his family to Norwich, after he had resided there about four years. His reasons for leaving this place were, that the country thereabouts subjecting people to agues, his family were hardly ever free from that distemper, all the time he lived there. He was himself sick of it a considerable time; and two of his children were so long ill, and contracted so bad a state of health from it, as afterwards cost them both their lives. Besides, being obliged to leave most of his books at Norwich, for want of room for them at Saham, this hindered him from carrying on his studies according to his inclinations, and in these he was further interrupted while he staid there, by the avocations he frequently met with in country-business, which made him weary of the place, and on all these considerations he determined to leave it [*T*]. On his quitting Saham, he gave it up altogether, without reserving any of the profits, as he might have done by putting a Curate on the parish; and resolving that as far as in him lay, the benefice and the office should go together, he resigned both into the hands of the Bishop, and wrote to the Warden and Fellows of New-College in Oxford, who were patrons of the living to present another, which they did accordingly. On his return to Norwich, the whole business of the Cathedral fell again into his hands, and he was obliged to undertake the burden of it, to prevent all from running to confusion. Dean Fairfax now resided mostly in London, and hardly ever came to Norwich, 'till toward the latter end of his time; and Dr Prideaux after he had left Saham, being constantly there, this gave him a full opportunity to make himself master of the affairs of that church; which he continued to take care of 'till the time of his death (*kk*). But did not hinder him from extending his care for the Church in general; to which purpose, upon the promotion of Dr Tenison to the see of Canterbury, our Archdeacon addressed a letter to his Grace, containing *An Account of the English Settlements in the East Indies, together with some Proposals for the Propagation of Christianity in those parts of the World* [*U*]. On the twelfth of February, 1696, he

(*kk*) Ibid. p. 95. to 97.

of impartiality, to observe, that though the former laws concerning the prophanation of the Lord's Day, by absenting from the public worship, were not expressly repealed by the act of Toleration, yet the force of them was rendered ineffectual thereby. For any ecclesiastical prosecution upon the Church-wardens presentment, was from that time easily defeated, by the offender's conforming on such occasions to some one of the tolerated sects. This mischievous effect, though evidently contrary to the intention of the Legislature, proved by construction an unavoidable consequence of that act; insomuch, that I believe no such presentments, as the Archdeacon enjoins in his circular letter, are ever thought of at this time of day.

[*S*] *His directions to Church-Wardens, &c.*] In the preface to the second part of his Connection of the Old and New Testament, wrote when he was incapable of doing any further service to his generation, he says, it had always been the comfort as well as the care of his life, to make himself as serviceable as he could, in all the stations to which he had been called: and this little manual of directions is a conspicuous testimony in his behalf. Nothing could be more wanted at the time it was published, there being no book of the kind then extant, but what was very defective; and yet the matter was brought into such a small compass, that the price was within any body's reach. It has gone through several impressions, and still continues in good repute, as being generally a safe rule in the business ordinarily incident to that extensive office; especially if due regard be had to such new regulations relating thereto, as have been introduced since the author's last revisal, which was in 1711 (18). However it must be remembered, that as it was first intended only for the use of his own Archdeaconry, so the design of it is to excite the officers therein, as well as the Ministers, to a faithful discharge of their plain duty in this respect, without entering into any nice and difficult cases, which did not properly belong to his function; and for the same reason it extends not to poor rates, or any part of what is more immediately the office of the overseers of the poor.

(18) Or, according to the Printers, in 1712, when the third edition, revised, corrected, and enlarged, was printed, and is therefore the best.

[*T*] *He left Saham.*] While he lived there he contracted a friendship with several of the neighbouring gentry, particularly with Sir John Holland, and Sir Edward Atkins. The former of these was a gentleman who retained a remarkable vigour in a very advanced age, being past ninety when the Doctor first became acquainted with him; and lived to be within one of a hundred. He was a person of great understanding and wisdom, and had made a very considerable figure in the Long-Parliament, where he was always for moderate measures, and sided with those who were for composing matters with the King: 'till at last, finding that all attempts of this kind were constantly defeated by the violence of parties, sometimes on the side of the Parliament, sometimes by the King; and that there were no hopes of bringing matters to an accommodation, he began to despair of being any longer serviceable to his King or his country; and therefore retired into Holland, where he lived most part of his time, 'till the return of King Charles II. when he was appointed one of the Commissioners sent by the Parliament to bring him home. As to Sir Edward Atkins he lived much nearer the Doctor, and conversed with him more frequently, he was a man of great piety, probity, and goodness, and had in the reign of King James II. been Lord Chief Baron of the *Exchequer*; in which post he acquitted himself with great justice and integrity, especially towards the Clergy, whom he would never suffer to be oppressed, and of whose rights he was remarkably careful while he presided in that court. At the Revolution, refusing to take the new oaths, he lost his place, and retired to Pickenham in Norfolk, where he lived quietly, in great respect and esteem, by all his neighbours, to whom he was very useful in reconciling their differences; for, being a man of great reputation and integrity, whenever any controversy arose among them, they usually referred it to his arbitration, in which he always decided with justice and equity, and generally to the satisfaction of both parties. This was his chief employment and delight in his retirement, scarce a week passing in which he had not several of these causes brought before him; for, as his fame spread all over the country, people came from considerable distances to him in such cases. As to the oaths, though he always refused them himself, yet he condemned none that did. When he was discoursed with about that matter, his usual saying was, that the Devil was busy with men on their death-beds, and therefore he would keep his mind free, that when he should come to die, he might have no doubts or fears on that account to disturb his conscience. About a year after Dr Prideaux left Saham, Sir Edward also left Pickenham, and removed with his family to London, where he died not long after of the stone (19).

(19) Life, p. 73 to 76. He died in 1698. See a monument erected to the family by Sir Edward's second son, Edward Atkins of Ketteringham in Norfolk, in the south cross isle of Westminster-abbey.

[*U*] *He sent Archbishop Tenison a proposal for propagating Christianity in the English settlements in the East Indies.*] The Hon. Mr Robert Boyle, about twenty years before, being desired to take on him the trouble of the East India committee, because his directions might be useful in that branch of the company's trade which relates to drugs, soon took notice of their great neglect with regard to the conversion of the infidels under their government. And, after several applications

he was instituted into the vicarage of Trowse, on the presentation of the Dean and Chapter of Norwich. It is a little village within a mile of Norwich, and a very small benefice, being hardly worth to him forty pounds a year: however, having no cure since he had resigned Saham, he took this small vicarage, rather for the sake of exercising the duties of

applications made to the company in vain, at last attempted something in that way upon his own purse; and, in 1677, wrote to Bishop Fell about proposing to have the Malayan Gospels re-printed at Oxford, from the Dutch copy, for this purpose. The Bishop hereupon consulted with Dr Marshal, and our author, which last objected to it: that the Dutch Gospels were in the Dutch character, and not in the Malayan, which is the same with the Arabic. That the Malayan words were spelt after the Dutch pronunciation. That the version was made from the Dutch translation, which is by no means a good one (20). That the Malayan language is not spoken in the English settlements. Whatever was the success of Mr Boyle's attempt, the impression which it made upon our author had stuck in his mind ever since, and the prints which the East-India Company had published to defend themselves against the then late attacks made upon them, first, by the interlopers, and since in parliament, having informed him of the vast number of the infidels under their government, had moved him to be concerned for them so far, as to make this proposal to the Archbishop, as a work worthy of his Grace to promote, by the contributions of well-disposed Christians among us: and observing that it would be a matter of great reputation to our Church, if the Clergy alone should undertake it, he concludes thus, 'Whenever it shall 'be thus undertaken, though I serve the Church mostly 'upon my own estate; yet, my purse shall be opened 'as wide towards it, as any man's. I will readily 'subscribe an hundred pounds, at the first offer; neither shall I stop here, if the work goes on; and if 'others will give proportionably, I doubt not but a 'great deal might be done therein.'

(20) This appears from the comment published by the author of that translation, and afterwards Englished by Mr Theodore Haak.

In his account of the East-India settlements (21), he computes 500000 persons, consisting of Jews, Mahometans, Portuguese Christians, or Gentiles (22), which last, make the main bulk: only in the island of Bombay, there are also some few Persees, who being of the remains of the old sect of the Magians, worship the fire. The Mahometans have in these places their Mosques, the Jews their Synagogues; the Gentiles their Pagodes, or Temples; and the Portuguese their Mass-houses. But there is not so much as a Chapel in any of them for Protestants, except at Fort St George. The Gentiles are an ingenious civilized people, who know letters, and are well skilled in many arts; and, for the most part, good morals, which their religion, the most refined piece of Heathenism ever yet in the world, most strongly obligeth them to; and, therefore, are thus far better prepared to hearken to what reasons may be offered to them for Christianity, and the easier disposed to embrace it. The Dutch East-India Company, maintain thirty or forty ministers for the conversion of these Infidels, and had lately erected a College or University in the Island of Ceylon, in which one place only, though not the tenth part of their dominions in the Indies, they have above 80000 converted Indians, for whose use they print Bibles, Catechisms, and many other books in the Malayan, and other Indian languages, which they annually distribute among them. That all their factories and ships in this trade, are provided with able Ministers, well encouraged. Whereas the English East-India Company are so negligent herein, that though they have in the Island of St Helena, a fort and town, in which are several hundreds of inhabitants, all English, they allow them no Minister, and consequently, they are degenerated to that degree of barbarity, as to be reckoned the vilest and most wicked of any, our shipping meet with in their whole voyage to the Indies. The English Company, do indeed maintain Chaplains for their Factories at Surat, Angola, Bombay, Fort St George, and Fort St David; but allow them so ill, and treat them so badly, that they are able to do them but little service. And as to their ships, they have no stated Chaplains at all.

(21) These are, Fort St George and the city of Madrass, in the Bay of Bengal; the city and island of Bombay, in the Bay of Cambaya; and Fort St David, on the Coast of Coromandel.

(22) So our merchants call the heathen Indians.

Upon this state of the case, our author proposes, 1. That at Madrass, Bombay, and Fort St David, be erected a school and a church, to be supplied by men of piety and prudence. And a Seminary erected in England to breed up persons to supply the mission for the future, who shall be particularly instructed in the Popish Controversy (23), and in the Indian, Malabar (24), and Sansaret (25) languages. 2. That these persons be chosen out of the boys in the Hospitals in London, or poor boys elsewhere, 'till the proposal hath made some progress; after which, to be brought from India, and chosen from the children of such of the Malabar Christians, as are not infected with Popery. That, as soon as the thing will bear it, a Bishop be settled at Madrass, or some other place of the English settlements, and the Seminary removed thither, and put under the government of the Bishop. That an extract be procured out of Holland, of all the orders, directions, and regulations, made in this matter, by the Dutch East-India Company, and that a copy be also procured of the laws and injunctions imposed by the States, on their East-India Company; whence, a like law may be passed in the English parliament, obliging our Company to do the same thing, and that some wise and good men be made choice of in London, directing and carrying on the whole design.

(23) This is necessary on account of the Popish Priests, who swarm in the Indies.

(24) These are the modern languages of Indostan, the first spoken through all the empire of the Mogul, and the latter in the peninsula of Malabar.

(25) The old language of the ancient Indians, still retained among the Bramins or Indian Priests, and is their learned language, in which all the books of their religion, philosophy, and other learning, are written.

Our author next considers, the two difficulties in this undertaking; which are, first, that in all the places abovementioned, the Romish Priests having free access, will do their utmost to obstruct the attempt; in which they will be greatly assisted by the garrison soldiers of the Company, which being mostly Portuguese, Spaniards, or Irish, are the greatest bigots to Popery, and are hired by the English for the sake of cheapness. The second difficulty is, that the English Gentiles are much more exact in their morals, than either the Portuguese, or English Christians, that live among them; and, on that account, have a very bad opinion of Christianity. To remove these obstructions, it is here proposed. 1. That the English East-India Company thus far follow the example of the Dutch, as to put none into their garrisons, but such as are of our own nation and religion. But as to the other part of the Dutch practice, to exclude all Papists from settling, and all Romish Priests from coming among them, although it may be heartily wished, yet it could not be proposed, because the English Company received Fort St George, and Bombay, from the Portuguese, under articles by which they are to protect those of their nation, who live in those places, in the free exercise of their religion (26). As to the second difficulty, the only way is to reform our Factories; to which end it is proposed, that chapels be built in all their Forts, Factories, and Garrisons; which, as well as the ships, be supplyed with Chaplains of worth, ability, and piety; who, instead of 50l. *per annum*, certain, and 50l. *ad libitum*, which they have at present, may be allowed 100l. *per annum*, certain; and that they have places assigned them at the common table of the Factory, before the priests or ministers of any other communion. For at Madrass, or Fort St George, the English East-India Company, maintain a Popish Priest, for their Popish subjects and servants, and a Dutch Minister, for their Dutch subjects and servants, both of whom take place at the said common table, before the English Minister; which is a great disparagement upon the English Church, of which he is a minister, as well as upon him; and by making him look little in the eyes of the Factory, renders his ministry of the less effect among them; and therefore it ought to be remedied by placing the English Minister first; the Dutch Minister next; and the Popish Priest after both; whereas, at present, the Popish Priest sits first; the Dutch Minister next; and the English Minister at the distance of many places below both. Lastly, that as soon as Churches, the Seminary, and Bishop are settled, Ministers be bred up and ordained there on the spot, in order to prevent long vacancies, which will be the consequence of sending for them to England; where, also few will be found willing to engage in it, but such as are of desperate fortunes, or whose worth is not such, as to put them in hopes of getting any preferment at home; who, for the most part, do more hurt than good in the places where they are sent; as is sufficiently experienced, as well in the West-Indies, as in the East (27).

(26) However, there is no such obligation in respect to Fort St David, which was sold to the company by Ram Rajah an Indian King.

(27) A letter to Archbishop Tenison, by Dr H. Prideaux, subjoined to his Life p. 151 to 188.

[W] *Unseasonable*

of his function in that parish, than out of any regard to the small profits arising therefrom; for though his Prebend and Archdeaconry, which were all the preferments he had at this time, fell very much short of a sufficiency to support him, yet as he had private fortunes of his own, he needed not so small an accession for his maintenance (*ll*). In Easter Term 1697 he published his *Life of Mahomet*, which was so well received that three editions were sold the first year *. However, this life was only a part of a greater work, which he had long designed to write; and that was, A History of the Saracen Empire, and of the Mahometan religion with it (*mm*). He had actually begun this history and had gone some way in it before he went to Saham; but not being able to go on with it there for want of his books as beforementioned, the work stood still for some time. However, on his return to Norwich, he resumed it again, with an intention of perfecting it. But while he was thus engaged, some reasons occurred to him, that it might be unseasonable for the state of those times [*W*], he therefore dropt it, and resolved only to publish that part which contained the life of Mahomet, to which he annexed *A Letter to the Deists*, wherein he undertook to prove the truth of Christianity by contrasting it with the impostures of Mahometism. The meeting of the Convocation having been interrupted for some time, several of the clergy were much displeased, and some began this year, 1697, to maintain in print a right to meet in those assemblies without any summons from the Crown. This gave rise to a dispute upon that subject, which was carried on with great heat on both sides, and still subsisted when the Convocation met in December 1701; in which a new debate arose concerning the privileges of the Lower House, where a majority of the members claimed to be on the same footing as to the Upper House, as the Commons in Parliament are in regard to the House of Lords; that is, to adjourn, by their own authority, apart from the Upper House, when, and to such time as they should think fit. This, the Upper House, that is, the Bishops, would not admit of, but insisted, that the ancient usage, which had been all along continued, was, that the President adjourned both Houses together, and to the same time; and that this was signified by a schedule sent down to the Lower House; and that this practice they would abide by and allow of no other. Dr Prideaux, who attended this assembly in virtue of his Archdeaconry, concurred with the Bishops so far, as thinking them in the right. But when they required that the Lower House should break up as soon as the schedule came down, and appoint no committees to sit and act on the intermediate days, he was clearly of opinion, that in both these particulars they were wholly in the wrong (*nn*). Two months were taken up in arguing and debating these points, which were contested with the same heat as the former, as well without doors (where a swarm of pamphlets issued from the press) (*oo*) as within the House. At length the Lower House appointed a committee to consider of some method for accommodating this dispute, that so they might be able to proceed in the other business for which they were called. Dr Prideaux was one of this committee, who sat some time, but before any report could be made the Prolocutor fell ill and died; upon which there arose a new debate about appointing his successor; but this did not last long, for within a few days after, on the 8th of March 1701, King William died which put an end to the Convocation. On the 10th of May following, 1702, died Dr Henry Fairfax, Dean of Norwich; and our Prebendary being appointed to succeed him, was installed into that Deanery the 8th of June the same year. As soon as he was settled therein, he set himself to work in reforming such disorders and abuses as were crept into the cathedral, to this end he purged it of several obnoxious and scandalous persons, who were the occasion of those disorders, and filled up the vacancies with the best men he could get. By this means, and by admonishing the rest, he at length brought the whole choir into perfect good order, and so it continued while he sat at the head of it (*pp*). The third of December 1702, being appointed a public thanksgiving-day on account of our success in the expedition against Vigo in Spain, Dean Prideaux preached the sermon at his cathedral, and by the desire of the Mayor and Alderman had it printed (*qq*). This was the only sermon he ever published, and it was done against his inclination (*rr*). In Easter Term following, 1703, he published, *The Justice of the present established Law, which gives the Successor, in any Ecclesiastical benefice, all the profits from the day of the Avoydance.* As the law now stands, if a beneficed clergyman dies a little before harvest, all the profits go to his successor, by which means the family of his predecessor are often left in distress. This consideration induced some of the Bishops to think of bringing a bill into Parliament to remedy it, which was undertaken by Dr Burnet, who, according to his nature, was particularly zealous in this matter; which gave occasion to our author's tract (*ss*); wherein, as his sentiments happened to concur with those of the Archbishop of Canterbury's,

(*ll*) He served it himself 'till he was disabled by the stone from going into the pulpit, and then resigned it, in the resolution not to keep any cure which he could not serve himself. Ibid. p. 98.

* Some mistakes in this Life are remarked in Simon Ockley's *Hist. of the Saracens*, and in John Gagnier's *Ismael Abulfeda.*

(*mm*) This would have contained the History of the ruin of the Eastern Church, which being brought about through the divisions therein, would, he thought, furnish an useful lesson for the intemperate zeal that inflamed the differences between the Church of England and the Dissenters, at the time of his entering on this work. Preface to the Life of Mahomet.

(*nn*) Ibid. p. 103.

(*oo*) See a large account of them in the article of Dr Atterbury, remark [*I*].

(*pp*) Life, p. 104, 105.

(*qq*) It was reprinted at the end of his Ecclesiastical Tracts, Lond. 1716.

(*rr*) The reason was, because, according to the general turn of such, it contained little more than an harangue on the occasion of the day. p. 106.

(*ss*) This piece was also reprinted with his Ecclesiastical Tracts.

[*W*] *Unseasonable for the state of those times.*] Viz. On account of the controversy about the Trinity (28). Our author's design in the history above mentioned, would necessarily have led him to unfold all the subtle niceties that were held, by each sect of the Eastern Church, concerning the *Hypostatical Union*, which being not unlike those that are incident to the Trinity, would, he feared, give fresh matter of triumph to the Deists, and Socinians, who were already rejoycing to see the Divines engaged in such kind of subtle questions; and began to publish their impieties without fear or shame (29): therefore, to contribute his mite toward putting a stop to these, he chose rather to send forth his life of Mahomet, with a letter, to the Deists. It is not improbable that the King's injunctions, ordering the Bishops to watch against, and hinder the use of new terms, or new explanations in the Trinity, and other fundamental mysteries of faith (30), might have great weight in our author's resolution, to lay aside his design.

(28) It was occasioned by Dr Sherlock's book on that Subject. See his article.

(29) Mr Firmin, an eminent Socinian in those times, had the greatest hand in printing and spreading these books. See his life.

(30) See Burnet's Hist. of his own Time, Vol. II. p. 213. fol. edit.

[*X*] *For*

Canterbury's, his Grace recommended it to the rest of the Bishops, who, on perusing it, were so far convinced, that all in general consented to drop it, and there have never since been any thoughts of reviving it. In 1705 the Dean had a very signal deliverance from great danger; Dr Hayley, late Dean of Chichester, being then in the neighbourhood of Norwich, Dean Prideaux went to make him a visit, and while he was there, the servants of the house, without the knowledge or privity of their master, made his coachman so drunk, that on his return he fell off the coach-box; and the horses taking fright run away near three miles full speed, 'till at length they were accidentally stopped by a poor labouring man returning from his work, and happily the Dean received no harm *(tt)*. This was a deliverance which he was ever after thankful to God for while he lived [*X*]. The maintenance of the parochial clergy of Norwich depending mostly upon voluntary contributions gathered from door to door in every parish; an attempt was made in 1706, to bring it to a certainty by an Act of Parliament; in order to which, a petition from the city being necessary, such a petition was sollicited. While this was in agitation, for the furthering of the design, Dr Prideaux published *An Award* made by King Charles I. *(uu)*, and passed under the Broad Seal, for settling a pound rate of two shillings upon the buildings within the city; to which he annexed, A Discourse in Vindication of the Legality, Justice, and Reasonableness of that Award; and in this he treated particularly of the nature of personal tythes, and the manner of paying them in the city of London: But this treatise had not the desired effect *(ww)*. In 1707 the fee of Norwich becoming vacant, by the translation of Dr Moore to Ely, the Dean received many letters from his friends, advising him, and encouraging him, to make interest for the Bishoprick; but to this he could by no means be persuaded, nor did he think it consistent with his interest to accept it, in case of an offer; he was then near sixty, and as the revenues of his Deanery and Archdeaconry would better support him in his present situation than those of the Bishoprick would in that character, he thought it better to continue as he was; especially as the coming into that Bishoprck, in first-fruits, fees, providing a suitable equipage, furnishing his house, and other incidental expences, could not cost him less than 2000l. *(xx)* [*Y*]; which he must save all out of the Bishoprick, or his family suffer by his promotion. In 1709 he published his tract of *The original right of Tythes*, which was at first intended only as a preface to a larger work; namely, The History of Appropriations; wherein he designed to shew by what means they began; how they were alienated into lay-hands at the Reformation; the right the Church still has to them, for serving the cure, repairing the chancel, and bearing all other ecclesiastical burthens; the right which the law hath now given appropriators in them; and what are usurpations made thereupon. But finding this to swell under his hands to a bulk beyond what he expected, he determined to publish the former separately [Z]. While he was engaged in this undertaking, the calamitous

(tt) Life of our author, p. 107, 108.

(uu) The title is, An Award of King Charles I. &c. shewing, that personal tythes are still due by the Law of the Land; and that there is a necessity of restoring or settling something else in lieu of them, for the maintenance of the Clergy in the cities and larger towns of this kingdom.

(ww) Yet as he was in hopes it might some time or other be of use for that purpose, he had it reprinted among his Ecclesiastical Tracts, ubi supr.

(xx) It has been proposed, that, as livings not exceeding 50 l. per annum are discharged of first-fruits and tenths, so bishopricks, not exceeding 1000 l. per ann. may be excused those charges; and that, instead of the mock elections by *congé d'elire*, and the expences of instruments and officers fees, Bishops may be made in England by letters patent, as they are in Ireland.

[*X*] *For this deliverance, he was ever after thankful to God.*] There were two circumstances, which seemed providentially to concur in saving him: the first, was, that on his return, instead of driving the direct road through which he went, he ordered his coachman to turn to the right, into another road, which led to a further part of the city, where some business called him. Now, this road being smooth and plain, there was less danger from an accident of this sort: whereas, on the other road, which was the nearest way to his own home, there was a steep precipice, over which the horses would in all probability have fallen, beat the coach in pieces, and destroyed him. The second was, that a little while before this happened, being in company with some of his friends, the case of Bishop Grove, who lost his life by an accident of the like kind, was talked of, and it was then made apparent to him, that the safest way, in such a case, would be to sit still, and wait the event of an overthrow, or the stopping of the horses by some other means. And had he not been thus fore-warned, he had certainly endeavoured to have leap'd out of the coach; which, in all probability, must have been fatal to him; for while the horses were running full speed, it was hardly possible for him to have been so quick in getting out, but the hinder wheel would have caught him; which was the ruin of Bishop Grove; who, while the horses were running away, endeavoured to leap out, but the hinder wheel overtook him, ran over him, and broke his leg, of which he died (31).

(31) Life of Dr Prideaux, p. 108, 109.

[*Y*] *His coming into it, could not cost him less than 2000 l.*] There have been frequent instances of Bishops, who dying too soon after their promotion, have left their families in such poverty, as to want charity for their necessary subsistence. This was the case of Bishop W——k, Bishop G——ve, and would have been the case of Archbishop T——l——n, had not his widow been assisted after his death, by a pension, from the Crown, and what she got of the Booksellers for his posthumous sermons. Dr Prideaux indeed was in no danger of leaving his family in such distress, as he had a temporal estate sufficient to provide for them, whenever he should happen to die; but, then, as he had got nothing by the Church, he had no reason to hazard his private fortunes (which were his own and his wife's inheritance) in the service of it (32).

(32) Ibid. p. 112, 113.

[Z] *He resolved to publish the original right of tythes separately.*] Mr Selden in his history of Tythes, having started a notion that the Clergy's right to Tythes in England, was first created after the Conquest, by the arbitrary donations of Patrons of Churches. Our author undertakes here to refute that opinion, by shewing, that though there is no divine law for the payment of the specific portion of a tenth; yet the Christian Clergy have a divine right to a sufficient maintenance by the Gospel: And since it is above the reach of man's understanding to determine the *quantum*; therefore, a tenth being allotted as the fittest portion for that end by the divine command, both in the Patriarchal and Levitical dispensations, that command becomes thereby a divine directing precedent which infers an obligation to follow it, where the case is exactly the same, that is, where there is no alteration in any of the reasons of the law, upon which that precedent is grounded; but there is no reasons for the payment of a tenth, either to the Patriarchal or Levitical Priesthood, which do not hold good, with much greater strength, in respect to the Christian Clergy. He then proceeds to shew particularly, that this practice was introduced into England, by the Canons of the Church, about the middle of the eighth Century, and in the year 855, received a civil establishment, by a grant of King Ethelwolf, (the first Monarch of the whole kingdom) in a parliament then held at Westminster. That this grant was confirmed by all his successors, down to the Conquest, and the practice punctually observed, where it was not prevented by the wars with the Danes. That after the Conquest, the establishment of Tythes being incorporated into the body of Edward the Confessor's laws,

calamitous distemper of the stone first seized him, which put a stop to all further proceedings; for, in order to compleat the work, it was necessary for him to consult the Cotton Library, the Tower of London, and other places, where ancient records are kept, which could not be done without a journey to those places, and being utterly disabled from bearing any such journey by his distemper, he was obliged to lay aside the whole design; and the same distemper disabling him from the pulpit-duty, in 1710 he resigned his vicarage of Trowse, which was given by the Chapter to one of their Minor-Canons (yy). When this distemper first came upon him, in the spring of the former year, he apprehended it was the stone in the kidney; from whence, with much pain, it passed into the bladder; and when there, as he imagined, adhered to the side of it; for upon his taking a short journey in the country, it was broke off by the shaking of the coach, which occasioned his voiding a great quantity of blood, and from that time he lived in constant pain, 'till he was cut for it two years after. His reasons for delaying that operation so long were, that, considering his age, he apprehended it would be certain death to him; and therefore to put himself into the Surgeon's hands would be little better than self-murder; and rather than be so guilty, he was determined to submit, and patiently endure his calamity however grievous and tormenting. At last the disorder grew upon him so much, that there was little probability of his living a month longer without some relief, and cutting being the only means left, which gave any prospect of it, he was convinced, that in this case he might venture to hazard it. In that resolution he sent for Mr Salter, a famous Lithotomist then in London, to perform the operation; which he did with great dexterity, drawing out the stone, nearly of the shape and size of a sheep's kidney, in less than three minutes. After the operation Mr Salter staid with him about a week, and in that time the wound healed so fast, and every thing looked so well as to promise a certain cure in a month or six weeks. Whereupon Mr Salter returned to London, leaving his patient in the hands of a young Surgeon who had been bred up under himself, then at Norwich, to finish the cure, assuring the Dean he would be as safe in his hands as in his own. But every thing fell out just contrary; for after he had been under the care of this Surgeon a whole year, he seemed to be much further from a cure than when he had first undertaken him; and during all that time the Dean had suffered as much pain and torment from him as he had before from the stone itself. While he lay in this condition, Lord Somers hearing of his case, was pleased to express himself, that he thought Dr Prideaux, a person of greater value than to be so lost; and sent to reprimand Mr Salter for having taking so little care of him. This produced a letter from that Surgeon to the Dean, earnestly advising and intreating him to come to London; accordingly the Dean resolved upon the journey, and by the contrivance of taking out all the seats of a large stage-choach, in which he laid at his full length upon his quilt and other bed-cloaths, was carried to London with as much ease and safety as if he had been in a litter. Mr Salter on examining the case found the urinary passage ripped up and destroyed, and every thing so miserably mangled and wounded, that he expressed no little wonder to find him alive, after usage which he thought would have killed any body else. Nothing now remained but to cure these wounds, which he did in about two months, when the Dean returned to Norwich; but was obliged ever after to void his urine through an orifice left in the place where the stone had been extracted, which was a great inconvenience to him (zz). On his arrival at Norwich he again applied himself to his studies, which had been greatly interrupted by his unhappy distemper. The first thing he undertook, was to review his *Directions to Churchwardens* upon the Bookseller's signifying to him, that he intended to publish a third edition of that tract; and having made large additions to it, a third addition was printed in Michaelmas Term 1712 (aaa). Having finished this work he went on with his *Connection of the History of the Old and New Testament*, which he had begun immediately upon dropping the designed History of Appropriations; but was obliged to lay it quite a side by his disorder; and having now obtained some better health he pursued his intention [*AA*], and finished the first part in

(yy) Life, p. 116, 117.

(zz) Ibid. p. 117 to 121.

(aaa) This is the best edition of that piece, and the subsequent ones are only copies from it.

laws, was constantly ratified by the Normans, and consequently continued in force, notwithstanding the abuse that from Anno 1000, to Anno 1200, was made in the distribution of them by Patrons; who, during that interval, having the *sole* power of collating the clerk without the Bishop's institution, as well as the advowson of the church, often arbitrarily disposed of them to religious and ecclesiastical corporations, which were all then by law, as capable of holding churches and tythes, as the parish priests were. Whence arose lay collations, appropriations, infedations, exemptions from tythes, portions, pensions, donatives, and such like, by which no original consecration of tythes was made, nor was a new right to them first created: On the contrary, they were arbitrary alienations of the rights of the Parochial Clergy, as is evident from hence, that all rectors of churches were allowed the plea of common right against religious houses, for any portion of tythes possessed by them in their parishes, 'till they produced a special grant for them, or proved a prescription that supposed it (33).

[*AA*] *He pursued his intention.*] While he was thus engaged, Charles, Lord Viscount Townsend, one of the Principal Secrataries of State to King George the First, meditating a design to introduce a kind of Reformation in the English universities, consulted our Dean; who thereupon drew up the plan for that purpose, and sent it to his Lordship, under the title of, Articles for the Reformation of the two Universities. I. That in every college public prayers be at six in the morning and nine at night, except Sundays and holy days, at which all the members to be present. II. That the great bell at Christ church in Oxford, and the biggest bell in St Mary's church at Cambridge, toll for half an hour, 'till nine at night. III. That all college gates be locked up before prayers be ended, and then the keys delivered to the Master, and remain there 'till prayers be ended the next morning.

IV. That

(33) As the Alienation office happened to be burnt in King Charles II's time, it was adjudged, since my memory, that a custom of non-payment of tythes, or of a modus in lieu of them, proved from that time, was a sufficient prescription.

in 1715, which was publiſhed in Michaelmas Term following. However, that did not hinder him from keeping a wakeful eye for the public good. In which ſpirit, upon the acceſſion

IV. That whoever is locked out ſhall be let in if he knocks at the gate, on condition he gives an account of himſelf to the governor the next morning. V. That whoever lies out all night in the town, without juſt cauſe, after the third fault ſhall be expelled; that all abſenters from the evening and next morning prayers ſhall be ſuppoſed to be out unleſs they prove the contrary. VI. That the common or combination rooms be ſhut at ten at night, and the keys lodged with the governor 'till next morning. VII. That coming in, or going out, of the college, at night, clandeſtinely, be immediate expulſion. VIII. That Stourbridge fair be aboliſhed, or elſe removed to ſome other place. IX. That all faſt nights be aboliſhed. X. That the ſitting and drinking in any tavern or alehouſe after the third offence be expulſion; and the maſter of ſuch tavern or alehouſe be for the three ſucceſſive offences fined, 5l. 10l. and 20l. and for the third, diſabled to keep a tavern or alehouſe. XI. That women coming to ſettle at either univerſity, ſhall produce teſtimonials of their good behaviour within three days after their arrival, and then take out a licence for continuing there. No houſekeeper ſhall harbour any woman otherwiſe, under the penalty of 5l. *toties quoties*. That all whores, upon conviction, be carted out of town, and, upon returning, unleſs paſt the age of fifty, be ſtripped down to the middle and whipt out of town. XII. That if any ſcholar under age be clandeſtinely married, both the woman ſo married, and the miniſter marrying, and all other wilful and knowing acceſſories be deemed guilty of felony without benefit of clergy. XIII. That no perſon ſhall hold a fellowſhip after he is full twenty years ſtanding from his matriculation, but be ſuperannuated, except a public profeſſor, or lecturer, or upper or under library-keeper, or keeper of the archives, or regiſter of the convocation, or judge of the Vice-chancellor's court, or a miniſter of a church in Oxford or Cambridge, or ſuburbs, and conſtantly ſerve the ſame in his own perſon. XIV. That ſuch ſuperannuated Fellows, as ſhall not have qualified themſelves for any public ſervice, be placed in an hoſpital built for the purpoſe, and called *Drone-hall*, and be allowed 20l. *per annum* each, by the college where they have been Fellows. XV. That every Fellow of a college after ten years ſtanding, be allowed to be abſent for ſerving any Biſhop or Nobleman as a chaplain, or any other ſuitable employment approved by the college; and that all ſtatutes contrary thereto be annulled. XVI. That the acceptance of any eccleſiaſtical benefice above 80*l per annum, ſecundum verum valorem*, ſhall void a Fellowſhip. As ſhall alſo, XVII. The being choſen beadle of the univerſity. XVIII. That there be no pre elections before the voidance of a Fellowſhip. XIX. That all Fellowſhips in every college be brought to the ſame rule, privilege, and denomination, and governed by the ſame ſtatutes, and all of the ſame degree have equal dividends; and that no order ſhall exceed that immediately below it, above a fifth part, *i. e.* if the undergraduate fellowſhips be worth 25l. then that of B. A. be 30l. A. M. LL. B and M. B. 35l. B. D. LL. D. and M. D. 40l. and D. D 45l. in like proportion to the revenues of the college. XX. That the number of Fellows in each college be ſtated in proportion to their revenues, ſo that none be allowed above 60l. *per annum*; and the vacancy be filled every year. XXI. That upon conviction of bribery in any election to a fellowſhip, both the giver and receiver be expelled; which ſhall be extended, alſo, to the caſe of aſking or offering any bribe though nothing be paid or taken. XXII. That all claims of founders kinſmen be annulled. XXIII. That no treats be allowed but in the college-hall, to be regulated by the orders of the college. XXIV. That no bonds for performing exerciſe be taken, nor none admitted to any degree without performing all the ſtatutable exerciſes. XXV. That every member ſhall be obliged to keep thoſe exerciſes as ſoon as he is of ſufficient ſtanding, whether he take the degree or no, on pain of having his name ſtruck out of the buttery-books, and no longer enjoying any fellowſhip, &c. therein. XXVI. That no beneficed miniſter ſhall be allowed to be abſent from his cure after twelve years ſtanding. XXVII. That all college ſtatutes be reviſed and reformed by authority. XXVIII. That the Euchariſt, with a ſermon by one of the members, be celebrated once a month at leaſt, when all members ſhall communicate. XXIX. That there be a weekly meeting of the Vice chancellor, heads of colleges, and Proctors, to conſult upon the affairs of the univerſity, and nothing be propoſed in convocation 'till firſt approved at the ſaid meeting. XXX. That in the beginning of every new parliament ſix members be named of each houſe, and ſix others by the King; who, with the two Archbiſhops, and Lord Chancellor, be appointed Curators of the Univerſities commiſſioned under the Great Seal, with viſitatorial power, of whom any ſeven be a quorum, to meet at the ſummons of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury XXXI. That theſe Commiſſioners ſhall compleat the ſtatutes which are defective of any college. XXXII. That a viſitation of enquiry may be made by any three, but no injunctions made thereon, but by a quorum. XXXIII That in each univerſity there be a ſelect Senate, conſiſting of the Doctors in each faculty, and Bachelors of Divinity, which ſhall hear and determine all differences in any college; and, in caſe of an appeal to the Viſitor, the appellant, if caſt, ſhall pay all expences, beſides twenty pounds to the aggrieved, to be enſured by a bond given to the Viſitor, who is otherwiſe not to accept the appeal. XXXIV. That all the Livings belonging to the Univerſities, be diſpoſed of by the ſaid ſelect Senate. XXXV. That no head of a college be abſent above two months at one time, or three at different times in the year, on pain of voiding his place. XXXVI. That every headſhip be made up out of the college revenues, to the value of three of the beſt fellowſhips. XXXVII. That none be promoted to a Biſhoprick or Deanery, or any living worth 300l. per Annum, unleſs he hath taken the degree of D. D. regularly in the Univerſity; nor to an Archdeaconry, or any Reſidentiary, in any cathedral or collegiate church, or any Living worth 200l. per ann. unleſs he hath taken the degree of B. D. or LL D. regularly; or to any prebend, which is no reſidentiary or living worth 100l. per annum, except he hath taken the degree of A. M. or LL.B. regularly. And no perſon be capable of being Judge of the Admiralty, Dean of the Arches, Judge of the Prerogative Court, or Vicar-General to either Archbiſhop, or Maſter of the Faculties, or Chancellor to any Biſhop, who has not taken the degree of LL.D. nor of being Commiſſary or Regiſter to any Biſhop or Archdeacon, without the degree of A. M. or LL.B. And that none be admitted to this laſt degree, before he is three years ſtanding, from the time of his being admitted A. B. XXXVIII. That in all exerciſes of Divinity in the public ſchools, no text be quoted out of the Old Teſtament, in any other language than the Hebrew; nor than the Greek, out of the New Teſtament. XXXIX. That all Tutors be appointed by the Maſter and Seniors of each college, and approved and licenſed by the Vice-Chancellor, on the following terms. XL. That they conſtantly read by themſelves, or a licenſed deputy, to their pupils, 'till the degree of A. B. without making any vacation, except for three weeks at Chriſtmas, one at Eaſter, one at Whitſuntide, and one at the Act or Commencement. XLI. That the ſaid Tutors form the morals and principles of their pupils upon the laws and doctrines of the Church of England; and, on all Sundays and Holy-Days, expound the articles of that Church, or other tracts of divine inſtitution. XLII. That every tutor be ſworn to the faithful obſervance of this laſt article, and ſuch others, as ſhall be added to it, before the Vice-Chancellor; and beſides, take all the oaths, make all the declarations and ſubſcriptions, as are required of perſons licenſed to keep a Grammar-School; when, and not before, The Vice-Chancellor, to give him a certificate to be regiſtered in the Univerſity, and his own college. XLIII. That Tutors, convicted of neglecting their duty, for the ſecond offence be removed, and their licence annulled. XLIV. That, if any Tutor make his conduct in any particular of ill example to his pupils, he be removed forthwith. XLV. That every Tutor ſhall have proctorical authority. XLVI. That any perſon truſting an undergraduate, without his Tutor's conſent, ſhall loſe all right of recovering by law what he ſo truſts. XLVII. That every Maſter of a college, with ſuch of the Seniors as he ſhall think fit, ſhall

accession of King George the First to the Throne, a new Parliament being called in the ensuing spring, our Dean waited upon a certain gentleman of great note and influence in in the House of Commons, who came to Norwich on account of the election, and took that opportunity of putting into his hands a proposal, that all estates real and personal held in trust for the use and benefit of Popish seminaries, monasteries, or mass priests, or of any depending on them, be seized and sold towards paying the public debts of the nation; observing, that these trusts, if fully discovered, (for which he likewise proposed a method) would amount to above the value of a million of money. The proposal had so good an effect, that, in the ensuing Parliament, it was enacted, that all such estates be forfeited to the public; and accordingly, several of them were seized as forfeited, and applied to the public use by commissioners appointed for that purpose *(bbb)*. The second part of his Connection, &c. came out in two years after. Both parts were received by the public with the greatest approbation, and went through eight editions at London besides two or three at Dublin *(ccc)* before the end of the year 1720. This history takes in the affairs of Egypt, Assyria, and all the other Eastern nations as well as of the Jews, and likewise those of Greece and Rome, as far as was necessary for giving a distinct view of the completion of those prophecies which relate to the times comprehended in it *(ddd)*. The author has also set in the clearest light some passages of prophane history, which before lay dispersed and buried in confusion. And there appears throughout the whole work such an amiable spirit of sincerity and candour, as sufficiently atones as well for the few mistakes which have escaped his diligence [*BB*], as for some weaknesses that were incident to his nature [*CC*]. Several of these were taken notice of presently after the publication of

(bbb) Life, p. 138 to 141. where the proposal may be seen at large.

(ccc) It has also been translated into French and Italian.

(ddd) In 1710, Bishop Lloyd communicated his scheme of Daniel's seventy weeks to our author; who making some objections to it, received an answer from his Lordship, to which he returned a reply, confirming the Bishop's opinion in beginning those weeks at the 20th year of Artaxerxes Longimanus. See the answer and reply in the Dean's Life, p. 237, & seqq.

shall examine the undergraduates in it once a quarter, and punish the want of proficiency, according as it shall be found to be the fault of Tutor or Pupil. XLVIII. If it be the fault of the pupil, through idleness or incapacity, he be dismissed, after three times of examination, from the College and University. XLIX. That none be admitted Bachelors of Arts, 'till they be found able, upon examination, to give a good account of Christianity, as taught and professed in the Church of England. L. In order to which, a system of Divinity shall be made by the Professor, or such others as the University shall appoint, wherein all undergraduates shall be instructed by their Tutors, and examined before they commence A. B. LI. That the examiners be four Bachelors of Divinity, resident in the University, annually chosen by the Vice-Chancellor and heads of colleges. LII. That such examinations be held in the University-Schools, at the appointment of the Vice-Chancellor. LIII. That the examiners, by two at a time, in rotation, examine six undergraduates at a time, at least, for two hours, or longer if they think fit; and that the said examinations be in such order, method, and times, as the Vice-Chancellor and Heads shall appoint, by a stated rule, and that a certificate of approbation from the examiners, be necessary for taking the said degree. LIV. That the four lectures of Grammar, Rhetoric, Logic, and Metaphysics, in Oxford, be abolished, and the salaries settled upon the aforesaid examiners: and the like method to be taken in Cambridge. LV. That no person be admitted to orders under the degree of A. B. at least, except such as have studied the like time in foreign Universities. LVI. That no plays be acted in the University, by the common actors of plays or interludes. LVII. That none be suffered to put on the Civilian's Gown, 'till he has taken the degree of A. B. LVIII. That as to physic, the University of Cambridge to follow the rule and usage of Oxford, both for times and exercises (34).'

No doubt can be made of the Dean's good intention in these articles; but whoever knows any thing of the state and temper of the Universities, need not be told that the scheme is absolutely impracticable: as an argument that proves too much, proves nothing; so a scheme that aims at too much, loseth every thing *.

[*BB*] *Some errors which have escaped him.*] The Dean begins his history thus. The ancient empire of the Assyrians, which had governed Asia for above thirteen hundred years, being dissolved on the death of Sardanapalus, &c. This is apparently taken from Ctesias, and was then the commonly received opinion. But it is opposed by Sir Isaac Newton, who observes, that 'Ctesias made the Assyrian empire as old as Noah's flood, within sixty or seventy years, and to continue from Belus, and Ninus his feigned son, 1360 years. Nimrod indeed founded a kingdom at Babylon, and perhaps extended it to the Assyrians, but this kingdom was of small extent, if compared with those that arose up afterwards, being only within the fruitful plains of Chaldea, Chalonitis, and Assyria, watered by the Tigris and Euphrates; and if it had been greater, it was but of short continuance, it being the custom in those early ages, for every father to divide his territories among his sons: so Noah did.——After Nimrod, we hear no more of an Assyrian empire, 'till the days of Pul.—It appears from Nehemiah, c. ix. v. 32. that this empire arose, when the Kings of Assyria began to afflict the inhabitants of Palestine, which was in the days of Pul. He afflicted Israel, conquered the Medes, &c. Ctesias knew nothing of this conquest, nor so much as the names of the conquerors, or that there was an Assyrian empire then standing; and supposes the Assyrian empire was at an end two hundred and fifty years before it began (14).' However it must be observed, in justice to the Dean, that this is a point; which, as it does not fall within the compass of his history, so it was none of his business to examine the foundation of it. The following mistake is of a different nature. In explaining the famous prophecy of Daniel's seventy weeks; he says, in executing the ministry of the Gospel, Christ made his appearance as the Messiah, first by his forerunner, John the Baptist, for the space of three years and a half, and after that by himself, in his own person, for three and a half more, and these two being put together, make up the last week of this prophecy, which began exactly at the ending of the abovesaid sixty-two weeks (15), and seven weeks. Now, it is fully proved by Sir Isaac Newton, that as the preaching of John first began in the summer of the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius, so the death of Christ fell on the Passover, which was in the twentieth year of the same reign (16); and consequently, the aforesaid ministry of the Gospel, must have been compleated in the space of five years.

[*CC*] *Some weaknesses incident to his nature.*] The author of Cato's letters remarks, that 'some of the Dean's Theological Observations, seemed to him to be not only very ill grounded, but to have a tendency to create in readers wrong notions of the Deity; and to encourage them to mistake the common accidents of life, and the common events of nature, for judgments of God; and to apply them superstitiously as such (17).' Instances of this kind, it must be owned, are too frequent through this work, to need our pointing any of them out. But, among these, his remark upon the destruction of Brennus's army before Delphi, having been censured as owing to this weakness: that censure has been chastized by the present Dean of Bristol *; who, notwithstanding, at the same time, seems to have charged his brother Dean, a little too hastily, with esteeming the accident *miraculous*. These are Dr Prideaux's words: Thus was God pleased, in a very extraordinary manner, to execute his vengeance upon those sacrilegious wretches, for the sake of religion in general, how false and idolatrous soever that particular religion was, for which that temple at Delphos was erected. Here we see the Doctor calls this event an *extraordinary* vengeance of God: but Dr Warburton has,

(34) Life, p. 188 to 237.

* Such a sketch was drawn for Cambridge by Mr W. Whiston, under the title of *Emendenda in Academia*. Memoirs of the Life, &c. of Mr W. Whiston, p. 42, & seqq. second edition, 1753.

(14) Newton's Chronology, p. 266.

(15) Connection, P. I. B. v. p. 291. 8vo. edit.

(16) Newton on Daniel, &c. chap. ii.

(17) London Journal, No. 121. for Nov. 28, 1721.

* This was wrote in 1759.

of each part, by Walter Moyle (*eee*). And the Dean's anſwer to that ingenious friend and kinſman ſufficiently teſtify with what candour he treated ſuch as differed from his opinions, and how ready he was to re-examine and correct any thing that was thought amiſs [*DD*]. This hiſtory was the laſt work he finiſhed for the public. He was now paſt his ſeventieth year, and found infirmities grew very faſt upon him, which were haſtened by what he had ſuffered in being cut for the ſtone, and the ill management of his caſe afterwards. About this time he was alſo ſeized with a paralytical ſhaking in his left hand, which ſix years after ſeized his right alſo, and at length weakened it to that degree that he could no longer hold a pen; and theſe weakneſſes of body much impaired the vigour of his mind, which made him think it time to give over his ſtudies, as one unfit for any further undertaking: and, therefore, though he had other works in deſign, and for ſome of them had materials in a great meaſure in readineſs for the compoſure, yet he thought beſt to drop them all, as not expecting he ſhould live long enough to finiſh whatever he ſhould begin; and if he did finiſh any thing under theſe decays and infirmities, it would be liable to great errors; and he did not think it proper either to hazard his own character, or affront the public ſo far as to offer any thing of this kind. Wherefore, for the remaining part of his life, he was reſolved to ſend nothing more to the preſs, but confined himſelf ſolely to the duties of the ſtation to which he was called; and faithfully to diſcharge theſe and bear the burden of his infirmities was work enough for him during the latter part of his life. For ſome time after the publication of his *Connection*, &c. ſeldom a week paſſed without remarks upon it, which he received in letters from the learned in different parts of the kingdom; ſome raiſing difficulties, others deſiring information in regard of ſome difficult paſſages in it. To all theſe he conſtantly returned anſwers, and gave the beſt ſatisfaction he could, 'till, by his age and other infirmities, he became incapable of bending his mind to any matter of difficulty. In the ſeventy-fourth year of age, finding himſelf no longer able to uſe his books as formerly, and being deſirous that his collection of Oriental books ſhould not be diſperſed, but kept all together in ſome public library; he permitted his ſon, who had been educated at Clare-hall in Cambridge, to make a preſent of them to that ſociety: and, accordingly, they were ſent thither and placed in the college-library, to the number of three hundred volumes and upwards (*fff*). About a year before his death he was taken with an illneſs, which ſo far reduced him as to confine him wholly to his chamber; and at laſt his infirmities increaſed to ſuch a degree, as rendered him incapable of helping himſelf in the common offices of life. All this was the effect of the ill conduct he fell under after he was cut for the ſtone. The long confinement and the loſs of blood by that means weakened his limbs ſo much, that he was never free from paralytical ſhaking and rheumatic pains; ſo that he gave himſelf up to the thoughts of death, expecting it with that chearfulneſs and reſignation which naturally flow from reflecting on a life well ſpent. He expired on Sunday evening the 1ſt of November 1724, in the ſeventy-ſeventh year of his age, after an illneſs of about ten days, and was buried, according to his own direction, in the cathedral of Norwich, on the Wedneſday following (*ggg*). The writer of his life has drawn a character of him, taken, as he ſays, from thoſe who knew him beſt and converſed with him moſt intimately, which is as follows. 'He was tall of ſtature, well built, and naturally of a very ſtrong and robuſt conſtitution, which enabled him to purſue his ſtudies with great aſſiduity, and enjoyed great vigour both of body and mind, 'till he was ſeized with the ſtone. His parts were very good, rather ſolid than lively. His judgment excellent. As a writer he is clear, ſtrong, and intelligent, without any pomp of language, or oſtentation of eloquence. His converſation was a good deal of the ſame kind, learned and inſtructive, with a conciſeneſs of expreſſion on many occaſions, which to thoſe who were not well accquainted with him, had ſometimes the appearance of ruſticity. In his manner of life, he was very regular and temperate, being ſeldom out of his bed after ten at night, and generally up at his ſtudies before five in the morning. His manners were ſincere and candid. He generally ſpoke his mind with freedom and boldneſs, and was not eaſily diverted from purſuing what he though right. In his friendſhips he was conſtant and invariable; to his family, was an affectionate huſband, a tender and careful father, and greatly

(*eee*) See his article; to which let it be added, that he was one of thoſe perſons who, unhappily for the learned world, had no opinion of his own writings, and therefore, not long before he died, deſtroyed moſt of his finiſhed performances. Life of Dean Prideaux, p. 144.

(*fff*) Ibid. p. 147.

(*ggg*) P. 148.

has, himſelf, in the very book whence this quotation is taken, explained the difference betwixt ſuch an extraordinary providence, and a miraculous interpoſition. Speaking of croſſes that happened at the time of the fiery eruption at Jeruſalem, when Julian attempted to rebuild the Jewiſh temple, he expreſsly maintains that the event was not miraculous, and yet that it was by the peculiar pleaſure of God, *given* on that occaſion (18). Why are then Dr Prideaux's words conſtrued into a charge of confounding theſe two diſtinct diſpenſations, extraordinary and miraculous, in the conduct of God's moral government? Was not Mr Moyle ſenſible of the injury of ſuch a conſtruction; who, though he mentions ſeveral miſtakes and weakneſſes in the *Connection* (19); and has likewiſe, more than once elſewhere (20) ridiculed the notion of a miraculous interpoſition, in this very event at Delphi, yet he has no where imputed ſuch an opinion to his couſin.

[*DD*] *How ready to correct any thing that was thought amiſs.*] Beſides the inſtance of this, mentioned in Mr Moyle's article; we have here another, with reſpect to the time of Zoroaſtres, whom he makes in his Connection contemporary with Darius Hyſtaſpes (21), and rejects the opinion that there was more than one Zoroaſtres. But in regard to the difficulties which are urged by his couſin, againſt that aſſertion, who ſtarted a conjecture of two Zoroaſtres's; he yields to that ſolution. I am, ſays he, rather apt to think with Pliny, (Lib. xxx. c. 1.) that there were two Zoroaſtres's: the elder of which, was the founder of the Magian Sect; and the other the reformer; and that this latter was the Zerduſht of the Perſians, and lived in the time where I have placed him (22).

[*EE*] *Never*

(18) See Julian: or, A Diſcourſe concerning the Earthquake and fiery Eruption which defeated that Emperor's attempt to rebuild the Temple of Jeruſalem, &c.

(19) In his letters to our author, in his Poſthumous Works, Vol. II.

(20) His Letters on the Thundering Legion. Ibid.

(21) Dr Warburton follows Mr Moyle, in differing from our author as to the age of Zoroaſtres. See Divine Legation of Moſes, Vol. II.

(22) Dr Prideaux's third letter to Mr Moyle, and that gentleman's fifth and ſixth letter to the doctor, in Moyle's Poſthumous Works, Vol. II.

greatly esteemed by his friends and relations, as he was very serviceable to them on all occasions. As a clergyman, he was strict and punctual in the performance of all the duties of his function himself, and carefully exacted the same from the inferior clergy and canons of his church. In party-matters, so far as he was concerned, he always shewed himself firmly attached to the interest of the Protestant cause, and principles of the Revolution; but without joining in the violence of parties, or promoting those factions and divisions which prevailed both in Church and State during the greater part of his life. His integrity and moderation, which should have recommended him to some of the highest stations in the Church, were manifestly the occasion of his being neglected; for busy party-zealots, and men more conversant in the arts of a court were easily preferred over him, whose highest and only ambition was carefully to perform what was incumbent on him in every station of life, and to acquit himself of his duty to his God, his friends, and his country. To this we shall add, from the same writer *(hhh)*, that during all the the time he was Dean, he never had the least difference with the Chapter or any of the members of it, which other Deans, his predecessors, were hardly ever free from. This was owing to the prudence and integrity of his conduct towards them: he always treated the Prebendaries with all the respect that was due to them, and was as careful of their rights as of his own; never taking upon him to determine any thing of the common right and interest of the church without the common consent and advice of the Chapter. In all his transactions with them, he never hid or concealed any thing from them, but constantly laid all their affairs openly and fairly before them, as having no views or ends of his own to serve: as this was a method of proceeding which that church had not always been used to, it so far gained him their confidence and esteem, that they trusted all their affairs in his hands, without any reserve, as having never found themselves deceived by his management [*E E*].'

(hhh) P. 145, 146.

[*EE*] *Never found themselves deceived by his management.*] ' His residing constantly at the cathedral, gave him an opportunity of looking after the fabric of the church, and seeing that it was kept in good repair; and this he took care of, as well before, as after he was Dean. For while he was Prebendary, he was generally Treasurer; and to repair the church, was one main part of his office. His method was, according to the direction of the local statutes, to order the church, every *Lady-Day*, to be carefully reviewed by able workmen; and if any decays were found, he took care to have them repaired by the Michaelmas following; unless they were so great, as to exceed what the revenues of the church could bear; and then, what could not be done in one year, was done in two. And had he not been thus careful, one year particularly, and put the spire, which is a beautiful edifice, in thorough good repair; it would, in all probability, have been blown down, by a great storm which happened very soon after; and must, in falling, have crushed and ruined a great part of the church (23).' P

(23) Life, p. 146, 147.

PRIOR [Matthew], an eminent Poet, particularly celebrated for the easy humour and elegant taste of his writings; was born July 21, 1664, in London, where his father, Mr George Prior, citizen and Joyner, lived in good repute *(a)*. And at his death, leaving our author very young, committed him to the care of his brother, a Vintner at Charing-Cross, who discharged this trust with a paternal tenderness *(b)*, and at a proper age sent him to Westminster-school under the care of Dr Busby. That excellent master no sooner furnished him with the means of displaying his genius, than he distinguished himself above his form-fellows. But before he had gone through the school, his uncle took him home with a design of breeding him to his own business, and he was accordingly initiated in that employ. However, he found time still to indulge the bent of his inclination to classical learning; in which Horace was the author that struck his fancy most. These qualities in a little time brought him to be taken notice of by some polite company that used his uncle's house, among whom was the Earl of Dorset; who being there one day with several other gentlemen of rank, the discourse happened to turn upon a passage in an ode of Horace, and the company being divided in their sentiments, one of the gentlemen said, *I find we are not like to agree in our criticisms; but, if I am not mistaken, there is a young fellow in the house who is able to set us right*; and naming Matt. Prior, he was immediately sent for; and being desired to give his opinion of Horace's meaning in the ode under debate, he did it with such an ingenuous modesty, and so much to the satisfaction of the company, that the Earl of Dorset, from that moment, determined to remove him from the business of a tavern, into a way of life for which he was so admirably qualified; and, accordingly, procured him to be sent to St John's college in Cambridge *(c)*, where he very generously helped to support him in a handsome manner [*A*], He was admitted in 1682; and proceeding Bachelor of Arts in

(a) Prior's History of his own Time, p. 2. 1740, 2d edition, 8vo.

(b) Our author always acknowledged this kindness with the highest gratitude. Memoirs of Mr Prior's Life, by Humphreys, prefixed to the third volume of his poems in 1733, p. 1. third edition.

(c) Ibid. p. 2, 3.

[*A*] *Helped to support him in a handsome manner.*] Hence we know how to construe Bishop Burnet's words, upon this part of our author's life. ' Prior, says he (1), ' had been taken a boy out of a tavern, by the Earl ' of Dorset, who accidentally found him reading Horace; and he being very generous, gave him an education in literature.' Uncandid representation! but it deserves a much worse name than I care to give it, when we see it done with an express view to render him contemptible, as an insignificant tool of a party. It was Mr Prior's fortune to live and act in times when Whig and Tory (as he observes himself) were continually tearing one another in pieces; and hence too, we see how that story first took it's rise, which passed current, without any savings, for many years, that *Prior was raised from the bar of a tavern.* 'Tis to this violent party-rage, that we owe the loss of almost all Mr Prior's letters, written while he was in public employments. And amongst the few that have escaped, we find him frequently lamenting, in the most pathetic terms, the unhappy state of his country on that account. In one of these, dated April 10, 1700. he

(1) In the History of his own Time, Vol. II. p. 584.

in 1686, was shortly after chosen a Fellow of the college. During his residence there, he contracted an intimacy with Charles Montague (*d*), of Trinity college, in the same university; and Mr Dryden having published, this year, his poem called, *The Hind and the Panther*, our author joined with Mr Montague in writing that humorous piece, intituled, *The Hind and the Panther transversed to the story of the country Mouse and the city Mouse*, which was published in 1687 (*e*). The following year Mr Prior wrote his *Ode upon the necessary existence of the Deity* (*f*), which he performed for an exercise at the college. He was now become the admiration and delight of Cambridge; but, however, could not think of spending his life in that unactive retreat. Vanity is essential to a Poet. No wonder, therefore, that Mr Prior began apparently to think himself made for greater affairs than a college afforded. He had now some friends at Court, and was resolved to push his fortune. In this disposition he went to London in 1689, and immediately applied to his friend Fleetwood Sheppard, Esq; with an address that was drawn up in a manner peculiar to himself, and irresistibly engaging [*B*]. Accordingly, at the sollicitation of that gentleman, he was introduced, by the Earl of Dorset, to the Court; and in 1690 their Majesties appointed him Secretary on the part of the English in the congress at the Hague (*g*); the Earls of Pembroke and Portland, together with Lord Dursley (afterwards Earl of Berkeley) being Ambassadors and Plenipotentiaries [*C*]. As this was an almost unexampled splendid assembly, in which too an affair of the last importance was under consideration (*h*); it gave Mr Prior an opportunity of exerting all his talents for business, and he acquitted himself therein so much to the satisfaction of

(*d*) Afterwards Earl of Halifax. See his article.

(*e*) Ibid. The general plan of this Travesty is taken from the Duke of Buckingham's Rehearsal.

(*f*) Mr Jacob says, a discerning eye might in this piece have seen the promises of a *Solomon*. Lives of the Poets, Vol. II. p. 154.

(*g*) It is thus expressed in his epitaph: Serenissimi Regi Gulielmi Reginæque Mariæ in congressione Fœderatorum Hagæ 1690 celebrata—Secretarius.

(*h*) The grand alliance was formed in this congress, and concluded in May 1691. Hist. of his own Time, p. 54.

he thus addresses himself to the Earl of Manchester, then Ambassador at Paris.

My Lord,

Having written for my master, I have very little to add for myself; except that I am very glad my Lord Mandeville (2) is come to town, and hope he will stay long with us. I am glad he was born at Paris, for had he been born here, he would have liked living among us so little, that I question whether he would have thought it worth his while to have sucked (3).—

[*B*] *He applied to his friends with an address irresistibly engaging.*] For which reason alone, this piece could not be omitted here; but it has likewise another indispensible claim to a place in this work; both, as it confirms the former account of his education from his own mouth, and at the same time furnishes us with some other facts relating to him. It is an Epistle to Fleetwood Sheppard, Esq; in the following terms (4).

When crowding folks with strange ill faces,
Were making legs, and begging places,
And some with patents, some with merit,
Tir'd out my good Lord Dorset's spirit,
Sneaking, I stood amongst the crew,
Desiring much to speak with you.
I waited while the clock struck thrice,
And footman brought out fifty lies,
'Till patience vex'd, and legs grown weary,
I thought it was in vain to tarry;
But did opine it might be better,
By penny-post to send a letter.
Now if you miss of this epistle,
I'm baulk'd again, and may go whistle.
My business, Sir, you'll quickly guess,
Is to desire some little *Place*;
And fair pretensions I have for't,
Much need, and very small desert:
Whene'er I writ to you, I wanted,
I always begg'd, you always granted.
Now, as you took me up, when little,
Gave me my learning, and my vittle,
Ask'd for me, from my Lord (5), things fitting,
Kind as I'd been of your begetting;
Confirm what formerly you've given,
Nor leave me now at six and sevens,
As Sunderland has done Mun Stephens.
No family that takes a whelp,
When first he laps, and scarce can yelp,
Neglects, or turns him out of gate,
When he's grown up to dog's estate;
Nor parish, if they once adopt
The spurious brats of strollers dropt,
Leave 'em, when grown up lusty fellows,
To the wide world, that is, the gallows:
No, thank them for their love, that's worse,
Than if they'd throttled 'em at nurse.
My uncle, rest his soul, when living (6),
Might have contriv'd me ways of thriving;
Taught me with cyder to replenish
My vats, or ebbing tide of Rhenish:
So when for Hock I drew prickt White-wine,
Swear't had the flavour, and was right wine:
Or sent me with ten pounds to Furnival's-Inn, to some good rogue-attorney,
Where now by forging deeds, and cheating,
I'd found some handsome ways of getting.
All this, you made me quit to follow
That sneaking whey-fac'd god Apollo;
Sent me among a fiddling crew,
Of folks I'd never seen nor knew,
Calliope, and God knows who.
To add no more invectives to it,
You spoil'd the youth to make a poet.
In common justice, Sir, there's no man,
That makes the whore, but keeps the woman;
Among all honest Christian people,
Whoe'er breaks limbs, maintains the cripple.
The sum of all I have to say,
Is, that you'd put me in some way,
And your petitioner shall pray.
There's one thing more I had almost slipt,
But that may do as well in postscript;
My friend Charles Montague's preferr'd,
Nor wou'd I have it long observ'd,
That one mouse eats (7), while t'other's starv'd.

[*C*] *Secretary to the Congress at the Hague, &c.*] This was a very honourable entrance for a person of his circumstance, upon the scene of public employment: but it has been much diminished by the cunning misrepresentation of one of our historians (8); who tells us, that he was made Secretary to the Earl of Berkeley, Plenipotentiary from King William and Queen Mary, at the Congress at the Hague; which is a very different post, both as to the importance, profit, and honour of it, from being Secretary, as Mr Prior undoubtedly was, to his Sovereign (9). And in virtue of that, to his Sovereign's Ambassadors and Plenipotentiaries, the Earls of Pembroke and Portland, as well as

(2) The Earl of Manchester's son.

(3) See the History of his own Time, p. 169, 170. 2d edit. 1740, 8vo.

(4) Published in the third volume of his poems.

(5) The Earl of Dorset.

(6) This expression seems to intimate, that his uncle had been dead some time.

(7) Alluding to the piece already mentioned in the text. Mr Montague had been introduced to King William by Lord Dorset. See the article MONTAGUE [CHARLES].

(8) Mr Oldmixon, in his History of England, &c. p. 150. edit. 1735, fol.

(9) A Secretary to the Person is appointed by that person, being only a private office, and to himself; Secretary to the Embassy is a publick character, and constituted by a special warrant from the Crown.

of his royal master, that, in the resolution to keep him near his person, he appointed him a Gentleman of his Bedchamber (*i*). This situation giving him leisure to indulge his genius in the company of his muse, he composed several small pieces of poetry [*D*] and gladly embraced every occasion that the events of the war offered, of making his poetical talents serviceable to the honour of his country [*E*]. Upon the first resolution made towards settling a peace in 1696; he was again employed in the post of Secretary to the English negociations at the treaty of Ryswick in 1697; having been nominated the same year Principal Secretary of State in Ireland (*k*). In 1698 he went Secretary to the Embassy to France, in which post he continued during the successive Embassies of the two Earls of Portland and Jersey. Our Genius had not been long in France, when one of the officers of the French king's houshold shewing him the royal apartments and curiosities of Versailles, pointed in a particular manner to the victories of Lewis XIV, painted by Le Brun; and asking, whether King William's actions were to be seen also in his palace; *No, Sir*, answered the English Secretary, *the monuments of my master's actions are to be seen every where but in his own house* (*l*). He did not leave Paris 'till some time after the arrival of the third Ambassador there from England, the Earl of Manchester, to whom he was of singular service [*F*]. For tho' the powers of his royal commission were now superseded,

(*i*) He bears this title in his appointment to the post of Secretary to the Embassy at the Peace of Ryswick. Ibid. p. 26.

(*k*) Ibid. and the inscription on his monument.

(*l*) Ibid. and Oldmixon's History of England, &c. p. 178.

as Lord Dursley. Such low tricks as these, how well soever they may be calculated for the bulk of readers, cannot impose upon any intelligent person at home: and I don't know that Mr Oldmixon's history has ever suffered transportation; but, if that should have happened, I believe it will scarce fall into the hands of any reader of consequence, who is not well acquainted with the following lines, and will readily make proper application.

That tho' amongst ourselves, with too much heat,
We sometimes wrangle, when we should debate;
(A consequential ill, which freedom draws,
A bad effect, but from a noble cause)
We can with universal zeal advance,
To curb the faithless arrogance of France (10).

(10) Prior's Letter to Mr Boileau, occasioned by the victory at Blenheim, 1704, printed in the first volume of our author's Poetical Works.

It is not improbable that Mr Prior's stay in Holland, after the conclusion of the Congress, might by this just-mentioned historian, be hastily laid hold of, as a proper basis for his assertion. The following letter of our author, being, though without the date of the year, it seems wrote at that time, which we shall give at length, since it is the only specimen left of his Latin epistolary stile.

Carolo de Berkeley dilecto Domino suo, Matthæus Prior, Sm. Pm. Dt.

Literas tuas, mi Charissime, sorori tuæ dilectissimæ scriptas accepimus, atque perlegimus, quando nihil secreti iis inesse credibile esset. Domesticæ nostræ res quomodo se habeant, brevi accipias. Mater tua hic est; fraterculum pulcherrimum & tui simillimum ex Anglia sibi transportavit. Soror tua natu maxima cum amita Nelson * *Angliam profecta est ad recuperandam sanitatem, qua mala profecto in Hollandia usa est. Jam vero subirasci tibi debeo, nec injuria, quia epistolas nobis nec Latinè nec Gallicè scriptas mandare cures. Incumbas studiis oro, & fac, ut videamus progressus, quos te, octodecim jam menses audientem præceptores optimos, fecisse in utraque lingua oportet: Hoc pater tuus, hoc tuum postulat officium. Quod ad me attinet, ea solummodo conditione parentes tuos optimos exorandos conabor, quo nos revises brevi; hoc quoque sibi scriptum, frater tuus credat. Præceptores tuos amicos meos optimos meo nomine saluta. Fac me ames. Te æternum amabo. Vale.*

Hagæ comitum pridie nonas Septembris.

* Lady Theophila Lucy, second daughter of Lord Berkeley, afterwards married to Mr Rob. Nelson, with whom she was at her father's house at the Hague in December 1691, and returned to England soon after. See Nelson's article.

[*D*] *He composed several small pieces of poetry.*] It was probably about this time of vacation from business, that our author became an inamorato, and made his addresses, as 'tis said, to the celebrated Mrs Elizabeth Singer (11). If so, it helps to explain the full meaning, especially in the concluding lines, of this answer, to that lady's Pastoral on Love and Friendship; which is followed by a copy of verses to the same lady, though not named.

(11) Afterwards the much famed Mrs Rowe. See her Life, prefixed to her Miscellaneous Works, p. 16. edit. 1739, in two vols, 8vo.

[*E*] *To the honour of his country*], Hardly was there a campaign in King William's wars, wherein our author did not draw his pen in this cause. To pass over his poem on seeing the Duke of Ormond's picture, at Sir Godfrey Kneller's, where he describes that General's glorious behaviour at the unfortunate battle of Landen, in 1692, his Hymn to the Sun, on New-Year's day, 1694, and his ode to the King, after the Queen's death, in 1695; his muse had a much more agreeable opportunity the same year, of displaying her exquisite humour upon the re taking of Namur. The French King had taken that town in the campaign of 1692, in sight of the army of the allies, who were unable to raise the siege; this was extolled by the flatterers of that Prince, as a most inimitable action; and the celebrated Boileau, who always mixed the praises of his master with some strokes of satire on his contemporary writers, had composed an Ode on this occasion, in imitation of *Pindar*, wherein he asserted the character of that Ancient, against the reflections of Perrault, at the same time that he exalted his Heroe above all those of Greece. Mr Prior took this occasion of turning the Frenchman's darling ridicule, both on himself and his master, by burlesquing his boasted ode, in an English Ballad, and printing it, together with the French ode. In a word, he convinced all polite readers, who are generally of no party in matters of wit, that the English Horace was as much a more agreeable writer, than the French Pindar, as he had made *Little Will the scourge of France*, a more amiable Heroe than the *Divine Lewis le Grand*. The next year, 1696, upon his Majesty's arrival in Holland, after the discovery of the Conspiracy; Mr Prior presented him (12) with a beautiful copy of verses, addressed to the Guardian Angels of Mankind. The apostrophe to the French King, who is by many supposed to be privy to the intended assassination, contains a sentiment that is truly British.

(12) He attended his Majesty as Gentleman of his Bedchamber.

O Lewis! from this great example know,
To be at once a Heroe and a Foe;
By sounding trumpets hear, and rattling drums,
When William in the open vengeance comes.
And see the soldier plead the monarch's right,
Heading his troops, and foremost in the fight:
Hence then close ambush, and perfidious war,
Down to your native seats of night repair.

[*F*] *Of singular service to the Earl of Manchester.*] That Lord in a letter to the Earl of Jersey, from Paris, August 8. 1699, N. S. writes thus: 'I can acquaint your Lordship that I arrived here the fifth, 'and the next day I sent a compliment to Mr Saintot '(13), who immediately waited on me, and gave me 'to understand, that Monsieur de Torcy was expected 'in town: Mr Prior writ to him, and he appointed 'the afternoon to see me. Your Lordship knows the 'usual ceremonies on such occasions. He seemed extremely civil; and let me know, the King did not 'return to Versailles 'till Thursday next, and that then 'I should have an audience of him.—I am obliged to 'your Lordship for letting me have your house, which 'I like extremely; though my equipage not being 'come from Rouen, puts me under some difficulties; 'but, with the help of Mr Prior, all things are made 'easy. He has delivered your Lordship's letter to 'Monsieur de Torcy; and he took notice to me, how 'well Mr Prior has behaved himself during his stay 'here (14).

(13) Master of the Ceremonies.

(m) The Earl of Manchester, in a letter to the Earl of Jersey, dated at Paris Aug. 19, 1699, writes—'To morrow Mr Prior will leave this place.' History of Prior's own Times, p. 107.

(n) See a letter from our author to the Earl of Manchester, dated from Loo, September 11. Ibid. p. 114.

ceded, yet his personal qualities had rendered him so much the delight of the French Monarch, that he was still particularly powerful in that Court. About the middle of August 1699 (m) he went thence to King William at Loo in Holland; whence, after a long and very particular audience of his majesty (n), he departed with His orders by the way of the Hague for England, where he arrived about the middle of October, and immediately took possession of the Under-Secretary's seat in the office of the Earl of Jersey [G]. But he had not been many days in this new employment before he was ordered back to Paris to assist the Ambassador, with his interest in that King, upon the affair of the Partition-Treaty [H]. He dispatched this business to the intire satisfaction of both the Sovereigns, and returned to London with the quickness of a courier (o). This same year, in Christmas holidays, he printed his celebrated poem, called, *Carmen Seculare* [I]. In the midst of these concerns for the public welfare, an opportunity was given him,

(o) In a letter to the Earl of Manchester, dated at the Hague, Oct. 16, he writes—'We expect the King here to morrow, and Saturday following we shall be wishing the wind fair' [for England]. Ibid. p. 117.

'here (14)' In another letter to the same Earl, dated Sept. 9. following, he lets his Lordship know, 'he had received his letter of the twenty-fourth past, with the inclosed papers, relating to the English goods seized by Dubart, on board some Dantzick ships; and says, that he would present another memorial about that affair, if your Lordship pleased; though I cannot, says he, expect any good effect from it, because they gave a positive denial to Mr Prior (15).'

(14) The Hist. of Mr Prior's own Time, p. 105, 106.

(15) Ibid. p. 113, 114.

[G] *Under Secretary to the Earl of Jersey.*] 'Tis not improbable that he went home in company of the Earl of Jersey, who returned about this time from Holland, whither he had been sent for by the King, in order to sign the first Partition-Treaty (16). Mr Prior was always strongly attached to this Lord, of whose integrity and ability he seems to have had a very high opinion; and he has paid him a compliment upon his fine taste (17). Yet a certain author (18) declares, that 'the Earl of Jersey went through all the great offices of the kingdom, with a very ordinary understanding; was employed by one of the greatest Kings that ever was, in affairs of the greatest consequence; and yet was a man of a weak capacity.' But the reader will know how to construe this, when he sees the same author asserting that Mr Prior was an entire creature of this Lord, whom he supported by his advice.

(16) Ibid. p. 130.

(17) See the prologue of Paulo Purganti.

(18) Mr Macky, in his Memoirs of the English and Scotch Nobility, drawn up at the request of the Princess Sophia, and published by his son in 8vo. 1733.

[H] *Upon a particular occasion.*] We have a short letter from Lord Jersey, which gives some idea of the message he was sent on, and shews the great credit he was in with the then Ministry.

To the Earl of Manchester.

Whitehall, October 23. 1699, O. S.

'My Lord,

'I have received your Lordship's letter of the twenty eighth of October [N. S.]. Before you receive this, Mr Prior will be with you. It is his Majesty's desire that you discourse the business of the Partition-Treaty with Mr Prior, who has already knowledge of it; and, according to the account your Lordship gives next of it, you shall receive his Majesty's further directions. What else your letters contain, I must beg leave to put off the answering it to another time.

'I am, &c.

'JERSEY.'

Mr Prior being arrived, Lord Manchester gave an account of it in a letter, dated November 6. 1699, N. S. which begins thus:

'My Lord,

'Mr Prior inform'd your Lordship by Wednesday's post, of his arrival here. He having explained to me the subject upon which he was sent, I wrote to Monsieur de Torcy, in order to procure an audience.'—In another letter, he writes thus:

To Charles Montague, Esq;

'SIR,

'Mr Prior's coming here, and the private audience I had of the King, the day of my entry, occasion'd much discourse, and did me service with the Ministers: for now they see the King does not rely on Monsieur de Tallard.—King James, upon Mr Prior's coming hither, believed I was to be recalled, and he to be left here; which, for some time, gave him great satisfaction.' Mr Prior returned to London, on the eighteenth of November, 1699, with an account of this audience; and carried a letter from my Lord Manchester, dated the day before: wherein he tells his Lordship, that he did not trouble him with an account of what had been done, in obedience to his Majesty's command, 'since Mr Prior, says he, is inform'd of all proceedings, and what passed in my private audience (19). I shall always discharge his Majesty's orders, with all the secrecy and care imaginable. I am apt to think this occasion will make Monsieur de Tallard (20) take care how he behaves himself, for he was not very easy when he found Mr Prior was come, and that I was to have a private audience.' Presently after Mr Prior's return, he wrote the following letter to Lord Manchester.

(19) Which may be seen in Cole's Memoirs.

(20) He had been sent by the French King to sign the first Partition-Treaty, which being hindered by the delay of the Dutch, Lewis suspected King William to be at the bottom of it, and complained to him, which brought this journey on Mr Prior.

London, November $\frac{21}{2}$, 1699.

'My Lord,

'I arrived here on Friday night, and every body confesses that only Roger (21) is fitter than I to be sent express. On Saturday morning my Lord Jersey carried me to the King. I first read to his Majesty, what your Lordship said to the King of France, and what the King answered thereupon; and then I explained to his Majesty the whole that had passed during my being in France. His Majesty is satisfied with every step your Excellency has made; and, in one word, we did as we ought to do. His Majesty asked me a great many questions about your Entry. You will easily believe I was glad, on that occasion, to do you justice. His Majesty asked me about the rank which Monsieur de Torcy's coach had; and in all this affair, I can assure your Excellency, he is very well satisfied. I have seen, as well Charles, as James Erby, and Christopher Montague. I have been asked ten thousand questions, and gave them the news of my Lord Mandeville's being to arrive at Paris within these six months; for which, we wish all very heartily. I contracted a cold in the voyage, and wisely increased it by running about these two days, and have been blooded, and keep my chamber to day, which is the reason of my using another hand; I hope your Excellency will excuse it. The King dined to day with my Lord Rochester, at his house near Richmond; and my Lord Jersey is gone to dine with him. Whig and Tory, are, as of old, implacable. Dr D'avenant is coming out with another book, in which he attacks the Grants; and is, as I am told, very scurrilous against my Lord Chancellor, and our dear friend Charles (22). This, I think, is all the news I have known since my arrival. I have only to add my great thanks to your Excellency, for your hospitality and kindness to me in France; and wish you success in every thing there, with all possible zeal and sincerity.

(21) A servant of his, usually employed on those occasions.

(22) Afterwards Lord Halifax. He had a large share in these Grants.' See his article.

'I am, &c.

'M. PRIOR (23).'

(23) See History of his own Time, p. 125 to 139.

[I] *His Carmen Seculare.*] The following letter (24), writ to the Earl of Manchester, Dec. 17. 1699, O. S. furnishes us with some of the motives which gave occasion to this poem.—'You see by the news what was done in both houses yesterday. In the upper house the Bishop of St David's (25) business was thrown out; and, in the other house, proceedings in relation to Kidd's matter, came to nothing. So that

(24) In the History of his own Time, p. 142, 143, 144.

(25) Dr Watson, who was accused of Simony, and afterwards deprived for it.

him, in the year 1700, of testifying his dutiful regard for the reputation of the university [K], which he fulfilled with all imaginable alacrity; and that learned body the same year, with equal gladness, executed the King's *mandamus*, in conferring upon him the degree of Master of Arts (p). The Earl of Jersey accepting the post of Lord-Chamberlain this year, our Under-Secretary's place became void (q); but it was not long before he obtained another the same year, which was more agreeable to his humour (r); for upon Mr Locke's resigning his seat at the Board of Trade on account of his ill state of health, Mr Prior was appointed to succeed him (s); and was elected a representative for East-Grinstead, in Sussex [L], in the new Parliament which met on the 6th of Feb. 1700-1, where

(p) See the Register of the University.

(q) On Midsummer-day. Ibid. p. 178.

(r) There was less pains and more gains in it than in the former.

(s) Oldmixon's History, as before, p. 210. and the History of Prior's own Time, p. 178.

'that we gained two triumphs that day. *Oh si sic omnia!* The Commons address you will observe to 'be somewhat high: but the moderation and wisdom 'of the King's answer, is thought even by his enemies, 'inimitable. *D'Avenant* has printed his book (26) 'against grants; which I take to be a scandalous libel 'against the Government: I'll send it you when we 'employ a messenger; for I think it would cost you 'too dear, if it came by the post. *Smith* (27), who 'was a sort of discoverer of the Plot, and printed a 'book last year, reflecting upon the Duke of Shrewsbury, has printed another now to the same tune. '*O Tempora! O mores!* Every man says, and writes 'what he will. Next week I intend to come out myself, with a Panegyric upon the King.

'I am ever,

'my Lord,

'with all imaginable respect, &c.

'M. PRIOR.'

P. S. I don't write to Stanyan, for he has not a Park nor a Doe (28) in the world! I mean a Doe fit for a Pasty.—

With regard to the two authors mentioned in this letter, Mr Macky (29) has the following remarkable paragraph, in the character of Lord Peterborough. His promising Sir John Fenwick his life, if he would accuse the Duke of Shrewsbury, and the Lord Orford, to have a design to bring in King James; and his writing a book, by the assistance of Dr D'avenant, and putting one Smith's name to it, against that Duke, lost him, with all honest men; the house of Commons having voted the one, a scurrilous design to make a difference between the King and his best friends; and the house of Peers, having ordered the second to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman.

Mr Dibben, whose Latin translation of this Ode is confessed by our author to be equal to the original, was then of Trinity College in Cambridge; and afterwards Chaplain to Dr Robinson the Bishop of London, and attended his Lordship at the Treaty of Utrecht; he was likewise Rector of Fontnel, in the county of Dorset; and related to Mr Prior.

[K] *His dutiful regard to the University.*] In a letter (30), dated April 1. 1700, O. S. he writes to Lord Manchester thus. 'For above these two months 'past, I have not had an opportunity of sending over 'a Horace, which we printed at Cambridge; and 'which my Lord Duke of Somerset, our Chancellor, 'presents to the King of France's Library; with a 'letter, which his Grace writes on that subject, to the 'Abbé de Louvois. But I have at last sent them by 'a footman who quitted my service. The book and 'letter will be, or are already, delivered to Mr Stanyan, and the favour we beg of your Excellency, 'is, that you would honour this book with a word, 'by which the Court of France, and particularly the 'Archbishop of Rheims, and Abbé de Louvois, may 'take notice, that the University of Cambridge would 'establish a fair correspondence with the learned on 'your side. By next post, I shall write something to 'the Soubibliothecaire Monsieur Clermont, concerning 'the Greek cyphers we would buy of them: in this 'I must likewise desire your Lordship's good offices; 'since, without your appearing to be concerned in it, 'we shall hardly make our matters bear as we desire. 'Monsieur Fuebergen came on Friday; I have not 'yet seen him.

'I am, &c.

M. PRIOR.'

(26) Intitled, An Essay upon Grants and Resumptions, 8vo.

(27) In a book intitled, Memoirs of Secret Service, by Matthew Smith of the Inner Temple, 8vo. 1699.

(28) This piece of waggery conveys a pleasant hint to Lord Manchester to send him some venison, as he had done before this time. See remark [L].

(29) In his Characters, &c. ubi supra, p. 64.

(30) In his History of his own Time, p. 168, 169.

In another letter (31) of April eighteenth, he repeats this request; and says, 'I have written to Mr Clermont what the University desires, as to the procuring us some Greek types. If your Excellency 'expends the money, and are pleased to draw upon 'me, I will answer the bills: I should be glad they 'could be got ready soon. I should not dare to 'trouble your Excellency, but that your protection to 'the University is absolutely necessary on this occasion.'——In answer to this, my Lord Manchester writes from Paris, May 5.

'SIR,

'The Court being at Marley, Monsieur de Torcy 'will not be in town 'till to-morrow: so I must make 'my excuse to my Lord Jersey by you, for my not 'writing. My wife lays all the fault on you, that we 'have not heard if we may give the little one the 'King's name; and I dare not venture, without knowing that positively. So that at present you are a 'little out of favour; and will be so, unless we hear 'by the next letters.

'I shall do all I can to serve the University, and 'shall take care about the *Horace* when I have it. 'Mr Stanyan will acquaint you how that matter stands, 'and how this book is seized at *Diepe*. I have not 'seen the Archbishop of Rheims for some time, and 'I believe he is gone to his diocese.

'Several of the great men here will dine with me 'to-morrow; and among them, the Mareschal de Villeroy: he will certainly ask after you, as he often 'does.'

[L] *Chosen Representative for East-Grinstead.*] By the conclusion of the following letter; we find, that he had some thoughts of putting up for Cambridge University: Notwithstanding it's length, the reader we believe will see no part of it could be omitted.

'To the Earl of Manchester. Dec. 10. 1700. O. S.

'I am indebted to my good Lord Manchester, for 'two or three letters; and it would be unreasonable, 'if I did not take the opportunity of Mr Chetwynd's 'return, to tell your Lordship what I know of the 'state of things here. That we shall have a new Parliament, is, I think, certain; at least, as far as I 'can see into the matter. What sort of Parliament 'it may prove, I cannot any ways foresee; but 'sure there never was so much work as at present, 'in securing parties, and bribing elections. Whig 'and Tory are railing on both sides, so violent, 'that the Government may easily be overturned by 'the madness of either faction. We take it to be 'our play, to do nothing against common Sense, or 'common Law; and to be for those who will support 'the Crown, rather than oblige either Party: and, in 'order to this, men are preferred, who are looked 'upon to be honest and moderate. In this number '(whether with reason or not, time must decide) we 'comprehend our Lord-Keeper (32), and our new Secretary (33). Lord Rochester, and Lord Godolphin, 'are in the Cabinet-Council: the latter, is at the head 'of the Treasury; the former, we take it for granted, 'is to go Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland; though it be 'yet a secret. The two companies * are to be brought 'to an agreement (if possible); and Mr Montague's 'being made a Peer (34), we take it for granted, may 'contribute to this union; since being in the house of 'Commons, he would make an ill figure, if he either 'declined to support the new, or should find too great 'an opposition in his endeavouring so to do. As to 'the great Affair (35), I presume the King will wholly 'defer it to the Parliament, and act conjointly with 'their consent; which I take to be the only method. 'All that I can say more on this head, is, that I take 'it to be happy for the King that the *Will* is preferr'd 'by

(31) Ibid. p. 173, 174.

(32) Sir Nathan Wright.

(33) Sir Charles Hedges.

* The East India Companies.

(34) Earl of Halifax. See his article.

(35) The Spanish succession.

where he voted for impeaching the several Lords, charged with advising the Partition-Treaty [*M*]. Upon Queen Anne's Accession to the Throne, a war breaking out again with France, our author, constantly zealous in his country's cause, exerted again his poetical talents in her honour; first, in that inimitable *Letter* of his *to Monsieur Boileau Despreaux, occasioned by the Victory at Blenheim in* 1704 [*N*]; and again, in his *Ode, humbly inscribed to the Queen, on the glorious success of her Majesty's arms in* 1706 [*O*]. But as

'by the French, at a time when every body was 'peevish against the Court, though with reason, (God 'knows) about the Treaty (36). Count Tallard 'makes a foolish figure here: I don't know, as yet, 'what he says to the King on this occasion; but 'every body observes his Excellency, to be very me-'lancholy and desponding; and one may judge, he 'has reason to be so, as to his own particular, con-'cerning the part he has been made to act; however, 'his country in general may approve their Monarch's 'breach of Truth and Treaty.

(36) Of Partition.

'This, I think, is the present figure of our affairs; 'which, I am glad to write to so good a friend as my 'Lord *Manchester*; though, to most of the world 'here, I am of opinion, that to say least, is to do 'best. Your friend, my Lord Jersey, grows very 'much a Minister; and is in a fair way of being 'very great. As to my own affairs, I have a great 'many friends who would set me up at Cambridge; 'I know I shall find great opposition from Mr Ham-'mond's † party there, and great trouble, in case I 'should throw him out from those, men, who will ne-'ver be satisfied, let me act as I will, or can. If 'your Lordship thinks it convenient, I know you 'will not refuse me your letter to the University. 'My Lord Sandwich is gone to Hinchinbrook, I hear, 'in order to set up Mr Charles Boyle, against Mr 'Wortley Montague, at Huntingdon. *Vive la Guerre*, 'whosoever is chosen, or on what side soever things 'turn,

† Anthony Hammond, Esq; represented this university in several Parliaments. He was a polite scholar; and, among other things, wrote some account of Mr Moyle, the particulars of which may be seen in that gentleman's article.

'I am most truly, *&c.*

'M. PRIOR.

'P. S. Though I am no longer in a Secretary's-Of-'fice, Venison would not poison a Commissioner of 'Commerce. *Does* are now in season; which it 'may be useful to inform Mr Woollaston of, when 'next your Lordship writes to him (37).'

(37) History of Prior's own Time, p. 181, 182, 183, 184.

[*M*] *Voted for impeaching the several Lords, &c.*] This we are informed of, in the History of his own Times (38), with this remark, by Mr Prior, upon those impeachments. 'It seems to have been agreed, says he, both by the Lords and Commons, in this dispute, that the Partition-Treaty was of pernicious consequence; and that the transacting it in private, without communicating it to the Council, was a high misdemeanour in those that advised and transacted it. But whether the Commons suspected, that the Lords, who were generally in the interest of the old Ministry, would not pass any censure on the impeached Lords, or for what other reason, is uncertain, the Commons seem to have been a little dilatory in their proceedings, and might design the Lords should have lain under an impeachment, during the recess of the Parliament. There might possibly be something of party also in the case: the impeached Lords, were the chiefs of the Whigs; and had long reign'd at Court without controul; and the Tories, who succeeded them, had a view, perhaps, of preventing their returning to their posts, as well as of bringing them to justice for negotiating the Partition-Treaty, and for the other misdemeanours, mentioned in the Articles. There are few prosecutions of this kind, but there is a great deal of private picque, interest, and resentment, mixed with views of the public good.' 'Tis evident, Mr Prior never approved * the Partition-Treaty, notwithstanding the obedience he thought himself indispensibly obliged to pay to his Sovereign's warrants, in carrying on the negotiations relating to it; and Lord Jersey observed the same rule.

(38) P. 223.

* Matthew, who knew the whole intrigue, Ne'er much approv'd that mystic league. Conversation, a Tale, in Vol. II. of Prior's Miscellanies.

[*N*] *Letter to Boileau, on the Victory at Blenheim.*] The French Poet in his eighth Epistle, which begins,

Grand Roi cesse de vaincre, ou je cesse d'ecrire.

had informed his Sovereign of the great difficulties he lay under, to describe his numerous and wonderful conquests. *Sometimes*, says he, *in the ardour of my zeal, I endeavour to measure out the syllables of an Ode; at others, I boldly form the plan of a sublime Æneid. Thus, continually flattered by a pleasing madness, I perceive my genius daily to decrease; and that my verses without spirit or beauty dishonour my pen, and do no honour to You.* He then humbly informs his Majesty, that it would be but reasonable to give him breath for one year, at least, that his muse might recover her vigour; and atone for the opportunities she had lost. To this flattery, Prior directs the beginning of his Epistle in these lines:

Some Dæmon envying France, misled the fight,
And Mars mistook, though Louis order'd right.

The verses that follow, are an inimitable piece of raillery, on the Frenchman's fourth Epistle: in which he complains, that the King did not consider his Poet in his campaigns; but, unkindly, took places in fact, which could not possibly be taken in rhyme.

When thy young muse invok'd the tuneful Nine,
To say how Louis did not pass the Rhine,
What work had we with Wageninghen, Arnheim,
Places that could not be reduc'd to rhyme?
And though the Poet made his last efforts;
Wurts, who could mention in heroicks, Wurts?
But, tell me, ha'st thou reason to complain,
At the rough triumphs of the last campaign?
The Danube rescu'd, and the Empire sav'd;
Say, is the majesty of verse retriev'd?
And would it prejudice thy softer vein,
To sing the Princes, Louis, and Eugene?
Is it too hard, in happy verse to place,
The Vans and Vanders, of the Rhine and Maes?
Her warriors Anna sends, from Tweed and Thames,
That France may fall by more harmonious names.
Can'st thou not Hamilton, or Lumley bear?
Wou'd Ingoldsby or Palmes, offend thine ear?
And is there not a sound in Marlborough's name,
Which thou, and all thy brethren ought to claim,
Sacred to verse, and sure of endless fame?

This Epistle is executed throughout, in the same inimitable humour and spirit. The happy thought of confronting his theme with that of his adversary, on the same page, gives it a perfect figure of the battle, and victory, which it celebrates.

Nor ever shall Britannia's sons refuse,
To answer to thy Master, or thy Muse.

And it must be observed, these poetical arms, were taken up as volunteer in his country's honour; whereas Mr Addison was hired.

[*O*] *Ode in* 1706.] The editor of Mr Prior's History of his own Time, &c. thinks it may be ascribed to this piece, (which is written in Spencer's stile) that we have since had so many imitations of our ancient Poets. 'For, says he, I do not remember that any of our moderns wrote in this way, before Mr Prior; nor that he has done it in any thing anterior to this Ode. We must not omit to observe, that the speech put by our author into the mouth of the *Royal Treaty-Breaker*, (as he here calls the French King) upon receiving the news of his army's defeat, wherein he recapitulates the honours of the British nation, and owns the

as soon as he thought the General was too much influenced by private views to prol[ong] the war (t), he concurred with the inclination of his Sovereign for peace; and in 17[10] he joined with some of the brightest wits in the nation in writing *The Examiner* [P], where that part of the General's conduct was severely handled. In 1711, when the Qu[een] determined to treat with France, she pitched upon Mr Prior to carry her demands tow[ard] a pacification; for which purpose, he was appointed Her Majesty's Minister Plenipot[en]tiary to that Court, having been made one of the Commissioners of the Customs a littl[e] before (u). He made all the necessary dispatch which this affair required (w), and return[ed] in a few weeks to London, accompanied with the French Minister, Mr Mesnager [Q], w[ho] was furnished by his Master with full powers to settle and sign preliminaries; and some of the meetings in this negotiation were held at Mr Prior's house; who, by the common request of all the committee of the Privy-Council, intrusted in this matter, was joined with them in the commission to sign the articles after the agreement on the part of her Majesty [R], who was likewise inclined to join him with the two ministers at Utrecht to take care of commercial affairs; but the high spirit of the Earl of Strafford having positively refused to be joined in commission with a person of so mean an extraction, and threatning to lay down his employment, the business of Trade was committed to the Lord Privy-Seal (x). However, he was sent again, on the first of August, 1712 (y), to France, in order to accommodate such matters as then remained unsettled in the congress at Utrecht [S]. From the end of this month he had the appointments and authority of an Ambassador; and though he did not assume the public character 'till after the Duke of Shrewsbury's departure, yet the burthen of the Embassy lay upon him during his Grace's stay, who rather gave a sanction to it, by his high quality, than contributed to the dispatch of the negociations (z). In the latter end of October he was sent to England upon an affair of great importance, with a credential letter from the French king to the Queen, and returned with her Majesty's answer about the middle of November [T]. These letters are

(t) See his Answer to the Report of the Secret Committee, at the end of the History of his own Time, p. 436, & seqq.

(u) See his epitaph.

(w) He set out July 2d, and returned in the beginning of August. See the Papers printed by the Secret Committee of the House of Commons in 1715.

(x) Boyer's Life of Queen Anne, p. 556. fol. edit. where it is observed, in favour of Mr Prior's designation to this post, that the French had named three plenipotentiaries, and Mr Mesnager in particular.

(y) See the state of his accompts at the end of the Hist. of his own Time, p. 461.

(z) Ibid.

the superiority of the *Woman Chief*, has a probable foundation in fact: for that Monarch, presently after the loss of this battle, was induced to make overtures of peace, as appears from the Duke of Bavaria's letter, to the Duke of Marlborough, dated from Mons, Oct. 21. 1706, which begins thus. 'The most Christian King, Sir, finding that some overtures of peace, which he had caused to be made by private ways, &c (39).'

(39) See Salmon's Modern History, Vol. XXV. p. 340, & seq.

[P] *Writing the Examiner.*] His criticism upon Dr Garth's verses to Lord Godolphin, No. VI. Sept. 7. 1710, provoked Mr Addison to begin a paper, with the title of the Whig Examiner. In the first of which papers, dated Sept. 14. he takes our author's remarks* to pieces. The second and fourth of these papers, were an answer to Lord Bolingbroke's famous letter to the Examiner. He published no more than five under this title; but is said to have afterwards assisted Mr Manwaring, Steele, Hare, Oldmixon, and others, in carrying on the Medley; a paper, which, as it was intended only for an answer to the Examiner, was dropped the next week after it, in Aug 1711. The Examiner itself, was set up under the influence of Mr Harley, and St John, then at the head of the Ministry; and conducted by Mr Prior, Dr Swift, Dr Freind, Mrs Manley, Mr Oldsworth, and some others. Mr Prior is generally thought to be the author (at least, in conjunction with Swift) of a very satirical, not to say virulent, Fable, against the Duke of Marlborough, intituled, *The Widow and her Cat*; which concludes with this stanza.

* The truth is, they were an easy triumph to his antagonist, being too evidently the genuine offspring of party-zeal over heated.

XI.

So glaring is thine insolence,
So vile thy breach of trust is;
That longer with thee to dispense,
Were want of power, or want of sense:
Here Towzer! do him justice, ..

[Q] *And returned with the French Minister, Monsieur Mesnager.*] There came likewise the Abbé Gualtier, along with them. They were all seized at Canterbury, in their way to London and Mr Prior's packet detained by Mr Mackey, Master of the Packet-Boats at Dover, who had got information of his journey; but the Queen immediately sent orders to discharge them (40). Upon Mr Prior's arrival in France, Monsieur de Torcy, tells Mr St John, 'he 'saw, with great pleasure, Mr Prior return, after an 'interval of so many years; that he could have wished 'he had had greater liberty to imploy those talents, 'which he was persuaded he would have made good 'use of; but he hopes Mr Mesnager will supply what 'he could not do.'

(40) History of Prior's own Time, p. 348. and Burnet's History of his own Time, Vol. II. p. 584.

(41) Papers published before the Secret Committee in 1714.

[R] *Her Majesty designed to join Mr Prior in the Commission, &c.*] This appears from a letter of Mr St John to the Queen, where he acquaints her Majesty, that the Lords of the Committee of Council met Septemb. 20. 1711. in the morning, at the Cockpit, and directed the Earl of Dartmouth, and himself, to confer with Mr Mesnager. 'We saw him, continues he, accordingly, this evening, at Mr Prior's house; where my Lord Treasurer [Harley], and my Lord Chamberlain [Shrewsbury], were likewise present —My Lord Treasurer moved, and all my Lords were of the same opinion, that Mr Prior should be added to those who are impowered to sign; the reason for which, is, because he having personally treated with Monsieur de Torcy, is the best witness we can produce, of the sense in which the general preliminary engagements are entered into: besides which, as he is the best versed in matters of trade, of all your Majesty's servants, who have been trusted in this secret, if you shall think fit to employ him in the future Treaty of Commerce, it will be of consequence that he has been a party concerned, in concluding that Convention, which must be the rule of this Treaty.'—A Warrant was signed by the Queen for this purpose, but it does not appear that Mr Prior acted in this commission; for the warrant was found indorsed, *not used*†.

† Ibid.

[S] *He was sent again to France.*] Upon matters moving slowly at Utrecht, my Lord Bolingbroke went to France, to adjust and settle the great points in dispute (42); and it is not improbable that he took Mr Prior with him. In a letter to Lord Dartmouth, he writes thus: 'As I intend to leave this place on Wednes'day at farthest, it will be proper to lose no time, in 'dispatching a letter of Credence to Mr Prior; to 'whom your Lordship will likewise please, as soon as 'possible, to send the Queen's ratification (43).'

(42) The Su[s]pension was signed while he was there.

(43) Report of the Secret Committee.

[T] *Upon an affair of great importance.*] He carried the following letter, dated Versailles, Oct. 28. 1712.

'Madam, my Sister,

'You having acquainted me that you have an entire 'confidence in Mr Prior; I thought he would be 'more capable than any body to inform you of the 'new proofs that I am ready to give you, of the 'particular regard I have for you; as also, my desire 'to terminate, without any delay, in concert with 'you, the negotiations of peace. He goes into Eng'land to give you an account of the further advances 'that I am willing to make, to facilitate an entire 'conclusion of this work. I would have you there'fore, regard, what I do in this decisive conjuncture, 'as new and certain marks of my friendship for you; 'and do me that pleasure to acknowledge them, by

'interesting

are remarkable proofs of his being in the highest favour at both Courts; and he was continued in the post of Her Majesty's Ambassador and Plenipotentiary, in the former as long as she lived. He remained at Paris also in the character of a public minister (*aa*) some months after the Accession of King George the First. At whose appointment he was succeeded by the Earl of Stair, who, pursuant to his directions, took possession of all his predecessor's papers (*bb*) [*U*]. The great change that happened in the public management of affairs at this time occasioned Mr Prior to be detained in France without any public character; and upon his arrival in England, on the 25th of March, 1715, he was immediately taken up by an order of the House of Commons, and committed to the hands of a messenger (*cc*). On the first of April following, he underwent a strict examination, before a committee of the Privy-Council; and at the conclusion of it was removed from his own house, where he had continued 'till then, and laid under a stricter confinement (*dd*) [*W*] in that of the messenger. Upon the tenth of June following, Robert Walpole,

(*aa*) Name[illegible] that of Ple[illegible]tentiary.

(*bb*) Answer to the Report of the Committee of Secrecy, at the end of the Hist. of his own Time, p. 437.

(*cc*) Ibid. p. 416.

(*dd*) At first the Messenger was with him in his own house, but now he was confined in that of the Messenger. See his account at the end of his Hist. of his own Time.

'interesting your self with me, in favour of the 'Elector of *Bavaria*. I do not remind you of the 'ties of blood, which unite him as well to you, as 'me; nor of any other reasons which ought to ren- 'der you sensible of his condition: it is sufficient for 'me, that you are sensible of the concern that I have, 'in what regards him; and I am persuaded that this 'will be the principal motive that will press you to 'act in his favour. I expect, with impatience, the 'return of Mr Prior, whose conduct is very agreeable 'to me: and as he will assure you of what my senti- 'ments are; I will only add, that he cannot suffici- 'ently express the perfect esteem, and sincere friend- 'ship, I have for you.

'I am,

'Madam, my Sister,

'your good Brother,

'L O U I S.'

About the middle of November, Mr Prior was sent back into France, with new instructions, and the following letter, from her Majesty, to the French King.

Windsor, November 14. 1712.

'Monsieur, my Brother,

'I have received, with a very sincere pleasure, the 'agreeable letter which Mr Prior brought me from 'you. As your consummate wisdom hath taken the 'resolution that is most proper to fix the terms of 'peace; you will be persuaded that I will not, on 'my part, lose a moment to hasten the conclusion of 'it. I assure you, that the great facility that you are 'willing to lend towards it, out of a regard to me, shall 'be made no other use of, than to be employed, with- 'out any delay, to re-establish the public tranquillity, 'according to the wishes of us both. By the orders 'that I give to my Ministers, at Utrecht; it will ap- 'pear, that I do all that is in my power, at the pre- 'sent conjuncture, in favour of a Prince, whose in- 'terest is supported by your generosity.

'I do not at all doubt, but he himself is fully con- 'vinced of it; and that all the world agrees in it: I 'again repeat, Monsieur, my Brother, that the con- 'sideration of your friendship will be a very prevail- 'ing motive, to engage me anew in his interest, and 'in the interest of his family, as occasion shall offer, 'for the future. As to the rest, I send back Mr Prior 'to *Versailles*; who, in continuing to conduct himself 'in the manner that shall be entirely agreeable to you, 'does no more than execute, to a tittle, the orders 'which I have given him. And amongst all the proofs 'of his duty and zeal for my service, I expect in a 'very particular manner, that he should take all pos- 'sible occasion to repeat to you, the esteem and per- 'fect regard that I have for you; and my earnest de- 'sire to live with you, in a sincere and perpetual 'friendship (44).'

(44) History of his own Time, p. 375 to 378.

These two remarkable letters are lasting testimonies of the high confidence Mr Prior was in, not only with his own Sovereign, but with the King of France; whom he had, more than once, made the object of his Satire.

[*U*] *Seized all his papers.*] After the Queen's death, Mr Prior met with great difficulties in obtaining his arrears. At length, Lord Halifax being appointed First Commissioner of the Treasury, wrote thus to him. December 2. 1714. 'I read your letter to the King, 'and did not omit doing you all the good I could; 'the King has ordered you should be paid the allow- 'ance of a Plenipotentiary, from the first of August, 'to the first of December; together with a bill of 'extraordinaries, amounting in the whole to 1176 'pounds: And the bills that were due in the Queen's 'time, will be paid in course out of the Queen's ar- 'rears (45).' October 3. 1714, Mr Prior presented to the King of France a Memorial; requiring that the canal, and new works at Mardyke, should be demolished (46). The next day, the Earl of Stair was appointed to go and succeed him: his Lordship went over, but did not take upon him the title of Ambassador, 'till some time after, on account of the works erected at Mardyke; and the Pretender's continuing still incog. at Paris (47). We find, however, from what was observed, concerning the payment of his arrears; that Mr Prior had not the character of a public Minister longer than the first of December; about which time, in all appearance, Lord Stair took possession of all his papers, that were then to be found; there being no question but he had before this, secured those that might have injured himself, or any of his friends: For the proceedings of the new Ministry, against all who had any concern in the negotiations of the peace of Utrecht, were sufficient to put him on his guard, and make him expect the storm that soon after followed.

(45) Ibid. p. 414.

(46) See his Journal, ubi sup. p. 412.

(47) Life of the Earl of Stair, p. 34.

Notwithstanding Lord Halifax's letter, just mentioned, it appears no payment had been made on the seventh of February, 1714-15, when he received a letter from Mr Secretary Stanhope, wherein were these words; I represented to his Majesty in Council, that it would be impossible for you to return home, unless you were inabled to pay your debts; upon which, his Majesty has been pleased to direct, that your demands, as stated to my Lord Halifax, be complied with: and, accordingly, I have signified his Majesty's pleasure thereupon, to Lord Halifax; who, I am persuaded, will be pleased to serve you. At the same time he received the following letter from Lord Halifax. 'It is with great pleasure that I can now let you know, that upon reading my Lord Stair's letter, giving an account of your readiness to obey his Majesty's orders: the King has directed us to pay you 2408 pounds, for the two bills of extraordinaries, which you demanded; which, together with what is due to you yet, on your ordinary allowance, shall be dispatched with all the favour and civility we can show you. It will be a great pleasure to me in particular, to hasten your return from an unhappy station to your own country and friends, in which number I desire you will rank me.

I am, &c (48).

(48) History of his own Time, p. 415.

[*W*] *A stricter confinement.*] In an account of this examination, written by himself, (by which it appears, he was above ten hours before this Committee) he concludes thus. 'When I had thus signed the paper (49), 'the Chairman [Robert Walpole, Esq;] told me, that 'the Committee were not at all satisfied with my be- 'haviour, nor could give such an account of it to the 'House, that might merit their favour in my behalf; 'that at present, they thought fit, to lay me under a 'stricter confinement, than that of my own house. 'Here Bos. (50) played the moralist, and Con. (51) 'the Christian; but both very awkardly. Bos. said, 'that he had often heard Mr Stepney (52), who was 'a wise man, and our old friend, repeat this Proverb; 'Near

(49) Containing heads of his examination.

(50) Boscawen.

(51) Coningsby.

(52) A Poet and Statesman, as well as Prior.

Walpole, Esq; (afterwards Earl of Orford) moved the House of Commons for an impeachment against him; and on the seventeenth he was ordered into close custody, and no person to be admitted to see him without leave from the Speaker; and in 1717, when the Act of Grace was passed, Mr Prior, who lay still at the mercy of the House of Commons, was one of the persons excepted out of it. Notwithstanding this, he was soon after discharged without any further prosecution or being called to a trial (ee). He wrote an account of the proceedings in his examination before the Committee of Council, which, together with the ill usage he thought he had met with in the secret committee of the House of Commons, occasioned him to undertake a defence of himself and the ministry in the four last years of Queen Anne's reign, in answer to the charge alledged against them in that report [X]. He spent the remainder of his days, retired from business, in the company of his muse, being settled at Down-hall, a small villa, in the county of Essex; which, by the generosity of Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, he was possessed of for his life. Having finished his *Solomon on the Vanity of the World (ff)* [Y], he made a collection of all his poems, and published it by subscription in one volume in folio, with a most elegant dedication *(gg)* to the present Duke of Dorset, as a grateful memorial to his father's patronage of the author. Some time after this he formed a design of writing a history of his own time; which, considering the part he bore himself in many national transactions, the opportunities he had of being well informed concerning others, added to the extraordinary talents he possessed for every part of fine literature, could hardly fail of being a very valuable work; but he had made very little progress in it, when a lingering fever put a period both to his work and to his life *(hh)*, September 18, 1721, in the fifty-eighth year of his age; he died at Wimple, a seat of the Earl of Oxford, son to the Lord-Treasurer, not far from Cambridge *(ii)*; and his corps was interred, according to his own directions, in Westminster-abbey, where a stately monument is erected to his memory, for which last piece of human vanity he set apart five hundred pounds by his will; besides a bust of himself, done by Coriveaux, it is exquisitely performed, and stands at the top of his monument; the inscription beneath being wrote by Dr Robert Freind, then Head-Master of Westminster-school, who gladly exerted himself in doing justice to the character of one who had been so great an honour to that school [Z]. After his death, another small collection of his poems was published;

(ee) Ibid. p. 458, 459.

(ff) Mr Dobson of New-college in Oxford has since given an excellent translation of this poem into Latin verse, which is printed in the second volume of Prior's Miscellanies, 8vo. 1740. N. B. The same gentleman afterwards gave a like translation of Milton's Paradise Lost.

(gg) Which, says Mr Jacob, I may venture to say is the best that ever was wrote in the English tongue. Lives of the Poets, Vol. II. in Prior's article.

(hh) See his epitaph.

(ii) It has been since purchased by the Earl of Hardwicke, when Lord High Chancellor of England, who is now in possession of it.

'*Near my Shirt, but nearer my Skin*; and told me, 'if I had remembered that saying, and acted according to it, it would have been better for me. And 'Con. said, he had known me a long time, and was 'heartily sorry for my condition; but all this proceeded from my own fault. Now this kind commiseration did not last above a minute; for the 'Messenger, to whose house they intended to confine 'me, being called, Con. asked him, if his house 'were secured by bolts, and bars? The Messenger (53), who is by birth a gentleman, and a very 'good-natured man, was astonished at the question; 'and, answered, that he never had any in his custody 'but Parliament-Prisoners, (as he expressed it) and 'there were neither bolts, nor bars, in his house. At 'which, Con. very angrily said; Sir, you must 'secure this Prisoner; it is for the safety of the Nation; if he escapes, you shall answer for it. And 'now I met with another hardship, which indeed I 'could not have expected; as I had all day taken 'notes of their examination, and my answers; and 'particularly, that Mr Stanhope had, by his Majesty's order, informed the Committee, that from 'whatever I should say in this examination, nothing 'should, or ought to, redound to my own prejudice: 'nor indeed could it be imagined I should answer upon 'any other foot; for without the King's consent, 'I doubt if I ought at all to have answered to the 'Committee.'

(53) Mr Holinshead.

[X] *A defence of himself, &c.*] This piece was left unfinished by him; and in what is done, he has not touched upon one great objection which was made, particularly to Lord Bolingbroke and himself; that they were frequently most unseasonably witty, in the interludes of these most important and serious negotiations; upon which the future woe or weal of their country were at stake. And in a letter to the Lord Bolingbroke, some time after the conclusion of the peace (54), Mr Prior expresses himself merrily, concerning the difficulties that had arisen, upon the articles of Commerce (which fell to his share). 'We had like, says he, to have made an Athanasian business of it at Utrecht; by that explanation of our own way, of understanding our own commerce; their letters to you, full of surmises and doubts, that all was unhinged; and their letters to us again, that explanations, however made, were only to save appearances, and signified nothing: This melange, I say, and my endeavouring to understand it, had like to make me run mad, if the Duke of Shrewsbury's extreme good sense, and Monsieur de Torcy's not only good sense but right understanding, had not redressed us.' To the same purpose, it was archly observed by somebody at that time, that Lord Oxford's *Peace, was like the Peace of God, for it passed all human understanding.*

(54) In May 1713. Report of the Committee of Secrecy.

[Y] *Having finished his Solomon, &c.*] In the two following lines of this admirable poem, the Poet seems to have an eye to his own particular case; where representing the origin of Solomon's passion for his slave Abra, he makes that King say thus:

Use made her person, easy to my sight,
That ease insensibly produc'd delight.

Mrs Elizabeth Cox, our author's Doe (55), was at this time a Lady of no distinguished beauty; and she grew so humoursome and imperious, before his death, that some of his friends could not forbear taking notice of it. To whom it is said, that he made the same answer with the celebrated French Comedy-writer, Moliere, who was exactly in the same circumstances, viz. 'That he was sensible of the truth of 'their remarks, as well as the friendliness of their advice; but he had been so long used to her humours, 'that they were become familiar to him, and by that 'means tolerable; whereas a new mistress, would 'bring a new temper, which would create a very sensible trouble to conform with.'

(55) He shewed his value for her by his Will, wherein he left her equally residuary legatee with Mr Drift. See a copy of his Will, in the third volume of his Poems.

[Z] *Exerted himself in doing justice to his character.*] For which reason, we shall insert that part of it. After an account of his birth and education, together with his several public employments, the Doctor proceeds to the distinguishing character of his poetical genius, as follows.

Ita natus, ita educatus,
A vatum choro avelli nunquam potuit,
Sed solebat sæpe rerum civilium gravitatem
Amæniorum literarum studiis condire:
Et cum omne adeo Poetices genus
Haud infeliciter tentarit,

Tum

published; and since that there came out a piece in 1740, intituled, *The History of his own Time* [*AA*]; *compiled from the Original Manuscripts of his late Excellency Matthew Prior*, Esq; and some poems in a separate volume. Notwithstanding the many high posts and lucrative employments which he had enjoyed in the course of his life, he died at last Fellow of St John's college in Cambridge, which was the only preferment he was then possessed of. We have the following story concerning this part of his conduct, that after he became a Minister of State he was often told, that a Fellowship was too trifling an affair for him to keep; particularly when he was made Ambassador, some persons intimated to him, that the Fellowship was hardly consistent with that character; but he replied, *That every thing he had besides was precarious, and when all failed that would be bread and cheese at last*; *and, therefore, he did not mean to part from it.* However, he made amends for this humour in his will, where he left the college a set of books to the value of two hundred pounds to be chosen out of his study by that society; as also his own picture, and another of the Earl of Jersey (*kk*). In pursuance whereof, the books, which are all in very magnificent bindings, are placed in the college-library, all together in one desk which they fill, and over it is set the benefactor's picture (*ll*), done by La Belle, in France; it is at full length, in a sitting posture, very richly dressed, *En Ambassadeur*, and finely painted; and is said to have been a present to Mr Prior by Lewis XIV. who gave the Painter a hundred pistoles for it.

(*kk*) See his Will in the third volume of his Poems.

(*ll*) The Earl of Jersey's picture is placed near Mr Prior's.

Tum in fabellis concinne lepideque texendis,
Mirus Artifex,
Neminem habuit parem.
Hæc liberalis animi oblectamenta,
Quam nullo illi labore constiterint,
Facile ij perspexere, quibus usus est amici;
Apud quos urbanitatum & leporum plenus
Cum ad rem, quæcunque forte inciderit,
Apte varie copioseque alluderet,
Interea nihil quæsitum, nihil vi expressum,
Videbatur,
Sed omnia ultro effluere,
Et quasi jugi è fonte affatim exuberare.
Ita suos tandem dubios reliquit,
Essetne in scriptis Poeta elegantior,
An in convictu comes jucundior.

[*AA*] *History of his own Time.*] This is said in the title page, to be revised and signed by himself; and copied fair for the press by Mr Adrian Drift, his executor; and has this motto underneath. '*I had rather be thought a good Englishman, than the best Poet, or greatest Scholar, that ever wrote.* Matt. Prior.' It is printed for the editor, J. Bancks; 'who, in the dedication to Lord Oxford, assures his Lordship, that the chief materials are entirely Mr Prior's; and in the preface, he gives the following account of the manuscripts. First, we find in his Will, this paragraph. "All my manuscripts, negotiations, commissions, and all papers whatsoever, whether of my public employments, or private studies; I leave to my Lord Harley, and Mr Adrian Drift, my Executors, or either of them; having first burned such, as may not be proper for any future inspection." Pursuant to this clause, the originals devolved to Mr Adrian Drift, who had before transcribed most of them for the press, by Mr Prior's own direction; and as corrected by himself. The same gentleman copied them for the Earl of Oxford (56). He then gave them to a most intimate friend (57), soon after the decease of Mr Prior, with a strict injunction not to publish them, 'till after the death of him, the said Mr Drift, which happened in 1738.—After the death of the late Charles Foreman, Esq; (58), who had these manuscripts in his possession, and intended to publish them with all convenient expedition, they were delivered to me; and I have endeavoured, with all faithfulness, to execute the part which that gentleman had taken on him.' Notwithstanding all this parade, upon the perusal, very little of Mr Prior's writing will be found in this piece. P

(56) His co-executor, appointed with this encomium, 'as the justest and kindest man I shall leave behind me in the world.'

(57) Ch. Foreman, Esq; well known by his political writings.

(58) He died April 28, 1739, and was buried at St Dunstan's church in Fleet-street, London.

PURCHAS [SAMUEL], a learned English Divine in the XVIIth century, and compiler of the very valuable Collection of Voyages which bears his name; was born at Thaxstead in Essex (*a*), in the year 1577 (*b*). He had his education at Cambridge, and very probably in St John's college, where one —— Purchas is recorded to have taken his Master of Arts degree in 1600 (*c*). On the 24th of August 1604, he was instituted to the Vicarage of East-wood in his native county of Essex, at the King's presentation (*d*). But leaving that cure to his brother, he went and lived in London; the better to carry on the great work he had undertaken. He published the first volume of it in 1613 [*A*], and the four last in 1625. On the 11th of July 1615, he was incorporated

(*a*) Wood, Fasti, edit. 1721. Vol. I, col. 200.

(*b*) Samuel Purcase the son of George Purcase was baptiz'd Nov. 20, 1577. Thaxstead Register. b.

(*c*) From the University Registers. See also Dedication of the Third Part of his Pilgrimes.

(*d*) Newcourt's Repertorium, Vol. II. p. 241.

[*A*] *He published the first volume of it in* 1613. The title of it is, 'Purchas his Pilgrimage, or Relations of the World and the Religions observed in all Ages and Places discovered, from the Creation unto this present. In foure Parts. The first contayneth a Theologicall and Geographicall Historie of *Asia, Africa*, and *America*, with the Islands adjacent. Declaring the ancient Religions before the Floud, the Heathenish, Jewish, and Saracenicall in all Ages since, in those parts professed, with their severall Opinions, Idols, Oracles, Temples, Priests, Fasts, Feasts, Sacrifices, and Rites religious: Their Beginnings, Proceedings, Alterations, Sects, Orders, and Successions. With briefe descriptions of the Countries, Nations, States, Discoveries; Private and publike Customes, and the most remarkable rarities of Nature, or Humane industrie in the same.' The first edition of this first Volume, as I have said above, was published in 1613. the second in 1614 and the third (much enlarged with Additions through the whole worke) in 1617. *folio*. As the fourth, and best, was in 1626: This last being adorned with the Maps of Mercator and Hondius. In the Dedication to Archbishop Abbot, he observes, that, 'Great is this burthen of a two-fold World, and requires both an *Atlas* and an *Hercules* too, to undergoe it. The newnesse also (adds he) makes it more difficult, being an enterprise never yet (to my knowledge) by any, in any Language, attempted; conjoyning thus Antiquitie and Moderne Historie, in the observations of all the rarities of the World, and especially of that Soule of the World, *Religion*. Yet have I adventured, and (I speake it not to boast, but to excuse my selfe, in so haughtie designes) this my *first Voyage* of Discoverie, besides mine owne pore stocke laide thereon, hath made mee indebted to *above twelve hundred Authours*, of one or other kinde, in I know not how many hundreths of their Treatises, Epistles, Relations and Histories, of divers Subjectes and Languages, borrowed by my selfe; besides what (for want of the 'Authors

corporated at Oxford, Batchelor of Divinity, as he ſtood at Cambridge (*e*). And, in November before, as is very probable, had been collated by John King, Biſhop of London to the Rectory of St Martin's Ludgate, in London (*f*) [*B*]. He was alſo Chaplain to George Abbot, Archbiſhop of Canterbury (*g*). But he doth not ſeem to have been further rewarded, or conſidered by his ſuperiours, except by King Charles I. that gave him the promiſe of a Deanery; which he did not live to enjoy. By the publiſhing of his books [*C*], he brought himſelf into debt; however, he did not dye in priſon, as ſome have ſaid, but in his own houſe, about the year 1628, aged fifty-one (*h*). He was a married man (*i*); and it was probably a ſon of his that was preſented to the Rectory of Sutton in Eſſex, in the year 1629 (*k*). His Pilgrimages, and the learned R. Hakluyt's Voyages, have led the way to all other collections of that kind, made ſince; and have been highly valued, and *eſteemed:* of which, the great price they bear, is a certain evidence. A very good judge (*l*) applauds their books (among others) as ' a very commendable Deſign: and ſays, their works are like to be always uſeful.' But the greateſt character is given of Mr Purchas by a learned foreigner (*m*); who ſtyles him a man exquiſitely well ſkilled in Languages [*D*], and all Arts divine and human; a very great Philoſopher, Hiſtorian, and Divine; a faithful Preſbyter of the Church of England; very famous eſpecially for his vaſt volumes of the Eaſt and Weſt-Indies, written in his native tongue.

(*e*) Wood, Faſti, as above.

(*f*) The time of his collation is not expreſſed in the Biſhop's Regiſtry. But his predeceſſor dyed in November, 1614. See Newcourt's Repertorium, Vol. I. p.

(*g*) See the end of the Dedication of his Pilgrimage, or Vol. I. to that Archbiſhop.

(*h*) Wood, Faſti, as above.

(*i*) For he mentions, in his Preface, *the daily cares of his Family*.

(*k*) Newcourt, Vol. II. p. 567.

(*l*) The author of an Introduction to Several Voyages to the South and North, viz. Narborough's, &c. edit. 1694, 8vo. p. 5.

(*m*) In Bibliothecâ Joh. Boſſardi.

' Authors themſelves) I have taken upon truſt, of ' other mens goods in their hands.'——In the Preface he acquaints his Reader, that ' Being, he knows not ' by what naturall inclination, addicted to the ſtudie ' of hiſtorie, his heart would ſometimes object a ſelfe-' love, in following his private delights in that kinde. ' At laſt, ſays he, I reſolved to turne the pleaſures of ' my ſtudies into ſtudious paines, that others might ' againe, by delightfull ſtudie, turne my paines into ' their pleaſure. I heere bring Religion from *Paradiſe* to the *Arke*, and thence follow her round about ' the world, and (for her ſake) obſerve the world it-' ſelfe, with the ſeverall Countries and Peoples there-' in; the chief Empires and States: &c.'——— The remaining part of the Work is divided into *Four Volumes*, or *Parts*; the general title to which, upon a copper-plate, is thus. ' *Hakluytus Poſthumus* or ' Purchas his Pilgrimes. Contayning a Hiſtory of the ' World, in Sea voyages, and lande Travells, by En-' gliſhmen and others.* Wherein God's wonders in ' Nature and Providence, The Actes, Arts, Varieties, ' and Vanities of Men, with a world of the Worlds ' Rarities, are by a world of eywitneſſe-Authors, re-' lated to the world.* Some left written by Mr Hak-' luyt at his death More ſince added, His alſo peruſed, ' and perfected. All examined, abreuiated, Illuſtra-' ted with Notes, enlarged with Diſcourſes, Adorned ' with Pictures, and expreſſed in Mapps. In fower ' Parts, Each containing five Bookes.' At the bottom, is his picture in a little oval, (*Ætat.* 48. 1625.) whereby he appears to have been a comely Man, and of a ſweet countenance.

But to give a more extenſive view of this great and laborious work: Part I, contains the Voyages and Peregrinations made by ancient Kings, Patriarkes, Apoſtles, Philoſophers. and others, to and thorow the remoter parts of the knowne World: Enquiries alſo of Languages and Religions, eſpecially of the moderne diverſified Profeſſions of Chriſtianitie. A Deſcription of all the Circum-Navigations of the Globe. Navigations and Voyages of Engliſh-men, along the coaſts of Africa, to the Cape of Good Hope, and from thence to the Red Sea, &c. Engliſh Voyages beyond the Eaſt-Indies, to Japan, China, Cauchin china, the Philippine-iſlands, &c. The Engliſh Affairs with the Great Samorine *, in the Perſian and Arabian Gulfes, and in other places of the Continent, and Iſlands of and beyond the Indies: the Portugall Attempts, and Dutch Diſaſters, &c. Part II, Navigations, Voyages, and Land-Diſcoveries, with other Hiſtoricall Relations of Africa; and of the Sea-coaſts and in-land regions of Æthiopia, by Engliſhmen and others. Peregrinations and Travels by land in Paleſtina, Natolia, Syria, Arabia, Perſia, and other parts of Aſia. Diſcoveries by land, of Aſſyria, Armenia, Perſia, India, Arabia, and other in-land countries of Aſia, by Engliſhmen and others. Part III, Peregrinations and Diſcoveries in the remoteſt North and Eaſt parts of Aſia, called Tartaria, and China; and of Europe, as Ruſſia, &c. by Engliſhmen and others. Voyages and Diſcoveries in the North parts of the World, by land and ſea, in Aſia, Europe, the Polar Regions, and in the North-weſt of America. Relations of Greeland, Groenland, the North-weſt paſſage, and other Arctike regions. Voyages and Travels to and in the New World, called America: Relations of their Pagan Antiquities and of the Regions and Plantations in the North and South parts thereof, and of the Seas and Ilands adjacent. Near the end of this Volume, he gives the Book of the Indians with Mexican hieroglyphics, or pictures, cut in wood, which Mr Hakluyt, chaplain to the Engliſh embaſſador in France, bought for twenty crowns. Part IV, Voyages to the Eaſt, Weſt, and South parts of America: Many ſea and land fights, invaſions and victories againſt the Spaniards in thoſe parts, and the Spaniſh Iſlands; Plantations in Guiana, and adventures of Engliſh-men amongſt the Americans. Voyages to and about the Southern America. Voyages to and land-travels in Florida, Virginia, and other parts of the Northerne America. French plantings, Spaniſh ſupplantings; Engliſh Virginian Voyages, and to the Ilands Azores. Engliſh Plantations, Diſcoveries, Acts, and Occurrents, in Virginia and Summer-Ilands, ſince the yeere 1606, till 1624. Engliſh Diſcoveries and Plantations in New-England, Newfoundland; with the Patent and Voyages to New Scotland: Relations alſo of the Fleets ſet forth by Queene Elizabeth againſt the Spaniards.'———The vaſt charge attending this voluminous work, hath occaſioned its being never reprinted. But large Extracts, or Fragments, of it, have been inſerted in the Subſequent Collections of Voyages, by Dr John Harris, and others.

* Mogol.

[*B*] *The Rectory of St Martin's Ludgate in London.*] That preferment ' afforded him the opportunities of ' bookes, conference and manifold intelligence: And, ' as the Benefice was not of the worſt, ſo was it the ' beſt ſeated in the world, to his Content;' as he thankfully acknowledges, in the additional Preface to the third Edition of the firſt Volume of his Pilgrimage.

[*C*] *By the publiſhing of his Books*] Beſides his large Work abovementioned, he publiſhed, 1. *Purchas* ' his Pilgrim. Microcoſmus or the Hiſtorie of Man, ' &c. Meditated on the words of David, Pſalm 39. 5. being a Funeral Sermon. Lond. 1619, 8vo. 3. ' The ' King's Tower, and triumphant Arch of London.' Lond. 1623. 8vo. (1).

(1) Wood, Faſti, ubi ſupra.

[*D*] *A man exquiſitely well ſkilled in Languages*, &c.] The words of the Original, are, ' *Samuel Purchas*, ' Anglus, Linguarum et Artium divinarum atque hu-' manarum egregiè peritus, Philoſophus, Hiſtoricus, ' & Theologus maximus; patriæ Eccleſiæ antiſtes fide-' lis; multis egregiis Scriptis, & in primis orientalis, ' occidentaliſque Indiæ vaſtis Voluminibus, patriâ lin-' guâ conſcriptis, celeberrimus.' C

Q.

QUARLES [Francis], an English poet in the XVIIth century, whose compositions are chiefly of the pious and moral kind, was the son of James Quarles, Esq; [*A*] Clerk of the Green-Cloth, and Purveyor of the Navy to Queen Elizabeth. He was born at Stewards near Romford in Essex, in the year 1592, and educated at Christ's-college in Cambridge, and Lincoln's-inn, London. Afterwards he was preferred to the place of Cup-bearer to Elizabeth daughter of King James I. Electress-Palatine and Queen of Bohemia (*a*). He quitted her service, very probably upon the ruin of her husband's affairs, and went over into Ireland, where he became Secretary to the most learned Archbishop Usher. Upon the breaking out of the Rebellion in that kingdom, in 1641, he suffered greatly in his fortune, and was obliged to fly for safety to England. But here he did not meet with the Quiet he expected. For, a piece of his, styled the *Loyal Convert*, having given offence to the prevailing powers, they took occasion from that; and from his repairing to King Charles I. at Oxford; to hurt him as much as they could in his estates (*b*). But we are told, that what he took most to heart, was his being plundered of his books, and some rare Manuscripts which he intended for the press; the loss of which, as it is thought, hastened his death (*c*). The several things he published are mentioned below [*B*]. Besides his other employments he was Chronologer to the city of London. He dyed September the 8th 1644, in the 52d year

(*a*) Memoires, &c. by Da. Lloyd, fol. Lond. 1668, p. 621.

(*b*) Ibid. and Fuller's Worthies, in Essex, p. 334. and Langbain's Lives and Characters of the English Dramatick Poets, edit. 1699, p. 114.

(*c*) Lives of the English Poets by W. Winstanley, edit. 1687, 8vo, p. 157, 158.

[*A*] *Was the Son of James Quarles, Esq;*] The *Quarles* family was formerly of some consideration in the County of Essex, and possessed of several estates in *Romford, Hornchurch, Dagenham,* &c. particularly those named Stewards, Pinchbacke's, Heathcock's, Crowland Snelling, Dovers Rydon, Shepcotts-hawe in Colly row, Oldberries, Potters roses, Heards, Edwalls hatches, &c. And in *Stanford-rivers*, they had lands called Stewards:——In *Rawreth*, some named Raymond.———They had also estates in Great and Little Hadham in Hertfordshire. As namely, Nockholls, Oldhall, Huntewood, &c.———*James Quarles*, Esq; dyed Sept. 21. 1599. and was succeeded in his estates by his eldest Son *Robert*, then aged upwards of eighteen (1): who was afterwards knighted. Another of his Sons was FRANCIS, who is the Subject of this article.

(1) Inquis. post mort. 31 Julii, 42 Elizab.

[*B*] *The several things he published,* &c.] They were as follows. 1. A Feast for wormes, in a poeme of the History of Jonah. Lond. 1620. 4to. 2. *Pentalogia*, or the Quintessence of Meditation. 3. *Hadassa*, or the History of Esther. Lond. 1621. 4. Job militant, with Meditations divine and morall. Lond. 1624. 4to. 5. Argalus and Parthenia. A romance. Lond. 1631. 4to. 6. History of Sampson in verse. Lond. 1631. 4to. 7. Emblemes, with cuts. Lond. 1635. 8vo. 8. Anniversaries upon his Panarete. 9. Enchiridion of Meditations divine and morall. Lond. 1654. 10. The loyal Convert. 11. The Virgin Widow, a Comedy. Lond. 1649. 4to. Besides Sion's Songs, and Sion's Elegies, Epigrams, Shepherds Oracles, Hieroglyphicks, &c.———For a specimen of his Sentiments and his Poetry, we shall lay the following Lines of his before the Reader.

Man's *Body*'s like a house, his greater *Bones*
Are the main Timber, and the lesser ones
Are smaller splints; his *ribs* are laths daub'd or'e,
Plaistred with flesh and blood: his *mouth*'s the door,
His *throat*'s the narrow entry, and his *heart*
Is the great Chamber, full of curious art:
His *midriff* is a large Partition-wall
'Twixt the great Chamber, and the spacious Hall:
His *stomach* is the Kitchin, where the meat
Is often but half sod for want of heat:
His *spleen*'s a vessel Nature doth allot
To take the Skum that rises from the Pot:
His *lungs* are like the bellows, that respire
In every Office, quickning every fire:
His *Nose* the Chimney is, whereby are vended
Such fumes as with the bellows are augmented:
His *bowels* are the sink, whose parts do drain
All noisom filth, and keep the Kitchin clean:
His *eyes* are Christal windows, clear and bright;
Let in the object and let out the sight.
And as the Timber is, or great, or small,
Or strong, or weak, 'tis apt to stand or fall:
Yet is the likeliest Building sometimes known
To fall by obvious chances; overthrown
Oft times by tempests by the full mouth'd blasts
Of Heaven; sometimes by fire; sometimes it wasts
Through unadvis'd neglect: put case the stuff
Were ruin proof, by nature strong enough
To conquer time, and age; put case it should
Ne're know an end, alas our Leases would;
What hast thou then, proud flesh and blood, to boast;
Thy daies are evil, at best; but few, at most;
But sad, at merriest; and but weak, at strongest;
Unsure, at surest; and but short, at longest.

[*C*] *Whereof*.

(d) Lloyd, and Langbain, as above. See also The British Theatre, edit. 1752, 8vo. p. 60.

(e) Lloyd, ubi supra.

(f) Worthies as above.

(g) Memo res as above.

(h) Vr ... torem F... ud Anul ... n u celeb... Vossii Letters at he end of Archbishop Usher Life by ... p. 404.

year of his age, and was buried in the church of St Vedast Foster-lane, London (d). By one wife he had eighteen children (e); whereof one named John was also a Poet [C]. Our author, in the judgment of Dr Fuller (f), was a most excellent poet, and h... a mind byassed to devotion [D]. D. Lloyd adds (g), that his pious Books by the l... y take the heart; having taught Poetry to be witty, without profaneness, wantonne... r being satyrical, that is, without the Poet's abusing God, himself, or his neighbor. ... his good master Archbishop Usher styles him, a man of some fame among the En...ish for his sacred Poetry (h).

[C] *Whereof one named John was also a Poet.*] He was born in Essex in 1624; admitted into Exeter-college in 1642; bore arms for King Charles I. within the garrison at Oxford, and was afterwards a Captain in one of the royal armies: But, upon the declining of his Majesty's cause, he retired to London in a mean condition; and afterwards travelled beyond the Seas. He dyed of the plague at London, in 1665. The chief of what he published, was, *Regale lectum miseriæ:* or the English Bed of Misery. Lond. 1649. 8vo. Elegy upon that never to be forgotten Charles I. late (but too soon martyr'd) King of England. Elegy and Epitaph on Arthur Lord Capell, beheaded March 9. 1648. A Curse against the enemies of Peace. His farewell to England. All printed together.——— *Fons lacrymarum:* or, a Fountain of Tears; from whence doth flow England's complaint. Jeremiah's Lamentations paraphrased. Elegy upon that Son of valour, Sir Charles Lucas. These three were also printed together.———Triumphant Chastity; or Joseph's Self-conflict, when by his Mistress he was enticed to adultery. Lond. 1683. 8vo. Continuation of the History of Argalus and Parthenia, Lond. 1659. 12mo. Divine Meditations, &c. Lond. 1659. 8vo. (2).

(2) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 355.

[D] *Was a most excellent poet, and had a m... b...assed to devotion.*] Fuller says further of him by way of Character, that 'Had he been contemp... y 'with Plato (that great back-friend to Poet..., h... 'would not onely have allowed him to live, but ...- 'vanced him to an office in his Common-weal... 'Some Poets, if debarr'd profaneness, wantone... 'Satyricalness, (that they may neither abuse ...d, 'themselves, nor their neighbours) have their to... 'cut out in effect. Others onely trade in *wit a...* '*second hand,* being all for translations, nothing 'invention. Our Quarles was free from the fau... 'the first, as if he had drank of Jordan instea... 'Helicon, and slept on Mount Olivet for his ... 'nassus, and was happy in his own invention. ... '*visible Poetry* (I mean his *Emblems*) is excel..., 'catching therein the eye and fancy at one draught, 'so that he hath *out-Alciated* therein, in some mens 'judgment. His Verses on Job are done to the life, 'so that the reader may see his forces, and through 'them the anguish of his Soul. According to the 'advice of Saint Hierome, *Verba vertebat in opera,* 'and practiced the Job he had described.'

R.

RADCLIFFE [John], an eminent Phyfician, and founder of the Radclivian Library at Oxford, was fon of George Radcliffe, by Sarah, daughter of Mr Louder a perfon of a confiderable fortune; he was born at Wakefield in Yorkfhire in the year 1650; near which place his father was poffeffed of a moderate eftate, and having a numerous family, did not think it prudent, on account of the expence, to breed his children to letters; but fome of the neighbouring gentry and clergy perceiving a towardly difpofition in the youth, prevailed with him to fend this fon to fchool at Wakefield. The boy having a prompt wit, readily conquered this part of his education; and, at fifteen years of age, for the completion of it, was removed to Oxford, where he was entered into Univerfity-college in 1665 (*a*), with the hopes, in due time, of procuring a Fellowfhip for him in that fociety (*b*). In 1669 he took his firft degree, and was chofen foon after Senior-Scholar of his college; but no Fellowfhip falling vacant for fome time, he offered himfelf a candidate to the like preferment at Lincoln-college; where having fucceeded, he quitted his former fociety, though with grateful refentments of the favours he had received there. He was now capacitated, by the increafe of his ftipend and the indulgence of his mother, who was become a widow, and enlarged his allowance, to purfue his inclination in the ftudy of Phyfick, and run through the neceffary courfes of Botany, Chymiftry, and Anatomy. In all which, by the help of moft excellent parts, he quickly made a very great progrefs. The next degree he had to take, was that of Mafter of Arts, to which he proceeded on the fourth of June, 1672; having performed the preparatory exercifes with uncommon applaufe. After this, in purfuance of the academical ftatutes, he immediately enrolled his name upon the Phyfic-line. We muft not omit to obferve, that our Academician had recommended himfelf to the favour of his friends, more by his ready wit and vivacity than any diftinguifhed acquifitions in book-learning. He had no turn to a contemplative life. It was his fociable talents that made him the delight of his companions: And the moft eminent fcholars in the univerfity were fond of his converfation. He had very few books of any kind [*A*]; and in the profecution of Phyfic rarely looked farther than to the pieces of Dr Willis, who had lately left that univerfity with a very extraordinary character; and was then practifing in London with a reputation and fuccefs above any of the faculty. On the firft of July, 1675, Mr Radcliffe proceeded Bachelor of Phyfic (*c*). As this degree gave him a full title to practife in the univerfity, he did not neglect to make ufe of his privilege, and immediately put himfelf into the world. He fet out in a method of practice fuitable to that he had purfued in the ftudy of this art; paying little regard to the rules then univerfally followed, which he even did not fpare to cenfure with freedom and acrimony. This unufual boldnefs, as it was natural to expect, drew all the old practitioners upon him. Dr Lydal, who at that juncture had the greateft part of the bufinefs at Oxford, fet two of the moft eminent Apothecaries there to challenge his method, as running riot againft both Hippocrates and Galen; who where, even by the ftatutes of the univerfity, received for the Fathers and Founders of Phyfic. Mr Luff likewife, afterwards Doctor and Regius Profeffor of Phyfic to the univerfity, and Mr, afterwards Dr, Gibbons, did all that lay in their power to circumvent him with his patients, and depretiate his character; the firft maintaining, that *the cures he performed were only guefs-work*; and the other, who was an accurate Grecian, obferving, *that it was a great pity his friends had not made a fcholar of him.* This laft farcafm was taken notice of by Mr Radcliffe; who, in return, fet the nick-name of *Nurfe* upon the author of it (*d*); which was fo unluckily applied, that all the advantage of his learning was loft in it. In the

(*a*) See fome Memoirs of the Life of John Radcliffe, printed at London, 1715, in 8vo. p. 4.

(*b*) Several of his name and family had been bred at this college. One Jonas Radcliffe was tutor to the famous Abraham Woodhead, who afterwards travelled into France, with Thomas, fon of Sir George Radcliffe, a Gentleman-Commoner of the fame college. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 613.

(*c*) Ibid. Fafti, col. 198.

(*d*) Memoirs of his Life, ubi fupra, p. 7, 8.

[*A*] *He had few books of any kind.*] So few indeed, that Dr Ralph Bathurft, then head of Trinity-college, (a gentleman greatly diftinguifhed, both for his reading and ingenuity) who kept him company for the fake of the fmartnefs of his converfation: afked him, in a furprize, *Where was his Study?* Upon which Mr Radcliffe, pointing to a few phials, a fkeleton, and an herbal; anfwered, Sir, *this is Radcliffe's library* (1).

(1) See his Memoirs, &c. p. 6.

the mean time, our young Physician's prescriptions were attended with so great success, that the two Apothecaries, Foulks and Adams, thought proper to make interest to get his name upon their files in the first year of his practice. The small-pox then raging in and about Oxford, he applied the cool regimen with a very good judgment; but the remarkable cure of the Lady Spencer set him above the reach of all his competitors [*B*]. Her Ladyship's alliance to several noble families on her own side, and many more on the part of her husband, Sir Thomas Spencer, brought him into great esteem with the Northampton, Sunderland, Carnarvon, and Abingdon houses. In a word, his reputation increased with his experience, as his wealth grew greater and greater by the extent of his practice; and he had not been two years Bachelor of Physic, when there was scarce any family of credit, that did not think themselves beholden to him for the preservation of one or more lives in it. About this time Dr Marshal, Rector of Lincoln-college, did him an ill office, which proved a great detriment to that society; Mr Radcliffe (as his manner was) had been a little too lavish of his wit upon the Doctor's genius and skill in the Northern languages as well as his conduct; and now the Governor took a severe revenge (*e*), by opposing his application for a Faculty-place in the college; this would have been a dispensation from taking Holy Orders, which was insisted on he should do, as the statutes required, if he kept his Fellowship. Such a step was inconsistent with the profession to which he was already become so great an ornament, and by which he had it in his power to be one day (as he would most assuredly have been) a great benefactor to that house. And, therefore, he chose rather to fling up his Fellowship, than not to go on in that faculty, where he had made so great a progress. After his resignation, which was in the year 1677, he was desirous of keeping his old chambers, and residing in them as a Commoner; but meeting with some ungenteel usage on that account also from Dr Marshal, he thought fit to leave that then inhospitable society, and to reside elsewhere in the university; there to continue, 'till he should be of standing to take his Doctor's degree, and have an opportunity of enlarging the sphere of his practice upon the demise of any of the most noted Physicans at London. On the 5th of July 1682, he went out Doctor and Grand Compounder [*C*]; but continued two years longer at Oxford, growing equally in wealth and fame. Notwithstanding the Doctor was very free in ridiculing a kind of literature which he judged entirely useless in regard to the method of healing diseases, and was qualified, by the vivacity of his wit, to give that peculiar sagacity in discerning the nature and degree of his patients ailments, it's whole lustre, and make it dazzle and confound his rivals; yet he was a fair and honourable practitioner, had a perfect contempt for all mean and low artifices to wriggle himself into business; and made it his constant rule to discountenance and explode all quacks and interlopers in the art. Particularly he rooted out the pernicious tribe of Urinal Casters [*D*], with which the nation swarmed at that time. In 1684, having, by his practice in Oxford and the neighbouring

(*e*) Dr Marshal was an Antiquary; and, though eminent in that way, yet we are told, upon good grounds, that the rules of civility are not to be learned from an Antiquary. Introduction to Vol. II. of Wood's Athen. Oxon. parag. ult.

[*B*] *The remarkable cure of Lady Spencer, set him above all his competitors.*] This lady was then at Yarnton, four miles off Oxford; the seat of her husband, Sir *Thomas Spencer*. She had been under Dr *Lydal*'s, and Mr *Musgrave*'s (2) hands, for some time, without any remedy from their prescriptions; and without hopes of recovery, from a complication of distempers; 'till Mr *Dormer*, who had married her Ladyship's daughter, put her in mind of Mr Radcliffe's success, and obtained of her to send for him; which being done, his directions very happily set her upon her legs again, in three weeks time, after she had been in a languishing condition more than so many years: and restored a decayed constitution in such a manner, to it's wonted vigour, that she lived to a very great age; and to see her grandchildren's children (3).

(2) This gentleman had taken no degree in Physick at this time, though he did afterwards, and was Secretary to the Royal Society one year, viz. 1684. Wood's Athen. Oxon. col. 995.

(3) Radcliffe's Memoirs, p. 9.

[*C*] *He went out Doctor, and Grand Compounder.*] Mr Wood (who in his Fasti, at the end of his second volume, p. 122.) has registred this time of his taking his Doctor's Degree, takes no notice of his going out Grand Compounder; an undoubted fact, well known to many in the University, and often mentioned when I was there, in 1715. The reason of it's being more particularly the subject of conversation, at that time, presently after his death, and large benefaction to the University, was this: Since hence it appeared, beyond contradiction, that his family was not so mean and despicable, as had been represented by his adversaries; a report, that took it's rise from his father's entering him in the college a Battler, which is the lowest gown in the university. But this step was an unanswerable argument, that his paternal estate was much larger than had been asserted; for no person is required to go out Grand Compounder, that has not 40 l. per annum in land: the Doctor therefore must be possessed of an estate, at least of that value, by right of inheritance; for at that time he had made no purchase, tho' he had acquired, abundantly enough to bear the expence of his composition, which amounts not to less than the sum of 100 pounds. This attack upon the meanness of the Doctor's parentage, received something like a sanction from the office of Heraldry; from which, at the time of his funeral, the Vice-Chancellor received a letter, admonishing the university not to erect over, or upon, his monument, any escutcheon charged with the arms of the Derwentwater family, notwithstanding he had always bore those arms, as a descendant from the Radcliffes of Dilston, viz. *a Bend in a greile sable, Field Argent*, upon his chariot during his life, without any animadversion from that college. And the unfortunate Earl of that name, constantly acknowledged him as a kinsman.

[*D*] *He made it his business to explode the tribe of Urinal Casters.*] These piss-pot prophets, had wormed the country out of many a sweet penny; and crowds of men and women went daily to them, with phials, bottles, &c. for a definitive sentence in their husbands, wives, and childrens cases. Amongst the rest, to whom should one of these credulous women come, with an urinal in her hand, but to Dr Radcliffe: the good woman dropt a cursy, told him she had heard of his great fame at Stanton, (a few miles from Oxford) and that she made bold to bring him a fee; by which she hoped his worship would be prevailed with, to tell her the distemper her husband lay sick of, and to prescribe proper remedies for his relief. *Where is he?* cries the Doctor; *Sick in bed, four miles off*, replied the petitioner; and that's his water, no doubt? cries the querist; yes, an't please your worship, the answerer replies: and being asked what was his trade? says, that of *a Shoe-maker*: *Very well, mistress*, cries the examinant; and taking the urinal empties it in his chamber-pot, and then filling it with his own water, dismisses her in these terms: *Take this with you home to your husband; and if he will undertake to fit me with a pair of boots, by the sight of my water; I will make no question of prescribing for his distemper, by the sight of his* (4).

(4) Ibid. p. 12, 13.

[*E*] He

neighbouring counties, acquired great riches, he came to London, and settling in Bow-street, Covent-Garden, was extremely followed for his advice, which brought him into great request among the best quality, and at Court likewise. Dr Radcliffe had then the opportunity of coming to town, when Dr Lower's interest began to decline amongst the chief of the nobility (*f*), by his espousing (as they were then called) whig principles, upon which account he grew daily more and more out of repute; there was nobody but Dr Thomas Short, a Roman-Catholick, to contend with; who, indeed, carried the bell on account of his religion, which, it is well known, then most prevailed for that and some following years; but he dying in the latter end of September 1685, most of his practice devolved upon our Doctor. Dr Whistler, indeed, and some others, as Sir Edmund King, &c. came in for their share of patients in other parts of the town; yet, though one was Principal Physician to the King, and the other in great esteem with some of the wealthest Merchants in the city, there was scarce any case worthy of a consultation but Dr Radcliffe was called to it; so that he had not been in town a year, when he got more than twenty guineas *per diem*, as his Apothecary Mr Dandridge, who himself died worth 50,000 *l.* by his means, has often averred. His conversation at this time was held in as much repute as his advice; and what with his pleasantry of discourse, and readiness of wit in making replies to any sort of questions, he was a diverting companion to the last degree. Insomuch that he was very often sent for, and presented with fees for pretended ailments, only for the gratification to hear him talk. However, that was too delicate a point always to hit, nor was he constantly in the humour to see this kind of address to him in the most agreeable light; and wherever he conceived himself made use of only as a buffoon, he neither wanted sense nor courage to resent it [*E*]. In 1686 Her Royal Highness the Princess Anne of Denmark was pleased to make the Doctor her Principal Physician (*g*), in which station he continued 'till towards the latter end of King William's reign, as will be more particularly mentioned in the sequel. In 1687 wealth continuing to flow upon him with very plentiful streams, he began to cast an eye upon the fountain from whence it was derived. The society of University-college was at that time governed by Mr Obediah Walker, a gentleman in every other respect worthy of honour and esteem, had he not unfortunately complied with the religion of the unhappy Prince then reigning: however, this did not hinder the Doctor from testifying his gratitude to that college [*F*], where he had received the best part of his education. In 1688, some time before the Bishops were sent to the Tower, and matters were carrying on towards the introduction of Popery by less violent means; Father Saunders, one of the Court-chaplains, and another Dominican, had it in command from the King to use what sollicitations should be thought needful to bring him over to their communion; and these proving fruitless, his fellow-collegian Mr Walker, just mentioned, had orders from above to write to him. One of these letters, which seems to be the last that was sent him on the subject of religion, we shall insert with the Doctor's answer in the notes [*G*]. When Prince George of Denmark

(*f*) In this practice he succeeded Dr Willis. See that doctor's article.

(*g*) See Boyer's Life of Queen Anne, under that year.

[*E*] *He wanted neither wit nor courage to resent it.*] A person of quality who had very much befriended him, in many remarkable instances; but in none more than interesting himself, in advancing the Doctor's credit, among persons of the first rank; took it into his head, to fancy himself extremely out of order, when nothing at all ailed him. Whereupon message, after message, was sent for his physician in ordinary; but no answer returned; only, *that his Lordship did not know when he was well, for he was in perfect health, if he would but think himself so.* At last, for fear of carrying the jest too far, and of entirely disobliging him, he came; and asked the Nobleman *where his pain lay?* who, after much hesitation, and various pointings to this and that part of his body; said, *he had a strange singing in his head. If it be so,* cried the Doctor, *I can prescribe to your Lordship no other remedy,* than that of *wiping your a— with a ballad:* which coarse jest, perfectly cured his Lordship's malady (5).

(5) Ibid. p. 14.

[*F*] *Did not hinder him from testifying his gratitude to that* [*University*] *College.*] He caused the east window, over the altar, to be put up at his own proper charges. It is esteemed a beautiful piece, representing the nativity of our Saviour, painted upon glass; and appears to be his gift, by the following inscription under it. *D. D. Johan. Radcliffe, M. D. Hujus Collegii quondam Socius, Anno Domini,* MDCLXXXVII (6). He is called *Socius*, not that he was really a Fellow, but being senior scholar had the same privileges, though not an equal revenue to the Fellows.

(6) I have often seen it.

[*G*] *One of these letters, with his answer to it, we shall insert in the notes*] The letter, is as follows.

University-College, May 22. 1688.

'Worthy Sir,

'Were it possible for me to bring you to a true sense 'of your unhappy condition, in pinning your faith 'upon a few modern authorities of no credit; I 'should grudge no pains of producing more and more 'instances, which the inspired writers, and the Fathers of 'the Church, abound with. But since a man of your 'excellent parts, and great knowledge in things that 'concern the health of the body, that is only to in-'dure for a moment, thinks it of less weight to con-'sult the welfare of your soul, whose pains and whose 'pleasures must be equally everlasting; give me leave 'to tell you, from a heart full of grief, for your un-'willingness to be convicted, that I have left nothing 'unattempted to absolve mine, in relation to the ar-'gument you are so willing to drop the pursuit of. 'You bid me read Dr Tillotson, upon the Real Pre-'sence, with his answer to Mr Serjeant's rule of faith; 'I have done both, with the greatest impartiality, and 'find no other impression from them, than what fixes me 'in the profession of that faith, which, I bless God, after 'so many years of adhering to a contrary persuasion, 'I have, through his great mercy, embraced. I have 'intreated you to do the same by authors, whose 'judgments have ever been had in remembrance, and 'whose determination must be infallible, from the 'holy Spirit that conducted them. And you send me 'word, the duties of your profession bend your studies 'another way; and that you have neither leisure nor 'inclination, to turn over pages that have no value in 'them, but their antiquity. This is indeed some-'what unkind, but the goodness you always receive me 'with, on every other occasion, and the regard you 'have shewn, and say you will farther shew to the 'foundation, which I have been thought fit, howsoever 'unworthy, to preside over, engages me to make you 'as little uneasy as possible. I shall therefore, pur-'suant to your desire, dismiss the matter, which I 'could willingly wish to hold longer in debate, on ac-'count of the reasons beforementioned: and since you 'seem ardently to desire a mutual correspondence, as 'to

mark joined the Prince of Orange, and the Princess, his consort, retired to Nottingham; the Doctor was much pressed by the Bishop of London [Compton] to attend her there in the duties of his post, as Body-Physician to her Royal Highness, who was then big with child [of the Duke of Gloucester]. But the Doctor excused himself, on account of the multiplicity of his patients, whose dangerous condition required his constant attendance; not chusing (if we may believe the writer of his memoirs) (*b*) to declare himself in that ticklish state of public affairs. However, alterations in affairs of State made none in his practice; for though the famous Dr Bidloo came over with the new King as his Chief Physician, and it is customary for the Court to have a more than ordinary regard for one in that quality; yet patients increased upon his hands by the means of that very rival, who it was supposed would engross them. For Dr Bidloo, though otherwise an expert practitioner, yet was not so happy in his conjectures, in hitting upon the distemper as Dr Radcliffe, and often by mistaking the nature of an English constitution, subjected those that advised with him to the greatest hazards: by which, the reputation of the latter grew daily more and more prevailing, and got the start of all his competitors to such a degree, that even his Majesty's foreign attendants Mr Bentinck, afterwards Earl of Portland, and Mr Zulestein, Earl of Rochford, applied to him in cases of necessity, wherein he always displayed his skill to the greatest degree; the first being cured by him of a violent diarrhœa, that had brought that great favourite almost to the point of death; and the last, who was very corpulent, of a lethargy, which had been attempted by all other hands in vain. The restoration of two persons, so dear to the King, to their perfect health, could not but draw his Majesty's eye towards *him*, who, next under God, was the instrument of it; and that Prince, not only ordered him five hundred guineas out of the Privy-Purse, but made him an offer of being sworn one of his Majesty's Physicians, with a salary of 200 *l. per annum* more than any other. Indeed the present was only accepted, and the post refused, because the Doctor very cautiously considered, that the settlement of the Crown was but then in it's infancy, and that accidents might intervene to disturb the security of it. Besides, as Body-Physician

(*b*) P. 23.

'to other affairs, continue to oblige you in fulfilling every 'request you shall make to me. In the mean time be 'assured, that I shall be incessant in my prayers to the 'great God above, and to the blessed Virgin, for her 'intercession with the Lamb, that died for the sins of 'the world, that you may be enlightened, and see 'the things that belong to the peace of your immortal 'soul;

'Who am,

'in all respects,

'worthy Sir,

'your most obliged,

'and most humble servant,

'O. WALKER.

Doctor Radcliffe's answer, was in these terms.

Bow-street; Covent-garden, May 25. 1688.

'Sir,

'I should be in as unhappy a condition in this life, 'as you fear I shall be in the next, were I to be treated 'as a turncoat; and must tell you, that I can be serious 'no longer, while you endeavour to make me believe, 'what I am apt to think you give no credit to your 'self; Fathers and Councils, and antique authorities, 'may have their influence in their proper places; but 'should any of them all, though covered with dust '1400 years ago, tell me, that the bottle I am now 'drinking with some of your acquaintance, is a wheel-'barrow, and the glass in my hand, a salamander, I 'should ask leave to dissent from them.

'You mistake my temper, in being of an opinion 'that I am otherwise byassed, than the generality of 'mankind are. I had one of your new converts po-'ems in my hands just now, you will know them to be 'Mr Dryden's, and on what account they are written, 'at first sight. Four of the best lines, and most à pro-'pos, run thus.

'Many by education are misled,
'So they believe, because they were so bred;
'The priest continues, what the nurse began,
'And thus the child imposes on the man.

'You may be given to understand from thence, 'that having been bred up a Protestant at Wakefield, 'and sent from thence in that persuasion to Oxford; 'where, during my continuance, I had no relish for 'absurdities; I intend not to change principles, and 'turn Papist in London.

'The advantages you propose to me, may be very 'great, for all that I know: God Almighty can do 'very much, and so can the King; but you will par-'don me if I cease to speak like a physician for once, 'and with an air of gravity, am very apprehensive, 'that I may anger the one, in being too complaisant 'to the other. You cannot call this pinning my faith 'on any man's sleeve; those that know me, are too 'well apprized of a quite contrary tendency. As I 'never flattered a man myself, so it is my firm reso-'lution, never to be wheedled out of my real sentiments; 'which are, that since it has been my good fortune to 'be educated, according to the usage of the Church of 'England, established by law; I shall never make my-'self so unhappy, as to shame my teachers and in-'structors, by departing from what I have imbibed 'from them.

'Yet, though I shall never be brought over to con-'fide in your doctrines, no one breathing, can have a 'greater esteem for your conversation, by letter, or 'word of mouth, than

'Sir,

'your most affectionate,

'and faithful servant,

'JOHN RADCLIFFE (7).'

(7) See his Memoirs, p. 17, & seq.

Nor did the Doctor, when the necessity of the times, in the succeeding Revolution, which followed this epistolary intercourse by the heels, prove otherwise than a constant friend and benefactor to Mr Walker (8). For though he could not be induced to adhere to his opinion in matters of religion, he would always abide by his determination in points of learning; and out of a generous sense of the difficulties Mr Walker laboured under, by his non-compliance to the government, from the time of his first coming to London, after the scene of affairs was changed in Oxford, gave him the allowance of a very handsome competency, to the day of his death; and contributed largely to his funeral expences.

(8) Mr Walker was interred in Pancras church-yard, where there is a monument with this inscription under, O. W. in a cypher, *per bonam famam & per infamiam*. See a large acount of this person in Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 933, & seq.

[*H*] *Exclusive*

Phyſician to the Princeſs of Denmark, whoſe ſervice he was much more inclined to from the high eſteem ſhe had always entertained for him, he had a very competent allowance and ſtood in need of no addition to it, which would rather leſſen the fees ariſing from his practice than increaſe them; ſince he was too well apprized of the good inclination the King bore him, not to imagine he would ſend for him upon all urgent occaſions, and when he did, ſo reward him, that it would more than countervail a fixed ſalary. Nor was he out in his judgment, for his Majeſty's infirm conſtitution had been from his childhood ſubject to diſorders from a flux of rheum and an aſthma, and the Doctor being particularly diſtinguiſhed by his ſkill in the laſt diſtemper, was ſo very often called upon for his aſſiſtance, that we are aſſured he had been heard more than once to declare, *that one year with another, for the firſt eleven years of that reign, he cleared more than ſix hundred guineas for his bare attendance on the King's perſon, excluſive of the great officers* (*i*) [*H*]. Towards the latter end of 1689 the Doctor went to Badminton to the old Duke of Beaufort, who not cloſing with the Revolution, kept his reſidence altogether there. He ſtaid a month with his Grace (for whom he had a particular friendſhip) and did not leave him 'till he had reſtored him, though given over by all the Phyſicians at Bath and elſewhere, to a perfect ſtate of health. Upon his return to London he was again ſent for to his Majeſty (*k*), whom he found in a dangerous condition from his old diſtemper. Dr Bidloo, Dr Laurence, and the King's other Phyſicians had plyed him with aperitives to open his ſtomach, to give him the uſe of free breathing to little or no effect; ſo that his Majeſty's cure was looked upon to be very hazardous without ſome other meaſures; when Dr Radcliffe, perceiving that the rheum dripping upon his lungs would be of fatal conſequence to him if not otherwiſe diverted, ordered him a gentle ſalivation, that was repeated each morning; this, by keeping him ſpitting for the ſpace of half a quarter of an hour, proved the means of preſerving his life twelve years longer. In 1691 the young Prince, William, Duke of Glouceſter, was taken violently ill at Sion-houſe (*l*), of fainting-fits, a diſtemper that had been fatal to moſt of their Royal Highneſſes children, and his life was deſpaired of by all the Court-Phyſicians; Dr Radcliffe was at that time in attendance upon the Earl of Berkeley, at his houſe near Epſom, but being ſent for by an expreſs, he firſt deſired the Queen and Princeſs, who would be both preſent, that they would rely ſolely upon him, without the intervention of any other preſcriptions; which being granted, he reſtored his Highneſs to ſuch a ſtate of health, that he never had any thing like a deliquium from thence-forward to the day of his death. This unexpected cure of an infant not quite three years of age, had ſuch an influence upon Queen Mary, who conſtantly viſited the child, though there was ſome coldneſs between the two ſiſters at that time, that ſhe ordered her Lord-Chamberlain, then Lord Villiers, afterwards Earl of Jerſey, to preſent the happy inſtrument of it with a thouſand guineas (*m*). Hitherto the Doctor, who had heaped up great wealth, ſeemed to have met with no unlucky diſappointments, either in his practice or his other affairs; but in the year 1692 Fortune reſolved to turn her back upon him, and to let him ſee that the moſt proſperous condition in life is to be chequered with ſome croſſes. The Doctor, among other acquaintance, had contracted a familiarity with Betterton the famous tragedian; this gentleman, by the ſollicitation of a friend, father to the wife of Mr Bowman another player, had depoſited two thouſand pounds as a venture in an interloper that was about to ſet ſail for the Eaſt-Indies, and having a proſpect of a very good return, communicated the affair to the Doctor, who, at his requeſt, very readily laid down five thouſand pounds. The ſhip was ſucceſsful in the outward bound paſſage; but having, to avoid the French privateers in her return home, firſt put into Ireland, and then finding no convoy ready, ſet out for England without one, ſhe was taken by the Marquis de Neſmond with all her rich cargo, which amounted to more than 120,000 *l*. A loſs that broke Mr Betterton's back (*n*); but tho' very conſiderable, did not much affect the Doctor; for when the news of this diſaſter was brought him, to the Bull-head tavern in Clare-market, where he was drinking with ſeveral perſons of the firſt rank, who condoled with him on the occaſion, he, with a ſmiling countenance and without baulking his glaſs, deſired them to

(*i*) Ibid. p. 25.

(*k*) The Life of King William.

(*l*) Memoirs of the Dutcheſs of Marlborough, &c. p. 75.

(*m*) Memoirs of Dr Radcliffe, p. 29.

(*n*) The Life of Tho. Betterton, the celebrated Tragedian, p. 63.

[*H*] *Excluſive of the great officers.*] We muſt not omit, ſince it is part of the Doctor's hiſtory, to inſert a diverting paſſage between Sir Godfrey Kneller and the Doctor, which, if at all, muſt have happened about this time. The Doctor's houſe, as has been obſerved before, was in Bow-ſtreet, Covent-Garden, whereunto belonged a very convenient garden, that was contiguous to another on the back of it, appertaining to Sir Godfrey, which was extremely curious and inviting; from the many exotic plants, and the variety of flowers and greens, with which it abounded. As the parting wall was in the Knight's tenement, the Doctor took the freedom, from his intimacy with him, to beg the favour of having a door made for an intercourſe with both gardens; which might be uſed ſo, as ſhould not be inconvenient to either family. Sir Godfrey, gentleman-like, very readily gave his conſent. But the Doctor's ſervants, little heeding the terms of agreement, made ſuch a havock amongſt his hortulanary curioſities, that he found himſelf obliged to advertiſe their maſter of it, as he did, in a very handſome manner. Yet, notwithſtanding this complaint, the grievance continued unredreſſed, ſo that the Knight was under a neceſſity of letting the Doctor know, by one of his domeſticks, that he ſhould be obliged to brick up the door-way, in caſe of his complaints proving ineffectual. To this the Doctor, who was often in a choleric mood, and from the ſucceſs of his practice, imagined every one under an obligation of bearing with him, returned for anſwer: that *Sir Godfrey might even do what he thought fit, in relation to the door, ſo that he did but refrain from painting it.* Hereupon the footman, after ſome heſitation in the delivery, and ſeveral commands from his maſter to give it him word for word, having told the meſſage; *Did my very good friend,* Dr Radcliffe, *ſay ſo?* cry'd Sir Godfrey. *Go you back, and after preſenting my ſervice to him, tell him, that I can take any thing from him but phyſic.*

to go forward with the healths that were then in vogue; saying, *he had no more to do but go up two hundred and fifty pair of stairs to make himself whole again.* In the same year the Mastership of University-college being conferred upon Dr Arthur Charlet, then Fellow of Trinity-college. This gentleman, who was particularly known to Dr Radcliffe, and in the greatest confidence with him when at the university, omitted no opportunity of putting him in mind of the engagements he lay under, by the promises he made to his two predecessors. Nor was the Doctor backward in contributing such sums as he thought necessary to be given in his life-time; since it appears from the account of his disbursements, that he contributed more than 1100 *l.* toward increasing exhibitions, &c. besides what he advanced for books and other necessaries. In 1693, the Doctor, who 'till then had shewn tokens of the greatest aversion to matrimony, by the sollicitations of his friends was induced to think of altering his condition; and the daughter of a certain wealthy citizen was pitched upon for that end. The parents of the lady, who was about twenty-four years of age, and their only child, very readily accepted the offer, proposing to give fifteen thousand pounds down, and the residue of their estate after their decease. Accordingly, visits were made, and the match seemed to be as forward as he could wish; but Hymen had otherwise intended, for the father's book-keeper had forbidden the banns by a sort of illegal familliarity, which in process of time made the designed bride very sick, and discovered an amour, that could not be any longer concealed from such penetrating eyes as the Doctor's. Hereupon, though the detection of these unfair practices, which had very nigh made him father another man's child, revived in him that antipathy to woman-kind which he had laid aside for some time, yet he thought it advisable, without upbraiding his mistress with falshood, to write a letter to the father as below [*I*]. Such a disappointment in his first amour rendered him unmalleable to all the influences of his friends, who were very urgent with him to enter upon another; he even grew to a degree of insensibility for the sex; and often declared, *that he wished for an Act of Parliament, whereby nurses only should be entitled to prescribe to them* [*K*]. In 1694, having consulted with Dr Charlet about

[*I*] *To write a letter to the father, which is inserted below.*] Here is the letter.

Bow street; Covent-Garden, May 19. 1693.

'SIR,

'The honour of being allied to so good and wealthy a person, as Mr S——d, has pushed me upon a discovery that may be fatal to your quiet, and your daughter's reputation, if not timely prevented. Mrs Mary is a very deserving gentlewoman, but you must pardon me if I think her by no means fit to be my wife, since she is another man's already, or ought to be. In a word, she is no better, and no worse, than actually quick with child; which makes it necessary that she be disposed of to him, that has the best claim to her affections. No doubt but you have power enough over her, to bring her to confession, which is by no means the part of a Physician. As for my part, I shall wish you much joy of a new son-in-law, when known; since I am by no means qualified to be so near of kin. Hanging and marrying, I find, go by Destiny; and I might have been guilty of the first, had I not so narrowly escaped the last. My best services to your daughter, whom I can be of little use to as a Physician, and of much less in the quality of a suitor. Her best way is to advise with a midwife for her safe delivery, and the person who has conversed with her after the manner of women, for an humble servant. The daughter of so wealthy a gentleman, as Mr S——d, can never want a husband; therefore the sooner you bestow her, the better, that the young *hans en-kelder* may be born in wedlock, and have the right of inheritance to so large a patrimony. You will excuse me for being so very free with you; for though I cannot have the honour to be your son-in-law, I shall ever take a pride in being among the number of your friends.

'Who am,

'Sir,

'your most obedient servant,

'JOHN RADCLIFFE.'

We shall just stay to take notice, that this letter had it's due weight with the father; who, though sorely against the grain, chose rather to get the amorous couple instantly married, at the Fleet-chapel, than to abandon his daughter to shame and misery. Nor did the result of these conjugal rites, otherwise than fully answer the old man's best wishes; who had the satisfaction before his decease to see the book-keeper, to whom he had made over his business, in a very thriving way; having increased 5000 pounds, which he gave him with his daughter, to more than 30000; and being father of a numerous and beautiful issue, to participate an estate valued at 100000 pounds, which he left amongst them at his decease (9). (9) Memoirs of Dr Radcliffe, p. 34.

[*K*] *He wished for an Act of Parliament, whereby nurses only should be entitled to prescribe to them.*] This aversion in him to the female sex, was far from creating the same in that sex for him, since several ladies feigned themselves ill to be visited by him. Amongst the rest, the Lady Betty ———, who had often sucked in love, at both ears, from his agreeable conversation at her father's table, conceived the highest affection for him. She therefore studied all opportunities of keeping her chamber, for the sight of him, and was week after week out of order, for that end. My Lord, her father, whose life was almost wrapped up in her's, was continually sending for him; insomuch that the Doctor grew out of patience, at coming upon so many trifling occasions, and gave him to understand, *That it was his opinion, his Lordship ought rather to send for her Confessor* (for she was a Roman Catholick) *to cure her distempered mind, than a Physician for her body.* This answer did but inflame her Ladyship's desires; and by Mrs Graham, her woman, who was a confident in the secret, she let the Doctor know, that he must be that confessor. Hereupon he gave his attendance, to hear what she had to say; which made a discovery that struck him with amazement. How to answer her directly, he knew not, for she had made a sort of ambiguous confession, which had only pointed out her respects for a certain person, without any name. He therefore told her, *That her case was somewhat difficult, but he did not doubt to ease her of all her anxieties, on that account, in a month's time.* Accordingly the young lady formed an inconceivable joy to herself; but the Doctor immediately laid the whole affair before the Lord ———, her father; with a caution not to let the daughter know he was any ways apprized of it, since it was in his power to prevent her flinging herself away, upon a man much beneath her, by a speedy contract of marriage with a person of equal extraction. This advice was readily embraced, and gratefully acknowledged; and the Lady, who was living after the Doctor's death, and one of the best of wives, was married, within the time engaged for by him to a nobleman, who had made pretensions to her several months before this discovery (10). (10) Ibid. p. 35, 36.

[*L*] *She*

about proper expedients for the advantage and increafe of the revenues of Univerfity-college, he bid money for the perpetual advowfon of a living in Lincolnfhire of 300 *l. per annum*; but not being quick enough in the purchafe was anticipated by a college in Cambridge. However, he laid a plan for his fucceeding benefactions to the place of his education in this year; as appears from his anfwer to a friend, who upon afking him *why he did not marry to provide heirs to his prodigions wealth*, had this reply, *that truly he had an old one to take care of, which he intended fhould be his executrix* (*o*). In December, the fame year, Queen Mary was feized with the fmall-pox, which the Court-Phyficians not being able to raife, the Doctor was fent for by the Council (*p*); upon perufing the recipes he told them, without feeing her Majefty, that fhe was a dead woman; for it was impoffible to do any good in her cafe, where remedies had been given that were fo contrary to the nature of the diftemper; yet he would endeavour all that lay in him to give her fome eafe. Accordingly, the puftules began to fill by a cordial julap he prefcribed for the Queen, which gave fome faint hopes of her recovery; but thefe foon vanifhed, and the Doctor did not ftick to fay, *that great and good princefs died a facrifice to unfkilful hands, who out of one difeafe had produced a complication by improper medicines.* Some few months after this unhappy accident, the Doctor, who 'till then had kept himfelf in the good graces of the Princefs Anne of Denmark, made a forfeit of them after a very uncourtly manner, by his two great addiction to the bottle. Her Royal Highnefs being indifpofed, gave orders he fhould be fent for; in anfwer to which, he made a promife of coming to St James's foon after; but not appearing, that meffage was backed by another, importing, that fhe was extremely ill, and defcribing after what manner fhe was feized. At which the Doctor fwore by his Maker, *that her Highnefs's diftemper was nothing but the vapours, and that fhe was in as good a ftate of health as any woman breathing, could fhe but give into the belief of it.* On his appearance at Court not long after, he found, to his great mortification, that his freedom with fo illuftrious a patient had been highly refented; for offering to go into the prefence he was ftopped by an officer in the anti-chamber, and told, *that the Princefs had no farther occafion for the fervices of a Phyfician who would not obey her orders, and that fhe had made choice of Dr Gibbons to fucceed him in the care of her health* (*q*) [*L*]. However, he continued in great efteem with the King, who had a more than ordinary occafion to fhew it in the campaign of 1695, which was clofed by the taking of Namur; for the Earl of Albemarle, who had a command in the army, and was one of the prime favourites to that monarch, was taken ill of a fever in the camp; whereupon the King, who interefted himfelf very much in fo dear a life, having no manner of confidence in the Phyficians that attended his royal perfon in the field, fent for Dr Radcliffe from England; he came accordingly, and, as if difeafes were not able to abide when he was prefent, reftored his Lordfhip in a week's time to his former health, after he had been reduced to the laft extremity by an unintermitting ficknefs under which he had languifhed near two months. Nor did his Majefty fall fhort of his ufual bounty to the Doctor on this eminent piece of fervice, giving him an order upon the Treafury for twelve hundred pounds; befides which, the Lord Albemarle prefented him with a diamond ring, and four hundred guineas. The King likewife made him an offer of a Baronet's patent, which he declined, as likely to be of no ufe to him, who had no direct defcendants, and no thoughts of changing his condition (*r*). The fame year Dr (afterwards Sir) Edward Hannes came from Oxford to fettle in London, and in a little time became Principal Phyfician at Court, and was an eminent rival of our Doctor's [*M*], About this time, likewife, happened his remarkable vifit to Madam D'Urfley at Kenfington [*N*]. In the year 1697, after the King's return from Loo, where

(*o*) His Life, ubi fupra, p. 37.

(*p*) See the Life of King William. And Burnet's Hiftory of his own Time.

(*q*) Life of Queen Anne, by Boyer.

(*r*) Life of Dr Radcliffe, ubi fupra, p. 40.

[*L*] *She had made choice of Dr Gibbons, to fucceed him in the care of her health.*] As nothing could be more vexatious to the Doctor than to give place to his old antagonift, who was now become his fucceffor; fo he could not forgive him for this very thing, to his dying day; and at his return to his companions, without any regard to the great name, which ought not to have been made fo free with, fignified to them what had happened; intimating, *that Nurfe Gibbons, had gotten a new nurfery, which he by no means envied him the poffeffion of, fince his capacity was only equal to the ailments of a patient, which had no other exiftence than in the imagination, and could reach no farther, than not putting thofe out of a good ftate of health, that were already in the enjoyment of it.*

[*M*] *Sir Edward Hannes came to London, and was an eminent rival of our Doctor.*] This gentleman who was an excellent fcholar, and well verfed in the knowledge of chymiftry and anatomy, and out-did all the competitors he had left in the Univerfity; at his firft arrival in town, fet up a very fpruce equipage. But finding his attempts fall fhort, in relation to his fuccefs, he bethought himfelf of a ftratagem; and to get into repute, ordered his footman to ftop moft of the gentlemens chariots, and inquire if they belonged to Dr Hannes, as if he was called to a patient. Accordingly the fellow, in purfuit of his order, ran from White-hall, to the Exchange, and entring Garraway's Coffee-houfe, made the projected inquiry there. At laft Dr Radcliffe, who was ufually at this Coffee-houfe about Exchange-time, and planted at a table with feveral Apothecaries and Surgeons, that flocked about him: cried out, *Dr Hannes was not there, and defired to know who wanted him?* The fellow's reply, was, *fuch and fuch a Lord:* but was taken up with this dry rebuke; *No, no, friend, you are miftaken, the Doctor wants thofe Lords.* However, Dr Hannes's merit procured him great bufinefs, and he became a principal Phyfician at Court. On which occafion, an old friend of Dr Radcliffe's, to fee how he would digeft the promotion of fuch a young practitioner, brought him the news of it. So much the better for him, cried the Doctor; for now he has a patent for killing. When the former, to try if poffible he could ruffle his temper, who was always fedate and calm, when he faw defigns laid to make it otherwife; faid, *but what is more furprizing, the fame Doctor has two pair of the fineft horfes that ever were feen:* and was anfwered by the other with great indifference; *Then they will fell for the more* (11).

(11) Ibid. p. 42.

[*N*] *His remarkable vifit to Madam D'Urfley.*] At one of the vifits he made this lady, fhe was pleafed to

where he had ratified the Treaty of Peace at Ryſwick, his Majeſty found himſelf very much indiſpoſed at his palace in Kenſington, and as uſual, after his Phyſicians in Ordinary had given their opinions, would have Dr Radcliffe's advice. When he was admitted the King was reading Sir Roger L'Eſtrange's new verſion of Æſop's Fables; and told him, that he had once more ſent for him to try the effects of his great ſkill, notwithſtanding he had been told by his Body-Phyſicians, who were not ſenſible of his inward decay, that he might yet live many years, and would very ſpeedily recover. Upon which the Doctor, having put ſome interrogatories to him, with a quick preſence of thought very readily aſked leave of his Majeſty to turn to a fable in the book before him, which would let the King know how he had been treated, and read it to him [O]. This done; *May it pleaſe your Majeſty, your's and the ſick man's caſe in the fable is the very ſame,* cries the Doctor; *you are buoyed up with hopes that your malady will ſoon be driven away, by perſons that are not apprized of means to do it, and know not the true cauſe of your ailment. But I muſt be plain with you, and tell you, that in all probability, if your Majeſty will adhere to my preſcriptions, it may be in my power to lengthen out your life for three or four years, but beyond that time nothing in phyſic can protract it; for the juices of your ſtomach are all vitiated; your whole maſs of blood is corrupted, and your nutriment for the moſt part turns to water. However, if your Majeſty will forbear making long viſits to the Earl of Bradford's,* (where the King was wont to drink very hard) *I'll try what can be done to make you live eaſily, though I cannot venture to ſay I can make your life longer than I have told you.* And he left a recipe which was ſo happy in it's effects as to enable the King, not only to make a progreſs into the weſtern parts of his kingdom, but to go out of it, and divert himſelf at his palace of Loo in Holland (s). In 1699, while the King was abroad, beyond-ſea, the Duke of Glouceſter was taken ill on his birth day at Windſor, where he had overheated himſelf with dancing; whatever was really his Highneſs's diſtemper, Sir Edward Hannes and Dr Bidloo judged it to be the ſmall-pox, and preſcribed accordingly, but without any ſucceſs. The whole Court was alarmed at this unlucky diſaſter, and the Princeſs of Denmark, notwithſtanding her juſt reſentment of Dr Radcliffe's conduct to her, was prevailed upon by the Counteſs of Marlborough and Lady Fretchville to ſend for him; who, upon firſt ſight of the royal youth, gave her to underſtand, that there was no poſſibility of recovering him, ſince he would die by ſuch an hour the next day, as he did. However, with great difficulty the Doctor was perſuaded to be preſent at the conſult, where he could not refrain from bitter invectives againſt the two Phyſicians abovementioned, telling the one, *that it would have been happy for this nation had he been bred up a baſket-maker,* [his father's occupation] *and the other continued making a havock of nouns and pronouns in the quality of a country-ſchoolmaſter, rather than have ventured out of his reach in the practice of an art to which he was an utter ſtranger, and for which he ought to have been whipped with one of his own rods* (t). The death of the preſumptive heir of the Crown, after the deceaſe of his mother, was followed by the news of that of the Duke of Beaufort, Great-Grandfather to the preſent Duke. This illuſtrious perſonage, who was in an advanced age, had always been a patient of the Doctor's when within call; but upon a fever, which ſeized him ſuddenly at his ſeat near Bath, applied himſelf to the Phyſicians in that place, though at the ſame time his caſe was ſtated, and ſent to Dr Radcliffe for his advice, who in purſuance of it, ſent down a regimen which they were to go by. But Dr Barnard, who was one of the number, oppoſed Dr Radcliffe's direction, of keeping his back-door open, and moved for reſtringent medicines, which being adminiſtred, flung the diſorder into the patient's head, and he was brought to the laſt extremity. Hereupon a meſſenger was again diſpatched to Dr Radcliffe, with an account of the methods which had been uſed, and the deſire that he would inſtantly come down

(s) See the Life of King William III.

(t) See Radcliffe's Life, p. 47.

to be very free, in putting ſome queries to him, upon the ſubject of the pleaſures of Venus. The Doctor gave her full ſcope, by a reply, which occaſioned the following epigram.

D'Urſley in a merry mood,
  Enquir'd of her Phyſician;
What hour was beſt to ſtir the blood
  And ſpirits, by coition?

Says Radcliffe, if my judgment's right,
  Or anſwer worth returning;
'Tis moſt delightful, over night,
  Moſt wholeſome, in the morning.

Quoth D'Urſley then, for pleaſure's ſake,
  Each evening I will take it;
And in the morning, when I wake,
  My only phyſic make it (12).

To the laſt of theſe lines, when the Doctor replied, Madam, ſuch a reſolution, may make me loſe a patient; the lady replied, then, Sir, it may gain you a miſtreſs. Whether it did or no, muſt be left to thoſe who were more converſant with the tendency of his affections: but I never heard of his inclinations that way; his morning and evening ſacrifices being rather offered up to *Bacchus*, than to *Venus*.

(12) Theſe verſes are a tranſlation of a Latin epigram, printed in the Anthologia, and written by Will. Nutley, Eſq;

[O] *And read it to him*] It is in theſe words. Pray Sir, how do you find yourſelf? ſays the Doctor to his Patient. Why truly, ſays the Patient, I have had a moſt violent ſweat. *Oh! the beſt ſign in the world,* quoth the Doctor. And then, in a little while, he is at it again: pray how do you find your body? Alas, ſays the other, I have juſt now ſuch a terrible fit of horror and ſhaking upon me! Why this is all as it ſhould be, ſays the Phyſician; it ſhews a mighty ſtrength of nature: and then he comes over him with the ſame queſtion again. *Why I am all ſwelled,* ſays the other, *as if I had a dropſy. Beſt of all,* quoth the Doctor, and goes his way. Soon after this comes one of the ſick man's friends to him, with the ſame queſtion; *How he felt himſelf? Why, truly, ſo well,* ſays he, *that I am even ready to die, of I know not how many good ſigns and tokens* (13).

(13) L'Eſtrange's Æſop.

[P] A

down to Badminton. When the Doctor told the messenger, *there was no manner of occasion for his presence, since the Duke, his master, died such an hour of the day before*; which the servant on his return found to be true (*u*). At the close of this year, the King, in his return from Holland, found himself very much out of order, and sent for Dr Radcliffe the last time, to Kensington, for he was then to be as much out of favour with his Majesty, as he was with the Princess. After the necessary questions put by the Physician to the royal patient; the King shewing his swoln ancles, while the rest of his body was emaciated, and like a meer skeleton, said, Doctor, what think you of these? *Why truly*, replied he, *I would not have your Majesty's two legs for your three kingdoms*; which freedom was resented so much, though not taken notice of then, that all the interest of the Earl of Albemarle, the chief favourite, could not re-instate him in his Majesty's good graces; who from that hour never would suffer him to come into his presence, though he continued to make use of his diet-dinks 'till three days before his death, which happened to fall out much about the same time as the Doctor had calculated; and which the King had frequently said to the Earl just mentioned, would come to pass in verification of Radcliffe's prediction (*w*). Upon Queen Anne's Accession to the Throne, the late Earl of Godolphin used all his endeavours to re-instate the Doctor in his former post of her Archiater (*x*); but she would by no means consent to his coming to Court though she was laid up then by the gout; alledging in bar of his Lordship's recommendation, *that Radcliffe would send her word again, that her ailment was nothing else but the vapours*. However, in all cases of emergency and critical conjunctures, he was continually advised with, and it was owing to his prescriptions that the gout was prevented from taking it's residence in her Majesty's head or stomach. For though he was not admitted in quality of the Queen's Domestic-Physician, yet he received large sums out of the secret service money for his prescriptions behind the curtain; and it was wholly through his means that her Majesty was recovered from the very brink of the grave at Windsor, the year before her death (*z*). In 1703, the Marquis of Blandford, only son of the Duke of Marlborough, being taken ill of the small-pox at Cambridge, the Doctor was applied to by the Duchess to attend him. But having the Lady Marchioness of Worcester (*a a*) then under his hands with a violent fever, with several other persons of quality, he could only oblige her Grace by a prescription; which, however, was not followed by the Cambridge doctors, and the small-pox struck in; the Duchess being advertised of it, went in person to the Doctor's house to request his assistance; who, having heard the detail of their procedure as written in a letter from his tutor, said Madam, I should only put you to a great expence to no purpose, for you have nothing to do for his Lordship now but to send down an Undertaker to take care of his funeral, for I can assure your Grace that he is dead by this time of a distemper called the Doctor, and would have been recovered from the small pox, had not that unfortunate malady intervened. Nor was he out in his conjectures, for the Duchess was no sooner in her apartments in St James's house, but a messenger arrived with the news of his death (*bb*) [*P*]. In 1704, at a general collection for propagating the Gospel in foreign parts, the Doctor, unknown to any of the Society, settled 50 *l. per annum*, payable for ever to them, under a borrowed name; he likewise, the same year, made a present of five hundred pounds to the deprived Bishop of Norwich *, to be distributed among the poor nonjuring clergy, with his desires to have that also kept secret [*Q*]. In 1705, the Doctor having purchased an estate in the county of Bucks,

(*u*) Ibid. p. 48.

(*w*) See Life of King William III.

(*x*) Dr Arbuthnot held this post at that time.

(*z*) Radcliffe's Memoirs, p. 50.

(*a a*) She was some time after wife to the late Lord Granville.

(*bb*) Burnet's History of his own Time, Vol. II. p. 47. folio edit.

* Dr William Lloyd, of whom see some account in Dr Prideaux's article, remark [*N*].

[*P*] *A messenger arrived with the news of his death.*] Some time before this, the Son of Mr *John Bancroft*, an eminent Surgeon in Russel street, Covent-garden, was taken ill of an empyema, of which Dr Gibbons, who attended him, mistaking the case, the child grew worse. Whereupon Dr Radcliffe was brought to see him, when he was almost ready to expire: accordingly he told the father, he could do nothing for his preservation, for he was killed to all intents and purposes; but if he had any thoughts of putting a stone over him, he would help him to an inscription. And the child being found to die of the disease abovenamed, was interred in Covent-Garden church-yard; where a stone is erected, with the figure of a child laying one hand on his side, and saying, *Hic dolor, here is my pain*; and pointing with the other, to a Death's head, where are these words; *Ibi medicus, there is my physician* (14).

(14) This monument is still standing.

[*Q*] *With his desires to have that also kept secret.*] The first of these charities had been concealed to this day, had not the Trustee, who made the payment, thought it worthy of being made known, for an incitement to the like goodness. The latter was discovered by the following letter, which was found among the abovementioned deprived Bishop's papers.

Bloomsbury-square, July 24. 1704.

'My Lord,

'*When I was the last time with you at Hammersmith, you did me the honour to tell me*, that I had it 'in my power to be an assistant to the poor suffering 'Clergy; and that Mr Shepherd had contributed 'large sums for that end. *No one can be more sensibly 'touched with other's misfortunes, than I am. And 'though I have not abilities equal to the gentleman's beforenamed, I intend not to fall short of him in my 'will, to do them all possible kind offices. The bills 'that bear this company, will testify my esteem for 'them: but as gifts of this nature, if made public, 'carry a shew of ostentation with them; I must be 'earnest with you, my good Lord, to keep the name of 'the donor secret. I have nothing more to add than to 'intreat the favour of your making choice of the most 'deserving persons, and believing that I am, with all 'possible sincerity,*

'*My Lord,*

'*your Lordship's most obedient,*

'*and most faithful servant*;

JOHN RADCLIFFE.

'*Be pleased to limit the number to fifty persons, that 'they may have ten pounds per head.*'

Bucks, near Buckingham town, for which he gave 12000 *l.* had some thought of settling it immediately on University-college, for which he had likewise an eye upon the next presentation of a perpetual advowson; but after consulting Mr Webb, the Conveyancer, and advising with several other friends, it was judged proper to defer it, 'till it could be seen, how the indefatigable industry of Dr Charlet, the Master (*cc*), could prevail for joint benefactions from others. He had also another motive which induced him to keep that purchase in his own hands. The Dukes of Ormond and Buckinghamshire, the Earls of Nottingham, Abingdon, and others, with whom the Doctor had a particular friendship, being then thrown out of the administration (*dd*); he took up a resolution to get into the House of Commons, and oppose the new measures; to this purpose he set up for a candidate at Buckingham, which by several benefactions to the town and other diffusive charities he accomplished; though not 'till some years after, as will be seen in the sequel. Much about this time, a fellow that had robbed the Doctor's country house, one Jonathan Savil, who was under sentence of death for another fact, took a resolution of writing to the Doctor, and acknowledging his offence, since his interest might be of advantage to him in those dismal circumstances; hereupon, when the Doctor was with several of the nobility and gentry at the Mitre-Tavern in Fleet-street, a letter was put into his hands, from the condemned criminal, specifying *the injury he had done the Doctor, taking shame for it, and intreating his pardon and intercession, not without strong promises of reformation, and restitution, if ever it lay in his power.* The company upon hearing the letter read stood amazed at the request, and were in great expectations of some witticisms thereupon, from the person it was addressed to. But the Doctor, on the contrary, very seriously bid the messenger *come to his house for an answer in two days*, and then taking the Lord Granville into another room, said, *he had received such satisfaction from the said letter in clearing up the innocence of a man whom he had unjustly suspected of the abovementioned robbery, that he must be a petitioner to his Lordship, to give him his interest with the Queen in the criminal's favour.* This being granted and successfully applied, the messenger was dismissed at the time appointed, with a reprieve and warrant for transportation to Virginia. Where in a little time, by virtue of letters of credence from the Doctor to the Governor, the said Savil (who was living in 1715 in flourishing circumstances) made such returns to his patron and intercessor in the commodities of the country, as more than fully made amends for the damage he had formerly done him, which was computed at 150 *l.* (*ee*). In 1706, the Doctor gave fifty guineas privately to Dr James Drake [*R*], under prosecution for writing against the then present administration (*ff*); and the same year, when he was applied to by Dr Aldrich, Dean of Christ-Church in Oxford, for a sum of money towards building Allhallow's church, in the High-street there, as also to Peckwater-quadrangle in his own college; he desired to be excused, on account of his intended future donations to the University at his decease. Yet soon after he gave two hundred pounds in a certain Lord's name to be equally divided between the two edifices (*gg*). In 1707, on enquiring into the bulk of his estate in land and money, he found himself to be worth more than 80,000 *l.*; this state of his abilities inspired him with a resolution to further acts of charity (*hh*); in pursuance of which, upon some discourse with Dr Sprat then Bishop of Rochester, he made a handsome donation to the relief of the Episcopal clergy in Scotland, as appears from the letter to that Bishop in the notes [*S*]. In the same year, at a General Court

(*cc*) That gentleman bestowed the greatest part of his own fortune upon repairing and improving the college.

(*dd*) The Life of Queen Anne, ubi supra.

(*ee*) Radcliffe's Life, ubi supra, p. 56.

(*ff*) Viz. In a pamphlet, intituled, *The Memorial of the Church of England.* 'Tis said, that the Doctor, finding it was like to go very ill with him, applied to Mrs Oldfield, a favourite of Mr Maynwaring's; and by his interest got a favourable sentence, and that sentence never put in execution. Oldmixon's life of A. Maynwaring, Esq; p. 42.

(*gg*) Radcliffe's Memoirs, p. 57.

(*hh*) He lent four or five thousand pounds upon a mortgage of Mr Maynwaring's estate at Ightfield in Shropshire; and was so easy as to the interest, that Mr Maynwaring was tempted to continue the security. This is mentioned as an instance of the Doctor's generous disposition. Id. p. 16.

[*R*] *The Doctor gave fifty guineas privately, to Dr* James Drake.] The money was put into the hands of one Mr Porley, and was given with a design to enable Dr Drake, the better to make his defence; but with a caution, *that he might by no means be told whence it came; since he knew Dr Drake to be a gentleman, who was very sensible he had very often injured Dr Radcliffe in his reputation; and would by no means brook the receipt of a benefit, from a person whom he had used all possible means to make his enemy* (15).

(15) Memoirs of Dr Radcliffe, &c. p. 53.

[*S*] *As appears from his letter to that Bishop in the notes.*]

Bloomsbury-square, May 26. 1707.

'My good Lord,

'The inclosed bills will sufficiently testify the deference I pay to your Lordship's judgment, and my willingness to contribute towards the relief of persons in distress, for conscience sake. The insupportable tyranny of the Presbyterian Clergy in Scotland, over those of the Episcopal persuasion there, does, I hold with your Lordship, make it necessary, that some care should be taken of them by us, that are of the same household of faith with them; and by the late Act of Union, (which, I bless God, I had no hand in) of the same nation. But, my Lord, I need not tell you, many collections of this nature have been misapplied, and given to those persons in no manner of want, instead of men in low circumstances, that are real objects of compassion. I cannot be induced to love a Scripture-Janus, such as (if I am not very much deceived) is the Archbishop of Glasgow, who, I must own, talks very well, and in our old acquaintance John Dryden's words,

'Has brought the virtues of his soil along,

'A smooth behaviour, and a fluent tongue;

but acts very much like the prelate these verses were made upon: for I never yet heard, that amidst all his fine harangues, to incite other people to exert themselves in the support of the necessitous, this most reverend father in God, notwithstanding he is in circumstances so to do, has ever advanced one shilling to his afflicted brethren; but has always had a share, and that very large, of the sums that have been gathered for their use. My Lord of Edinburgh, Dr Scott, Mr Sheen, and others, that have been with me, are just objects of every honest man's charity: they have suffered very much, without any tokens of despondency, or pusillanimity, in the extremest difficulties. To such as these, I beg your Lordship, that the money I have drawn for, in the name of Francis Andrews, may be distributed; and in such portions as is suitable to their respective characters, and the demands of their families. Not that I would prescribe to a judgment so unerring as your Lordship's, in the exercise of an office, which you have been always famed for the discharge of, with the greatest exactness: but would remind your

'Lordship

Court held on the twenty-fourth of October by the President and Governors of Bridewell and Bethlem hospitals, the Doctor was nominated of their number and approved of by the committee on the twenty-first of November following; but upon their offering him the staff as usual, he thought fit to refuse the compliment; and accquainted the deputation that was sent to him on that occasion, that he was much obliged to them for the honour they designed him, but that he had previous obligations to St Bartholomew's hospital, of which he had been formerly elected one of the Governors, and that he very much distrusted his abilities in discharging both those trusts, as he should be willing to do. In 1708, the Doctor made a purchase of another estate in Northamptonshire, after he had very largely augmented his paternal estate in Yorkshire, with the manour of Linton, and bought the perpetual advowson of a living called Headborneworthy in the county of Hants, which he bestowed on Mr Bingham, then Fellow of University-college *(ii)*. Nothing occurs this year that was uncommon to the Doctor in his ordinary course of practice, except his want of ability to recover Prince George of Denmark, to whom he was not sent for 'till almost in the last agonies of death. This prince had for some years past been troubled with an asthma and dropsy; for the cure of which, he was persuaded by her Majesty and his own Physicians, to go to the Bath, the year before he died. Accordingly the Queen and his royal Highness made a journey thither, where he was rather induced to think himself in a much fairer way of recovery than before, from the gaiety of the place, and the pains that persons of all conditions took in procuring him the most agreeable diversions, than found really to be so from the operation of those medicinal springs, to which his change of temper, from chagrin and melancholy to an unusual vivacity, was ascribed. This filled her Majesty and the whole Court with admiration at the healing virtues of those waters; and made them take resolutions of residing there also the next season, to compleat a cure, which was supposed at that time to be in great forwardness. The skill of the Physicians, who advised the aforesaid journey, was likewise highly applauded; and every one's concern for so important and valuable a life was laid aside, but that of Dr Radcliffe, who, with his wonted spirit of prediction, said; *The ensuing year would let them all know their mistakes, in following such preposterous and unadvisable counsels; since the very nature of a dropsy might have lead those, whose duty it was to have prescribed proper medicines for the cure of it, into other precautions for the safety of so illustrious a patient, than the choice of means that must unavoidably feed it.* In justification of these sentiments, his royal Highness fell into a relapse, and after a six-months struggle was seized in such a manner with violent shiverings and convulsions on the twenty-second of October, that his Physicians were of opinion Dr Radcliffe was the only person now to be applied to. In pursuance of this advice, her Majesty, who could set apart former resentments, out of concern for the preservation of so inestimable a life, caused him to be sent for in one of her own coaches; and was pleased to tell him, *that no rewards or favours should be wanting, could he but remove the convulsions she was troubled with, in the case of those, which her dearly beloved husband bore.* But the Doctor, who was unused to flatter, instantly gave the Queen to understand, that nothing but death could release his royal Highness from the pangs he was afflicted with; and said, *that though it might be a rule among Surgeons to apply causticks to such as were burnt or scalded, it was very irregular among Physicians to drive and expel watery humours from the body by draughts of the same element.* *However,*

(ii) The celebrated author of the Antiquities of the Christian Church. He was censured by the Convocation at Oxford for a sermon preached there, wherein he was said to be too free with the mysteries of our holy religion.

'Lordship that there are men in the world, who, by 'an appearance of sanctity, very often impose upon 'such as are really possessed of it.

'The very nature of these charities, considering how 'obnoxious the gentlemen whom they are bestowed on, 'are to the present administration, requires secrecy, as 'to the names of the donors. Yet, if it be thought 'necessary, for the better satisfaction of those whom 'they are given to, to set them down in a list of their 'respective contributors, it will be an act of friend-'ship in the good Bishop of Rochester, upon many 'considerations relating to my employ, and otherwise, 'to make use of that, which I have drawn the bills '(16) in, rather than the name of

'My good Lord,

'your Lordship's most obedient,

'and most devoted servant;

'JOHN RADCLIFFE (17).'

The Doctor's conjectures, concerning the Archbishop of Glasgow, appear to be well grounded; at least, if we may credit Mr Lockhart, who makes the following remarks concerning him. 'While this was 'a-doing, the Duke of Queensberry, to preserve 'the interest he had obtained with the Tories, and 'church Party, in England, had brought up to Lon-'don those two renegadoes, the Earl of Balcarras, 'and the Archbishop of Glasgow, to avouch to them 'his inclination to serve and protect the church Party 'in Scotland. The Archbishop was a man of ex-'traordinary parts, and great learning; but extremely 'proud and haughty to all the inferiour clergy in his 'diocese; and very much destitute of those virtues, 'that should adorn the life and conversation of one 'so highly exalted in the church. He had a great 'management in the government of both Church and 'State, before the Revolution, and after the abolish-'ing of Episcopacy he lived privately, indulging that 'avaricious worldly temper, which had sullied his 'other qualifications, in all the capacities and stations 'of his life, and which likewise moved him to em-'bark in this design; which, when he left Scotland, 'and even after he left London, he kept as a mighty 'secret, pretending to the Cavaliers, he undertook 'that long journey in the middle of winter, *so dan-'gerous to his grey hairs*, (his own expression) only to 'supplicate Queen Anne to bestow the vacant Bishops 'rents, on the poor starving Episcopal Clergy. Yet, 'when this matter was under the consideration of 'Queen Anne, and her servants, his charitable zeal 'did allow him to accept of four hundred pounds ster-'ling, per annum, out of them; though there re-'mained but 12000 pounds, after this 400 was de-'ducted, (to be divided among his numerous needy 'brethren) that was not appropriated to other uses; 'and his Lordship was worth 20000 pounds of his 'own (18).

(16) The bills were for 300 *l.* and drawn upon Mr Waldgrave, Goldsmith in Russel-street, Covent-garden.

(17) From his Memoirs, ubi supra, p. 58, & seq.

(18) See Memoirs concerning the affairs of Scotland, &c. by George Lockhart of Carnwarth, p. 87, 88.

However, he would leave ſomething in writing, whereby ſuch hydropics and anodynes ſhould be prepared for him, as ſhould give him an eaſier paſſage out of this world; ſince he had been ſo tampered with, that nothing in the art of phyſic could keep the Prince alive more than ſix days. Accordingly, he departed this life on the ſixth day following, to the great grief of the Queen and the whole Court. Her Majeſty being fixed in her reſolutions from that time, never to viſit the Bath more, which though adviſed afterwards by her Phyſicians, when in great danger, ſhe could not be induced to conſent to during the reſidue of her reign *(kk)*. The year 1709, though remarkable for many notable cures performed by our Britiſh Æſculapius, was in particular famous for an inſtance of the inſtability of the moſt fixed averſion and reſolutions. The Doctor, as has before been recited, was ſo much prepoſſeſſed againſt any kind thoughts of the fair-ſex, that he very often ſlighted calls from them under the greateſt neceſſities of his aſſiſtance, and could not be prevailed with but very ſeldom to attend them: But Cupid owed him another caſt of his good-will; and in a viſit to a young female patient of great beauty, wealth, and quality, ſo ſtruck him with the irreſiſtibility of her charms, as to make him ſtand in need of a Phyſician himſelf, who came under that denomination. The Doctor was however arrived at an age, wherein the bent of mankind's thoughts is turned upon other conſiderations than thoſe of love; but the lady juſt mentioned was too attractive not to inſpire the coldeſt heart with the warmeſt ſentiments. Accordingly, after he had made a cure of her, he could not but imagine, as naturally he might, that her ladyſhip would entertain a favourable opinion of him; and to make his addreſſes to her altered his liveries into a more ſumptuous equipage, and ordered a new coach to be made that ſhould ſparkle in the Ring, with thoſe that belonged to other admirers of the fair ſex. But the lady, however grateful ſhe might be for the care he had taken of her health, divulged the ſecret of that ſudden ecclairciſſement to ſome of her confidents, one of whom made it known to Mr Steele, publiſher of the Tatler, who had ill-nature enough, on account of party, to write that ridicule of it which we ſee in the Tatler *(ll)*. In the year 1710, the Doctor, after recovery from a violent illneſs, had thoughts of retiring into the country from the hurry of buſineſs, which began to grow burthenſome to him; and communicated his intentions to his neighbour Dr Sharp, then Archbiſhop of York, but was perſuaded to continue his practice by that Prelate from conſiderations of beneficence and good will to mankind, which proved of very great uſe to his Grace, he being the firſt patient of high rank and diſtinction, that owed his life ſoon after to his advice. This the Archbiſhop acknowledged in a letter, wherein he took occaſion to commend the Doctor's zeal for the cauſe of the Church in the perſon of Dr Sacheverell [*T*], who was then impeached by the Houſe of Commons. How much the the ſucceſs of his trial imported Dr Radcliffe was ſeen in the influence it had upon the town of Buckingham, which made him an offer to chuſe him for one of their repreſentatives in the ſubſequent Parliament, though he declined it at that time, as inconſiſtent with the buſineſs of his profeſſion, and gave his intereſt to his friend Dr Chapman *(mm)*. Nothing more diſtinguiſhed the Doctor's great ſkill and regard to the ties of friendſhip in the following year, than the noble ſtand he made againſt the aſſaults of death in the caſe of the then Lord Craven; that noble peer had been his bottle-companion and inſeparable acquaintance for ſome years, and was, through the means of exceſſive drinking, brought to ſuch an ill habit of body, as to be deemed incurable by his Phyſicians in the country. Hereupon the Doctor, without being ſent for, took a journey down to Berkſhire, where he found things in the condition beforementioned, and left ſuch preſcriptions behind him, that by their help his Lordſhip was able to ride and hunt in a month's time. Though ſome months after, by returning too freely to the bottle, he ſunk under a relapſe. After the loſs of this friend, the Doctor ſeemed to be leſs chearful in converſation, and loſt a good part of his uſual mirth and feſtivity. But how greatly he was affected with it is beſt ſeen in the letter below, which he addreſſed to the Duke of Beaufort upon the occaſion [*U*]. However, this

(kk) See her Life, ubi ſupra.

(ll) No 44. dated July 21, 1709. See likewiſe the ſame paper for July 28.

(mm) See Radcliffe's Life, p. 72.

[*T*] *A letter wherein he took occaſion to commend the Doctor's zeal for the Church, in the perſon of Dr Sacheverell*] It is in theſe words.

'*Good Doctor,*

'*I muſt own, and I do it with great pleaſure, that next to the providence of the great God, my recovery is owing to you. But the diligence and concern you have ſhewn, in your attendance upon me, is of far leſs moment than your regard for the preſervation of a gentleman, through whoſe ſides the dignity of the Sacerdotal order is wounded. The reaſons you give, for others to ſtand by him in the day of trial, are very juſt, and the pains you take, in ſolliciting his acquittance, extremely commendable. He ſhould not have carried things ſo far; however, ſince he has, it will be looked upon as an act of uncharitableneſs in us, that are his brethren, not to endeavour to extricate him out of the difficulties, he has plunged himſelf into. I muſt applaud your making intereſt for bail for him, and think it much better that the Doctors B—s, and L——r, ſhould be his ſureties, than the Dukes of B——t, and B——m, becauſe they will not be ſo much the mark of the perſons at helm. I fear we ſhall not have power enough to give a parliamentary ſanction to the doctrines he has preached; but, in all probability, we ſhall be able to mitigate the puniſhment, ſome people threaten him with. The expences he muſt be at, in his defence, cannot but be very great, and beyond his abilities. Therefore I altogether approve your deſign, towards the diſcharge of them, as a work of the greateſt charity.*

'*And am,*

'*good Doctor,*

'*your moſt obliged friend,*

'*and humble ſervant;*

'JOHN EBOR. (19)'

(19) From Dr Radcliffe's Life, p. 71.

[*U*] *As may be ſeen in a letter which he addreſſed to the Duke of Beaufort, on this occaſion.*] The letter was ſent to the Duke, who was then at Badminton, near

this melancholy wore off by his continuing to follow the buſineſs of his profeſſion, as he did with the greateſt aſſiduity; of which, beſides the recovery of Lord Viſcount Weymouth, that of Mr Betton, a Turkey Merchant, was an illuſtrious proof, not only of his ſkill, but of his generoſity, to ſuch as were worthy of it; and how he behaved to ſuch as were unworthy, his conduct the ſame year to old Tyſon, the rich Uſurer, at Hackney, is an egregious inſtance [*W*]. In 1712, he recovered the Duke of Beaufort from the ſmall-pox, having firſt predicted the ſucceſs with his uſual confidence (*nn*); and the ſame year he

(*nn*) This cure impreſſed upon the Ducheſs his Lordſhip's grand-mother, ſuch an implicit faith in the doctor's ſkill, that, though then in the 85th year of her age, ſhe declared *it was her opinion, ſhe ſhould never die while he lived.*

near Bath; and the following is a tranſcript, from a copy of it.

'My dear Duke,

'You will doubtleſs be very much ſurprized and 'grieved, at the death of one of your moſt intimate 'acquaintance, which makes me with that ſome other 'hand had eaſed mine of a taſk that renews my af-'fliction, at the ſame time it gives birth to your's. 'But ſince it may be expected from me, as the phy-'ſician of the deceaſed, to give you the circumſtances 'of my poor Lord Craven's ſickneſs, and untimely 'end, your Grace will have the goodneſs to be made 'apprized of them after this manner. His Lordſhip 'from a particular freedom of living which he took, 'and always indulged himſelf in, had contracted an 'obeſeneſs of body, that through want of exerciſe 'made him entirely averſe to it. This diſpoſition bred 'an ill habit of body in him, from whence proceeded 'dropſical ſymptoms; which I endeavoured to prevent 'the effects of, by proper remedies. Nor could they 'have proved unſucceſsful, had his Lordſhip been of 'a leſs hoſpitable temper, or the nobility and gentry 'been leſs taken with the ſweetneſs of his converſation, 'and affability of his deportment. Alas I tremble for 'your Grace, when I conſider that all theſe good 'qualities, that were ſo eminently conſpicuous in my 'dear breathleſs Lord, occaſioned the very loſs of 'them for other noblemen's imitation. For by theſe 'engaging, theſe attractive, and alluring virtues, 'the beſt good natured companion is loſt, for ever 'loſt, to all our hopes and wiſhes, and had it not in 'his power to abſtain from what was his infelicity, 'while it was thought to be his comfort.

'Poor William, Lord Craven! How did I flatter 'myſelf, with the uninterrupted enjoyment of his 'inviolate and unalterable friendſhip, during the re-'ſidue of thoſe few years of life that are allotted for 'my uſe! How have I dwelt upon the contemplation 'of his future acts of affection, loyalty, and beni-'ficence to the Church, the State, and the Com-'monwealth, when I ſhould be laid low in the earth, 'and be devoid of means to ſee and admire! And 'yet, how have I been deceived in ſurviving that dear, 'that agreeable perſon, whoſe death I ardently de-'ſired for the ſake of poſterity to be long, long, pre-'ceded by my own demiſe!

'Your Grace will pardon me this one ſoliloquy 'in remembrance of a loſs that is in common to all, 'who had the honour of his acquaintance, or who 'might have received benefit by his example: and 'give me leave to tell you, that next to yourſelf, and 'my good Lord of Denbigh, there is no one whoſe 'welfare I had more at heart, than his Lordſhip's.

'What is incumbent upon me is to requeſt of your 'Grace, to take care of a life ſo important as your's 'is, in this dearth of great and valuable men; and to 'aſſure you, that while you conſult the preſervation 'of your health, by letting the exerciſes of the field 'ſhare with the pleaſures of the bottle; in ſo doing, 'your Grace will not only give length of days to that 'which is mortal in your own earthly fabric, but for 'ſome ſmall time longer, prevent the return of that 'frail tenement of clay, to it's firſt origin; which, 'as yet, continues to be dragged on, by

'My dear Duke,

'your Grace's

'moſt obliged,

'and faithful ſervant,

'JOHN RADCLIFFE (20).'

(20) Ibid. p. 73, & ſeq.

[*W*] *The recovery of Mr* Betton, *a Turkey merchant, was a proof of his generoſity; and how he behaved to ſuch as were unworthy of it, his conduct to old* Tyſon, *of Hackney, is an egregious inſtance.*] The firſt of theſe perſons lived then at Bow, near Stratford, where he lay ſo very ill, of a complication of diſtempers, that his life was diſpaired of. Sir Richard Blackmore, Dr How, and ſeveral others of the principal phyſicians, in and about the city of London, had been in vain conſulted, and abundance of fees given to no manner of purpoſe; when a friend adviſed him to have recourſe to Dr Radcliffe, notwithſtanding the charge of his attendance would be very great, and nothing under a preſent of five guineas, would be acceptable to him, for a journey from Bloomſbury to Bow. The Doctor accordingly came, and after two attendances only, gave the ſick man ſuch content, that he very freely made him acquainted with his ſatiſfaction in his endeavours and abilities, and deſired him to omit no opportunity of viſiting him; for he ſhould, in conſideration of the great benefit, be glad of giving him five guineas every day, 'till his recovery, for the favour of it. When he received for anſwer: Mr Betton, *the generoſity of your temper is ſo ingaging, that I muſt, in return to it, invite you to come and drink a diſh of coffee with me at Garraway's, this day fortnight; for notwithſtanding you have been very ill dealt with, follow but the preſcriptions, I ſhall leave with you, 'till that time, and you will be as ſound a man as ever you was in your life, without one fee more.* Accordingly he was ſo, and came to Garraway's at the day appointed in perfect health, in which he continued for ſeveral years after.

Yet though the Doctor had an eſteem for men that ſet a juſt value upon his ſkill, and were gratefully diſpoſed to acknowledge it, by ſuitable regards; he had the greateſt averſion imaginable, howſoever parſimonious in his own perſon, for ſuch as were of abilities, but of niggardly diſpoſitions: as may be ſeen in caſe of one Mr *Tyſon*, a man of vaſt wealth and eſtate, and ſaid, at the time of his deceaſe, to be worth more than 300000l. It happened that this figure of a man, without any thing like a human ſoul, had ſo long dealt with quacks, for cheapneſs ſake, that he was reduced to the loweſt ebb of life; his continuance in it, being, in a manner, deſpaired of. His friends, and neighbours, had repeated their inſtances with him, to no manner of purpoſe, that he would look out for ſome able phyſician, for his preſervation; but the coſt was a greater terror, than even the apprehenſions of death itſelf. At laſt, the extream near view of the next world, ſeems to have frightened him into a reſolution, of uſing ſome proper means to make his abode in this as long as poſſible. In order to which he pitched upon Dr Radcliffe, as the only perſon capable of giving him relief in this dangerous ſtate: but the great difficulty was, how to keep the Doctor from diſcovering him, ſo as he might procure the Doctor's aſſiſtance without the uſual expence. At laſt, with that view, he and his wife agreed to give the Doctor a viſit, at his own houſe; and being carried in their own coach to the Royal-Exchange, there they hired a hack to Bloomſbury; where with two guineas in hand, and a very mean habit, Mr Tyſon opened his caſe to the Doctor, not without alledging his poverty, as a motive for having advice upon moderate terms. But neither his ſickneſs nor his apparel had diſguiſed him ſo much, as to deceive the Doctor; who had no ſooner heard what he had to ſay, and taken his gold, but told him: *He might go home, and die and be damn'd, without a ſpeedy repentance; for both death and the devil were ready for one Tyſon of Hackney, who had raiſed an immenſe eſtate out of the ſpoils of the public, and the tears of orphans and widows; and would certainly be a dead man in ten days.* Nor did the event falſify the prediction, for the old Uſurer returned to his houſe, quite confounded with the ſentence that had been paſſed upon him; which, whatever might be his fate afterwards, was fulfilled, as to his death, in eight days following (21).

(21) Memoirs, p. 76, & ſeq.

he entertained Prince Eugene of Savoy with a very remarkable dinner; in which, English beef and beer had their due preheminence [X]. The following year, 1713, upon the renewal of the Parliament, he stood in conjunction with Mr Chapman for the town of Buckingham, and after hearing a petition against him, was declared duly elected. Upon this avocation from business he recommended Dr Mead to many of his patients. This year he applied to the Rector and Fellows of Exeter-college, about a purchase of some ground adjoining to Selden's library, where he first intended his own should be built; but the society insisted upon such terms, as evinced their great unwillingness to lose the benefit of a good part of their garden, which must have been taken away by that purchase, upon which account the Doctor changed his purpose as to the site of it: While this affair was in agitation he recommended his kinsman, Mr Richard Fiddes to the university for the degree of Bachelor of Divinity, which was very readily complied with (oo). In 1714 the Doctor had the misfortune to see that fatal accident fall out, which he always dreaded, in the death of his beloved Duke of Beaufort. This loss struck him so to the heart, that to several of his friends who were then with him at the Bull-head tavern, in Clare-market, he declared, *That now he had lost the only person whom he took pleasure in conversing with, it was high time for him to retire from the world*; *to make his Will*; *and set his house in order*; *for he had notices within, that told him, his abode in this world could not be twelve months longer.* Nothing remarkable fell out in relation to the Doctor 'till the sickness of the Queen [Anne], who was struck with death on the twenty-eighth of July, and departed this life the first of August following. Upon her decease there was spread a report, that not only the Privy-Council but the Queen herself gave orders for Dr Radcliffe to be present at the last consultations, and that he excused himself from coming, under pretences of an indisposition. But his name was not once mentioned either by the Queen or any Lord of the Council; only Lady Massam sent to him without their knowledge two hours before her Majesty's death, after he had received the particulars of her irrecoverable case from Dr Mead. He was then down at his seat at Casehalton most sorely afflicted with the gout, that had seized his head and stomach, and rendered him altogether unfit to travel; however, he sent word by the messenger, that his duty to her Majesty would oblige him to attend her, had he proper orders for so doing; but he judged as matters at that juncture stood betwixt him and the Queen, who had taken an antipathy against him, that his presence would be of more disservice to her Majesty than use; and that *since her Majesty's case was desperate, and her distemper incurable, he could not at all think it proper to give her any disturbance in her last moments which were so very near at hand*; *but rather an act of duty and compassion to let her Majesty die as easily as was possible.* Yet some, who before would not allow him to have any tolerable skill in physic, imputed her Majesty's death to his neglect of attendance on her; nay, the prepossession in his disfavour even obtained amongst his friends; a person who had always voted on the same side with him in the House of Commons moved on the fifth of August following, that the Doctor might be summoned to attend in his place, in order to be censured for not waiting upon the Queen in her last extremities [Y]; and there is some reason to believe, that the Doctor himself was not without

(oo) See Radcliffe's Memoirs, p 78. He was afterwards complimented by the university with his doctor's degree in the same manner, in consideration of his great abilities as a scholar, and, indeed, was reputed generally one of the politest writers of the age. As to his doctor's degree, see his volume of sermons. p. 568. folio.

[X] *He entertained Prince Eugene with a dinner, where English beef and beer held their just pre-eminence.*] During this Prince's stay in England, it happened that his Highness's nephew, the Chevalier Soissons, was so bruised, in a nightly encounter with the watch, that he was thrown into a violent fever, which was said to terminate in the small-pox. Dr Radcliffe, after a day being called upon for his advice, frankly told the Prince, *That he was extremely concerned he could be of no service to him, in the recovery of a person so dear and so nearly related to him, as the Chevalier*; *since the Sieur Swartenburgh, his Highness's physician, had put it out of his power, by mistaking the nature of the distemper: but that he should hold it amongst the greatest honours he had ever received, if he might have the happiness of entertaining so great a General, to whose noble achievements England was so much indebted, at his poor habitation.* In pursuance of which invitation, after the Chevalier was interred amongst the Ormond family, in Westminster-Abbey, and the Prince had dined and supped with several of the nobility, he acquainted Dr Radcliffe with his intention of making him a visit, on such a day. The Doctor made provision for his guest, and instead of the high dainties, which his Highness found at other tables, he ordered his to be covered with barons of beef, jiggets of mutton, and legs of pork, for the first course. Upon which the Prince, at taking leave, said, very gallantly in French: *Doctor, I have been fed at other tables like a Courtier, but received at your's like a Soldier, for which I am highly indebted to you*; *since I must tell you, that I am more ambitious of being called by the latter appellation, than the former. Nor can I wonder at the bravery of the British nation, that has such food, and liquors* (22), *of their own growth, as you have this day given us a proof of.*

(22) This alludes to some beer seven years old, which the doctor caused to be served round to the company.

[Y] *Is censured for not waiting upon the Queen, in her last extremities.*] This appears from the following letter, written by the Doctor, to one of his friends, at this time.

Casehalton, August 7. 1714.

'Dear Sir,

'I could not have thought so old an acquaintance, 'and so good a friend, as Sir J——n always professed 'himself, would have made such a motion against me. 'God knows my will to do her Majesty any service, 'has ever got the start of my ability; and I have no-'thing that gives me greater anxiety and trouble, than 'the death of that great and glorious Princess. I 'must do that justice to the physicians that attended 'her, in her illness, from a sight of the method that 'was taken for her preservation, by Dr Mead, as to 'declare, nothing was omitted for her preservation; 'but the people about her, (the plagues of Egypt fall 'on them) put it out of the power of physic to be of 'any benefit to her. I know the nature of attending 'Crowned Heads, in their last moments, too well, to 'be fond of waiting upon them, without being sent 'for by a proper authority. You have heard of par-'dons being signed for physicians, before a Sovereign's 'demise: however, ill as I was, I would have went 'to the Queen in a horse-litter, had either her Ma-'jesty, or those in commission, next to her, com-'manded me so to do. You may tell Sir J—n as 'much, and assure him from me, that his zeal for her 'Majesty, will not excuse his ill usage of a friend,

'who

without apprehensions of being assassinated on the same account [Z]. It was even surmised by some, that the terrors he was under from the suspicions he had of the populace, and added to the want of agreeable companions, which were not to be had in his retirement from town, hastened his death; which happened two months after, on the first of November 1714, being aged sixty-four years. His body lay in state, at the house where he died, 'till the twenty-seventh of that month; whence, being first removed to the house of one Mr Evans, then an Undertaker in the Strand, it was conveyed to Oxford, where it was interred on Friday the third of December following, on the south-east side of the organ-gallery in St Mary's church, in that university [*AA*]; which by his will, dated September

'who has drank many a hundred bottles with him; 'and cannot, even after this breach of a good understanding that ever was preserved between us, but 'have a very good esteem for him. I must also desire 'you to thank Tom Chapman, for his speech in my 'behalf, since I hear it is the first he ever made, which 'is taken more kindly; and to acquaint him, that I 'should be glad to see him at *Casehalton*; since I fear '(for so the gout tells me) that we shall never more sit 'in the house of Commons together.

'I am,

'dear Sir,

'your's,

'with the greatest friendship,

'and observance,

'JOHN RADCLIFFE (27).'

(27) See his Memoirs, p. 88, 89.

[Z] *The Doctor was not without apprehensions of being assassinated on this occasion.*] This is evident, from the following letter, which was copied from his own hand-writing; and directed to Dr Mead, at Child's Coffee house, in St Paul's Church-yard.

Casehalton, August 3. 1714.

'Dear Sir,

'I give you and your brother many thanks, for the 'favour you intend me to-morrow; and if there is 'any other friend, that will be agreeable to you, he 'shall meet with a hearty welcome from me; dinner 'shall be on the table by two, when you may be sure 'to find me ready to wait on you. Nor shall I be at 'any other time from home, because I have received 'several letters, which threaten me with being pulled 'in pieces, if ever I come to London. After such 'menaces as these, 'tis easy to imagine, that the conversation of two such very good friends, is not 'only extremely desirable, but the enjoyment of it, 'will be a great happiness, and satisfaction, to him,

'Who is,

'dear Sir,

'your most obliged,

Past 4 in the Afternoon. 'humble servant,

'JOHN RADCLIFFE (28).'

(28) Ibid. p. 90.

[*AA*] *Was interred in St Mary's church in that university.*] The S[atu]rday before it's arrival, the following Programma w[a]s published by the Vice-Chancellor.

'At a general meeting of the Vice-Chancellor, Heads 'of Houses, and Proctors of the University of Oxford, at the Apodyterium of the Convocation-house, on Saturday, November 27, 1714.

'For the more solemn performance of the Funeral-rites of the late worshipful Dr John Radcliffe, our 'most munificent Benefactor; it is agreed, and ordered, as follows:

'I. That upon ringing St Mary's great bell, on 'Wednesday next, at one of the clock, in the afternoon; all members of Convocation do repair to 'the public schools, in their common wearing gowns 'and caps; there, together with the Vice-Chancellor, 'and Proctors, to receive the corps at the great gate, 'and to attend the same to the Divinity school, where 'it is to be deposited, and to lie for public view, 'till 'eleven of the clock on Friday morning.

'II. That on Friday, at twelve of the clock, upon 'tolling St Mary's great bell, all members of the 'Convocation, aforesaid, (as also the noblemen) do 'meet in the Convocation-house, in such their several 'habits, and hoods, as are usually worn, at the holding a Convocation; there to abide in their proper 'seats, whilst the public Orator makes a Latin Oration over the body; which, on that occasion, is to 'be removed thither, and, whilst other proper ceremonies are performing.

'III. That from thence all the company to attend 'the body, by Brazen-nose, Lincoln, Exeter, and Jesus's Colleges, to the North Gate; and so by Carfax, to St Mary's church; where all persons, being 'seated in their proper places, and the Burial Service 'being begun by Mr Vice-Chancellor: after the Lesson, a Funeral Anthem is to be sung, by the Choir; 'and when that is ended, and the Corps brought to 'the grave, the Orator is to make another short speech. 'After which, the remaining part of the Burial office 'being performed, every one is quietly to depart 'home.

'IV. That a Convocation be held, in which the 'benefactions of Dr Radcliffe, being first declared, 'a proposal shall be made, for a decree to enroll the 'Doctor's name in the Registry of the public Benefactors of the University; for conferring honorary 'degrees, and for giving all other possible testimonies 'of our grateful regard to the memory of the deceased.

'V. All Bachelors of Arts, and under Graduates, 'are hereby strictly commanded to behave themselves, 'in a manner, suitable to so solemn an occasion. And 'all persons, whatsoever, are enjoined, upon the severest penalties, not to tear off the escutcheons; or 'to make any disturbance in the church, the Divinity 'school, or in any part of the procession: and all 'magistrates are to take care, that no disorder may 'happen, through the whole course of the solemnity, or at least that no offender may go unpunished.

'BERNARD GARDINER, Vice-Chancellor.

'All Colleges, and Halls, are desired to toll a bell 'from twelve of the clock on Wednesday, and from 'twelve of the clock on Friday, 'till the great bell at 'St Mary's ceases, on each day (29).'

(29) See the Register of the University.

This order was executed in every particular, only Mr Lindsey, one of the Fellows of University College, made a speech, in honour of his memory, over the grave. The order of the procession, was in this manner. The Vicar of St Mary's, one of the Fellows of Oriel College, Mr Peter Randal, with the Sexton, led the van, followed by the Vice-Chancellor, preceded by his Beadles; after whom followed the corse; the pall of which was supported by the Bishops of Bristol, and Chester, the master of University, and Rector of Lincoln college, the Regius Professor of Divinity, and Professor of Law (30). Then came two of the Doctor's nephews, Mr Smith, and Mr ——, followed by the like number of his Executors, viz. Sir *George Beaumont*, and Mr *Bromley*. Then the *Regius Professor of Physic*, after whom, all the faculty; then the noblemen, then the Doctors of Divinity, and Law, followed by the Bachelors of both, and the Masters of Arts; all of them being presented with gloves, and rings, before their setting out from the Convocation-house. They were met at the Carfax, in their passage to the church, by the three choirs

(30) The names of these bearers were, the Doctors George Smalridge and Francis Gastrell, Arthur Charlett, Will. Adams, John Porter, then Bishop of Oxford, and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, and Dr Thomas Bouchier, Principal of Alban-hall.

September 13, 1714, after the payment of some legacies, he endowed with his whole estate [*B B*], and is enrolled as one of their greatest benefactors.

choirs of Christ church, New college, and St John's; who continued singing an Anthem before the corse, 'till it was set down before the pulpit. When the Vice-Chancellor read the service, and after a proper Anthem, set to Music by the Professor of that science, did the office of interment. After it was agreed in Convocation that Mr Digby Cotes, the public Orator, Fellow of All-Souls-college, and that Mr Lindsey who spoke the Funeral Oration over the grave, should be ordered to print their speeches, in a book of Verses, to be composed in honour of the deceased. But the Bachelors of Arts, and Under-graduates, being disgusted at their being passed over, in the order of the procession, were unwilling to write on that subject; so the design was laid aside. Mr *John Smith*, one of the Doctor's nephews, who was then a Student of the Common-Law, at Gray's-Inn, was created Bachelor of Law, by a diploma (31). Sir *George Beaumont*, likewise, (the other Executor, Mr *Bromley*, having that honour conferred upon him some years before) was made Doctor of Law, in the same manner.

(31) The other, Mr James Smith, being bred up in rustical affairs, rendered him unfit for this honour.

[*B B*] *By his Will, after the payment of a few Legacies, he endowed the University with his whole estate.*] The Will is too long to transcribe, but the tenor of it is as follows. Imprimis, he gives his manor of Linton, and all his lands in Yorkshire, in trust, to pay thereout 600 l. per annum, to each of two persons, to be chosen out of the University, when they are Masters of Arts, and entered on the Physic line; by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord-Chancellor or Keeper, the Chancellor of the University, the Bishops of London, and Winchester, the two principal Secretaries of State, the two Chief-Justices, and the Master of the Rolls, all for the time being, or the major part of them. The said two persons to continue for ten years, and no longer, the half of which time, to travel beyond sea for improvement, and the vacancies to be filled up in six months. The yearly overplus, of the rents, of the said Yorkshire estate, to be paid to University-college, for buying perpetual advowsons for their members. He then gives his sister, Mrs Hannah Redshaw, 1000 l. per annum, for her life: and to his sister, Mrs Mellicent Radcliffe, 500 l. per annum: to John Smith, his nephew, 500 l. per annum; and to his brother, James Smith, 250 l. per annum: to his niece, Green, 200 l. per annum; all for their respective lives: and his estate in Bucks, as also his personal estate, is charged for the payment thereof. He next gives to St Bartholomew's Hospital, 500 l. per annum, towards mending their diet; and 100 l. per annum, for buying linnen; both for ever. He then gives 5000 l. for building the rest of the front of University-college, down to Logic lane; answerable to that part already built, and for building the Master's lodgings therein, and chambers for his two travelling Fellows. He next wills his Executors to pay, 40000 l. in ten years, at 4000 l. per annum; the first payment to be made after the decease of his two sisters, for building a Library in Oxon, and purchasing the houses, between St Mary's, and the schools, in Cat street; where he intended the Library to stand: and after it is built, he gives 150 l. per annum, to the Keeper of it; and 100 l. per annum, to buy books. He then gives to his nephew Redshaw, (then, or late in the East-Indies) 5000 l. To all his servants, that lived with him at the time of his decease, a year's wages, and mourning: and, besides which, he gives to his servant, William Singleton, 50 l. per annum, for his life: to John Bond, and Benjamin Berkshire; as also, to Eliz. Stringer, and Sarah, all his servants, 20 l. per annum, each, for life. Lastly, he settles all his estates in Buckinghamshire, Yorkshire, Northamptonshire, and Surrey, and elsewhere; and all his real and personal estate whatsoever, charged with the abovementioned payments, to William Bromley, Esq; Sir George Beaumont, Baronet, Thomas Sclater, of Gray's-Inn, Esq; and Anthony Keck, of Fleet street, Gent. &c. for ever, and appointing them his Executors, gives them 500 l. each, for their trouble. He likewise leaves all the residue, and overplus, of his real and personal estates, to be applied to such charitable uses, as they think best, but not to their own use. He afterwards wills his Yorkshire estate to be conveyed and settled by his Executors, on the Society of University-college, for ever; in trust, and for the performance of the uses, and trusts, as before declared. And desires his Executors to charge and secure, in the most effectual manner, the several perpetual annuities, given out of his Buckinghamshire estate, which it was his intention not to have sold, and the overplus of the rents and profits, to be employed in other charitable uses, as aforesaid; and by his Executors charged and fixed on the said estate, in their life-time. And he would have charged on the said Buckinghamshire estate, 100 l. per annum, for ever; to commence thirty years after his decease, for repairing the said Library, when built. The Library-keeper to be a Master of Arts, and chosen by the persons appointed before, to choose the physicians. And his Executors, may, if they see his estate will answer, prepare for, and begin the building of the Library sooner.

The foundation stone, of this sumptuous edifice, was laid on the sixteenth of June, 1737: on it was fixed a copper-plate, with the following inscription.

Quod felix faustumque sit
Academiæ Oxoniensi;
Die 16 Kalendarum Junii
Anno MDCCXXXVII.
Carolo Comite de Arran,
Cancellario,
Stephano Niblet, S. T. B.
Vicecancellario,
Thoma Paget & Johanne Laud, A. M.
Procuratoribus,
Plaudenti undique
Togata gente
Honorabilis admodum Dmus Dmus Carolus Noel-Somerset;
Honorabilis Johannes Verney
Gualterus Wagstaff Bagot, Baronettus,
Edwardus Harley & Edwardus Smith } Armigeri,
Radcliffii munificenti
Testamenti Curatores,
P. P.
Jacobo Gibbs Architecto.

And the whole building was compleated in the year 1747; when the Duke of Beaufort, Edward, Earl of Oxford, Sir W. Wag. Bagot, Sir Watkyn Will. Wynne, and Edw. Smith, were the Trustees. In justice to whom, the Architect declares, that in all the business of the sort, in which he had been engaged, he never observed a trust discharged with greater unanimity, integrity, and candour, during the whole time he had the honour of serving them, from laying the first stone, to it's finishing; and that all persons employed therein by them, did honour them for their punctual payments, and great diligence, in seeing every part put in execution with the nicest œconomy, and equity. 'And I wish, concludes he, you may be a pattern (32) to posterity, to follow your excellent example, on any occasion of the like nature.' Mr Wise, of Trinity college, was appointed first Librarian.

(32) Bibliotheca Radcliffiana: or, A short Description of the Radcliffe-Library at Oxford, containing it's several plans, parts, sections, and ornaments, in twenty-three copper-plates, neatly engraved, with an explication to each plate. By James Gibbs, Architect, F. R. S. 1747, folio.

The Doctor further wills, that his living of Headborne-Worthy, in Hampshire, and all other livings, that shall be purchased by him, to be bestowed on a member of University-college; and if they should be deficient there, then to a Fellow of Lincoln-college, and after they have preached two or more laudable sermons at St Mary's. The nomination of the persons to be presented, is lodged in the Vice-Chancellor, the two Divinity Professors, the Master of University-college, and the Rector of Lincoln-college; or the major part of them. P

RALEGH, or RAWLEGH* [Sir WALTER], distinguished frequently by the title of the Noble and Valorous Knight; and the first discoverer and planter of the colony of Virginia, in North-America: was of ancient and honourable extraction, from a family seated in Devonshire, soon after, if not before, the Norman Conquest (*a*). Being the younger son of Walter Ralegh, Esq; of Fardel, in the parish of Cornwood, near Plymouth; by Katherine, daughter of Sir Philip Champernon, of Modbury; and relict of Otho Gilbert, of Compton (*b*), all in the same county. She was Mr Ralegh's third wife; and upon the marriage, he carried her to a farm, of which he had the remainder of a fourscore years lease, called Hayes; situate in the parish of Budley, in that part of Devonshire bordering, eastward, upon the sea, and near the mouth of the river Ottery. The situation being pleasant, they fixed their residence in the farm-house, which therefore happened to be the place of Sir Walter's birth (*c*). He was born in 1552, and after a proper foundation of school, was sent to Oriel-college, in Oxford, about the year 1568; where, being put under the care of an excellent tutor, he quickly made such a proficiency in academical learning, oratorical and philosophical, that he became the ornament of the younger part of the University (*d*). But his ambition prompting him to pursue the road to Fame, in an active life, he made but a short stay at Oxford. The juncture of the times concurred with the turn of his genius, and furnished those great occasions which are necessary for drawing forth great talents. Queen Elizabeth, resolving to assist the persecuted Protestants of France; not only exhorted other princes of the same persuasion, to lend their hands to the common cause; but supplied the Queen of Navarre with men and money to support it. Among other English forces, employed on this occasion, Henry Champernon, a relation by marriage of the Earl of Montgomery, carried under his command a select troop of a hundred gentlemen volunteers, well mounted and accoutred: in the list of whom, young Walter Ralegh was the most noted (*e*). The troop arrived in the French camp, on the fifth of October 1569 (*f*); and our young soldier continued in this service, five or six years: in which compass of time, as there may be enumerated, near thirty battles, sieges, overthrows, treaties, and capitulations, on one side or other; so, it is manifest, that he was hazardously engaged in some, if not several of them [*A*]: nor by what means he escaped perishing in the general massacre, which began at Paris, on the bloody vespers of St Bartholomew, in 1572, is it yet known (*g*): but we find him in London, and exercising his poetical talents, in the Middle-Temple, in 1576 [*B*]. However, 'tis certain that he did not reside in the Inns-of-Court, in the view of studying the Law (*h*): on the contrary, his mind was still bent on military glory; he only waited here, a fresh opportunity of proceeding as he had begun, to push his fortune in arms. And he did not wait long; for the Dutch groaning under the Spanish yoke, had begged Queen Elizabeth's assistance, the preceding year, and their complaints increasing by the tyranny of Don John of Austria, who was appointed Governour of the Low-Countries under the King of Spain, in 1577; who also raised the jealousy of the English, by his treachery to this nation; the Queen not only receded from that peace and neutrality with the Spaniards, then in agitation, but sent the States both men and money, to carry on the war with more vigour against them (*i*). Our young soldier went with these forces under the command of General Norris, and probably had a share in the honour of that memorable day, anno 1578, which buried the reputation of Don John (*k*). Upon Mr Ralegh's return to England soon after, his uterine brother,

* It was wrote the first of these ways by himself, and the second way by most others.

(*a*) That is the family of this name, but the pedigrees are too general to fix any certainty about this branch of it, only that an estate called Smalridge, in the parish of Axminster, which was in possession of the Raleghs at or before the Conquest, and continued in it 'till Henry VII. time, was then sold by Sir Walter's grandfather, Wimond, to John, the father of Sir John Gilbert, of Compton.

(*b*) See Sir Humphry Gilbert's article.

(*c*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 435.

(*d*) Id. ibid.

(*e*) Camden's Elizabetha under that year; who tells us, the troop bore this motto in their standard, *Finem det mihi Virtus*; Let Valour decide the cause.

(*f*) Thuanus, Tom. II. col. xlvi. p. 69. edit. 1676. Mr Wood therefore is mistaken, in supposing our author staid at Oxford two or three years.

(*g*) Perhaps with Sir Philip Sidney he might take sanctuary, in the Ambassador Walsingham's house, as Mr Oldys conjectures in his life of Sir Walter, prefixed to his History of the World, edit. 1736. folio. p. 10.

(*h*) He said expresly at his trial, that he never studied it. But this can be no good reason why he might not reside in chambers in the Temple as is well known; and therefore the objection against that residence is frivolous, which is made by Theobald in Memoirs of Sir Walter Ralegh, p. 5. edit. 1719. 8vo.

(*i*) See the General Histories of England.

(*k*) At the battle of Rimenant. Strada de bello, Belg. who observes, that among these troops were those of Colonel Tho. Morgan, who were the first perfect Harquebusiers of our nation, and the first who taught us to like the musquet.

[*A*] *He was hazardously engaged in some of them.*] We have an account from himself, of one deliverance which he had in these wars; where reasoning upon the manner and opportunities of retreats in battle, he first gives an example of it's being less dishonour to retire in the dark, than to be ruined in the light; in the sentiment of Monsieur de la Noüe, upon the retreat made just before the battle of Moncountour. For, says that Frenchman, staying upon our reputation, in shew not to dislodge by night; we lost our reputation indeed, in dislodging by day; whereby we were forced to fight upon our disadvantage, and to our ruin. 'Yet, says Ralegh, did that worthy gentleman, 'Count Lodowick of Nassau, brother to the late famous Prince of Orange, make the retreat at Moncountour, with so great resolution, as he saved one half of the Protestant army, then broken and disbanded; of which myself was an eye-witness, and was one of them who had cause to thank him for it (1).' In another place, he speaks of a stratagem which he and his company used with success at Languedoc; where the enemy had fortified themselves in certain caves, which had but one narrow entrance cut in the mid-way of the high rocks; '*and which*, says he, *we knew not how to enter by any ladder, or engine; 'till at last, by certain bundles of lighted straw, let down by an iron chain, with a weighty stone in the midst, those that defended it were so smothered, that they surrendered themselves, with their plate, money, and other goods, therein hidden*; *as otherwise they must have died like bees that are smoaked out of their hives* (2).'

(1) History of the World. Lib. V. cap. ii. §. 8.

(2) Id. Lib. IV. cap. ii. §. 16.

[*B*] *He exercised his poetical talents, in* 1576.] We have a commendatory poem, in three hexastic stanzas, prefixed among others, to a Satire, called, *The Steel Glass*; published this year, by George Gascoigne, Esq; a learned and ingenious Poet of repute in those days; who having led a life somewhat like Ralegh, in foreign travel, and military services, may well be thought to have had some acquaintance with him. Add to this, that Gascoigne had a kind of familiar dependency upon the Lord Grey, of Wilton, as appears from the dedication of this, and some other of his works. He also used the very motto under this picture, prefixed to this satire; *Tam Marti, quam Mercurio* (3); which, after his death, is so well known to have been assumed by, or appropriated to, Ralegh himself. The middle stanza of our author's poem, is a remarkable indication of his own fortune and fate; as follows.

(3) See some account of this Gascoigne and his works in Athen. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 190, & seq.

Though sundry minds, in sundry sort do deem;
Yet worthiest wights yield praise to every pain:
But envious brains do nought or light esteem,
Such stately steps as they cannot attain:
For whoso reaps renown above the rest,
With heaps of hate shall surely be oppress'd.

(*l*) See a particular account of this voyage in Sir Humphry Gilbert's article.

(*m*) Cox's Hist. of Ireland, under this year 1580. This is the first time we meet with him in Ireland. Hooker's Supply of the Irish Chronicles, in Holingshed, Vol. II. col. 366.

(*n*) Arthur, Lord Grey, of Wilton, who had lately received the sword of Ireland from Sir William Pelham; he was made Deputy in July, and took the sword from Pelham in August. Cox.

(*o*) This cruelty, and indeed the whole conduct of the deputy in this affair, was much disliked by the Queen; but no part of it was ever charged to Ralegh more than to Mackworth, or the rest of the officers. Cox, p. 366.

(*p*) The estate of Barrimore was made over to the mother of David Barry, and only rented to the son; yet partly in fear of the commission, partly through spite and indignation, he burnt the castle himself to the ground, and wasted the country about it with greater outrage and destruction than his enemies, had they taken it, would have done. Ibid. p. 367.

brother, Sir Humphry Gilbert, having newly obtained a patent of the Queen, to plant and inhabit some northern parts of America, engaged him to embark in that adventure; but the first attempt, in which they had a desperate sea-fight with a Spanish fleet, being defeated, our adventurers returned home in 1599 (*l*). And now new disturbances broke out, which served Mr Ralegh with new matter of glory. The Pope, and the Spanish Monarch, having concerted on absolute conquest of the English crown and dominions, resolved to begin with the reduction of Ireland. In this design, some Spanish and Italian forces, being sent under the Pope's banner, in 1580, to assist the Desmonds in the Munster rebellion; we find Ralegh among that body of his countrymen, which effectually broke the mischievous attempt. For, among other defeats, Sir James Desmond being taken prisoner, was, by the Lord-Justice, Sir William Pelham, and the Council, delivered to the Provost-Marshal of Munster, and Captain Ralegh; and, pursuant to the commission directed to them, was tried, condemned, and executed; his head and limbs being impaled, on the city gates of Cork (*m*). The Captain had several successful skirmishes with parties of the rebels, shortly after [*C*]; and upon the surrendry of the fort, where the foreign troops had lodged themselves, Ralegh and Mackworth, having the ward of that day, the ninth of November, first entered the castle; and, with their companies, made a great slaughter. So that, except the Spanish commander, and his camp-master, with a few Spanish officers, who were sent prisoners into England and reserved for ransom, all the invaders, between four and five hundred, were, according to the Deputy's (*n*) positive command, put to the sword (*o*); and thus the country was weeded of those noxious foreigners. Ralegh was quartered this winter at Cork, where having observed the seditious practices of David, Lord Barry, and other ring-leaders of the rebellion in those parts; he took a journey, in person, to Dublin; and represented the dangerous consequences so urgently, to the Deputy and Council; that they returned him with a full commission to enter upon the castle, called Barry-Court, with all other lands of the said Barry; and to reduce him to peace and subjection, by such means as he judged most feasible; appointing him, for his farther enablement, a party of horse. In his journey back he was way-laid, by an old rebel of Barry's faction, whom he encountered, and defeated; and at last broke through the ambuscade. But in the interim, such measures were used with those in authority at Cork, that the commission proved of little effect (*p*). However, upon the Earl of Ormond's departure for England; in the spring of the ensuing year, 1581, his government of Munster was given, during his absence, to Captain Ralegh; in commission with Sir William Morgan, and Captain Piers. Ralegh lay, for the most part, at Lismore; and in the country, and woods, about, spent all this summer in continual action against the rebels. Then he removed, with his little band of fourscore foot, and eight horse, to his old quarters at Cork; carrying with him two prisoners he had taken, in a skirmish with Barry, on the road, when many other rebels were slain. While he lay at Cork, he performed several other notable services; among which, his excellent conduct in the seizure of Lord Roch, is more particularly remembered and applauded [*D*]. In the month

* Cox's History of Ireland, p. 376.

(4) Lord Bacon in his Essays brings this example to illustrate the force and tyranny of custom.

[*C*] *He had several skirmishes with the rebels shortly after.*] Having observed it to be the custom of the Irish Kerns, upon any dislodgment of the English camp, to flock in parties thither, and glean away whatever they saw left behind; he lingered, and lay in ambush, to receive them. They came accordingly, with their wonted constancy and greediness; but in the midst of their prolling, Ralegh fell upon them so advantageously, that he enclosed them all with his men, and took every rebel upon the spot, who was not slain in the resistance. Among them, there was one laden with withies; who being demanded what he intended them for, boldly answered, to hang up the English churls: well, said Ralegh, but they shall now serve for an Irish Kern, so commanded him to be immediately tucked up in one of his own neck-bands *. We read of another Irish rebel, but of greater rank, named Brian O'Rourk; who, being afterwards to suffer at the gallows, shewed great concern that it was to be by the common halter; and earnestly petitioned, not for pardon, or preservation of life, but that they would change the instrument of his death; and instead of a rope, let him take his swing in a withy: and being asked, why he insisted upon such an insignificant distinction? he answered, it was a distinction had been paid to his countrymen before him (4).

[*D*] *His conduct, with regard to Lord Roch, is particularly commended.*] This happened before the departure of the Earl of Ormond, by whom Lord Roch being much suspected to hold confederacy with some of the chief rebels, Ralegh undertook to bring him and his family before the Earl of Cork. But the design of this hazardous surprize took air among the enemy, and a party of eight hundred men, under Fitz-Edmonds and Barry, were gathered to way-lay the English, either going or coming. However Ralegh, knowing the Lord Roch to be a powerful and popular man, among the Irish, so suddenly commanded all his company to be in readiness, by eleven o'clock that night, and they were so punctual to the hour, that he directly marched away to Bally-in-Harsh, which was Roch's seat, about twenty miles from Cork, and escaped the ambuscade. He arrived there by break of day; but the townsmen were so alarmed, that they soon gathered five-hundred strong. Ralegh drew up, and in such a manner bestowed his men, in the town itself, that he soon quelled and restrained the people there: then selecting half a dozen out of his company, and appointing another little party to follow him, he marched up to the castle. He was met by three or four of Roch's gentlemen, of whom he desired to speak with their Lord; which was agreed to, on condition he would dismiss three or four of his own attendants: to this, with apparent readiness, he complied; but so contrived, that none of them were locked out. Then he gave them directions, which way the rest also without the gates might be admitted, while he should hold the Lord Roch in discourse. This succeeded so happily, that, by degrees, his whole compliment were got within the court-yard; some guarding the gates, others waiting in the hall, each having his piece loaden with a brace of balls. The Lord Roch was amazed, and terrified, at so silent and insensible a seizure; but dissembling his uneasiness he would needs have Ralegh, and the gentlemen with him, participate of his plentiful table. Yet the policy of his hospitality did not defeat that of their enterprize; for as soon as dinner was over, Ralegh ingenuously laid open the occasion of his visit. Lord Roch made many excuses, and, in the end, absolutely refused to go along with him. But when the commission was produced, and he found Ralegh inflexible, he chose

month of August, the same year, the Lord-Deputy made Captain John Zouch Governour of Munster, with whom Ralegh, and Dowdal, made several journies, to settle and compose the country. And when Zouch, with Dowdal, made that secret expedition, in which he lopped off the third branch of this venomous hydra, Sir John Desmond, he left the government of Cork to Ralegh (q); who, after this reduction, appears no longer in the wars of Ireland. But quickly after his return home, he presently drew the eyes of Queen Elizabeth upon himself, by a piece of gallantry. Her Majesty was taking the air, in a walk, when stopping at a plashy place, in doubt whether to go on or no; Ralegh dressed in the gay and genteel habit of those times, immediately cast off and spread his new plush cloak on the ground: the Queen trod gently over the fair foot-cloth, not less pleased than surprized with the adventure (r). It is a known Court-maxim, that an advantageous admission into the notice of a prince, is more than half a degree to preferment; and accordingly, we shall find, the Queen afterwards rewarded this seasonable sacrifice of a cloak, with many a rich and splendid suit [E]. The truth is, Ralegh always made a very elegant appearance, as well in the splendor of attire, as the politeness of address: having a good presence, in a handsome and well compacted person; a strong natural wit, and a better judgment; with a bold and plausible tongue, whereby he could set out his parts to the best advantage (s); all very engaging advocates for royal favour, especially in a female sovereign. His first State-employment, was among those gentlemen who were appointed to attend the French Ambassador, Monsieur Simier *, as his safe convoy to France. This Minister's errand was to treat about the Queen's match with the Duke of Anjou; and upon the Duke's departure from England, in February 1582-3, after the miscarriage of the match, our young courtier was one of that most splendid retinue of nobles and gentlemen (t), selected to wait upon the Duke to his new government of the Netherlands. They attended him to Antwerp, where making a most magnificent procession, he was created Duke of Brabant, &c. and invested with his charge. But Ralegh seems to have staid there some time after the rest; and through the opportunity of being personally known to the Prince of Orange, was honoured with some special acknowledgments from him to the Queen of England (u). Soon after his return, there fell out another incident, which, however threatening on it's first appearance, Ralegh found means to turn to his advantage. Before he left Ireland, he had a quarrel with Lord Grey; which being referred to a Council of War there, had like to have cost him his life, but was referred to the English Council. And that Lord having resigned the Sword of Ireland, the August preceding Ralegh's last mentioned return from Flanders, the dispute was heard at the Council-board, in the beginning of the year 1583. This proved another occasion of forwarding his favour at Court; for whether he had any advantage in the matter of the cause, or no (w), 'tis certain he had much the better in the manner of pleading it; and so much, that both her Majesty, and the Lords in Council, took no slight mark of the man, and his parts; and from thence he came to be known, and to have access to the Queen, and the Lords (x). It is not improbable, that in his first advancement at Court, he was befriended by the Earl of Leicester (y), apparently in regard to his nephew, Sir Philip Sidney, who is known to be Ralegh's friend. But be that as it will, we are assured that he had gotten the Queen's ear in a trice; she began to be taken with his elocution, and loved to hear his reasons to her demands. In the mean time, whatever second causes might contribute to his rise, 'tis generally allowed, that his own actions and accomplishments were the first (z). And to his honour we find him so far from sinking in the luxuries and vanities of a Court, now he enjoyed the smiles of it, that both his thoughts and his purse were employed in making preparations to leave it, for a very different course of life. Four of the six years period, of Sir Humphry Gilbert's patent, being elapsed, he thought it high time to make a new attempt, in person, at those discoveries he had before failed in. Accordingly having fitted out a fleet of four ships, Ralegh also victualled and manned out a strong handsome ship, which was the largest among them, built too at his own expence, and named *Bark Ralegh*, of three-hundred tons burden; and in her he set sail, in the quality of Vice-Admiral, to bear his brother Gilbert company, in this his last expedition to Newfoundland. His own ill luck, as well as his

(q) Id. ibid.

(r) Fuller's Worthies of England in Devon.

(s) Naunton's *Fragmenta Regalia*, p. 29.

* This minister must have been in high favour and confidence with Q. Elizabeth, if there be any foundation for the story of those remarkable freedoms said to be taken with him; for which she is rallied smartly, in a letter from her cousin, Mary Queen of Scots. See A Collection of Burleigh's State Papers, p. 550. Printed this year, 1759, folio.

(t) Among whom were Admiral Howard, the Earl of Leicester, Sir Philip Sidney, &c.

(u) When he delivered his letters to the Queen, he prayed Ralegh to say to her from him, *Sub umbra alarum tuarum protegimur*, Ralegh's Select Essays.

(w) The particulars of this quarrel are not known.

(x) Naunton, ubi supra, p. 20.

(y) Sir H. Wotton in the Parallel of Essex and Strafford. Shirley in his life of Ralegh says, the Earl of Sussex had likewise a hand in it.

(z) Naunton.

chose to do that by consent, which he found he must otherwise do by compulsion. Then Ralegh urged him, to oblige his townsmen, likewise, who had so faithfully risen for his defence, in his neighbourhood, to escort and defend him in the journey; to which Lord Roch also consented, professing he doubted not to clear himself of whatever allegations should be laid to his charge. When his Lordship, with his Lady and attendants, had made themselves ready, Ralegh was for another nocturnal progress. And though the night fell out so very dark and tempestuous, and the ways were so full of hills and dales, rocks and precipices, that many of his soldiers were much bruised by the falls; and one of them so mortified, that he lost his life in the march; yet the veil, with which the rest were sheltered by that obscurity, from the more dangerous ambuscades of the enemy, who had every where bestrewed the passages to intercept them, made sufficient compensation for those disasters. So that by the next morning, early, he presented his prisoners safe to the General, not without raising an universal astonishment, at his dextrous evasion of so many perils. But the Lord Roch, upon examination, was honourably acquitted, and approved himself a faithful subject ever after; and three of his sons laid down their lives in her Majesty's service (5).

[E] *The Queen rewarded this sacrifice of a cloak, &c.*] Ralegh coming to Court after this adventure, found some hopes of the Queen's favour reflecting upon him; whereupon he wrote in a glass window, obvious to her eye; *Fain would I climb, yet fear I to fall.* Under which her Majesty soon after wrote, *If thy heart fail thee, climb not at all* (6). An answer worthy of that heroical Queen.

(5) Hooker's Supply, p. 174.

(6) Fuller's Worthies, as above.

[F] He

his brother's fate, in this voyage, has been already mentioned (*aa*). But these examples and experiences were so far from discouraging, that they animated him the more to such honourable dangers. We are assured, from family tradition, that the discoveries of the great Columbus, the conquests of Fernando Cortez, the famous Francis Pizarro, and other leaders of the Spaniards; who, under the Emperor Charles, and his son Philip II. had made the greatest and most surprizing additions to their empire, that ever prince received, or subjects wrought, were the favourite histories, that took up Ralegh's early reading (*bb*). And now having found, by his own observations, that besides the southern and middle parts of America, which only had been settled by the Spaniards, there was a vast extent of land, north of the gulph of Florida, which might be well worth discovering, he resolved upon the enterprize. And as soon as he had digested his proposal, and displayed the manner of prosecuting it, in proper schemes, he laid them before the Queen and Council; to whom *it appearing a rational, practical, and generous undertaking*, her Majesty was pleased, in the beginning of the year 1584, to grant him full power to enjoy, by her letters patent, such countries as he should discover, according to his proposal (*cc*). Immediately, upon this grant, Ralegh gave his instructions for an American voyage, to Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlow, two experienced Commanders; and had got a couple of barks, well furnished with men and provisions, at his own expence, in such readiness, that on the twenty-seventh of April following, they departed from the West of England; where, after a successful voyage, in which they had discovered *Wingandacoa*, now *Virgina*, they arrived again, about the middle of September; when Ralegh laying before her Majesty the reports of this rich, beautiful, and virgin country, the discovery whereof was, he said, entirely owing to the auspices of a Virgin Queen. She was so well pleased with the honour and advantage it promised, and gave him such encouragement to compleat the discovery, (which he forthwith prepared to do, by another expedition) that she called it herself by the name of *Virginia*. About two months after, he was elected a Knight of the Shire, for the county of Devon *. The bill for confirming his patent, aforesaid, was passed in this parliament, on the eighteenth of December (*dd*); and before the twenty-fourth of February, he received the honour of knighthood (*ee*). About the same time that her Majesty granted him this patent, for discovering remote countries; she seems also to have given him a second, to licence the vending of wines, throughout the kingdom; that he might be the better able to sustain the great charges which the other brought upon him [*F*]. While the Parliament continued sitting, we find him in some committees; and as soon as it was prorogued, on the twenty-ninth of March, 1585, he appears several ways engaged in the laudable improvements of Navigation. For his brother Adrian Gilbert, of Sandridge, having two years before obtained a patent, for the discovery of the North-West Passage, Ralegh was one of the associates in this enterprize, which produced the discovery of Davis's Streights (*ff*). But before the first voyage in that search, which was begun this summer, Ralegh had sent out his own fleet for Virginia, which consisted of seven sail; whereof some were his own ships: they departed from Plymouth on the ninth of April this year. He deputed his gallant relation, Sir Richard Greenville, General of this expedition, and Mr Ralph Lane, to be Governor of the colony which they now transported; and having agreed with the King of Wingandacoa for the settlement, a hundred and seven men were left under the government of Mr Lane, to begin the plantation (*gg*), and continued there for a year, without disturbance. The General weighed anchor on the twenty-fifth of August, and about six days after took a Spanish prize of three-hundred ton richly laden; with which he arrived on the eighteenth of October at Plymouth, where he was courteously received by his worshipful friend †. The Munster Rebellion being absolutely ended, a scheme was pitched on, the latter end of this year, for the plantation of that province: to encourage which, the late Earl of Desmond's large territories in Ireland were disposed of, chiefly to such as had been instrumental in quelling the rebellion. One of the largest divisions, which was twelve-thousand acres, situate in the counties of Cork and Waterford, was given by her Majesty to Sir Walter Ralegh, and his heirs, with certain privileges and immunities, upon those conditions, of planting and improving the same, to which the rest were also obliged (*hh*). However, by these conditions, the bounty, large and capacious as

(*aa*) In Sir H. Gilbert's article. Ralegh returned soon after they failed to Plymouth, his ship's company being seized with an infectious distemper, and Gilbert was drowned in coming home, after he had taken possession of Newfoundland.

(*bb*) Historical account of the voyages and adventures of Sir W. Ralegh, &c. by Captain Philip Ralegh, p. 8. edit. 1719. 8vo.

(*cc*) The patent may be seen in Hackluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. fol. 243.

* Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria, Vol. III. p. 254.

(*dd*) See The Journals of Parliament, by D'Ewes. It was read the same day, and then committed to the Vice-chamberlain Hutton, Secretary Walsingham, Sir Philip Sidney, Sir Francis Drake, Sir Richard Greenville, Sir William Courtney, Sir Will. Mohun, and others.

(*ee*) Being that day in a committee upon ways and means and a supply, he is there stiled Sir Walter Ralegh. Journals of the House of Commons.

(*ff*) He was younger brother to Sir Humphry Gilbert. See this latter's article, remark [*B*].

(*gg*) See Hariot's article, and Hackluyt's Voyages.

† Hackluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. fol. 251. Sir Lewis Stuclay in his petition to King James, charges Sir Walter with embezzling 1000 l. of this prize, which is not probable, as will appear in the sequel.

(*hh*) Cox's History of Ireland, where we are told, the whole forfeiture was above 574000 acres of land.

[*F*] *He obtained the patent for granting wine-licences.*] There being no restrictions mentioned in this patent, from increasing the number of Vintners, in any part of the realm. Hence arose his controversy at this time with the University of Cambridge. For having, by virtue thereof, licensed one John Keymer to sell wine there, he was opposed therein by the University, in regard of their exclusive privilege. Several letters passed between Ralegh and the Vice-Chancellor, &c. and the difference was at last accommodated by the Lord-Treasurer Burlegh, then Chancellor of that University; who, in a letter to Norgate, his Vice-Chancellor, on the twenty-sixth of July, 1585, sent the opinions of the two Chief-Justices, Sir Christopher Wraye, and Sir Edmond Anderson, upon this controversy, between that University and Mr *Ralegh*, for the nomination of Vintners, and setling the price of wine there; which opinion, is as follows.—'First, 'touching the nomination of Vintners there, We think 'it appertaineth to the University, by usage and 'Charters from her Majesty, confirmed by Parliament; and that Mr Rawlie *, can nominate none 'there. For the price, it seemeth they may set prices, so as it be according to the statute, and not 'otherwise; and if the Vintners set at higher prices, 'they are to be punished by law, which penalty Mr 'Rawlie may dispense withal; and yet cannot sue for 'the penalty, by his patent, against the statute-laws; 'for therein all liberties to the University are excepted (7).' After this, we hear no more of the dispute. However, 'tis certain, this patent helped to render him unpopular.

* So his name is wrote in that letter and opinion.

(7) Oldys, p. xxvii. From a letter in the possession of Hugh Howard, Esq;

[G] *Having*

as it seems, was rather expensive perhaps at first, than profitable to him: and to that expence may be ascribed, with probability, the delay given to the second voyage of Sir Richard Greenville; who, at his departure from Virginia, had promised the colony to return punctually with supplies, by the following Easter at farthest. And not coming within the time, the colony were obliged, through sickness, and other inconveniencies, to take the opportunity, accidentally offered, of coming home in some ships under the command of Sir Francis Drake; and they arrived at Plymouth, July 27. 1586 (*ii*). Sir Walter Ralegh had in the mean time provided a ship of a hundred ton, freighted with all kind of provisions, for the relief of this colony; but she not sailing 'till after Easter, the colony was newly departed before this fresh supply arrived at Virginia: so that after some time spent in the country, in search of them, to no purpose, the ship returned with all the provisions to England. About a fortnight after, Sir Richard Greenville arrived at Virginia with three ships more, well stored, for the same company of planters; but he, after much search, missing also of them, and of the last-mentioned ship, left fifteen men at Roanoak, an island upon the coast of Virginia, with plenty of supplies, and made for England; not without some conquests over the Spaniards, at the Azores, in his return (*kk*). And Ralegh was also about this very time, victorious at the same place; for when he sent the aforesaid ship to relieve the colony, or soon after, he dispatched two more, named the Serpent, and Mary Spark, both of them his own, to the Azores, against the Spaniards. They departed from Plymouth on the tenth of June, this year, 1586, and having taken more Spanish prizes than they could bring home [*G*], returned to the same port, where they were received with triumphant joy: then proceeding to Southampton, they were met by their owner, who rewarded them with their shares out of the prizes. Not long after this, there was another voyage set out the same year, by the Earl of Cumberland, to the South-Sea, in which Sir Walter Ralegh was also an adventurer, his fine pinnace, named *Dorothy*, being engaged therein; and though the voyage was performed no farther than the latitude of forty-four degrees South, yet some small prizes being taken (*ll*), he had, no doubt, his proportion in the profits that accrued from them. We must not forget that it was Sir Walter's colony in Virginia, who on their return, first brought Tobacco to England; and that it was Sir Walter himself, who first brought this herb in request among us [*H*]; and thereby laid the foundation of that great traffick therewith, which has been of such considerable benefit to his country. Whether Queen Elizabeth, by her own example, did ever recommend the use of this herb, we are not certain; but it is evident, that it soon became of such vogue, in her Court, that some of the great Ladies, as well as Noblemen therein, would not scruple to blow a pipe sometimes, very sociably: notwithstanding it was such an abomination to the refined palate of her Scotch successor, that he not only refused the use of it himself, but endeavoured to rob his Crown of what has since proved one of it's greatest revenues *, by restraining his subjects from it also (*mm*). About the same time our Knight was made Seneschal of the Dutchies of Cornwall, and Exeter, and Lord-Warden of the Stanneries in Devon, and Cornwall (*nn*). In effect, he was now grown such a favourite with the Queen, that those who had at first been his friends at Court, began to be alarmed; and to prevent their own supplantation, resolved to project his (*oo*). The Earl of Essex had by this time been near a twelve month abroad, under his father-in-law, Leicester, Governor of the Netherlands, when he went over was but nineteen years of age, being his first engagement in any public action, yet no less than a General of horse; and before that, as he himself says, *he had small grace, and few friends at Court* (*pp*). So that it must be now after their return, that Leicester set him up a competitor against Ralegh; as we are before informed by Sir Henry Wotton. There were also some aspersions thrown upon him by the populace [*I*]. However these were little regarded by him, he constantly attended

(*ii*) See Hariot's article as before.

(*kk*) See an account of Sir Richard's voyage in Hackluyt's collection.

(*ll*) Hackluyt's account of both these voyages, in Vol. II. p. ii. fol. 120, and Vol. III. fol. 769.

* See observations on the nature, use, and trade of tobacco, folio, a single sheet, by Mr John Lacey, printed March 1, 1737. The duty upon it at a medium for seven years backwards, from 1731, amounted to 169079l. 0s. 10d.

(*mm*) In his Counter-blast to Tobacco, 4to. without date; and his warrant in 1604, for laying a duty upon it, of 6s. 8d. a pound, besides 2d. a pound usually paid before, that less quantity might be brought. Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. xvi. fol. 601.

(*nn*) Hooker in the dedication to his Irish History.

(*oo*) Naunton, as before.

(*pp*) Apology of the Earl of Essex, penn'd by himself, in 1598, to Mr Anthony Bacon, and printed in 1663, 4to. and again under the title of the Earl of Essex's vindication of the war with Spain, edit. 1729. p. 6.

[*G*] *Having taken more prizes than they could bring home.*] In one of them was the Governour of St Michael's Island. In another, which they took near the Isle of Graciosa, was the famous *Pedro de Sarmiento*, Governour of the Streights of *Magellan*; who was the farthest, and most experienced Navigator, in all Spain (8). They took, also, three other Vessels, but turned two adrift, after having taken out of them what they wanted, because they could not spare hands to man them: and after a fight of thirty-two hours, with two great carracks, and the other guard-ships of twenty sail more, richly laden, they gave over, for want of powder, and returned safe to Plymouth (9).

[*H*] *He first brought Tobacco in use among us.*] There are some pleasant stories of this plant, with relation to him; which have been as carefully preserved, as the box he kept it in (10). As Ralegh used at first to smoak it privately in his study; 'tis said, his servant, who used to wait on him there, once bringing his Tankard of Ale and Nutmeg, surprized him, as he was intent upon his book, before he had finished his Pipe: and seeing the smoke reeking out of his mouth, threw all the Ale in his face. Then running down stairs, alarmed the family, with repeated exclamations that his Master was on fire, and before they could get up, would be burnt to ashes (11). Stories of such kind of simplicity, are frequent enough in history. The present is not much unlike that of those Virginians; who, the first time they seized a quantity of gun-powder, belonging to the English colony, sowed it for grain, with full expectation of reaping a plentiful crop of combustion, by the next harvest, to scatter their enemies (12).

[*I*] *Aspersions were thrown upon him by the populace.*] To this purpose we are told that Tarleton, the famous Comedian of those times, acting his part in a pleasant play made by himself, pointed at Sir Walter Ralegh; and said, alluding to a pack of cards, *See, the Knave commands the Queen* —And when the Queen, who was present, corrected him with a *frown*, he had the confidence to add; that *He* [Sir Walter] was of too much, and too intolerable a power. However, it seems Leicester fell under the same lash; for the Comedian proceeding in the same liberty, reflected on the over-grown power, and riches, of that Earl; and was so universally applauded, by the whole house,

(8) While this Sarmiento was Ralegh's prisoner, they were one day surveying a map together, concerning which Sarmiento told him a pleasant story of the *Painter's Wife's Island*, which Ralegh afterwards ingeniously applied in his History of the World, Lib. II. cap. xxiii. §. 4.

(9) Hackluyt, Vol. II. p. ii. fol. 120.

(10) This rarity resembled a modern muff-case in heighth and width, with a cavity for a glass or metal receiver, big enough to hold a pound of tobacco, the edge at top of it, being joined to that of the box by a collar, pierced with six or eight holes for pipes. It was in the Musæum of the late Mr Thoresby, of Leeds, in Yorkshire. Oldys.

(11) British Apollo, 3d. edit. 1726, Vol. II. p. 376.

(12) Winstanly's Historical Rarities, 1668, 8vo.

attended his public charge, and employments, whether in town, or country, as occaſions called him. Accordingly we find him the latter end of this year, 1586, in Parliament; where, among other weighty concerns, the fate of Mary, Queen of Scots, was determined; in which he probably concurred with the general opinion of the Houſes: but 'tis more certain, that he was of the Committee appointed to confer upon the amendment of ſome things, whereto the Clergy were required to be ſworn; and that ſome good courſe might be taken, to have a learned Miniſtry (*qq*). But the ſtream of his affection ſtill ran chiefly towards his *Virginia*; and in the reſolution to perſevere in planting it, he now prepared a new colony of a hundred and fifty men to be ſent thither, under the charge of Mr John White, whom he appointed Governour, and with him twelve aſſiſtants; to whom he gave a charter, and incorporated them by the name of The Governour and Aſſiſtants of *the city of Ralegh, in Virginia.* Their fleet, conſiſting of three ſail, departed from Portſmouth on the twentieth of April, 1587; and arriving in three months at Roanoak, finding the former colony deſtroyed or diſperſed, they re-eſtabliſhed their intereſt and alliance with the natives; and then the ſhips, with ſome few of the company, returned with the Governour to England, for freſh ſupplies: not without ſtorms, ſickneſs, and death of ſeveral of them, by other like caſualties, about the latter end of the ſame year *. Very ſoon after the going forth of this ſecond colony, we find Sir Walter ſtiled Captain of her Majeſty's Guard, Lord-Warden of the Stannaries, and her Highneſs's Lieutenant-General of the county of Cornwall (*rr*). Yet at the ſame time it ſomewhat appears, that neither the returns which might have been made, by any merchantible products in Virginia, nor the profits ariſing to him from any Spaniſh prizes, which had been taken at ſea, were equivalent to the great expences he had been at, in ſettling this plantation; and farther, that he had received no particular or private aſſiſtance in this enterprize, from the Queen (*ss*). However, upon the account of the ſtate of his plantation, by Governour White, he immediately appointed a pinnace to be ſent thither, with all ſuch proviſions as he apprehended they might want; and alſo wrote letters to them, promiſing that he would prepare a good ſupply of ſhipping, and men, with all other neceſſaries, to be with them the Summer following. This pinnance, and fleet, he accordingly prepared at Biddeford, in the Weſt of England, under the command of Sir Richard Greenville: and all things being now ready, they waited only for a fair wind. When the clamour of the great preparations in Spain, againſt England, occaſioned a Council of War, to be held on the twenty-ſeventh of November, to conſider how to put the forces of the realm in the beſt order to withſtand any invaſion by land; Sir Walter was of this council, probably drew up the determinations paſſed in it †, and was evidently very active in putting them into execution, in the Weſt, where his particular juriſdiction lay. Beſides theſe land preparations, it was thought neceſſary that all poſſible defence ſhould be likewiſe made at ſea; in which view moſt of the ſhips of war, then in any readineſs, received orders from the State to attend in their harbours for the defence of their own country; and Sir Richard Greenville was perſonally commanded not to depart out of Cornwall (*tt*). Governour White, nevertheleſs, laboured ſo earneſtly for the relief of the colony, that he obtained two ſmall pinnaces, called the *Brave*, and the *Roe*, wherein fifteen planters, and all convenient proviſions, for thoſe who wintered in the country, were tranſported. They put over the bar of Biddeford, on the twenty-ſecond of April 1588, and the ſame night came to an anchor at the iſle of Lundy; but the company, minding more to make a gainful voyage, than a ſafe one, run in chaſe of prizes, and meeting with their match returned home, ranſacked, and in a ragged condition, without performing their voyage; to the diſtreſs of the planters abroad, and diſpleaſure of their patron at home (*uu*). But he was not now at leiſure, either to repair, or lament the loſs; being fully engaged in that memorable ſea-fight, with the invincible Spaniſh Armada; the deſtruction whereof, is among the moſt glorious events of the Engliſh annals: to theſe, therefore, we muſt refer, for Sir Walter's ſhare in that glory; only taking notice that his ſervices herein, were received with ſo much approbation by the Queen, that ſhe ſeems, as ſome recompence for them, to have made this year, a conſiderable augmentation in his patent of wines, by a grant of tonnage and poundage upon thoſe liquors (*ww*). This year he alſo ſet up another office himſelf, under the title of an *Office of Addreſs* [*K*]; which was no leſs praiſe-worthy, than this of wines, was profitable to him. Likewiſe, to ſecure the plantation of Virginia more effectually than could be expected from his own ſingle aſſiſtance, he made an aſſignment to ſeveral gentlemen and merchants of London, for continuing it; granting to them all the privileges and advantages of trade and merchandiſes, contained in his patent, except a fifth part of the ore of gold and ſilver, which he reſerved to himſelf and his heirs ‖. This aſſignment is dated March 7. 1588-9, and one principal motive for making it now, was apparently

(*qq*) The Queen had, in this ſpeech at the cloſe of the laſt ſeſſions, told the Biſhops of ſome faults and negligences, *which if you, my Lords of the Clergy*, ſaid ſhe, *don't amend, I mean to depoſe you.* D'Ewe's Journal, 1708, folio, p. 413, and 328.

* Hackluyt, Vol. III. folio 208.

(*rr*) In Hackluyt's dedication of his tranſlation of the voyages to Florida.

(*ss*) Ibid.

† A diſcourſe on the previous conſultation touching the peace with Spain. See the liſt of his books among his political pieces, in remark [*DD*].

(*tt*) Oldys, p. xli.

(*uu*) Hackluyt's Voyages, firſt edit. 1589. fol. p. 771.

(*ww*) This patent was one of the moſt beneficial favours which he ever received of the Queen, and might perhaps exceed the penſion which ſhe ſettled on the Lord Admiral for his conduct and courage in the ſaid overthrow.

‖ See the aſſignment in Hackluyt, p. 815.

houſe, that her Majeſty thought fit to paſs it over, with a ſeeming unconcernedneſs; but yet was ſo offended, that ſhe forbid Tarleton, and all her jeſters, from approaching her table (13).

[*K*] *He ſet up an Office of Addreſs.*] Mr David Lloyd tells us, it was intended to be in the capacity of an Agency, for all ſorts of buſineſs (14): and ſo far it ſeems to be copied, by our modern offices of Intelligence. But Mr Oldys obſerved, that by another little hint, that has been elſewhere preſerved, we may conceive this office did chiefly reſpect a more liberal intercourſe, than would perhaps admit of all ſorts of perſons; and ſuch as advanced rather to the improvement of men themſelves, than of their means (15). In the former ſenſe, the ſcheme was firſt propoſed by Montagne, or his father (16). In the ſecond ſenſe, Mr Hartlib endeavoured to revive it (17).

[*L*] *He*

(13) Tarleton's Jeſts, edit. 1611. 4to.

(14) Obſervations on the Stateſmen and Favourites of England, p. 489. edit. 1665.

(15) Life of Sir Walter Ralegh, p. 24. From a letter written by John Evelyn to Henry, Earl of Clarendon.

(16) See Montagne's Eſſays, lib. i. c. 34.

(17) See Sir William Petty's article.

apparently his engaging in another expedition againſt the Spaniards: being one of thoſe gentlemen volunteers who aſſiſted the Queen at their own expence, with a hundred and twenty ſail of ſhips, fitted out and manned with fourteen or fifteen thouſand ſoldiers and ſailors, in order to reſtore Don Antonio, the expelled King of Portugal, then in London, to his dominions (*xx*). The fleet ſet ſail, April 14. 1589, and the atchievements of the Engliſh in the diſablement of the enemy, eſpecially as to their naval powers, ſo well ſatisfied the Queen, that ſhe honoured the commanders, and Sir Walter Ralegh among the reſt, with a golden Chain (*yy*). The fleet returned home in the latter end of June, but without Ralegh, who appears firſt to have touched upon the coaſt of Ireland, probably to make a ſhort viſit to his ſeigniory there, and ſee ſome of his acquaintance among the new ſettlements in the province of Munſter. Spenſer, the poet, was one of theſe; he had gone to Ireland Secretary to the Lord Grey, and having obtained from the Earl of Deſmond's forfeitures a conſiderable tract of land, in the county of Cork, the preſervation and improvement of it engaged him to ſettle there: and a pleaſant ſeat he had at Kilcolman, near the river Mulla, which ran through his grounds, and which he has ſo beautifully deſcribed in ſome of his poems. It was in this retirement that Ralegh now paid him a viſit, the circumſtances whereof Spenſer himſelf has moſt agreeably celebrated in a poem; which, about two years after, he dedicated to his friend. The poem is well known by the title of *Colin Clout's come home again*; and therein, among other things, it appears, that they now entertained each other with ſome of their poetical compoſitions (*zz*); and that Ralegh perſuaded Spenſer to go along with him into England, profering to introduce him to the Queen; and that the poet, knowing his intereſt, embraced the offer. Sir Walter's deſign was to put Spenſer upon publiſhing the three books, he had then finiſhed, of his *Fairy Queen*, which were accordingly printed, at London, the enſuing year, 1590, with a letter to Sir Walter; wherein the poet acknowledges that the plan, explaining the general intention of that allegorical poem, was drawn up, by the particular advice of this patron (*aaa*). It could not be later than this year, and was probably ſome few years before, that Sir Walter procured a leaſe for ninety-nine years, of the manour of Wilſcomb, from Dr Thomas Godwin, Biſhop of Bath and Wells (*bbb*). This could not but diſpleaſe the clergy, and he gave further umbrage for that diſpleaſure, by making uſe of his intereſt with the Queen, in favour of one John Udal, who was proſecuted for ſome paſſages in a book, he had now newly publiſhed againſt the Biſhops [*L*]. We ſhall have ſtill more matter of complaints againſt him, from this quarter, preſently. In the mean time he had formed an enterprize upon Panama, with a deſign alſo of meeting the Spaniſh Plate-fleet; upon which ſcheme, having provided no leſs than thirteen ſhips of his own, and his aſſociates, well manned, and ſtored, the Queen added to them two of her own Men of War, named the *Garland* and *Foreſight*, and conſtituted him General of the fleet. With theſe ſhips he departed, in February 1591-2, for the Weſt, where he was detained, by contrary winds, 'till the ſixth of May, 1592; when, notwithſtanding, a letter of revocation from her Majeſty, which were conſtrued by him in a ſenſe of latitude, he continued his voyage 'till the eleventh of May; when, being off Cape Finiſterre, there aroſe a ſtorm which ſhattered and diſperſed his fleet, and had nearly ingulphed himſelf in the ſea. Whereupon, conſidering the ſeaſon was too far ſpent for the enterprize againſt Panama, he returned home, leaving the fleet divided into two ſquadrons; one of which he committed to the care of Sir John Burgh, his Lieutenant-General, with orders to lie at the Azores, for the carracks from India; and the other he put under the command

(*xx*) See General Hiſtories of England.

(*yy*) A letter to the Privy-Council, by Sir R. Williams; whence it appears that above two hundred prizes were taken by the Engliſh, who could not carry above ſixty of them home for want of men.

(*zz*) The Art of Engliſh Poetry was publiſhed by Puttenham this year; in which ſome of Ralegh's poems are quoted with great commendation.

(*aaa*) See more of this in Spenſer's article.

(*bbb*) See his article.

[*L*] *He protected Udal, who was proſecuted for Treaſon, in a book wrote againſt the Biſhops*] The book is intituled. *The demonſtration of Diſcipline, which Chriſt hath preſcribed in his Word, for the government of the Church, in all Times, and Places, until the World's end.* In which, among other things, he had wrote as follows; 'Who can, without bluſhing, deny 'you [Biſhops] to be the cauſe of all ungodlineſs? ſeeing 'your government is that, which giveth leave to a man 'to be any thing ſaving a ſound Chriſtian. For, cer- 'tainly, it is more free, in theſe days, to be a Papiſt, 'an Anabaptiſt, of the family of Love, yea, any wicked 'one, whatſoever, than that which we ſhould be, and 'I could live theſe twenty years, any ſuch in England; 'yea, in a Biſhop's houſe, may-be, and never be moleſted 'for it. So true is that, which you are charged with, 'in a Dialogue lately come forth againſt you, and ſince 'burnt by you; *That you care for nothing, but the* '*maintenance of your Dignities, be it to the damnation* '*of your own ſouls, and infinite millions more.*' For theſe, and ſome other expreſſions, he was indicted, tried, and condemned to death, for Treaſon. But, applying to Sir Walter Ralegh, the Sheriff brought him a reprieve, immediately after ſentence; and he agreed to make a ſubmiſſion, in the form propoſed by Dr Bond, one of the Queen's Chaplains. But this did not prove ſufficient for his pardon; for a ſtricter form being in a few months required, by Dr Andrews, Biſhop of Wincheſter, he was forced to make further application, not only by the Earl of Eſſex, but by Sir Walter Ralegh again, and Dean Nowell, againſt the menaces of the approaching Aſſizes at Kingſton, by which means he eſcaped thoſe Aſſizes. But, on the diſturbance of Hacket, the Enthuſiaſt, he was diſcouraged to make further ſollicitation, while Lord-Chancellor Hatton lived: after whoſe death, he ſued for liberty to go to church, which was denied him, being a condemned man. However, by the Lord-Treaſurer's means, getting a copy of the indictment, and a pardon framed according to it, he was referred therewith to Archbiſhop Whitgift, yet could prevail nothing with him. 'Till, at laſt, Sir John Pickering, now Lord-Keeper, applying to his Grace, they both promiſed to obtain his pardon; and leave to go, as he had requeſted, to Guinea. But before theſe were fully confirmed, he died in priſon (18). This is not the only inſtance, of Sir Walter Ralegh's exerciſe of his power and intereſt with Q. Elizabeth; for which, however, he was ſometimes, at leaſt, very well paid: as, particularly, in the caſe of John Littleton, Eſq; for whoſe pardon, he had no leſs than 10000l. *. In ſhort, he plied the Queen ſo frequently with petitions, either for himſelf, or others, that one day having told her Majeſty he had a favour to beg of her: *When, Sir Walter*, ſays ſhe, *will you ceaſe to be a Beggar?* To which he anſwered; *when your gracious Majeſty ceaſes to be a Benefactor* (19).

(18) Strype's life and actions of Archbiſhop Whitgift, edit. 1718, folio, p. 343. K. James applied in behalf of Udal, who 'tis ſaid was the firſt man his Majeſty aſked for when he came into England, and being told he was dead, he replied, *By my ſol then the greateſt ſcholar in Europe's dead.* See his letter to Q. Elizabeth, dated from Edinburgh, the 12th of June 1591, in the Cabala.

* See his article.

(19) Apothegms of the Engliſh nation; printed in Miſcellanies: or, A choice Collection of Wiſe, &c. ſayings, by G. M.

[*M*] *Which*

mand of Sir Martin Forbisher (ccc), with instructions to lie off the south Cape, to terrify, and keep the Spaniards on their own coast. In consequence of these orders, Sir John Burgh fell in with, and took that prodigious carrack, called the *Madre de Dios*, the *Mother of God*; one of the greatest burden, belonging to the Crown of Portugal. The prize was reckoned the greatest and richest, that had ever been brought to England: and when the news of her being taken arrived, Sir Walter, consulting with Sir John Hawkins, wrote a letter to the Lord-Admiral, for a convoy to bring her to Dartmouth; wherein he declares, it was their opinion, that she could not be worth less than 500000 l. sterling *, which seems to be no over-value [*M*]. But so much was she pilfered, that the whole cargo, when it came to be landed, fell short, above two thirds of that computation. In the latter end of this year, and beginning of the next, 1593, we meet with Sir Walter in the Parliament House, where he made a distinguished figure also, as is evident from several of his printed speeches, in the debates. Particularly when the bill for granting certain subsidies, i. e. in the modern phrase, for granting a certain supply, to her Majesty, was in debate, and some members were for having it expresly distinguished in the bill, that the said subsidies should be for maintaining a war, impulsive, and defensive, against the Spaniards, that the conquests we made over them might be legal and warrantable, Sir Walter seconded that motion, and was appointed of the Committee for preparing the said bill; which, in the end, was carried agreeable to his propositions. Spain had felt the strength of his arms, in war, for a course of years; and here was an alarming instance of his power, and weight in the Council, against that enemy. The provocation was great, but the fort utterly impregnable by force; recourse was therefore had to fraud, as the only and indeed the more promising method, to work his ruin. The task was undertaken by Parsons, a Jesuit, a man absolutely turned for the purpose; who observing that Sir Walter was no great favourite of the populace, and somewhat obnoxious to the clergy, published a libel this year under the title of *a Lover of his Country* (*ddd*); wherein he expresly charged this Minister of State with Atheism; and it was managed so artfully, that the Queen herself is said to have been drawn into the belief of it, and even to have rebuked him for it: so that by his own confession, he was ever after branded with the title of Atheist (*eee*), though a known asserter of God, and Providence (*fff*). What might help to sharpen these detractions was another grant, which he obtained from the Crown, about the year 1594, of the manour of Sherborne in Dorsetshire, church-land, belonging to the see of Salisbury. There was, however, nothing extraordinary or peculiar to Sir Walter in this grant, it being a course usual with Queen Elizabeth, to reward such as had performed any considerable services for the State. Yet the practice has been variously censured, according to the humour and sense of the writers upon it [*N*], and has been a constant theme of obloquy by the zealous part of the clergy, who have not spared to call it Sacrilege; how justly, we leave to the reader's judgment. In the mean time 'tis allowed, by all hands, that Ralegh embellished his Sovereign's bounty, with great magnificence and commendations. He built in the park, adjoining to the castle (*ggg*), a noble house, which he beautified with orchards, gardens, and groves, of much variety,

(ccc) He received this honour for his service in defeating the the Spanish Armada in 1588. See his article.

* The letter is among the Harleian MSS in the British Musæum.

(ddd) It was printed at Lyons with the title of Elizabethæ Reginæ Angliæ Edictum promulg. Lond. Nov. 29, 1592; and Andr. Philopatris ad idem Responsio. This edict was a severe proclamation against the English seminaries abroad. In which Sir Walter joined with several other Ministers of State. And Parsons was particularly struck at in it.

(eee) Osborne's Miscellanies of sundry Essays, in the preface. See also a piece intitled, Sir Walter Ralegh's Ghost, &c. and the tragedy of Sir Walter Ralegh, 1719, by Dr George Sewell.

(fff) See Harriot's article.

(ggg) He first began to build the castle, but altered his purpose. Coker's Survey of Devonshire, p. 124. edit. 1732, folio.

[*M*] *Which seems to be no over-value.*] By her lading, according to the catalogue taken at Leadenhall, September 15. this year, the principal wares consisted of Spices, Drugs, Silks, Callicoes, Carpets, Quilts, Cloth of the rind of trees, Porcellain or China ware, and Ebony; besides Pearl, Musk, Civet, and Ambergris; with many other commodities, of inferior value. The cargo freighted ten of our ships, for London; and was, by a moderate computation, valued at 150000 l. sterling; notwithstanding a large quantity of Jewels were never brought to light; and so much of her other goods was also purloined, by the sailors, soldiers, and officers (20), that at her arrival in England, she drew five feet less water, than she did when she was first freighted at Cochin, in the East-Indies. This carrack was in burden, no less than 1600 ton, whereof 900 were merchandize. She carried thirty-two pieces of brass ordnance, and between six and seven hundred passengers; was built, with decks, seven story; one main orlop; three close decks; one forecastle; and a spare deck of two floors apiece. And according to the measurement of Mr Robert Adams, an excellent Geometrician, she was in length, from the beak-head, to the stern, 169 feet; in breadth, near 47 feet: the length of her Keel, 100 feet; of the main-mast, 121 feet: it's circuit, at the partners, near 11 feet; and her main-yard, 106 feet (21).

(20) The sailors boldly confessed they had rather trust their souls to a merciful God by perjury, than their fortunes to the hands of unmerciful men. Camden's Eliz. 1592.

(21) Hackluyt's Voyages, Vol. II. p. ii. p. 194.

[*N*] *Has been variously censured, &c.*] Those who have told it, not over-favourably, say; that about the year 1594, the Bishop of Salisbury, Dr John Coldwell, who had been bred a Physician, gave his See a strong purge, by alienating the manour of Sherborne to Sir Walter Ralegh (22). Sir John Harrington, speaks of an ominous presage, to make his tale as affecting as he can to Prince Henry, and insinuates the displeasure even of Heaven, against Sir Walter Ralegh: where he observes, 'That Sir Walter used often to ride post in these days, upon no small employments, between Plymouth and the Court, when Sherborne Castle being right in the way, he cast such an eye upon it, as Ahab did upon Naboth's vineyard; and once, above the rest, being talking of it; of the commodiousness of the place; of the strength of the seat; and how easily it might be got from the bishoprick; suddenly, over, and over, came his horse, that his face, which was then thought a very good face, ploughed up the earth where he fell. This fall was ominous, I make no question, says he; as the like was observed in Lord Hastings, &c. But his brother Adrian, [Gilbert] would needs have him interpret that, not as a Courtier, but as a Conqueror; as presaged the quiet possession thereof. And this, through the Queen's favour, came to pass (23);' for after Dr John Piers was translated to York, this Dr Coldwell was elected to succeed him, in the See of Salisbury; but it lay vacant three years. 'In which dangerous juncture, for denial, all the Doctor's Church preferments being disposed of; yet before his election was confirmed, Sir Walter Ralegh importuned him to pass Sherborne to the Crown, and effected it; so shot the good old man, as one of them phrases it, between wind and water; though indeed ('tis confessed) a good round rent was reserved to the bishoprick. Then Sir Walter begged the same of the Queen, and obtained it, much after the same method that Sir William Killigrew got the manour of Crediton, from the church of Exeter, by the consent of Bishop Babington (24)'.

(22) Isaake's Antiquities of Exeter, p. 141. edit. 1681, 8vo.

(23) Harrington's brief view of the state of the Church of England, &c. p. 92.

(24) Fuller in his Church History, book x. p. 27, who observes, that among the Acts passed in King James the Ist's Paliament, none were more beneficial to the Church, than that which made the King himself and his successors uncapable of any such land to be conveyed to them.

[*O*] *Unparallelled*

variety, and great delight; so that both in regard to the pleasantness of the situation, the goodness of the soil, and other delicacies, it stood unparallelled by any in those parts (*bbb*) [*O*]. Whether he was wholly prompted to make this expence by his taste, which was confessedly of the magnificent kind, or no, 'tis certain he entered into the matrimonial state at this time; and therefore the conjecture may not be thought idle, that some things might be done with a view to his Lady. The truth is, Sir Walter did not live so long at Court, and so much about the dazzling beauties in it, without having the wings of his glory, at length, somewhat singed in the flames thereof. There was among the Queen's Maids of Honour a beautiful young lady *, named Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, an able Statesman, and Ambassador. With this lady, Ralegh, it seems, had an amour; and as he was a man of nervous address, won her heart, even to the last favour. The crime of devirginating one of her Maids of Honour, gave so much offence to the Queen, that as soon as it reached her ears, she frowned upon her favourite, who was thereupon under confinement for several months, and when enlarged, forbidden the Court; whence the lady also, was dismissed from her attendance. But Ralegh, very readily, made the most honourable reparation he could, by marrying the object of his affection; and he lived with her, afterwards, in the strictest conjugal harmony (*iii*). While he lay under this disgrace at Court, he projected the discovery and conquest of the large, rich, and beautiful empire of Guiana, in South America. In that view he sent this year, 1594, an old officer, Captain Wheddon, whose experience he had before tried, on a voyage to that country; who returning the same year, with several confirmations of it's grandeur and opulency, Ralegh determined to go himself in quest thereof. Accordingly in February, this year, 1594-5, he set out on a voyage to Guiana, where he destroyed the city of San Joseph, in the isle of Trinidad, taking the Spanish Governour, Don Antonio de Berreo, prisoner; and entering the great river Oroonoque, he regained the friendship of some Indian princes, with a promise of their assistance in subduing the rest. Having taken possession of the country in her Majesty's name, he returned home, in August 1595, and applied himself to digest the observations he had made in his discoveries, which were printed not many months after (*kkk*). But though he brought a quantity of gold ore, which he had helped to dig out of the rocks with his own dagger, and was found to be of good value, both by the Assay-master, and Comptroller of the Mint, as well as other Refiners, he could not prevail with her Majesty to proceed in the plantation. However, his advice was not totally disregarded: for that part of it, proposing to drive the Spaniards to a defensive war, upon their own coasts and harbours, was approved of; and Ralegh himself chosen, with other Commanders, to put it in execution. Captain Keymis had accompanied him to Guiana, and the latter end of January, this year, 1595-6, he fitted out that officer with a couple of ships, the *Darling* and *Discoverer*; but provided rather to continue the correspondence, and peaceful traffick with the Indians, than to strengthen them with forces and accoutrements, which was what they most desired and expected. Keymis arrived at Portland, from this voyage, in the latter end of June, 1596, when he found Ralegh had been gone out of England, upon a grand expedition, near a month. This enterprize proved the most renowned of any the English undertook, in those days, against the Spaniards; as it ended in the conquest of Cadiz, the richest, and best fortified, city of Spain. Sir Walter had the post and command of an Admiral, in it; and whatever censures were passed upon some omissions in the voyage, for which we refer to the authors mentioned in the margin (*lll*); yet in general it was agreed, that never was so much riches and renown acquired, with the like Naval success [*P*]. Well justifying the honours which were paid to Sir Walter Ralegh, both by the authors who dedicated books to him this year, the painters, and sculptors, who have appropriated this sea-fight to his portraits, and those other advancers of the like honorary arts; who, in their discourses of medals and intaglia's, have thought him worthy for this, among his many other actions and excellencies, of that metallic commemoration, which is more usually, among us, confined to princes and crowned heads (*mmm*). He returned from the conquest of Cadiz, in the beginning of August, this year; and about two months after, we find him making a new attampt to continue the interest and correspondence he had so hopefully begun in Guiana. To that end he manned and stored a handsome pinnace, which had been with him in the late engagement, called after his own name, *The Watt*; therefore probably one of his own ships. She set sail under the command of Captain Leonard Berrie, in the latter end of December, from

(*bbb*) Id. ibid. He had also another seat at West-Horsley, in Surrey; besides a house in the Strand, probably Durham-house; and a house or apartments in St James's. But of the house said to be his at Isling-ton, there is no good proof. Oldys.

* See a description of her picture by Oldys.

(*iii*) Camden's Annals, 1595; and Harrington mentions her extraordinary diligence and fidelity to him. Brief view, &c. as before.

(*kkk*) See the catalogue of his works, in rem. [*DD*].

(*lll*) Stow, Camden, Speed, and Monson's naval tracts. Sir Francis Vere's Commentaries, and the Earl of Essex's censure of the omissions in this voyage.

(*mmm*) See Evelyn's Numismata, p. 99, 160, 161, edit. 1697, fol.

[*O*] *Unparallelled for orchards, &c. by any in those parts.*] It has been said the old Orangery, at Beddington, near Croydon, in Surrey, built by Sir Francis Carew, was raised by some Oranges given by Sir Walter Ralegh, his relation, which were the first that were brought into England; and it is also the common opinion of the family, which is now possessed of that seat. Where was preserved, in the house, a fine cabbin bed, which was Sir Walter's; having furniture of green silk, and legs in the form of Dolphins, gilt with gold (25).

[*P*] *Never was so much riches and renown acquired, with the like Naval success.*] Sir Walter Ralegh afterwards exemplifying how little a resolute and experienced man of war will fear to pass by the best appointed fort in Europe, with the help of a good tide, and a leading gale of wind; and how hard a matter it is to stop a good ship, without another as good to encounter it, says; 'The fort St Philip terrified not 'us, in the year 1596, when we entered the port of 'Cadiz; neither did the fort at Puntal, when we 'were entered, beat us from our anchoring by it, 'though it played upon us, with four demi-cannons, 'within point-blank, from six in the morning 'till 'twelve at noon (26).'

(25) Gibson's additions to Camden's Britannia, p. 166, edit. 1695, fol. And Oldys from information of the possessor in 1735. See an account of this garden in The Garden of Eden, by Sir Hugh Plat, edit. 1655, 12mo, p. 165.

(26) History of the World, lib. v. cap. i. §. 10.

 [*Q*] *Celebrated*

from Weymouth; and having performed the voyage, arrived safe at Plymouth, on the twenty-eighth of June, 1597: And on the ninth of July, following, he set out with the fleet from Plymouth, upon what is known by the title of *The Island Voyage* (*nnn*); in which he had the post of Rear-Admiral. But for his share in the particulars of this expedition, we must refer the reader, as before, to the books in the margin *. He scarcely arrived at London, to give an account of it, before the Parliament met at Westminster, on the twenty-fourth of October, and after a short stay in town, he went to his seat at Sherborne, of which he must have had but little enjoyment for two or three years past: yet upon the twentieth of December, we meet with him in the House, and that day the Parliament was adjourned 'till the eleventh of January. When they met again, he appears frequently in committees, upon several bills of the greatest consequence †; but that assembly being dissolved on the ninth of February, he seems not to have continued long in town: for some regulations being made soon after, for the public good of those people, over whom he presided, by his offices of power, in the west of England, we find him celebrated for his exercise thereof, as a very worthy patriot, in several instances [*Q*]. During this interval, the jealousy that had long subsisted between him and the Earl of Essex, grew to a more open rupture. They had laid the blame on each other, of the late misadventures in the Island Voyage; where Ralegh's actions, however, were esteemed more considerable than those of Essex, though indeed by the fewer number. The populace declaring on the side of Essex, spared not to aver, that Ralegh had a regard to his own glory, more than that of his country. But his conduct surely was most approved by the Queen, since he was trusted with the command of a naval expedition afterwards, whereas Essex never was (*ppp*). Indeed by his contemptuous carriage to her Majesty, in the insuing year, 1598, he incurred that box on the ear, which sounds so loud in our annals. However, he was in a little time re-admitted into the Queen's favour; and during this last blaze which he made with any credit at Court, he made Ralegh a public object of his opposition; though it ended in his own disgrace, and his relapse into the Queen's displeasure, which he might have prevented, had he kept his word to the Lord Keeper Ellesmere, and suffered Ralegh to have triumphed alone. This memorable contest seems to have been promoted by him, at the martial exercises, the justs and tournaments, performed on the Queen's birth-day, which was the seventeenth of November. History has not been very particular about Ralegh's appearance at those assemblies, as by what colour or impresses he distinguished himself; with what success he ran the careers, or what favours he bore away: but as, upon all public occasions, he made a most rich and splendid figure, so we find, upon these days of triumph, none surpassed him in military bravery. On the present occasion, he had resolved to make his appearance, with a very gallant train, gorgeously accoutred in orange-colour plumes. Hereupon Essex being informed of it, by some of his followers, provided a much more numerous cavalcade, and decked them out in Ralegh's colours. Then the Earl himself appearing at the head of all, armed *cap-a-pie*, in a compleat suit of orange-colour, not only passed for the sole Knight or Champion of that distinction, by drowning all distinction in Sir Walter Ralegh, but thereby incorporated him and his train, only as so many more of his own esquires, pages, and other retinue, or servants, who made up the parade upon these occasions. The Earl of Clarendon certainly points at this malignant stratagem, where speaking of those dangerous indiscretions, which were the harbingers of Essex's ruin, he mentions among them, his glorious Feather-Triumph; when he caused two thousand orange-tawney feathers, in despite of Sir Walter Ralegh, to be worn in the Tilt-yard, even before her Majesty's own face (*qqq*). But it must have been somewhat surprizing, to see them enter the lists and orange-tawney running against itself. Yet the Earl's ill success, which is also come to light, seems not to have been

(*nnn*) So called because armed against the Azores in general; or rather that of Tercera in particular.

* Viz. Sir Francis Vere's Commentaries, &c.; and especially Sir Arthur Gage's relation of the Island Voyage in Purchas's pilgrims, Vol. IV.

† Journals of the House of Commons, by D'Ewes.

(*ppp*) Oldys, p. cxxx.

(*qqq*) The disparity between the estates and conditions of George Duke of Buckingham, and Robert Earl of Essex, in Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 190. edit. 1685.

[*Q*] *Celebrated as a worthy patriot, in several instances.*] Of these, the first-mentioned concerns the restoration of certain manours, to their ancient tenure, in Cornwall. Seventeen of which, had taken and renewed their holdings every seven years, of certain commissioners, for near three centuries past; whereby the tenants reckoned a kind of inheritable estate accruing to them. But notwithstanding this long prescription, a bold and busy person, in these times, getting an Exchequer lease of one or two such tenements, called the whole right in question; and though he failed of success, yet another, soon after, resumed the broken title, and prosecuted it, even to a *Nisi prius*. Hereupon the tenants deputed certain gentlemen to apply for relief to the Queen; who, having been prepared by Ralegh, testified her dislike of the attempter, and expresly ordered the cessation of his attempt. Another example of his zealous affection for these people, appears in his easing them of a burthensome tax, which carried many other inconveniencies with it (27). This was a patent which had been obtained, while he was Lieutenant of the county. Some persons under pretext of restoring a rent, decayed ever since the ninth of King Henry II. had procured a patent, that none should salt, dry, or pack any fish, in Devonshire, or Cornwall, without their licence or warrant; the ill consequences whereof grew so apparent, as being what would have made that patentee an absolute disposer of all the western shipping and traffick, with their sea and land dependants; that the Cornish Justices made suit to the Privy-Council for redress, and through the never-failing forwardness, and backing, of Sir Walter Ralegh, obtained a revocation thereof. Here we may also add Ralegh's good offices, the two following years, for freeing the inhabitants of those parts, from those heavy impositions, upon their Tin trade, occasioned by the Merchants and Usurers who advanced money to the Tinners; upon whom their encroachments were grown so exorbitant, that Ralegh was importuned to revive the privilege of *pre-emption*. It had been attempted by others before him, and at a reasonable price offered, but soon cooled again, 'till it received a new life in Michaelmas-Term, 1599; when the matter was debated before the Council, by Sir Walter Ralegh, in behalf of the country, against the Usurers. And he brought it to such a conclusion, that articles were then signed, and at last an effectual stop was put to these impositions, by the time of the ensuing Parliament, when Ralegh appears to have had the power of pre-emption granted to him (28).

(27) These parts were anciently so much oppressed with tributes to the Earls of Cornwall, that the condition of a Cornish inhabitant differed very little from that of a French peasant. Carew's Survey of Cornwall.

(28) This privilege is founded upon a clause in a charter of K. Edward the I.; allowing them to vend their tin to their best behoof, *nisi nos ipsi emere voluerimus, unless we resolve to buy it ourselves.* Ibid.

[*R*] *That*

been much regretted, being so agreeable to the merit of usurpers; insomuch, that it proved Ralegh's feather-triumph in the conclusion. For though the Lord Bacon might have reason not to mention the Earl's name, where he tells us, a gentleman who came to the Tilt, all in orange-tawney, and ran very ill, came again the next day, all in green, and ran worse (*rrr*): yet another author, instead of this gentleman, names Essex; and goes on, as the Lord Bacon does, with observing, that *one of the spectators, hereupon, asking why this Tilter* (who seemed to be known in both habits) *changed his colours?* another answered, *surely, because it may be reported, that there was one in green, who ran worse than he in orange-colour* (*sss*). In 1599, Essex was sent to Ireland; and about four months after his departure there was great apprehensions in England of an invasion. Six thousand soldiers were suddenly raised to guard the city, and the Queen's person; chains were drawn across the streets of London; watches set, and lights hung out at every man's door, for above a fortnight: By sea, sixteen or eighteen ships of the royal Navy were fitted out with wonderful speed, under the command of Lord Thomas Howard, as Admiral; and Sir Walter Ralegh, Vice-Admiral; whence the design against England, be it what it would, was prevented. Another benefit also accrued to the nation, by putting it into this sudden posture of defence, namely, the great dexterity and expedition wherewith it was taught to spring into arms; for the incredible speed and order of the commanders, in raising such a land-army, and fitting out such a royal Navy, was so admired, both by Spain, France, and Holland, that all foreigners confessed, *Her Majesty's deeds in war, were not heretofore more dreadful to her enemies, than now her preparations only for it* (*ttt*). Insomuch, that it is said, an envoy was sent by the Archduke, from Brussels with overtures of peace; and though it went no further then, yet the next year, commissioners were sent to Bulloigne to negotiate a peace with Spain. This was in May, 1600; and about the same time, Sir Walter Ralegh was also sent with the Lord Cobham, upon an embassy, concerning the same, into Flanders. They returned home by the fourteenth of that month, and the government of Jersey being vacant, by the death of Sir Anthony, son of Sir Amias Paulet, among the numerous crowd of suitors for it, the Queen thought none so worthy as Sir Walter. Accordingly, about six weeks after, that is, in the latter end of August, his patent was passed; with the grant of the manour or lordship of St Germain, in the said island, and all the lands and tenements therein (*uuu*). What share he had in defeating the treasonable designs of Essex, for which that once prime-favourite was now in 1600 to suffer death, is treated at large, in our general histories. The following summer Ralegh attended upon the Queen, in her progress, and in that private dispatch of the Marquis of Rosney, afterwards Duke of Sully, related only by himself (*www*), we find that upon his landing at Dover, where her Majesty then was, he was received by Ralegh, in company of Lord Cobham, Sidney, and others. And when her Majesty left the country, among the ten persons she there knighted, there appears the name of Carew, elder brother to Sir Walter Ralegh *. Soon after the Queen's return from this progress, her last Parliament met at Westminster, on the twenty-seventh of October; Sir Walter was one of the Knights of the shire for Cornwall (*xxx*); and as the sessions was full of important business, so he appears frequently engaged in it. This Parliamant was dissolved on the nineteenth of December, and in the beginning of 1602, appeared Mr Carew's survey of Cornwall, with a dedication to Sir Walter; in which he hath copied forth, with such energy, the most amiable distinctions of Ralegh's mind. Notwithstanding the assignment which he had made, as above-mentioned, of his patent at Virginia, to other undertakers; yet, they making no successful progress, he was so regardful of the English he had planted there, that he sent to them almost every other year, even from the time of that assignment. For besides the five voyages already noted, of which himself furnished the chief expence, for the first plantation of that country; we are well informed of five voyages more set forth thither, for the relief of his countrymen, as well as for further discoveries of those parts, and alliances with the inhabitants: and that the last of these voyages, under the command of Captain Samuel Mace, was made this last year of Queen Elizabeth's reign ‡. His estate in Ireland having been of little advantage to him, since the late rebellion in that kingdom, he was prevailed upon to sell it, at an easy rate, to Mr Boyle, afterwards stiled the Great Earl of Cork; who calls it the third addition, and rise, to his estate †. About the same time being challenged to a duel, by Sir Amias Preston, he settled the estate of Sherborne, by deed, upon his son Walter *. Thus did our Knight live, in full possession of external honour and felicity, during the life of Queen Elizabeth: But his sun sat at her death, which happened on the twenty-fourth of March, the very close of the year. Upon the accession of King James he lost his interest at Court; was stripped of his preferments; and even accused, tried, and condemned for high-treason. Such a remarkable reverse of fortune has not failed to employ several pens, in searching out the causes of it; from whom the following account is extracted. It is observed, first, that the Earl of Essex infused prejudices against him into King James; and after the Earl's death, there are several circumstances, implying, that Secretary Cecil did the like. For though Cecil and Ralegh joined against Essex and his party; yet when these were overthrown, they divided (*yyy*). Dr Welwood observes, that when King James came to England, Sir Walter presented to him a memorial; wherein he reflected heavily upon Cecil, in the matter of Essex; and vindicating himself, threw the whole blame upon the other;

(*rrr*) Bacon's Apothegms, new and old, p. 206.

(*sss*) Apothegms of the English nation, MSS. 4to. p. 11. Oldys.

(*ttt*) Rapin's History of England.

(*uuu*) But the Queen struck off 300 l. a year from it, which she reserved to her own disposal. An account of the isle of Jersey, by Philip Falle, p. 190. 2d. edit. 1733, 8vo.

(*www*) In his excellent Memoirs.

* Stow's Annals, p. 797, edit. 1615. fol. Sir Carew married the widow of Sir John Thynne, he sold the two paternal estates of Wyddicombe-Ralegh, and Fardel. Oldys, from a pedigree in the in the possession of Brown Willis, Esq; and the other paternal estate Coleton-Ralegh was sold by Sir Walter. Ibid.

(*xxx*) John Arundel, Esq; was the other; and Sir Carew Ralegh, brother to Sir Walter, was one of the Burgesses for Fowey, in the same county. Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria.

‡ Sir Walter in the whole spent 40,000 l. in this undertaking. Oldys.

† See his article.

* The quarrel was made up without coming to extremities. Id.

(*yyy*) Oldys, p. 148. From Observations on Sanderson, &c.

other: farther laying open, at the end thereof, the conduct of Cecil, and his father also, in the matter of the Queen of Scots, his Majesty's mother; bitterly charging the death of that unfortunate Queen, upon him. But this had no influence over the King, and only irritated Cecil the more, against Ralegh (zzz). But what seems sufficient to have incensed the King, against Ralegh, was his joining with that party of Englishmen, who, in regard of the inveterate feuds between England and Scotland, desired the King might be obliged to articles, with regard to his countrymen (aaaa). There were likewise some other particulars, which might render him obnoxious to a person of the King's jealous disposition. For at the time of his Majesty's accession to the throne, the daughter and heir of Basset was his ward, who was to be married to his son Walter; her estate being worth three thousand pounds per annum. She was of the Bassets of Hemberlegh, and Heaton-Court, in Devonshire; who being descended from the Plantagenets, laid some claim, at this very time of the King's entrance, to the Crown of England. However, we are told that the King received him for some weeks with great kindness, and was pleased to acknowledge divers presents, which he had received from him. But his Majesty did not relish that part of his discourse, which was levelled against a peace with Spain: In short, this opposition, and the consequences of it, were perhaps the hinges upon which his whole fortune now turned. But though it appears, there was something of a treasonable conspiracy against the King, yet it never was proved that he was engaged in it: and perhaps the best means to clear him, may be the very trial upon which he was condemned. Wherein the barbarous partiality, and foul language, especially by Coke, the Attorney-General, broke out so glaringly, that he was exposed for it, upon the public theatre: And those who revere the laws of our country have been so ashamed of it, as rather to wish the proceedings have been falsely related, than believe such a sentence could pass upon such insufficient trial (bbbb) [R]. He was first examined before the Lords of the Council, at Westminster, on the sixth of July; and returned thence, a private prisoner, to his own house. He was indicted at Staines the twenty-first of September following, and not long after committed to the Tower of London: whence he was carried to Winchester and tried there, November 17, 1603, and condemned to die. After this, he was kept near a month at Winchester, in daily expectation of death; and that he expected nothing less, is plain from a letter he wrote to his wife, the night before his reprieve [S], on the fifteenth of December. 'Tis

(zzz) Notes on Wilson's History of K. James in the second volume of the Complete History of England, edit. 1706, p. 664. It is also observed, that Ralegh wanting strength, though not wit, to be the Treasurer's rival, perished, because not thought to own humility enough to be his servant.

(aaaa) Osborne, Vol. II. p. 102, where he mentions Sir John Fortescue and Lord Cobham, as joining Sir Walter in this noble spirit; and to these may be added Holles, afterwards Earl of Clare, who was an intimate friend of Sir Walter's. See his article.

(bbbb) Reply to a sheet, intitled, The Magistracy and Government vindicated. By Sir John Hawles, Sollicitor-general to K. William. edit. 1689. fol.

[R] *That such a sentence could pass, upon such insufficient trial.*] It is said that some of the Jury were afterwards so touched in conscience, as to demand pardon of Sir Walter on their knees (29); and that even Coke, the Attorney-General, himself, being retired into a garden, to take some air, when his man brought him word, that the Jury had condemned Ralegh of Treason; answered, *Surely thou art mistaken, for I myself accused him but of misprision of Treason*: and this relation, says this author, upon the word of a Christian, I have received from Sir Edward Coke's own mouth (30). And, indeed, upon the Trial, Sir Walter being charged by Coke with being privy to some part of Cobham's design, made then no answer to it. On the other hand, after sentence, he craved pardon, for concealing Lord Cobham's offer to him; alledging, he did it out of a confidence that he had diverted that Lord from those humours (31). And in a letter to his Majesty, after his trial, he writes thus, 'Lost I am, for hearing a vain man; for hearing only, 'and never believing, nor approving. And so little 'account I made of that speech of his, which was my 'condemnation, that I never remembered any such 'thing, 'till, at my trial, it was objected against me.' He concludes this letter, with a desire only to repay a lent life, with love and affection equal to the goodness, wherewith his Majesty should please to bestow it (32).

(29) Osborne, p. 108.

(30) Observations on Sanderson's History of Mary Queen of Scots, &c. p. 9.

(31) See the trial.

(32) Ralegh's Remains, p. 192. See also Observations, &c. by Hawles; who observes, that Sir Walter made the same plea against this charge, as was made afterwards by Lord William Russel, that he could not help what any fool said in his company.

[S] *A letter to his wife the night before his reprieve.*] This very pathetic letter is in these terms: 'You 'shall receive, my dear Wife, my last words, in these 'my last lines. My love I send you, that you may 'keep it, when I am dead; and my counsel, that you 'may remember it, when I am no more. I would 'not, with will, present you sorrows, dear Bess, let 'them go into the grave with me, and be buried in 'the dust; and seeing that it is not the will of God, 'that I should see you any more, bear my destruction 'patiently, and with a heart like yourself. First, I 'send you all the thanks, which my heart can conceive, or my words express, for your many travels 'and cares for me; which, though they have not 'taken effect, as you wished, yet my debt to you, is 'not the less; but pay it, I never shall, in this world. 'Secondly, I beseech you, for the love you bear me, 'living, that you do not hide yourself many days; 'but, by your travels, seek to help my miserable fortunes, and the right of my poor child. Your 'mourning, cannot avail me, that am but dust. 'Thirdly, you shall understand, that, my lands were 'conveyed, *bona fide*, to my child; the writings were 'drawn at Midsummer was twelve month, as divers 'can witness; and I trust my blood will qench their 'malice, who desired my slaughter, that they will not 'seek, also, to kill you and your's with extreme 'poverty. To what friend to direct you, I know 'not, for all mine have left me, in the true time of 'trial. Most sorry I am, that being thus surprized by 'death, I can leave you no better estate. God hath 'prevented all my determinations; that great God, 'who worketh all in all! If you can live free from 'want, care for no more, for the rest is but vanity. 'Love God, and begin betimes; in him you shall 'find true, everlasting, and endless comfort. When 'you have travelled and wearied yourself, with all 'sorts of worldly cogitations, you shall sit down by 'sorrow in the end. Teach your son also to serve 'and fear God, whilst he is young, that the fear of 'God may grow up in him; then will God be an 'husband to you, and a father to him; a husband 'and a father that can never be taken from you. 'Bailie oweth me a thousand pounds, and Adrian six 'hundred. In Jersey and Guernsey also I have 'much owing me (33). Dear Wife, I beseech you, 'for my soul's sake, pay all poor men. When I am 'dead, no doubt, you shall be much sought unto, for 'the world thinks I was very rich. Have a care of 'the fair pretences of men, for no greater misery can 'befal you in this life, than to become a prey unto 'the world, and after to be despised. I speak, God 'knows, not to dissuade you from marriage, for it will 'be best for you, both in respect of God, and the 'world. As for me, I am no more your's, nor you 'mine: death hath cut us asunder, and God hath 'divided me from the world, and you from me. 'Remember your poor child, for his father's sake, 'who loved you in his happiest estate. I sued for my 'life, but, God knows, it was for you, and your's, 'that I desired it. For you know, my dear Wife, 'that your child, is the child of a true man; who, 'in his own respect, despiseth death, and his mis-shapen and ugly forms. I cannot write much; God 'knows

(33) These debts were arrearages accruing from his wine-licence patent.

'Tis true he applied by a letter, to his Majesty, for mercy (cccc), which was at length granted (dddd); but he was still kept a close prisoner in the Tower. How he passed his time there, is well worth notice. First, as the affairs of a person who had such various and extensive dealings and commerce with mankind, could not but be somewhat perplexed and embarrassed, upon a fall so sudden and precipitous, so we find him immediately imploying agents for collecting in debts, and satisfying creditors (eeee): And in that matter, some degree of favour was extended to him; by a grant of his estates, in trust to some gentlemen, for the payment of his debts (ffff). This is said to be much owing to the earnest and unwearied intercessions of his Lady at Court; who, that she might be more serviceable to him, soon after his commitment, petitioned the King for leave to live with him in the Tower, which was granted: and there she brought him another son, christened Carew, within the year. So that after some suits at law, with such of his considerable debtors, as could not otherwise be brought to account, were got over [T], all things appeared for a while, as serene as in such a gloomy state could be hoped for: and he, who lately was upon the very brink of dissolution, had all his offices, lands, and goods, seized on, and himself committed a close prisoner, had not only his life reprieved, and his confinement sweetened with some degrees of latitude, but even his estate also restored to him (gggg). Yet this prospect was soon overcast: for upon the rise of Robert Car, Earl of Somerset, a flaw was found in the abovementioned conveyance of Sherborne to Sir Walter's eldest son; whereupon the estate was taken from him, and given by the King to his minion, in 1608. Moreover, besides Sherborne, and the manours belonging to it, those other lands, which Ralegh himself had purchased, called *Pinford*, and *Rimesley*, *Barton*, and the manours also appertaining thereto, forfeited, with the rest by his attainder, were likewise granted the following year 1609, to the said favourite (hhhh) [U]. But now, or not long after, Ralegh was grown into high esteem with that great hope, and heir of these kingdoms, Prince *Henry Frederick*, the King's eldest son; who being satisfied of his loyalty, and well informed of his great qualifications, and experience, in civil and military affairs, with his hazardous services, for the honour and defence of his country, no less than his many public spirited adventures, both to enlarge and enrich it, testified not his own merits more, in any one particular, than in distinguishing those of Sir Walter Ralegh; and notwithstanding the many little envious detractions of some undermining courtiers about him, did both encourage his epistolary addresses from the Tower, and send for his counsel and opinion upon several emergent occasions (iiii). It was perhaps, one of the brightest rays in the shining orb of this rare Prince's actions, that he never left invading the King with the most persuasive sollicitations, that he would bestow Sherborne upon him, with full design to restore it to it's just owner, 'till his Majesty at last, granted his request. But all Ralegh's views were again eclipsed, by the cruel fate of that hopeful Prince, who died on the sixth of November, 1612, not without suspicion of poison; which was much heightened by an unlucky expression of Ralegh's. For when the Prince lay ill, the Queen sent to Sir Walter for some of his cordial (kkkk), which she herself had taken in a fever, some time before, with remarkable success. Ralegh sent it, together with a letter, to the Queen, wherein he expressed a tender concern for the Prince, and boasting of his medicine, stumbled unluckily upon an expression to this purpose, *That it would certainly cure him, or any other, of a fever, except in case of poison.* The Prince dying, though he took it (llll), the Queen, in the agony of her grief, shewed Ralegh's letter, and laid so much weight on the expression about poison, that to her dying-day she could never be persuaded

(cccc) See remark [R], at the end.

(dddd) At this time much pains were taken to ge Lord Cobham to confirm his accusation, but in vain. This accusation was the chief evidence against Sir Walter, though his Lordship had retracted it. See the trial.

(eeee) See particularly his letter to Sir Michael Hext, endorsed Nov. 12, 1604.

(ffff) See the grant to John Shelbury and Robert Smith in Rymer's Fœdera, under this year. He was bound for Shelbury in 1500 l.

(gggg) Carew Ralegh's Brief relation of Sir Walter Ralegh's troubles, &c. p. 6. edit. 1669, 4to.

(hhhh) Ibid. And Carew Ralegh's case, &c. cited by Oldys, p. 163.

(iiii) See Ralegh's letters and discourses, addressed to his his highness.

(kkkk) Nicholas Febure, Apothecary to King Charles II. wrote a book upon it, by his Majesty's command, in French; and published it under the title of *Discours sur le grand Cordial de Sir Walter Ralegh*, in 1664. 12mo. An English translation was published by Febure the same year, in 8vo.

(llll) He died the same day in the evening.

'knows, how hardly I steal this time, when all sleep; 'and it also is time for me to separate my thoughts from 'the world. Beg my dead body, which, living, was 'denied you; and either lay it in Sherborne, or in 'Exeter church, by my father and mother. I can 'say no more; time and death calleth me away. 'The everlasting God, powerful, infinite, and inscrutable God Almighty, who is goodness itself, the 'true Light, and Life, keep you, and your's; and 'have mercy upon me, and forgive my persecutors, 'and false accusers, and send us to meet in his glorious kingdom. My dear Wife, farewel; bless my 'boy: pray for me, and let my true God hold you 'both in his arms.

'Your's, that was,

'but now, not mine own,

'WALTER RALEGH (34).'

[T] *After some suits at law.*] One instance of this, we have in William Sanderson, the elder, who we are told, was of-kin to Ralegh (35): and in the time of his prosperity and greatness was his servant, intrusted with receiving great sums of money for him, out of his office of wines, and his other places; by which means he became in arrears to Ralegh, in divers great sums: these, after his troubles, he sent for, to Sanderson, who was so far from paying them, that he pretended Ralegh should owe him 2000 l. Hereupon Sir Walter, in great anger, commenced a suit against Sanderson; which was managed by his servant and sollicitor, John Shelbury: and Sanderson being overthrown, and found in arrear to Ralegh, in very great sums, was cast into prison, where he died a beggar (36). Hence sprung all the spleen, and malice, of William Sanderson, the younger, in his history of King James's reign, toward Sir Walter Ralegh.

The said Sanderson, the elder, was much engaged among the merchant-adventurers, in Queen Elizabeth's reign, and one of her Commissioners for the Spanish prize goods; he was also of note for the great globes, which, by his encouragement, were brought to perfection (37).

[U] *Sherborne, &c. was given to Car.*] The Lady Ralegh, and her children, earnestly petitioned the King for compassion; but could now obtain no other answer, than *he mun have the land, he mun have it for Car.* And she, a woman of high spirit, upon her knees, prayed to God, that he would punish those who had thus wrongfully exposed her and her children to ruin (38). Which was remembered afterwards, upon the fall of that favourite.

(34) This is among our author's letters.

(35) He married Margaret Snedale, daughter of Sir Walter's sister Mary, by her husband Hugh Snedale, a commander in the royal Navy. Oldys.

(36) Observations on some particular persons and passages in Sanderson's History of King James.

(37) Sanderson's History of Mary Queen of Scots, and K. James.

(38) Carew Ralegh's Brief Relation, p. 7. There is a very elegant letter of Ralegh's to Car upon this occasion, dated December 1608. See his letters. And Oldys, p. cxliv.

 [W] *His*

persuaded from the opinion that her beloved son had foul play done him (*mmmm*). Whatever was the cause of this excellent Prince's death, Ralegh had no common share in the loss of him, his Highness having but a few months before he died obtained Sherborne, with intention to return it to him, as is already observed: and we are further informed that King James, to satisfy his favourite Car, who was now Viscount Rochester, gave him, instead thereof, 2500 l. in money. But now, after the Prince's death, Rochester got Sherborne of the King again; however, as some kind of composition, or amends, his Majesty, we are told by Ralegh himself (*nnnn*), also gave his wife and son 8000 l. for the said estate*. Notwithstanding these avocations, he devoted great part of his time during his confinement, to his studies. In reality, the productions of his pen at this time are so many, and so weighty, that one is more apt to look upon him as a collegian, than a captive; a student in a library, than a prisoner in the Tower (*oooo*). But how elaborately soever many of these pieces are allowed by others, to have been written, he looked on them only as little excursions or sallies from his grand affair, *The History of the World*; which he published in April 1614, in folio [*W*]. The merit of this work is so great, that some have thought his releasement to be, in a great measure, the reward of it (*pppp*). But there seems to be little foundation for that opinion, since it is well known that King James expressed some dislike of it (*qqqq*). We are therefore to seek for some other mediator for his deliverance, and that we shall at last find to be his money. For whatever pity of his sufferings, his merit and fame in learning now begat in many; or by whatever means of the French Ambassador, with others of our own Lords, it is pretended in our common accounts, that he got freedom of repairing for his health to his house at St James's, a year or two before he procured his commission for the voyage to Guiana; we are more positively and particularly told, that Sir William St John, and Sir Edward Villiers, half brother to the Lady Villiers, afterwards Duchess of Buckingham, procured Sir Walter Ralegh's liberty, and had fifteen hundred pounds for their labour (*rrrr*). And that these used their power with Sir George Villiers, the new rising favourite at Court, and so obtained the King's consent for Ralegh's enlargement, somewhat appears from the letter inserted below, containing Ralegh's acknowledgments to that favourite [*X*]: A few days after which, *viz.* March 25, 1615, we find him actually released out of the Tower (*ssss*). However, 'tis certain, the mine adventure to Guiana was made use of to the King (*tttt*): and accordingly he was no sooner at liberty, than we find him busy in making preparations for that voyage. To this purpose, he called in the 8000 l. which he had lent to the Countess of Bedford, and besides with his Lady's consent sold her estate at Mitcham, in Surry, for 2500 l. more †. The whole, amounting to 10500 l., was laid out, in putting himself in equipage for this long proposed voyage; a much greater sum than would have paid for his liberty of receding from it now, or for a formal pardon, had he thought it needed, and had gone about to purchase it after he had obtained his Majesty's commission for the voyage [*Y*]. The commission was dated August 26, 1616; and he set sail for Guiana,

(*mmmm*) Welwood's Notes on Wilson's History of King James. James Howell says, Prince Charles was her darling son. Letters, Vol. II. No. 63. edit. 1650.

(*nnnn*) In his Apology, p. 47.

(*oooo*) See the catalogue of his works in remark [*DD*].

(*pppp*) In Sanderson's History of King James.

(*qqqq*) Observations on Sanderson's History, &c.

(*rrrr*) Id.

(*ssss*) Camden's Elizabetha, under this year. Car, Earl of Somerset, had been then some months in the Tower for poisoning Sir Thomas Overbury, and had many quips and taunts from Ralegh in that time. Sir Fulke Grevil's five years of King James, 4to. 1643. p. 67.

* *It was valued* afterwards at no less than 5000 l. per annum.

(*tttt*) The voyage was opposed by Cecil, but after his death Ralegh revived his proposal to Sir Ralph Winwood, in which he takes notice, that Q. Anne; her brother, the King of Denmark; and Prince Henry, were all satisfied of his innocency, and had moved his Majesty in his behalf.

† Besides this there was 20,000 l. or 16,000 l. advanced by the other adventurers.

[*W*] *His History of the World, was published in 1614.*] The merit of this work is too well known, to need any enlargement upon it here. He took no ordinary care to deserve the encomiums bestowed upon it (39). Besides his own knowledge, learning, and judgment, which many would have thought sufficient for any undertaking; he suffered no part of this history to pass his last hand, before some of the most able scholars, whom he assembled, it seems, for this purpose, had debated the parts he was most doubtful of, and they most conversant in, before him. Thus in the Mosaic and Oriental Antiquity, or fainter and more remote footsteps of Time, he would sometimes consult the learned Dr Robert Burhill. In all parts of Chronology, Geography, and other branches of the mathematical science, he wanted not the opinions of the learned Hariot, and the other two of the Earl of Northumberland's three Magi, long his neighbours in the Tower (40). And wherever he scrupled any thing, in the phrase, or diction, he would hear the acute and ingenious Sir John Hoskyns, (some time, also, resident in these confines) who viewed, and reviewed, the said History, as we are told, before it went to the press: and whom Ben. Johnson proud, of calling others his Sons, could gratify that humour, in calling him Father (41). But for the story of the second volume of this history, which, 'tis said, he burnt, because the bookseller told him, the first sold so slowly, that it had undone him (42), it is scarce worth notice; since it does not appear true, that the first part did sell so slowly, there being a second edition of it printed, by that very bookseller, within three years after the first. Besides, Sir Walter has told us himself, in his preface to the first part, that though he intended, and had hewn out a second, and third volume, yet he was persuaded to lay them aside, by the death of Prince Henry, to whom they were directed: and if we should allow his mind might change, yet the course of his life, afterwards, will leave no room for any such performance. For in 1615, two, at least, of his most elaborate tracts were written; and he was also busy, the same year, in writing letters, and making other interests for his releasement, which he obtained before the expiration of it. And after this, he made himself, too eminently, the subject of modern history, to be any further an author of that which is ancient (43).

(39) See some of these in Bishop Hall's *Balm of Gilead, &c.* 1652. James Howell's letters, and his *Dodona's Grove*. Stafford's life of Lord Stafford, 1640. Dr W. Howell's universal history, in the preface. Shirley's life of our author. Echard's Roman History, in the preface; Degory Wheare, de ratione & methodo scribendi historias, §. 6. And above all, Felton's Dissertation of the Classics.

(40) See Hariot's article.

(41) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 615.

(42) Winstanley's Worthies of England, p. 256. edit. 1660, 8vo.

(43) Oldys.

[*X*] *A letter to the Marquis of Buckingham.*] 'Tis as follows.

'SIR,

'You have, by your mediation, put me again into 'the world; I can but acknowledge it, for to pay 'any part of your favour, by any service of mine, 'as yet, it is not in my power. If it succeed well, 'a good part of the honour shall be your's; and if 'I don't also make it profitable unto you, I shall shew 'myself exceeding ungrateful. In the mean while, 'and 'till God discover the success, I beseech you to 'reckon me among the number of your faithful ser'vants, though the least able.

W. RALEGH (44).'

Dated, March 17. but without the year.

(44) Oldys, p. cxcii. From the original in the library of James West, Esq;

[*Y*] *He did not go about to purchase his pardon, after he had obtained his commission.*] It has been said, that he laboured much to obtain his pardon afterwards: a belief grounded intirely upon his Majesty's declaration *. Whereas, we find it expressly asserted, in a letter of Carew Ralegh's, that his father had overtures made him of procuring his pardon, for 1500 l. by Sir William St John, one of the persons of whom he purchased his freedom; therefore, one whose interest, was the less to be doubted in this particular: But that Sir Walter, conferring a little before

* Concerning which see the two ensuing remarks [*Z*] and [*AA*].

Guiana, from Plymouth, in the beginning of July, 1617; but his design being betrayed to the Spaniards, was defeated: and his eldest son Walter, being killed by the Spaniards, at St Thome, the town was burnt by Captain Keymis (*uuuu*). Whereupon the Spanish Ambassador, Don Diego Sarmiento, afterwards Count de Gondamore, being informed thereof [*Z*], made heavy complaints to the King: who, having received an account of the expedition from one of Ralegh's captains in it, on the thirteenth of May, 1618, published a proclamation on the eleventh of June; declaring, that he did, by express limitation and caution, restrain and forbid Sir Walter from attempting any act of hostility upon the Spanish dominions in Guiana; which having been broken by hostile invasion of St Thome, the infraction should be punished in an exemplary manner [*AA*]. Ralegh

(*uuuu*) Ralegh's Journal of the voyage. Printed in his Remains.

before his departure from England, with Sir Francis Bacon, (newly made Lord-Keeper of the Great Seal, and not long after Lord-Chancellor) upon this pecuniary pardon, he positively advised Ralegh against it, in these words. '*Sir, the knee-timber of your voyage is money; spare your purse in this particular; for, upon my life, you have a sufficient pardon for all that is passed already: the King having, under his broad Seal, made you Admiral of your Fleet, and given you power of the martial law, over your officers, and soldiers* (45).'

(45) Carew Ralegh's Brief relation, &c. However, 'tis certain he had applied, at least before the grant of the commission, and been denied. See his letter to the Marquis of Buckingham.

But we are told elsewhere, that even for less than half that money, beforementioned, that is to say, for 700 l. the said Sir William St John, and also Sir Edward Villiers, offered Sir Walter Ralegh, not only his full pardon, but liberty not to go his voyage, if he pleased, and that he refused both; the rather, because he was told by Sir Francis Bacon, (as above) that his said commission was as good as a pardon, for all former offences, as the law of England could afford him (46).

(46) Observations on Sanderson's History of King James, &c. p. 10.

[*Z*] *Count Gondamore being informed thereof.*] When Keymis took the town of St Thome, mentioned above, he found a large quantity of papers, letters, memorials, &c. in the Governor's study. Among which were four letters, which plainly discovered, not only the whole enterprize to have been betrayed, but his life, thereby, put into the power of the Spaniards themselves: and by whom (even to the breaking of that peace, if any was broken, for which he was afterwards exclaimed against), Ralegh himself has related; for he thought this such black and cruel usage, that he forbore not in a letter, which he wrote about a month after this time, from the island of St Christopher's, to Sir Ralph Winwood, Secretary of State, to shew his sense of it, in these words:

It pleased his Majesty, to value us at so little, as to command me, upon my allegiance, to set down, under my hand, the country, and the very river, by which I was to enter it; the number of my men, and burden of my ships, and what ordnance every ship carried; which being made known to the Spanish Ambassador, and by him sent to the King of Spain; a dispatch was made, and letters sent to Madrid, before my departure out of the Thames.

By the contents of these Spanish letters, it farther appears, that three hundred Spanish soldiers, and ten pieces of ordnance, were commissioned to be sent from their respective garrisons, against the Adventurers, up the Oroonoque. There was also prepared an Armada, by sea, to set upon Ralegh himself, and the ships with him (47). The King of Spain's first letter, sent to Guiana, by a bark of aviso, to arm the Indians against Ralegh's coming, was dated March 19. 1616. at Madrid. The second was dated May 2 1617, sent also, by a Caravas, to Diego de Palumeca, Governour of Guiana, El Doredo, and Trinidad. The third was sent by the Bishop of Puerto Rico, and delivered to that Governour, the fifteenth of July, following. And the the fourth was sent from the Farmer and Secretary of the King's Customs in the Indies, at the same time (48). Others tell us, that these advertisements and preparations were the cause of all the resistance that was made at St Thome; and that Ralegh's whole design, under his own hand, was delivered by King James to Gondamore; and that his own letter thereof to King James, was found in the Governour of St Thome's closet; which letter he brought back, and shewed to the Lords of the Council (49).

(47) He escaped this Armada by it's waiting for him in a wrong place. Ralegh's Journal of the voyage.

(48) Ralegh's letter to Winwood in his Remains, last edit. p. 172; compared with some MSS copies in the Harleian library.

(49) Observations on Sanderson's History, p. 13. See also State-Trials, Vol. I. p. 219. and Welwood's Memoirs.

It is remarkable, that though Ralegh has charged this matter of betraying him to the Spaniards, in plain terms, both in his letter to Winwood, and in his Apology, one, or both, of which, King James had certainly read; yet this topic is not so much as touched on, in his Majesty's declaration, but intirely sunk in silence.

[*AA*] *The infraction should be punished in an exemplary manner.*] As his Majesty here refers himself to the commission, it will be necessary to transcribe so much of that, as concerns any limitation. It begins thus, 'James, by the grace of God, &c. To all, to whom these presents shall come, &c. Whereas Sir Walter Ralegh, Knight, intendeth to undertake a voyage by sea, and shipping, to the south parts of America, and elsewhere within America, possessed and inhabited by heathen and savage people, to discover some commodities and merchandizes profitable for the subjects of our kingdoms, whereof the inhabitants make little or no use, whence may ensue, by commerce, some propagation of the Christian faith, and reformed religion, among those idolatrous people. We have granted Sir W. Ralegh full power to carry, for the said voyage, sufficient shipping, armour, weapons, ordnance, &c. as he shall think necessary, for the use and defence of him, and his company. Besides liberty to exchange, or otherwise dispose of his goods and merchandize: also, to return into this or other of our dominions, with such gold, silver, bullion, or any other wares, for his own use; paying to us—the full fifth part of all such gold, silver, and ore of gold, or silver, pearl, or precious stones;—with all such customs, as shall be due for any other goods whatever.'—Then follows the constituting him Governour of the whole company in the fleet, with power to make captains, and other officers; and a power also of punishing by martial law. After which, it concludes in substance, thus. 'We further command the Wardens of the Cinque ports, Customers, and other officers, quietly to permit Sir Walter Ralegh, and all who shall adventure with him, to pass to the said south or other parts of America, possessed and inhabited as aforesaid; and to return with any goods whatever, and dispose of them, paying the fifth part—to us, as afore. And these patents, or the inrollment thereof, shall be sufficient and effectual in law; any law, statute, &c. notwithstanding. Witness ourselves, the twenty-sixth of August, in the fourteenth year of our reign of England, and of Scotland, the fiftieth. *Per breve de privato sigillo* (50)'. This is the substance of the commission, as it is printed in the King's declaration. But the original seems to have been given under the Great Seal of England, both from Sir Francis Bacon's answer, to Sir Walter, already mentioned (51); and in a letter from Sir Peter Vanlore, a Dutch merchant, to his brother, Sir Adrian Thebaul, at Amsterdam; where it is expresly said, to be under the Great Seal of England (52). And as this letter is dated July 1, 1616, that is, near two months before that in the King's declaration, there must be in one of them, an error in the date. There are authors also who affirm, that in the original commission, King James called him, his *trusty and well-beloved* Sir Walter Ralegh (53). Yet here is nothing said of any prohibition to meddle with the King of Spain's subjects; so that if any such limitation was meant, it is not an express one: and in the most favourable construction for his Majesty, can only be implied, as we were then at peace with Spain *. In reality, Sir Walter was sensible such an interpretation might be put upon the words, by the Spaniard; and therefore, being disabled himself by sickness, he ordered Captain Keymis, if he found any Spaniards near the mine, and they began to war upon them, to repel them. Accordingly, it appears, Keymis was first attacked by the Spaniards, from St Thome, and in repelling them, proceeded to burn that town, which had

(50) Rymer's Fœdera.

(51) In remark [*Y*].

(52) Ralegh's Remains. See also Heylin's Cosmography.

(53) Observations on Sanderson, &c.

* See remark [*CC*].

(wwwww) Captain King's Narrative, &c. MS. Cited by Oldys. Manourie's declaration annexed to King James's declaration. And a piece of Sir Lewis Stucley's, intitled, To the King's Most Excellent Majesty, The humbly petition and information of Sir Lewis Stucley, Knt. Vice-Admiral of Devon. &c. edit. 1618, 4to.

(xxxx) He answered every particular that had been alledged against him upon this article, in his dying speech on the scaffold, to which we must refer the reader, as too long to be admitted a place here.

† They alledged, indeed, that no person, while under an attainder, could, by the rules of law, be tried for any other crime.

(zzzz) Sir Richard Hutton's Reports, p. 21. edit. 1656. fol.

Ralegh landed about the beginning of July, at Plymouth; and though he heard that the Court was exasperated by the Spanish Ambassador, he was firmly resolved to go to London: and in that resolution, as soon as he had settled his affairs in the west, he began his journey to the capital. But before he came to Ashburnham, which is twenty miles from Plymouth, he was met by Sir Lewis Stucley, Vice-Admiral of the county of Devon, who arrested him in the name of his Majesty. Though Stucley had no warrant, Ralegh submitted to the arrest, and they returned together to Plymouth. But now he hired a bark to carry him to France, and once attempted to go aboard; yet he afterwards changed his mind, and returned to his first resolution, and wrote a letter in vindication of himself to his Majesty. After this, Stucley receiving a warrant to bring him up speedily *, Ralegh set out again with him on the journey; during which, he wrote his Apology. The particular passages on the journey, may be seen in the accounts of it, cited in the margin (wwww). We shall only observe, that the nearer they approached London, hearing what a storm his enemies had brewed at Court, he began to regret his having neglected the opportunity he had at Plymouth of retiring; and meditated a second escape to France, which he again attempted after his arrival at London: but being betrayed by Stucley, was seized in a boat on the Thames, August 9, and committed close prisoner to the Tower of London, on the 10th. Two or three days afterwards, a Committee was appointed to examine into his escape (xxxx), but all that remains of his defence, is a letter wrote by him to the Marquis of Buckingham, on the fourteenth of October [*BB*]. After all possible inquiries and examinations, in order to heap up allegations against him, the Council could not think it justifiable to take away his life, for all that had passed at Guiana †. Therefore a Privy-Seal was sent to the Judges, forthwith to order execution, in consequence of his former attainder. But they demurring upon that, as an extrajudicial manner of proceeding, therefore, on Friday the twenty-third of October, a conference was held by all the Judges, upon the form and manner, how prisoners, who have been attainted of treason, and set at liberty, should be brought to execution. Wherein, the question being put, whether a Privy-Seal was sufficient, being directed to the Justices of the King's-Bench, to command them to award execution against Sir Walter Ralegh, or how they should proceed before execution be awarded; it was resolved unanimously, that he ought to be brought to the bar by *Habeas Corpus* to the Lieutenant of the Tower, and then demanded if he could say any thing why execution should not be awarded. Upon this resolution, a Privy-Seal came to the Justices of the King's Bench, commanding them to proceed against him according to law (zzzz). Accordingly on Wednesday October 28, he was carried to the King's-Bench bar, at Westminster; and the aforesaid question being put to him, he said, That he hoped the judgment he received to die, so long since, could not now be strained to take away his life, since by his Majesty's commission for his late voyage, it was implied to be restored, in giving him power as Marshal, upon the life and death of others; and since he undertook the same, to honour his Sovereign, and enrich his kingdom with gold, *of the ore whereof, this hand*, said he, *hath found and taken in Guiana*. But being told, that his voyage to Guiana was foreign to the purpose, and that his commission could be of no service to him, since treason was not pardoned by implication; he put

* Ralegh declares, that It was this severe order, and the impatience of dishonour, that first put him in fear of his life, or enjoying it in a perpetual imprisonment, never to recover his reputation lost; which strengthned him in his late resolution of making his escape. Letter to the Marquis of Buckingham.

* Sir Walter, in his letter to King James, after his landing at Plymouth, says, it was *new set up* within three miles of the mine.

(54) See Ralegh's letters in his Remains, p. 178, 181; and his Apology, p. 39; also Howel's Letters, Vol. II. p. 94, & seq. edit. 1650, and Vol. I. p. 6, & seq.

(55) See the declaration in Harley's Miscellany, Vol. III.

had been built slightly; probably after Ralegh's first offer to undertake this expedition *: Keymis on his attempting to land again at a place nearer the mine, to which he had been directed by Sir Walter, was again attacked by an ambuscade of Spaniards: And upon these discouragements he returned, without going to the mine. Whereupon, Sir Walter, well knowing this failure would be his own ruin, in the ticklish situation he stood with King James, expressed so much displeasure at it, that Keymis shot himself for grief (54). Accordingly, the consequence proved exactly as Sir Walter had conjectured. For returning without gold ore, it was said, there was none; that the pretence of the mine, was only made use of by him, to procure his liberty; and that Keymis was murdered, to prevent him from discovering the truth. But of this last charge, he seems to be cleared by his Majesty, who has not alledged it in his declaration; where so many frivolous circumstances are amassed and aggravated against him (55).

[*BB*] *A letter to the Marquis of Buckingham.*] By this letter it appears, that Sir Walter's attempt to make his escape had been construed by the Marquis, as an injury done to the friendship he had shewn him before. Sir Walter, therefore, here declares, his sole design in that attempt was to let his Majesty know, that his late enterprize was grounded upon a truth; which with one ship, speedily set out, he meant to have assured, or to have died; for the truth of which, he appeals to his keeper, Sir Lewis Stucley: and therefore he concludes, with begging, in the most pathetic terms, for the Marquis's interest to obtain his Majesty's mercy. But this application proved ineffectual, it was now too late, and he had before refused to beg it of Gondamore †; notwithstanding he had the fairest opportunity that could be, with the greatest hopes of succeeding. This offer came from the Earl of Clare, Sir Walter and he had been much bred together, both in Court and Camp; fellow-servants, and fellow soldiers: and being both of choice parts, and spirits, easily took impressions of firm friendship. Accordingly the Earl appeared among those fast friends to Sir Walter, who laboured most to save his life. His Lordship, 'tis said, 'had some power with Ralegh's prosecutor, Gondamor, the Spanish Ambassador; and in the conversations which passed frequently between them, he discovered, as he thought, an inclination in Gondamor to make suit to King James, for Sir Walter's life, in case he would intreat him to do it. This the Earl intimated to Sir Walter, by Mr Charles Thynne (56), one of his fastest friends; bidding him withal, let him know, that there was no other way for his preservation. When Ralegh heard it, he paused a little, and then gave this answer. *I am yet neither so old, nor so infirm, but I could be content to live; and therefore this would I do, if I was sure it would do my business: but if it fail, then I lose both my life and my honour; and both those, I will not part with.* A resolution, says my author, really not unworthy so famous a person (57).' Perhaps he pointed to this, in the epigram he wrote, a little before his end, where, alluding to the light of a candle, he wrote as follows.

Cowards may fear to die, but courage stout,
Rather than live in *snuff*, will be *put out*.

[CC] *Ralegh*

† This must be before his last voyage to Guiana, since when he returned Gondamore was gone to Spain, and did not come back to England 'till after Sir Walter's death. Oldys, p. ccx. note (*a*), where there is a particular account of Gondamore.

(56) Captain Thynne commanded the Bark Ralegh, sent by Sir Walter with the fleet in 1591, when Sir Richard Greenville died so gloriously, in an engagement with the Spaniards. See Sir Walter's account of the fight.

(57) Collins's Historical Collect. &c. edit. 1752, in fol. p. 10. From a MS of Gervase Holles, in possession of the Countess-Dowager of Oxford.

put himself upon the King's mercy, and sentence of death being passed upon him, he was led to the Gate-House, near the Palace-yard; where a special warrant for his execution was produced, signed by his Majesty, at Westminster; in a manner, as soon as the sentence was over, being dated the same day, and directed to Lord-Chancellor Bacon (*aaaaa*), in which his former sentence, of being hanged, drawn, and quartered, was altered into that of beheading. Accordingly he suffered that fate with great magnanimity *, in the old Palace-yard, the day following. His body was interred in the chancel of the adjoining church of St Margaret; but his head was long preserved in a case, by his widow, who survived him twenty-nine years; and after her death, it was kept also by her son, Carew Ralegh, with whom it was buried (*bbbbb*). Thus we have seen how Sir Walter Ralegh, after a shining and conspicuous series of actions against the enemies of his country, and for the improvement of navigation, as well as the enlargement and enrichment of the British empire, under one Sovereign; was deprived of his liberty, his estate, and his life, under another. How Sir Walter Ralegh, who had been one of the greatest scourges of Spain, was made a sacrifice to it. How the services of Sir Walter Ralegh, in camp, in court, by land, by sea, with sword, and pen, were an honour to Queen Elizabeth's reign; and how his sufferings at Winchester, at Westminster, by imprisonment, by law, with slander, and the axe, were the disgrace of King James's (*ccccc*). The dissatisfaction at the proceedings against Sir Walter was so general, and public, that in order to appease it, the King found it expedient to vindicate himself in a printed *declaration*, setting forth every minute particular that could be urged in his own favour. This paper appeared in public, signed with the names of nine Privy-Counsellors; yet did it not prove sufficient to allay the murmurs of the people, several of these particulars being observed to be misrepresented, and others appeared in a great measure aggravated. Hence the cry still continued that Ralegh was sacrificed to the Spaniard [CC]. And indeed that Monarch

(*aaaaa*) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XVII. fol. 115.

* See Sir Richard Hutton's account ubi supra; as also his behaviour and speech on the scaffold.

(*bbbbb*) Oldys, p. ccxxx. note (*b*).

(*ccccc*) Mr Bevil Higgons observes, that Ralegh's death was inexcusable; being more unjust than mean spirited, and one of the greatest blemishes in King James's reign. Short view of the History of England, p. 234. edit. 1734, 8vo.

[CC] *Ralegh was sacrificed to the Spaniard.*] The notoriety of this fact, has extorted an acknowledgment of it from a late writer (58), who has taken much unworthy pains to fix Sir Walter as an odious character in the English annals. But there appears so little candour, or even of good sense, throughout the whole attempt to defame him, that he may be safely left to stand upon his own intrinsic worth, without any danger of being hurt by it. Indeed, to suppose there can be any occasion for a particular or serious defence, against such an affected misrepresentation, would be to add that weight to the injury which it wants. He tells us, that Ralegh, in the former part of his life, when he was active, and lived in the world, and was probably best known, was, through envy, the object of *universal* hatred and detestation throughout England. And in the latter, when shut up in prison, he became, through pity, much more unreasonably the object of great love and admiration. The conceit and confidence of this very pretty antithesis, is very aptly coupled with the following: that Ralegh's account of his first voyage to Guiana, proves him to have been a man of the most extravagant credulity, or a most impudent impostor: and that this whole narrative is a proof, that he was either extremely defective in solid understanding, or morals, or both. Yet, in order to exclude him from the privilege of this alledged credulity, a heap of no less than seventeen arguments is piled up, to prove him really incredulous, in regard to the mine; the declared belief of which, is allowed to have procured his release from the Tower. The business was now, to represent him more knave than fool; and to that end, we see him charged, in full defiance of all common sense, to have undertaken the voyage, under the King's commission, not to work a mine, as he pretended, but wholly and solely with a design to plunder. In the mean time, this libel is not compleated without drawing the King in for a share. His Majesty, says he, released Ralegh out of the Tower, as thinking he had suffered enough for the offence which occasioned that imprisonment. Besides this, he gave him also a power over the lives of his associates; which by natural and ordinary construction amounted to a pardon: yet that pardon in form, was constantly denied, to the most pressing instances for it; and the sentence at Winchester kept thereby in full force, through a persuasion, that though originally unjust, it might become just to execute it in it's full extent, as a punishment for any future capital offence; as was accordingly done, and the proceeding censured by the same writer, as unjust and indefensible. On the other hand, the King's weakness is particularly remarked, in taking no better security for Ralegh's good behaviour in the voyage, than that of his associates, but accepting their mutual bonds for each other; and in letting him depart, without a sufficient search and scrutiny into the lading of the ships. A picture, wherein the Knight is thus shewn, consisting of three parts knave, and one part fool, in contrast with his King, who appears to be a compound of an equal mixture, of both knave and fool, can hardly fail to meet with it's desert, in raising a loud laugh. But there is a national reflection mingled with it, as an adjunct, which requires another kind of notice. Having mentioned that *grounded* opinion, which universally obtained among the people, that there was no peace with Spain beyond the Line, he calls it an *absurd* and *ridiculous* notion: in support whereof he asserts that Spain would never have consented to such a peace; since the chief hurt they could receive was in the Indies. Any mistake, which is owing to the want of a thorough knowledge, or right apprehension, of the spirit and temper of the English people, and the constitution of that government, carries it's own excuse along with it, in the mouth of a foreigner: and this writer may, in candour, be allowed the privilege of that plea, as being born, and bred, and constantly living among a people, and under a constitution of a very different nature, genius, and temper, from the English. But then, no defence is sufficient to avert the foul language of the censure, from recoiling upon the author. In England, 'tis a well known maxim, that whatever judgment or opinion becomes universally maintained by the people, how contrary soever it may be to the inculcated doctrine of their Ministers of State, will be found, upon examination, to be generally well grounded. For the people can feel sensibly, and see clearly, in every point that immediately affects the public, that is, themselves; though less able to express their sense accurately, or elegantly. The instance now before us, with regard to the peace with Spain, is a strong confirmation of this maxim. It is a notorious truth, and not denied even by this author, that in that treaty, no mention is made of Guiana, nor of the disputes about the right to that country. Whence it undeniably follows, that in respect to this particular, things stood in the same state as they did before. So that whatever right the English had to the country, was in no wise prejudiced or altered by this peace; since, in interpreting national treaties of peace and commerce, it is a rule allowed on all sides, that no rights, claimed by either party, and not acknowledged and ratified expresly by the other, in any former treaty, are understood to be comprehended under any general terms, in a subsequent treaty; as evidently appears to be the case, with regard to the treaty under present consideration, which now lies before me. And hereby is discovered the true force and foundation of that admirably spirited remark, with which Sir Walter Ralegh concludes his unanswerable Apology, as follows. *I have said it already,*

(58) Hume's History of Britain, under the Stuarts, Vol. I. chap. iv.

Monarch himſelf, who made him the ſacrifice of State, to the enemies and dec[illegible]s of the State, ſoon after Ralegh's execution, began to ſee how he was, and would be del[illegible]d by the Spaniard *(ddddd)*. And made one of his Miniſters write to his Agent in Spa[illegible] t[illegible] let that ſtate know, they ſhould be looked upon as the moſt unworthy people i[illegible] world, if they did not now act with ſincerity, ſince his Majeſty had given ſo many [illegible] monies of his; and now of late, by cauſing Sir Walter Ralegh to be put to death, chiefly for the giving them ſatisfaction. Further, to let them ſee how in many actions of late, his Majeſty had ſtrained upon the affections of his people; and eſpecially in this laſt, concerning Sir Walter Ralegh, who died with a great deal of courage and conſtancy. Laſtly, that he ſhould let them know, how able a man Sir Walter Ralegh was, to have done his Majeſty ſervice. Yet to give them content, he hath not ſpared him; when by preſerving him, he might have given great ſatisfaction to his ſubjects; and had at command, upon all occaſions, as uſeful a man, as ſerved any Prince in Chriſtendom *(eeeee)*. We muſt not conclude this memoir, long as it unavoidably is, through the almoſt unparalleled activity of the ſubject, without gratifying the reader's curioſity, with ſome account of Sir Walter's perſon. By an original picture of him, at full length, he appears to be tall of ſtature, to the height of ſix feet, well ſhaped, and not too ſlender: his hair full, and of a dark colour, and the features and form of his face ſuch as they appear in the print, before the laſt edition of his hiſtory. We have already mentioned his magnificent taſte in dreſs, both civil and military. Of this latter ſort, his armory was ſo rare, that we are told part of it was for it's curioſity preſerved in the Tower of London; and 'tis certain, he had a compleat ſuit of poliſhed plates of ſolid ſilver *(fffff)*. And there is a picture of him, a half length, repreſenting him in this ſilver armour, and richly adorned in the ſkirts; the ſword and belt with diamonds, rubies, and pearls. His civil wardrobe was, if poſſible, ſtill more rich. There is another picture of him, where he appears in a ſuit of white ſattin, which he had beſet with jewels, to the value of ſixty thouſand pounds; and one diamond whereof, worth an hundred pounds, remained in the family, as 'tis ſaid, 'till the late Queen Anne's reign *(ggggg)*. The truth is, the richneſs and rareneſs of his apparel, was made matter of reproach to him. In which view, we find him paralleled with the Roman Emperors, by an author, who takes notice, that upon ſome great aſſemblies at Court, his very ſhoes were bedecked with precious ſtones, that exceeded the value of ſix thouſand ſix hundred pieces of gold *(hhhhh)*. In the mean time, how much ſoever this ſplendid figure might dazzle the eyes of the beholders, the wearer himſelf was far from being dazzled thereby. He ſaw, and was pleaſed with the diſtinction; but was ſo far from making it the end of his ambition, that it ſeems to have been uſed by him as an incentive to diſtinguiſh himſelf, by out-ſhining others, in the intrinſic worth of ſplendid deeds, as much as he did in the ſplendor of his outward ſhew. How much he excelled, both in feats of arms, and in ſtrength of counſel, has been ſeen in the courſe of this memoir: and for arts *(iiiii)*, we need but peruſe the books he wrote [*DD*], in the poetical, epiſtolary, military, maritimal, geographical,

(ddddd) Biſhop Burnet obſerves, that the proceedings againſt him at firſt were much cenſured, but the laſt part of them was thought both barbarous and illegal. Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 16, 17, edit. 1724, fol.

(eeeee) Ruſhworth's Hiſtorical Collections, Vol. I. p. 9, 10, fol. edit.

(fffff) Several pictures and prints of him are mentioned by Mr Oldys.

(ggggg) Oldys.

(hhhhh) Drexelius's Dialogue upon attire.

(iiiii) Among other accompliſhments of this kind he is ſaid to have ſome ſkill in muſic.

ready, and I will ſay it again, that if Guiana *be not his Majeſty's, the working of a mine there, and the taking of a town there, had been equally perilous: for by doing the one, I had robbed the King of Spain, and been a thief; and by the other, a diſturber and breaker of the peace.* Hence, too, we ſee, how juſtly grounded the apprehenſion was, that no Jury would have brought him in guilty, in caſe of a trial at common law; ſince ſuch a verdict, notwithſtanding what this author alledges to the contrary, would have been equally unjuſt, as that at Wincheſter. And hence, laſtly, is diſcovered the true reaſon, why Sir Walter was not tried by a Court-Martial, for breaking the King's commiſſion; ſince the ſame rule of conſtruction, already mentioned, may be applied to that commiſſion: In which, no expreſs mention being made of Guiana, he could not fairly and equitably be underſtood to be excluded thereby, from entring upon that country; nor to have committed any *unwarrantable* hoſtilities againſt the Spaniards in ſo doing (59). If it be alledged, that the King had ceded his right to the Spaniard, by ſome ſecret article: the anſwer is obvious, that no ſuch article having been ever produced, the preſumption in equity is, that no ſuch was ever ſigned *.

(59) Mr Howell alſo in the letter above cited obſerves, that he would have been cleared by that court.

* The contrary ſuggeſtion is indeed inconſiſtent with that encouragment and public invitation, which King James gave to all who ſhould plant in that new diſcovered part of America. See Purchas's Pilgrim, Vol. IV. at the end of Rob. Harcourt's voyage to Guiana.

[*DD*] *The books he wrote, &c.*] Theſe are,

I. Poetical. Poems on Gaſcoigne's *Steel Glaſs. The Excuſe. The Silent Lover. The Anſwer to Marloe's Paſtoral.* His poems upon *Cynthia.* Two, on *Spenſer's Fairy Queen. The Lover's Maze. A Farewel to Court. The Advice* (60). A ſmall poem, printed in the London Magazine for Auguſt, 1734. Several in the Aſhmolean Library at Oxford; namely, *Erroris Reſponſio. Anſwer to the Lie*, &c. Three pieces, written juſt before his death, viz. *The Pilgrim. The Epigram on the Snuff of a Candle*; and his *Epitaph*, printed in his Remains. There is alſo aſcribed to him (61), *A ſatirical Elegy on the death of the Lord Treaſurer* Cecil, Earl of Saliſbury; printed by Oſborne, in the Memoirs of King James I Some of his pieces this way, are wrote in hexameters, after the manner of the Ancients: and the ſame thing was attempted alſo by Sir Philip Sidney, and others, about this time: but that meaſure has ſince been utterly rejected from the Engliſh poetry. Our author's beſt performance in this way is his *Silent Lover*; in which the following ſtanza is deſervedly admired.

> Silence in love, betrays more woe,
> Than words, though ne'er ſo witty;
> The beggar that is dumb, you know,
> Deſerves a double pity.

(60) Theſe three laſt are printed in an old collection of ſeveral ingenious poems and ſongs by the wits of the age, 1660, 8vo.

(61) By Shirley in his life of our author, p. 179.

II. Epiſtolary, viz. *Letters*, of which Mr Oldys ſays, he had ſeen twenty eight printed and MSS.

III. Military, &c. *Notes of Direction for the defence of the Kingdom*; written three years before the Spaniſh Invaſion in 1588. To this treatiſe was alſo joined, *A Direction for the beſt and moſt orderly retreat of an Army, whether in Campaign, or Straits*; preſented in manuſcript to the Privy-Council. One of the chief points in theſe directions, a little before the approach of the Spaniſh Armada, being oppoſed, in *A Diſcourſe of the beſt order for repulſing a foreign Force* (62), there was found among Sir Walter's manuſcripts, an Anſwer; which was publiſhed by Nathaniel Booth, of Gray's-Inn, Eſq; at London, in 1734, 8vo. Entitled, *A Military Diſcourſe, whether it be better for England, to give an Invader preſent battle, or to temporize and defer the ſame*, &c.

(62) By Thomas Digges, Eſq; Muſter-Maſter-General of the Queen's forces in the Low-Countries.

IV. Maritimal. *A Diſcourſe on the invention of Shipping*; printed among his Eſſays, in 1650, 8vo.

Obſervations

geographical, political, philosophical, and historical way; the number, as well as value of which, is so great, that, considering his continual avocations, it becomes matter of wonder, how he could find time to collect so much force of mind and attention, as was necessary, to write them. But the wonder ceases, when we know the division he made of the day; four hours only of which, he allowed to sleep; and for the rest, he dedicated four hours to reading and study; two to discourse; and the remainder to business, and other necessaries (*kkkkk*). He had an excellent library, which was of use sometimes to Mr Selden, and others of the society of Antiquaries, of which he was a member (*lllll*). He was survived by his son.

(*kkkkk*) David Lloyd's Observations, &c. p. 489. edit. 1665.

(*lllll*) Oldys. From a list of the members of this society in a MS in the possession of the late ingenious Mr George Vertue, the Engraver. See more of this in Sir Henry Spelman's article.

Observations and Notes concerning the Royal Navy, and Sea Service, dedicated to Prince Henry; printed likewise, among his Essays. *A letter to Prince Henry, concerning the Model of a Ship*; printed among his Remains. *Report of the truth of the Fight about the Isles of Azores*; edit. 1591 (63), 4to. *The Relation of the Action at Cadiz*; published among the Remains, at the end of *An Abridgment of his History of the World*; 1700, 8vo. *Memorial touching Dover Port*; edit. 1701, 4to. (64). *A Discourse of a Maritimal Voyage, with the Passages and Incidents therein*; and *The Art of War by Sea*; both written to Prince Henry (65).

V. Geographical. Several Discourses and Papers, concerning the Discovery, Planting, and Settlement of Virginia. *A Treatise of the West Indies. Considerations on the Voyage for Guiana*: the first of these three was in the possession of Sir Francis Walsingham: A sketch of the contents of the second, is given by Sir Walter himself: and the third is in the Library of Sir Hans Sloane, now in the British Musæum; a manuscript, in 4to *Discovery of the large, rich, and beautiful Empire of Guiana*, &c. Lond. 1596, 4to. *Journal of his second Voyage to Guiana*, in manuscript; 'tis very imperfect, and was made use of by him in his *Apology*.

VI. Political. As *The Seat of Government*, &c. printed among his Remains, in 1652. *Observations concerning the Causes about the magnificence and opulency of Cities*; printed also among his Remains. *The Prince, or Maxims of State*; Lond. 1642, 4to. and re-printed, among his Remains. *The Cabinet-Council; containing, the chief Arts of Empire, and Mysteries of State discabinated*; published by Milton, in 1658, 8vo.* *A Dialogue between a Jesuit, and a Recusant*, &c. published by Philip Ralegh, among our author's genuine remains, as before; 1700, 8vo. *A Dialogue between a Counsellor of State, aud a Justice of Peace*; better known in the printed copies, by *The Prerogative of Parliaments*; dedicated to King James, and printed at Middleburgh; 1628, 4to. and again, in 1642; and likewise, among his Remains. Under this class, are also the following pieces in manuscript: *Consultation about the Peace with Spain, and our Protecting the Netherlands* (66). *The present State of Spain*, &c. seemingly a different piece from *The present State of Things, as they now stand, between the three Kingdoms; France, England, and Spain. A Discourse on the Match propounded by the Savoyan, between the Lady Elizabeth, and the Prince of Piedmont. A Discourse on the Match, between Prince Henry of England, and a Daughter of Savoy. A Discourse of the Words, Law and Right*; in the Ashmolean Library, Oxford. *Observations touching Trade and Commerce with the Hollanders, and other Nations*, &c. edit. 1653. Doubtful whether our author's or no (67).

VII. Philosophical. *A Treatise of the Soul*, manuscript; in the Ashmolean Library. *The Sceptic, or Speculations*; printed among his Remains. *Instructions to his Son, and Posterity*; edit. 1632, 12mo. and reprinted among his Remains. *The dutiful Advice of a loving Son to his aged Father*, subjoined to the preceding. *A Treatise of Mines, and the trial of Minerals*, and *A Collection of chymical and medicinal Receipts*; both in manuscript.

VIII. Historical. *The History of the World*; mentioned above, published in 1614; and re-printed many times since. *Unus nec pluribus impar.* Sir Walter indeed appears to have entertained a design on some part of the ancient English History; in which view, he wrote the following letter to Sir Robert Cotton.

'*If you have any of those old books, or any manuscripts, wherein I may find any of our British Antiquities; if you will please to lend them me, for a little while, I will safely restore them, and think myself much beholden to you: or if you have any old French history, wherein our nation is mentioned, or any else, in what language soever.*

'*Your poor friend,*

'W. RALEGH (68).'

The letter is without a date, and does not evince whether his design, here intimated, was upon some particular subject, or the constitution of his General History. Dr Thomas Smith (69) inclines to the latter opinion; which indeed is the most probable. P

(63) And re-printed in Hackluyt's Voyages, Vol. II. p. ii. p 169. edit. 1599.

(64) In a pamphlet, intituled, *An Essay on Ways and Means to maintain the Honour and Safety of England*, by Sir Henry Sheers.

(65) These are mentioned by Sir Walter; the first in the introduction to his Observations and Notes concerning the Royal Navy; and the second in his History of the World. Lib. V. cap. i. §. 6.

* Mr Wood says it is the same with *Aphorisms of State*, printed by John Milton, the Poet. In the second edition it is intitled *The Arts of Empire, and Mysteries of State discabinated, &c.* Lond. 1692. 8vo.

(66) This was in the Harleian library, No. 38. book 3.

(67) It is bound up with the second edition of his Remains, in 1656, and is ascribed to Ralegh in the Detection of the Church and State of England, by Roger Coke, third edit. 1697. 8vo. But there are several MSS of it, in all which it is ascribed to one John Keymer, possibly the same person that Ralegh licensed to retail wine at Cambridge, as related in remark [F].

(68) The original was in the Cotton library, Julius C. 3. And at the top of it is a list of the old authors Sir Walter refers to.

(69) In Vita D. Rob. Cottoni, folio 25.

RALEGH [CAREW] was born, as is before observed, in the Tower of London; in the latter end of 1604, or beginning of the next year (*a*). Where he received the first rudiments of his education, is not known; but he was admitted a Gentleman-Commoner at Wadham-College, in Oxford, in 1620 (*b*), or rather before: for after he had spent five years at the university, he went to Court, in hopes of obtaining some redress in his misfortunes, by the favour of William, Earl of Pembroke, his noble kinsman. But the King, not liking his countenance, said, he appeared to him like his father's ghost: whereupon, the Earl advised him to travel, as he did, 'till the death of King James, which happened about a year after (*c*). The Parliament being sitting at his return, he thought proper, according to the custom of the land, to petition to be restored in blood, that he might be enabled to inherit whatever lands might fall to him, as his father's heir, or any other way. But after his petition had been read twice in the House of Lords, King Charles sent Sir James Fullerton, then of the Bed-Chamber, for Mr Ralegh; who being brought into the King's chamber, by that Knight, his Majesty, after using him with great civility, told him plainly, that he had formerly promised Sir John Digby, now Earl of Bristol, to secure his title to Sherborne *, it being conferred on him, 14 of Jac. against the heirs of Sir Walter Ralegh: whereupon Digby had given him, being then Prince, ten thousand pounds; so that now he was bound to make good his promise, being King: and therefore, unless he, Carew Ralegh, would quit all his right and title to Sherborne, he neither could or would pass his bill of restoration. Mr Ralegh urged the justice of his cause; that he desired only the liberty of a subject, and to be left to the law, which was never denied any freeman; but the King was positive, and so left him. After this, Sir James Fullerton used many arguments to persuade submission, as the impossibility

(*a*) He tell us himself, that he was about thirteen years of age at his father's death. See his case at the Committee for sale of delinquents estates.

(*b*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 440.

(*c*) Carew Ralegh's case before.

* Upon Car's disgrace it had been given to Digby by King James, who created him, on the twenty-first of November 1618, Lord Sherborne. Salmon's Chron. Hist. under that year.

possibility of contesting with success, against Kingly Power, and the many inconven-cies of not being restored in blood; all which considered, together with splendid p[ro]mises of great preferment in Court, and particular favours from the King, not impr[o]bable, wrought much upon the mind of young Mr Ralegh; who being not then [ab]ove twenty years of age, left friendless and fortuneless, it prevailed so far, that he subm[itted] to the King's will (*d*): whereupon there was an Act passed, 3° Caroli, for his Restoration, and, together with it, a settlement of Sherborne to the Earl of Bristol. However, in shew of some kind of recompence, a pension of four hundred pounds a year, was granted to Mr Ralegh, after the death of his mother (*e*), who had that sum paid, during her life, in lieu of her joynture (*f*). About a twelve month after this, he married the Lady Philippa, relict of Sir Anthony Ashley, a rich young widow (*g*), by whom he had two sons and three daughters; and not long after his marriage, at least before the year 1635, he was made one of the Gentlemen of the King's Privy-Chamber (*h*) [*A*] In 1645, he wrote a letter to Mr James Howell, in vindication of his father, against some misrepresentations which that author had published, about the reality of the mine in Guiana (*i*), in the year 1650, and afterwards, several little tracts of his father's were published, and dedicated to him. In 1651, there was a committee for the sale of delinquents estates; and about that time, the Earl of Bristol being fled to France, Mr Ralegh had a fair prospect to recover his estate; and thereupon drew up his Case (*k*), and delivered it to the said committee; and it was ordered that the Case be reported to the House, with the opinion of this committee, *That they conceive him a fit object of their mercy* (*l*). About the same time, he drew up *A brief Relation of Sir Walter Ralegh's troubles*, and addressed it to the Parliament (*m*). Yet his case and petition were laid aside, for what reason is not certainly known. In 1656, came out the *Observations on Sanderson's History of King James* (*n*), &c. that historian, supposing it to be written by Carew Ralegh, published an answer the same year, with some scandalous and unworthy reflections therein, upon him; but these were little regarded. Mr Ralegh certainly made his court to the Commons of England, in hopes of getting Sherborne by their means [*B*]. Hence, the Oxford Antiquarian says, he cringed to men in power, and was made Governour of the isle of Jersey, by the favour of General Monk, in the latter end of January 1659 (*o*). At the Restoration of King Charles II. his Majesty would have conferred some personal honour upon him, but he declined it, in hopes of something better. The King therefore, Knighted his eldest son, Walter; who died soon after, at West-Horsley, in Surrey, his father's seat (*p*). Mr Ralegh had another seat, at Kenton-Park, near Hampton-Court (*q*). He died in 1666, and was buried in December that year, in his father's grave, at St Margaret's Westminster (*r*). Mr Wood says, he had seen some sonnets of his composition, and certain ingenious discourses, in manuscript; and also a poem, set to musick by Mr Henry Lawes, Sir Henry Wotton gives him the character of *A gentleman of dexterous abilities* (*s*). Mr Wood farther informs us, that he was survived by one of his daughters (*t*).

(*d*) His Brief relation of Sir Walter Ralegh's troubles, &c.

(*e*) See his case delivered to the committee of the House of Commons.

(*f*) This settlement being made in her marriage-articles could not be forfeited by Sir Walter's attainder. She lived 'till 1647.

(*g*) Among the ingenious poems of Thomas Carew, Esq; who was another of those gentlemen. There is a compliment to his cousin C. R. marrying the Lady A. Carew's poems, p. 80. edit. 1640.

(*h*) Athen. Oxon. ubi supra.

(*i*) See Howell's letters, No. iv. p. 6, & seqq. 2d. edit. 1650. Mr Ralegh's letter appears by Howell's answer to have contained the substance of his *Brief relation of his father's troubles, &c.* Ibid. Vol. II. No. xliii. by mistake for lxiii.

(*k*) It is yet in MS. Oldys.

(*m*) [illegible] legh's *troubles, with the taking away of the lands and castle of* Sherborne in Dorsetshire, &c. London 1669, 4to.

(*n*) In three sheets 4to. It was undoubtedly his.

(*o*) Athen Oxon. as before; and Whitlock's Memorials under that year.

(*p*) This was sold after Mr Ralegh's death to Sir Edward Nicholas, Secretary of State to King Charles.

(*q*) This estate he sold himself.

(*r*) Wood, ubi supra. But W. Nicholas, Esq; who resided upon the estate at West-Horsley, in 1736, told Mr Oldys, that he was buried there. Oldys, p. ccxxx. note (*b*).

(*s*) Letters, &c. p. 481. edit. 1672, 8vo.

(*t*) Ubi supra.

[*A*] *Was made one of the Gentlemen of the King's Privy-Chamber.*] A. Wood mentions a kind token which Mr Ralegh was honoured with, on his leaving Hampton-Court, and going into the Isle of Wight, anno 1647 (1). This was no more than a picture of the Lady Stanley, which was Mr Ralegh's own property; therefore the King, among the letters he left on the table, in one of them, desired the said picture might be returned him (2).

[*B*] *He certainly made his court to the Parliament, in hopes of recovering Sherborne.*] Both the pieces mentioned above, are penned absolutely in this spirit. He had so much reason to detest the memory of King James, that 'tis no wonder to see him, on this occasion, carrying his resentment against Kingly Power in general. Yet there is so much decency observed in it, as may serve to shame the extravagant licentiousness of others, on that head, in their addresses to the same Parliament. Thus, for instance, having represented the cruelty of his father's death, he makes the following exclamation. 'Here, *Justice* 'was indeed blind! blindly executing one and the 'same person, upon one and the same condemnation, 'for things contradictory.' For Sir Walter Ralegh was condemned for being a friend to the Spaniard; and lost his life, for being their utter enemy. *Thus Kings, when they will, do what they please; please not him they should, God; and having made their power subservient to their will, deprive themselves of that just power, whereby others are subservient to them* (3). P

(1) Athen. Oxon. where last cited.

(2) See the letters, or the extract of them, in Heath's Chronicle.

(3) Brief Relation of Sir Walter Ralegh's troubles, &c. p. 9.

RAMSAY [Andrew Michael], frequently stiled The Chevalier Ramsay, a polite writer, in the XVIIIth century; was descended from a younger branch of an ancient family of his name, in Scotland (*a*): and was born the 9th of June 1686, at Ayre, in that kingdom; where he also received the first part of his education. As soon as he was fit for the university, he removed to Edinburgh, and distinguishing himself by his parts, and proficiency there, he was sent for to St Andrew's, in order to attend a son of the Earl of Weems, in that university. Not content with these advantages, of a liberal education at home, he went at length to Leyden in Holland (*b*); where, falling into the acquaintance of Peter Poiret, the celebrated mystic Divine [*A*], he became tinctured with

(*a*) See an account of the family in Nisbet's Heraldry and Scotch Compendium.

(*b*) Communicated by a schoolfellow of Mr Ramsay.

[*A*] *Peter Poiret, the mystic Divine.*] As Mr Poiret was perhaps the most celebrated mystic Divine among the Protestants abroad, and had no small share in forming our author's religious principles; the reader will naturally look for some account of him, which is therefore inserted here, as follows. This enthusiastic French refugee was born at Mentz, in 1646, where his father followed the business of a Sword-Cutler: but losing him in 1652, he was put apprentice, very young, to an Engraver, who taught him to draw: wherein he succeeded so well, that he drew the picture of Mademoiselle Bourignon, after she had been dead a long time. However he soon quitted both the occupations, and applied himself to literature. At the age of thirteen he began to learn Latin at Mentz; and in 1661, went to prosecute the same study at Buxoville, near Strasburgh;

with those doctrines (*c*); and resolved, for further satisfaction, to consult M. Fenelon, the much famed Archbishop of Cambray, who had long imbibed some of the fundamental principles of that Theology (*d*). Our student, before he left Scotland, had conceived a disgust to the established religion of the country in which he was bred. And in that ill humour, having cast his eye upon the other Christian Churches, he could see none to his liking; he became displeased with all, and thence gave into the principles of Deism. During his abode in Holland, he grew more confirmed in that way of thinking, yet without coming to any fixed determination. In this unsettled state of mind, he arrived at Cambray, in the year 1710 [*B*]. The Archbishop received him with all that paternal goodness, the fame of which had brought him this visitor; with whose address and conversation he was so much pleased, that he took him into his family; heard with patience and attention, the history of his religious principles; entered heartily with him into a discussion of them, which continued in various conferences for the space of six months, and, in the end, made him as good a Catholic as himself (*e*) [*C*]; accordingly he retained a warm affection

(*c*) Dictionaire Historique, Litteraire, &c. by M. L'Abbé Ladvocat, &c. 2d. edit. Paris 1755, under our author's article, Vol. II.

(*d*) Which he had published in a book, intitled, *Les maximes des Saints*. See an account of it in Histoire de la vie de M. Fenelon, &c. by our author.

(*e*) Especially in that all-healing sovereign principle, of submitting all his opinions to the decision of the Church.

Strasburgh; where M. de Kirchein Governour of the county of Hanau, employed him in teaching French to his children. In 1664, he went to Basil, where he learned Greek and Hebrew; Philosophy and Divinity: in the former, chiefly following Des Cartes. From Basil, he went to Hanau, in 1667, and the following year to Heidelberg, where he was ordained a minister. In 1670, he married, but had no children by his wife; who died before him, and left him all her estate. In 1672, he was established minister of the church of Anweil, a town in the duchy of Deuxponts. It was during his residence here, that he began to read the works of Thomas à Kempis, and other Mystics; these inspired him with an ardent desire of Perfection; with which he became more inflamed, by reading the works of Antoinette Bourignon; for whom he conceived, from this time, an esteem which he preserved ever after. The troubles of the war obliging him, in 1676, to quit Anweil, where he was greatly beloved, he went to Holland, and thence to Hamburgh, where he had the pleasure of seeing Mademoiselle Bourignon, as he had long desired. He continued in that town about eight years, wholly employed in exercises of piety (1). In 1688, he retired to Rheinsberg, a town in Holland, near Leyden, where he lived in solitude thirty years; that is, 'till his death, which happened May 21, 1719 (2). In this last solitude, he composed the greatest part of his books, which turn chiefly upon subjects of piety, as appears by their titles, viz. *Cogitationes rationales de Deo, anima, & malo, &c. Mémoire touchant la vie, & les sentimens de* Mademoiselle Antoinette Bourignon. *Monitum necessarium ad Acta Eruditorum Lipsiæ, anni* 1686, *mensis Januarii——de Antonia Bourignonia, &c* (3). *L'Oeconomie Divine ou Systéme universél & démontré des oeuvres & des desseins de Dieu envers les hommes, &c.**. *La paix des bonnes ames dans tous le parties du Christianisme, &c.* (4). *L'Ecole du pur amour de Dieu ouverte à savans, &c. Les principes solides de la Religion, & de la Vie Chrétienne, &c. La Théologie Réelle, vulgairement dite, La Theologie Germanique, &c. De Eruditione triplici, solida, superficiaria, & falsa, libri tres. De Eruditione solida specialiora tribus tractatibus.* 1. *De Educatione liberorum Christiana.* 2. *De Irenico Universali.* 3. *Theologiæ Mysticæ, ejusque auctorum idea generalis, &c. Fides & Ratio collatæ ac suo utraque loco redditæ adversus principia Johannis Lockii, &c. Idea Theologiæ Christianæ juxta principia* Jacobi Bohemi, *Philosophi Teutonici, brevis & methodica, &c. Vera & cognita omnium prima, sive de natura idearum ex origine sua repetita, &c. Disquisitio Theologico-philosophica, in qua Spinosismus & Socinianismus tuto prævertuntur, &c. La Théologie du cœur, ou recueil de quelques traitez, qui contiennent les lumiéres les plus divines des ames simples & pures. Le Chrétien Réel contenant,* 1. *La Vie du Marquis de Renty, par J. B. de Saint-Jure, Jesuite.* 2. *La Vie de la Mere Elizabeth de l'Enfant Jesus pour servir de modéle à la vie vrayement Chrétienne, & d'Apologie effective, aux maximes & voyes spirituelles de la Vraye Theologie mystique vainement combattue par les Esprits du siécle* XVII. *Le Saint Refugié, ou la vie & la mort édifiante de Wernerus, mort l'anno* 1699. *La Théologie de l'Amour, ou la vie & les ouevres de Sainte Catherine de Génes. Traduction de l'imitation de Jesus Christ. Posthuma.* He also procured editions of the works of *Antoinette Bourignon, Madam Guyon* (5), and other pieces of mystic Divinity, which made a great noise in the world.

(1) Mr Bayle, speaking of him at this time, says, he was a man of acknowledged probity; who, from a warm Cartesian, became such a Devotionist, that, in order to attend better to heavenly things, he broke off almost all commerce with the earth.

(2) Niceron, Memoires des Hommes illustres, Tom. iv. p. 144, & seqq. Moreri's Diction. edit. 1740. & Diction. Portatif, 2d. edit. 1755.

(3) This was wrote against Seckendorf, who returned a smart answer.

* Translated into English, with the title of Divine Oeconomy: or, System of the works of God, in 6 vol. 12mo. 1753.

(4) This is a very proper book for making hypocrites, and to beget an indifferency with regard to outward worship.

(5) This lady seems to have first infused the principles of mystic divinity into M. Fenelon, Archbishop of Cambray, for which they were both afterwards condemned as Quietists. See Histoire de la vie de M. Fenelon, by our author, Ramsay, p. 22, & seqq. edit. à la Haye, 1723, 8vo.

[*B*] *In this state of mind he came to Cambray in* 1710.] We have an account of this matter from himself, as follows. 'L'An. 1710, J'eus l'honneur de voir M. de Cambray pour la premiere fois, &c. Thus, in English: In 1710, I had the honour of seeing M. de Cambray for the first time. I think myself obliged to relate the discourses which I had with him upon religion; because they will let us see his way of thinking and shew at the same time, that his piety was so far from leading to a refined Deism, and an independence upon all visible authority, as his enemies have insinuated; that, on the contrary, it furnishes the most solid proofs, both of Christianity and of Catholicity.

'Born, as I was, in a free country, where the human mind shews itself in all it's forms, without restraint; I ran through the greatest part of the religions there profest, in order to find which was the true one. The fanaticism, or contradiction, which I observed in all the different Protestant systems, gave me a disdain for all the Christian sects. However, as my heart was not corrupted by the great passions, my understanding could not relish the absurdities of Atheism. To believe that nothing is the source of every thing, which is, that finite is eternal, or an infinite being, only a collection of all finite beings, appeared to me extravagancies more insupportable, than the wildest doctrines of any sect of believers. I chose therefore to take refuge in sober Deism; which confines itself to a reverence for the Divinity, and the unchangeable ideas of pure virtue, without any concern about mysteries, priests, or outward worship. I could not, however, throw off my respect for the Christian religion; the morality of which, is so truly sublime. My mind was distracted and overwhelmed with a thousand doubts and difficulties. To plunge at at once into Deism, was, I thought, a bold step; and to take up with any sect of Christians, seemed a childish weakness. Thus I wandered, here and there, in the vague principles of Latitudinarinism and universal toleration, without being able to find any fixed point to rest upon. It was in these dispositions that I came to Cambray (6)'. And what was the consequence, will be seen in the next remark.

(6) Id. p. 110, 111, 112.

[*C*] *Made him as good a Catholic as himself.*] Our author having given the substance of all that was urged on each side, in these conferences, concludes in these terms: '*C'est ainsi que M. de Cambray, me fait sentir* '*qu'on ne peut étre sagement Deïste, sans devenir Chrétien,* '*ni philosophiquement Chrétien sans devenir Catholique* '(7).' *'Twas thus that the Archbishop convinced me, that* '*a sober thinking Deist must of necessity become a* '*Christian, and that a Christian cannot reason philoso-* '*phically without becoming a Catholic.*' This conversion, however, it must be observed, was not wrought without inculcating that favourite tenet of M. Fenelon's, the pure, unmixed, and distinguished love of God, as the grand fundamental principle of all religion. A tenet which our author had before imbibed from the writings and conversation of Poiret, though not without some disgust at the extravagancies to which it was there carried. But that rubbish of the Protestant divine, being cleared away by the Catholic prelate, the maxim appeared in it's full blaze of beauty; irresistibly charming. The disciple was captivated, and embraced it with a fervency and union, equal to that of his master. Thus the business of his conversion was three parts compleated; all the Archbishop's reasoning, in order thereto, being laid upon this foundation. The other

(7) Ibid. p. 145, 146.

fection and esteem for his disciple, ever after *(f)*. That worthy and amiable Prelate died in July, 1715 *(g)*; and the pupil, out of a grateful respect to his master's memory, wrote and published the History of his life. The truth is, the province could not b[illegible] agreeable to him; since, in explaining and defending his Preceptor's principles, he explained and defended his own. Nor was it his religious sentiments only, that Mr Ramsay drew from this fountain. Whatever he possessed of the sublime in Philosophy, and the beautiful in polite Literature, was owing to the instructions of the same great master. hitherto he had been in the state of a novitiate; the Archbishop of Cambray formed the man, and accomplished the scholar. And hence too, the subsequent course of his life received it's direction. M. Fenelon had been Preceptor to the Duke of Burgundy, heir-apparent, after the death of his father, the Dauphin, to the Crown of France *(h)*. Mr Ramsay having first been Governour to the Duke de Chateau-Thiery, and the Prince du Turenne, was made Knight of the order of St Lazarus, and afterwards sent for to Rome by the Chevalier de St George, stiled there King of Great-Britain, with the appellation of James III. to take the charge of educating his children. He went accordingly to that Court, in 1724, with a view of entring upon the charge; but the intrigues and dissensions which he found upon his arrival there, gave him so much uneasiness, that, with the Pretender's leave, he presently returned to Paris *(i)*. And from thence, the ensuing year, he crossed the water to his own country; where he was kindly received by the late Duke of Argyle and Greenwich, in whose family he resided about nine or ten years *(k)*. With this noble and generous patron, he enjoyed all that tranquil leisure, which is the sole happiness of a studious life; and he employed it in writing several ingenious pieces, that were well received by the public [*D*]. In the mean time he received an uncontested testimony of his merit, in an honourable degree of Doctor of Law, which was conferred upon him by the university of Oxford, in April 1730 *(l)*. After his return to France he resided sometimes at Pontoise, a seat of the Prince de Turenne, Duke de Bouillon, with whom he continued in the post of Intendant, 'till his death; which happened on the sixth of May, 1743, at St Germain-en-Laïe, where his corps was interred in the parish church; but his heart was deposited in the nunnery of St Sacrament at Paris *(m)*. A little before his death, he wrote two letters in defence of Mr Pope's religious principles [*E*]. And after

(f) L'Advocat's Dictionnaire Portatif ubi supra.

(g) Of a peripneumony, or inflamation of the lungs Vie de Fenelon as before.

(h) Yet neither of them came to the possession of it, being survived by Lewis XIV. who was succeeded by his Great-Grandson, Son to the Duke of Burgundy, and now Lewis XV.

(i) Dictionnaire Portatif.

(k) Communicated by his school-fellow, as before.

(l) To this purpose he was admitted of St Mary-hall, April 10, 1730. See the buttery-book of that House. The worthy Principal of which, Dr King, presented him to his degree. Communicated by the doctor.

(m) Diction. Portatif.

other part had been effected, at his first introduction to his Grace; who received him with that paternal goodness, as, he himself suggests, immediately won his heart (8). The truth is, such an extraordinary kind reception, of an absolute stranger, will seem, no doubt, a little unaccountable, to such as are unacquainted with M. Fenelon's character, and would be enough to discredit the whole story with them. But all doubts must vanish, and the story remain instated in it's full credit, as soon as that comes to be known. To relate all the various instances, of the goodness, sweetness, and benevolence of this worthy Archbishop, would be to write the history of his life; as is evident from our author's attempt upon that subject, to which we refer. It is sufficient to mention here, those particular, and extraordinary attestations, that were given of it, at the very time of Mr Ramsay's introduction to him, by the army of the allies, then victorious in the Cambresis itself. Under these circumstances, the Duke of Marlborough, Prince Eugene, and afterwards the Duke of Ormond, in respect to that goodness, prevented him with all manner of civilities. They sent him detachments to guard his meadows, pastures, and corn lands. They transported the grain, and escorted it themselves, to Cambray, to secure it from their own foragers. And when they were informed that he was about to visit his diocese, they sent him word, that he had no occasion for a French convoy, for they would themselves escort him: Even the Hussars of the Imperial troops did not fail to do him that service. Such a commanding power has true virtue over all hearts! And on his side, during the last years of the war, he kept an open table for all the officers, as well Foreigners as French: who resorted to Cambray, for the sake of his charming conversation (9).

(8) These are his words: *M. L'Archevêque me reçut avec cette bonté paternelle, & insinuante, qui gagne d'abord le cœur.* Ibid. p. 112.

(9) Diction. Portatif, ubi supra. And especially Vie de Fenelon, p. 163-165. N.B. 'Tis said that Ramsay, in leaving Holland, went first to the allied army, and thence to Cambray; if so, he was probably introduced first to the Archbishop by some of these officers.

[*D*] *He wrote several pieces.*] It will not be amiss to fill up this remark, with a complete list of his writings, as follows. 1. *Discours sur le Poëme Epique*; A Discourse upon the Epique Poem, prefixed to the latter editions of M. Fenelon's Telemachus. 2. *La vie de M. François de Salignac de la Motte Fenelon, Archevêque Duc de Cambray:* And in English; intituled, The Life of M. Fenelon, Archbishop of Cambray. 3. *Essai sur le Gouvernment Civil:* An Essay upon Civil Government. 4. *Le Psychometre*, ou Reflexions sur les differens characteres de l'esprit par un Milord Anglois: this is, Remarks upon Lord Shaftesbury's Characteristics. 5. *Les Voyages de Cyrus*, in French; and in English, intitled, *The Travels of Cyrus:* this piece hath gone through several editions in both languages. 6. *L'Histoire de M. de Turenne*, in French and English. 7. Several small pieces of Poetry, in English. 8. Two Letters in French to M. Racine the son, upon the true sentiments of Mr Pope, in his Essay on Man; printed after the decease of our author in Les Oeuvres de M. Racine le fils, tom. ii. edit. 1747, and tom. iii. edit. 1753; and inserted in the next remark, being mentioned above, as are also the two posthumous pieces of his, in English, printed at Glasgow. One intitled, *A Plan of Education, by the author of the Travels of Cyrus.* The other, *Philosophical Principles of Natural and Revealed Religion, explained and unfolded in a geometrical order.* In two volumes, 4to.

[*E*] *He wrote two letters in defence of Mr Pope, against that charge.*] As these letters have never been printed in England, and are not common to be met with, we shall insert them here. The first is in these terms.

'Quoique charmé que je sois, Monsieur, de vôtre ouvrage (10), que je viens de lire; il ne convient pas à un etranger d'en faire eloge, & vous feriez peu de cas de l'encens, que vous prodigueroit un inconnu.

'Le principal dessein de cette lettre est de rendre justice à mon ami, & à mon compatriote M. Pope. Il est trés bon Catholique; & a toûjours conservé la religion de ses ancêtres dans un pays, oû il auroit pû trouver des tentations pour l'abandonner. La pureté de ses mœurs, la noblesse de ses sentimens, & son attachement à tous les grand principes du Christianisme le rendent aussi respectable, que la superiorité de ses lumieres, la beauté de son genie, & universalité de ses talens le rendent admirables.

'Il a été accusé en France de vouloir établir la fatalité monstreuse de Spinosa, & de nier la dégradation de la nature humaine. Je le crois exempt de l'une & de l'autre de ces funestes erreurs, qui renversent toute morale, & toute religion, soit naturelle soit revelée. Voici comme j'entens les principes de son essai sur l'homme; & je pense, qu'il ne me desavouera pas.

'Il est bien eloigné de croire que l'état actuel de l'homme soit son état primitif, & conforme à l'ordre: son dessein est demontrer, que depuis la nature degradée tout est proportionné avec poids, mesure, & harmonie à l'état d'un être dechu; qui souffre, qui mérite de souffrir, & qui ne peut être retablir que par les souffrances. Que les maux physiques sont destinés

(10) This was a poem upon Religion in French. It is published in Oeuvrages de M. Racine le fils, Vol. III. 2d. edit. 1753.

after his death, besides a small piece, in 8vo. intitled, *A Plan of Education*, there was printed at Glasgow, a capital work, intituled, *Philosophical Principles of Natural and Revealed Religion, explained and unfolded in a geometrical order*, 1749, in two vol. 4to. The refined

'destinés à guerir le mal moral. Que les passions & 'les crimes des hommes les plus mechans sont bornés, 'dirigés & reglés de façon par une sagesse souveraine ; 'qu'elle tire l'ordre de la confusion, la lumiére des tenebres, & des biens innombrables des maux passageres de cette vie. Que cette providence conduit tout 'à ses fins, sans jamais blesser la liberte des êtres intelligens, & sans produire ni aprouver les effets de 'leur malice deliberée ; & que tout est reglé dans 'l'ordre physique, tandis que tout est libre dans l'ordre moral : que ces deux ordres sont enchainés sans 'fatalité, & sans cette necessité, qui nous rend vertueux 'sans mérite, & vicieux sans crime : que nous ne voyons presentement qu'une roüe detachée de la vaste 'machine, qu'un nœud tres petit de la grand chaine, '& qu'une foible partie du plan immense, qui sera 'devoilé quelque jour. Alors Dieu justifiera pleinement 'toutes les demarches incomprehensibles de sa sagesse '& de sa bonté, & s'absoudra, comme dit Milton, du 'jugement temeraire des mortels.

'Vous avez donné une preuve éclatante de la justesse 'de vôtre esprit, en avertissant le lecteur (11) que vous 'n'attaquez pas les veritables sentimens de M. Pope, 'mais les fausses consequences qu'on a tirée en ce pays 'de son ouvrage, en confondant l'ordre passager de la 'nature degradée avec l'ordre eternel, immuable, & 'necessaire, auquel l'homme est destiné.

(11) The advertisement was prefixed to Mr Racine's poem sur la religion ; in which he had attacked those false consequences of the doctrine advanced in the Essay on Man.

'Je connois les coupables auteurs de ces calomnies 'repanduës contre M. Pope, spinosistes & incredules 'euxmêmes, ils ont cru qu'il leur ressembloit ; persuadés qu'on ne peut avoir de l'esprit, sans penser 'comme eux.

'Nôtre Homere Anglois bien eloigné de l'erreur Pelagienne, dont Homere & Platon auroient euxmêmes 'rougi, est persuadé, que non seulement l'homme est 'dechu & depouillé, mais mortellement blesser ; non 'seulement blesser, mais encore mort ; non seulement 'mort, mais encore enseveli dans peché. Desorteque 'sans une force surnaturelle, sans la δυναμις Θεια 'reconnus des Payens même, il ne peut rien produire 'de lui même, qui soit conforme à l'ordre eternel, 'à l'amour souveraine beau pour lui même ; & de tous 'les êtres subalternes pour lui. Je me flatte, qu'il justifiera un jour ses vrais sentimens, et qu'il imitera vôtre exemple en nous donnant un poëme sur la religion, fort superieur du Paradis Perdu ; dont les images souvent rampantes, sont peu dignes de la majesté 'du sujet, dont la plan philosophique n'egale pas le 'genie sublime de poëte, ni l'ordonnance symmetrique l'esprit errateur de Milton.

'Milton ecrivoit son poeme pour confondre l'incredulité de son siécle ; mais, Calvaniste outré, il degrada son ouvrage par les injures pueriles & insenseés, 'qu'il vomit contre l'eglise Romaine, aussi bien que 'par le plan borné & retréci, qu'il nous donne de la 'providence & de l'amour universel de Dieu pour ses 'créatures.

'M. Le Chevalier Newton, grand Geométre & nullement Métaphysicien, étoit persuadé de la verité de 'la religion, mais il voulut rafiner sur les erreurs anciennes orientales, & renouelle l'Arianisme par 'l'Organe de son fameux disciple & interpréte M. 'Clarke ; qui m'avoua quelque avant que de mourir, 'après plusieurs conferences que j'avois eues avec lui, 'combien il se repentit, d'avoir fait imprimer son 'ouvrage. Je fus temoins, il-y-a douze ans à Londres, 'des derniers sentimens de ce modeste & vertueux 'docteur.

'M. Locke, genie superficiel, qui a écrit les Elemens 'de la Philosophie, plutôt que ses principes aprofondis, étoit je crois un Socinien decidé. Quand l'autorité ne guide plus un Philosophe, & que les decisions de l'eglise ne lui servent pas de boussole, il 's'égare toujours.

'Je m'étois encore de ma tendre jeunesse dans une 'incredulité seduisante ; mais egalement eloignée, des 'horreurs de Spinosisme impie, & des excés du Deisme, 'qui ne cherche qu'à secoüer le joug de la revelation 'que pour contenter les passions. Je fûs ramenè par 'le grand & sublime Fenelon Archevêque de Cambray ; qui me fit comprendre non seulement la beauté 'de la morale chrêtienne, mais qui me démontra, que 'quoique nos mystœres soient incomprehensibles, ils 'pourtant ne sont pas impossibles : qu'ils ont une côté 'obscur qui humilie l'esprit humain, & une côté lumineux qui l'eclaire & le console. Ensorte que je puis 'dire avec feu nôtre ami M. Rousseau.

'Tel aujourdhui degagée de sa chaine,
'N'ecoute plus que la voix Souveraine
'———Qui commencant sa carriere,
'Ferme long tems les yeux a la lumiére.

'Je suis Monsieur,

'avec, &c.

'Le Chevalier de RAMSAY.'

A Pontoise le 28
Avril 1742.

M. Racine was so much pleased with this account of Pope's religion, and the manner of explaining his Essay on Man, that he begged leave to print the letter, in the following Addresś to our Chevalier.

'Il est vray Monsieur, Que je n'ai pas l'honneur 'd'être connu de vous ; mais si vôtre nom & vos 'ouvrages m'étoient inconnus, je serois étranger 'dans la republique des lettres. La maniére dont 'vous expliquez le systeme de M. Pope, est si 'lumineuse & si conforme à la religion, que je 'vous demande la permission de rendre vôtre lettre 'publique. Elle servira, en attendant que M. Pope 'explique lui même, & parle aussi clairement que 'vous le fait parler, à eclairer ceux, qui le font 'penser bien differemment.

'Ce que vous m'ecrivez sur Milton, Newton, 'Clarke, & Locke, fait voir que l'amour de la verité 'est plus fort sur vous, que l'amour pour vos compatriotes ; puisque vous ne dissimulez pas leurs erreurs.

'Il faut avoüer que les Geométres eux mêmes, malgré cette science, qui doit rendre l'esprit si juste, 's'égarent souvent dans les veritéz les plus importantes ; lorsqu'ils ne veulent suivre que leurs lumiéres ; 'parce qu'en pareille matiere la grand justesse d'esprit 'est la soumettre à l'autorité.

'Je suis, &c.'

Soissons, le 16
May 1742.

The expected letter from Pope for Racine (12), coming, together with a copy of his Essay on Man with Warburton's notes, to the hands of our Chevalier, he presently sent the packet to Racine, with the following letter.

(12) See the letter in Mr Pope's article, remark [*M M*].

'Je suis bien content, Monsieur, & bien persuadé que 'vous serez aussi content que moi, en recevant la lettre 'que M. Pope, m'addresser pour vous être remise.

'Elle vous fera connoître, que je ne m'étois pas 'engagé temerairement, lorsque dans la premiere 'lettre, que j'eus l'honneur de vous ecrire, j'ai soutenu hardiment la pureté des sentimens de mon illustre compatriote. Mais ce n'étoit pas assez, qu'il 'fut justifie par moi : on eut peut croire que l'amitié 'seul m'avoit fait parler. Le voici, qui justifie lui 'même. La lettre, en vous prouvant son zele pour la 'religion, & sa soumission a l'autorité de l'eglise, fermera la bouche à ses accusateurs. Il y joint un livre 'fait pour sa defense par un celebre Docteur de l'eglise Angloise nommé Warburton. En distribuant 'lui même cet ouvrage à ses amis, il l'adopte, il l'aprouve, & le rend precieux.

'Vous soupçons contre lui étoient pardonnables ; 'vous avez été ébranlé par les faux rapports de ses ennemis. Il en a de plusieurs especes. Son rare talent lui fait des envieux, *Urit enim fulgore suo*, &c. 'Ses liaisons intimes qu'il a eu avec plusieurs grand 'seigneurs opposées, ou accredités à la cour, lui en ont 'fait d'autres. De reste on a des preuves certaines

'de

(n) Viz. by M. Ladvocat in Diction. Portatif, as before.

fined perplexity of this laborious performance, gives some countenance to the chara[cter] that has been given him of a Pyrrhonist (n).

'de sa probité & de sa vertu incorruptible. J'ai ouï 'dire, qu'il a été successivement, & quelquefois en 'même tems, ami & confident intime de plusieurs mi-'nistres. Il auroit pû faire une fortune immense en 'profitant de la disgrace des uns pour faire sa cour aux 'autres: mais son cœur est incapable des ces bas-'sesses.

'On m'assure aussi, qu'une Princesse, admiratrice de 'ses ouvrages, voulut, dans le tems qu'elle gouvernoit 'l'Angleterre, engager ce poëte, non pas à abandon-'ner la religion de ses peres, mais à dissimuler; elle 'vouloit lui procurer les places considérables, en lui 'promettant, qu'il seroit dispensé des sermens accou-'tumés. Il refusa ces propositions avec une ferm[eté] 'inébranlable. Un pareil sacrifice n'est pas celui d'[un] 'incredule, ni d'un deiste.

'Ne croyez pas, que les sentimens d'une a[mitié] 'reciproque m'engagent à parler ainsi en faveur de M. 'Pope. Ni que j'aye envie de lui offrir un encens 'adulateur; je ne songe qu'à rendre un hommage à la 'justice & à la vérité.

'Je suis, &c.'

Le 10 Sept. 1742.

P

RANDOLPH, or RANDOLFE, [Sir THOMAS], an eminent and able Statesman, in Queen Elizabeth's reign, was the son of Avery Randolph [A] of Badlesmere in Kent, and born in that county (a) in the year 1523 (b). The famous G. Buchanan was his Schoolmaster [B]. But he had his University-education in the new-founded college of Christ's-church in Oxford (c): where he took the degree of Bachelor of Law in 1547 (d); about which time he was made a public Notary. On the twentieth of November 1549, he became Principal of Broad-gate-hall (e), in his university, and continued so 'till the year 1553 (f): when he was banished into France on account of his religion, and because he would not comply with Queen Mary's measures (g). But in Queen Elizabeth's reign he was very much favoured and distinguished; being employed in no less than eighteen embassies. For, he was sent thrice to the associated Lords in Scotland, when they were raising commotions in that kingdom; thrice to Mary Queen of Scots, after her return from France; seven times to her son and successor King James VI: thrice to Ivan Basilowitz Emperor of Russia; once to Charles IX, and again, to Henry III, kings of France (h) [C]. All which is a plain argument of his having been a man of great abilities; for such only, in general, were employed by that wise Princess. The first time he was sent into Scotland, was in the year 1561 (i), on purpose to cultivate a mutual friendship between the two nations; and to advise the nobility to hinder the young Queen, who had newly lost her husband Francis II. king of France, from marrying again with a foreigner (k). In some after-negotiations, he proposed to her Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, for a husband: but she thought fit to chuse for herself (l). He used, in his transactions with Scotland, a great deal of Address, or *Craft* [D], as one expresses it: who adds, That he 'knew him to be 'a double-dealer, and a sower of discord;' and that, 'in his letters to some of the Court 'of England, he gloried, that he had kindled a fire in Scotland, which could not be easily

(a) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721. Vol. I. col. 244.

(b) See below his age, at the time of his death.

(c) Wood, ibid.

(d) Idem Fasti, col. 71.

(e) Now converted into Penbroke-college.

(f) Wood, Ath. & Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 331.

(g) Memoires of Sir James Melvil, edit. fol. 1683. p. 107.

(h) Camdeni Annales Elizabethæ, ad an. 1590.

(i) The Instructions given him by the Privy-Council and Secretaries of State, are among Ant. Wood's MSS. Catal. MSS. Angliæ & Hib. p. 363. col. 2. No. 25.

(k) Camdeni Annales, ad ann. 1561.

(l) Idem, ad an. 1563, 1564. and Melvil's Memoires, p. 40. See also Strype's Annals of the Reformation, Vol. I. ed. 1725, p. 442, &c.

[A] *Was the son of Avery Randolph.*] Besides Sir Thomas, who is the subject of this article, Avery Randolph had another son, named *Edward*; who was a brave officer; employed in 1563 in the defence of Havre, in France; and afterwards in Ireland, where he was slain in 1567. Mr Camden gives this great character of him. *Vir sane nostrâ memoriâ eximius, nec fuit alius qui majorem authoritatem cum majore charitate apud milites conciliavit.* i. e. 'Never 'did man deserve a fairer and more honorable re-'membrance, for the authority he maintained, and 'the love and respect he deservedly shared, amongst 'the soldiers (1).

[B] *The famous G. Buchanan was his Schoolmaster, &c.*] So I understand these words of Mr Ruddiman, in his notes on Buchanan's life. Thomæ Randolphi Angli, *qui a Buchanano humanioribus literis eruditus, eum impensè totâ deinceps vitâ colebat.*

[C] *Once to Charles* IX, *and again to Henry* III, *kings of France.*] D. Lloyd says, that he was sent 'to Charles the ninth, king of France, to discover his 'designe upon Scotland; and to Henry the third, 'to open a conspiracy of his subjects against him (2)'.

[D] *A great deal of Address, or* Craft, *&c.*] The standing Maxim of Queen Elizabeth, and her Ministry, was, to foment, and keep up, Dissensions among neighbouring Princes, whom she had reason to be jealous of, in order to prevent their giving her any trouble at home (3). This was practised by Mr Randolph in Scotland, who took advantage of the two furious factions raised there; one for the Queen of Scots, and the other against her. 'Mr Randolph 'knew the animosities which were among the Nobility, 'and the nature of every one in particular, by his 'frequent coming and his long residence in Scotland. 'And among the Ladies he had a Mother, and a 'Mistress, to whom he caused his Queen [Queen 'Elizabeth] frequently to send commendations, and 'tokens. He also used his craft with the Ministers, 'offering gold to such of them as he thought could be 'prevailed with to accept of his offer, but such as 'were honest refused his gifts. He gave largely to 'all such, as he knew were able to serve him in his 'design of kindling this fire, and his endeavours were 'so successful, that the two parties were not only 'stirred up to fight, and shed one anothers blood, but 'would revile each other with injurious and blas-'phemous words, and at length fell to the down-'casting of each others houses, to which England 'gave no small assistance, having sent in a number of 'men of war to throw down Hamiltoun. This was 'occasioned by some probability that appeared of a 'reconciliation of the two Factions, by the endea-'vours of some of the most prudent Ministers, who 'did all they could to prevent the ensuing troubles. 'And they foresaw that this prejudice was done to 'the Hamiltouns, to inrage them, so as there might 'be no hope of agreement when they should see them-'selves so far injured. Now as *Nero* stood upon a 'high part of Rome to see the town burning, which 'he had caused to be set on fire, so Mr *Randolph* 'delighted to see such a fire by his craft kindled in 'Scotland, which was in all probability like to burn 'it up.'——Such is the account given by Sir James Melvil (4): who adds, that of all this Secretary Cecil was the directer, and Mr Randolph the executer.—— We learn from the industrious Mr Strype (5), that Mr Randolph was Embassador in Scotland in the years 1563, 1564, 1571, 1580, 1581, 1583, 1585, 1586.

[E] *Whereby*

(1) Vide Camdeni Annales, ad an. 1563, & 1567, ex edit. Elzev. 1625. 8vo. p. 75, 128, 571.

(2) State-Worthies, edit. 1679. 8vo. p. 567.

(3) See Rapin's History, at the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign.

(4) Memoires, &c. p. 109.

(5) Annals of the Reformation, Vol. I. p. 442, &c. 455, Vol. II. p. 76, &c. 620, &c. Vol. III. p. 3, 162, 304, 390.

'easily extinguished (m).' One of his embassies to Russia, was in the year 1568, for which he embarked the 22d of June, at Harwich (n). He concluded June 20. 1569, a very advantageous Treaty with the Emperor Ivan Basilowitz, whereby he obtained considerable Privileges for the English merchants trading to those parts (o) [E]. In 1571, during one of his Embassies in Scotland, he shewed an uncommon spirit, by sending a challenge to Virac the French Embassador in that kingdom [F], who had invented false reports against Queen Elizabeth, and himself (p). Such were some of Mr Randolph's long and zealous services for his Queen and Country. They deserved considerable Rewards: But the Queen, who was never prodigal of her Favours, rewarded him only with the honor of Knighthood, with the office of Chamberlain of the Exchequer, the Mastership of the Posts [G], and a few small estates: Which the modest man was contented with, though he had great many Children (q) [H]. He dyed, at his house on St Peter's-hill, near Thames-street, London, the 8th of June 1590, aged 67. and was buried the 6th of July following in the church of St Peter's Paul's-wharf (r). From one of his letters, preserved by Mr Camden (s), he appears to have had a religious frame of mind [I]. His Letters and Dispatches must have been very numerous (t); however, very few of them have been as yet communicated to the world [K].

(m) [illegible], p. 109.

(n) See an account of it, written by himself, in Hakluyt's Voyages, &c. Vol. I. p. 376.

(o) Hakluyt, ibid. p. 378, &c. & Camdeni Annales, sub ann. 1569.

(p) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 78.

(q) Camdeni Annal. ad ann. 1590.

(r) Wood Ath. as above.

(s) Ubi supra, ad ann. 1590.

(t) Several of them are in the Cottonian Library, Caligula, B. 9, 10. and the Instructions given to him, when he was sent in Special Ambassage to the French King 2 Apr. 1576. are among Bishop More's books in Cambridge public Library.

[E] *Whereby he obtained considerable Privileges for the English merchants trading to those parts.*] In this Treaty, the Emperor 'gave them free leave to come 'to traffick in his kingdom to Colmogro, and to the 'country of Dwina, and to his great city of Mosco-'via, and to all the cities in his dominions, and 'through his country to Boghar, to Persia, Casbin, 'and Charday, and to all other countreys.——And 'wheresoever they came, there to be and abide freely, 'and to barter and bargain freely all wares of sale, '*without Custome* of all people, and Merchants stran-'gers whatsoever.'——The then Governors, Consuls, Assistants, and Fellowship of the English Russia Company, named in this Treaty, were, Sir William Gerrard, Kt. Rowland Haiward, *Alderman*, John Thamworth, Esq; John Rivers, *Alderman*, Henry Beecher, *Alderman*, *Consuls*: Sir William Chester, Kt. Edward Jackman, *Alderman*, Lionel Ducket, *Alderman*, Edward Gilbert, Laurence Huse, Francis Walsingham, Clement Throgmorton, John Quarles, Nicolas Wheeler, Thomas Banister, John Harrison, Francis Burnham, Antony Gamage, John Somers, Richard Wilkinson, John Sparke, Richard Barne, Robert Woolman, Thomas Browne, Thomas Smith, Thomas Allen, Thomas More, William Bully, Richard Yong, Thomas Atkinson, *Assistants*: John Mersh, Esq; Geoffrey Ducket, Francis Robinson, Matthew Field, &c. (6).——Mr Randolph obtained also other special Grants, by the Emperor's *private Letters*, for several English merchants. And, among the rest, 'His 'Majesty promised his favor to English artificers, and 'that livings, or maintenance, should be appointed 'them as they could best deserve. He gave a letter 'to the merchants that went into Persia, to pass freely 'without hindrance in his dominions, as also letters 'of favour to the great Shaugh of Persia. He granted 'to the company, that at what time soever they sent 'to the discovery of Cataya, they should be licensed 'to repair unto his countrey, and have such conducts 'and guides, mariners, vessels, men and victuals as 'they should stand in need of (7).'——Mr Randolph's Secretary, was Mr George Turberville; a famous poet for those times; who described the persons, manners, customs, &c. of the Moscovites, in some poetical Epistles to his friends, which are inserted in Hakluyt's Collection of Voyages (8). The curious Reader may see an Account of him in Wood's *Athenæ* (9).——Whilst Mr Randolph was Embassador in Russia, he granted a commission to James Bassendine, James Woodcocke, and Richard Browne, for searching of the sea, and border of the coast, from the river Pechora eastward (10).

(6) Hakluyt, as above, p. 378, 379.

(7) Ibid. p. 382.

(8) P. 384, &c.

(9) Vol. I. edit. 1721, col. 275.

(10) Hakluyt, Vol. I. p. 382, &c.

[F] *By sending a challenge to Virac the French Embassador in that kingdom.*] The challenge was in these words. 'Monsieur *Virac*, I have seen, as I am in-'formed, some Writings of Yours, in cipher, con-'taining these words——Which toucheth me greatly 'in honour, and, I doubt, the Queen my mistress; 'as to have trafficked with Mr Ar. D. for the con-'veyance of the French Ambassador's Letters in Eng-'land to you. Wherefore this I write and signify 'unto you by these presents, that if you have written 'the words abovementioned, you have not done the 'part of an honest man: and that in so writing, you 'have lyed falsly in your throat. Which I wil main-'tain with my body against him, you, or any man 'living, of my quality, or under the same, my charge 'at this time set apart. For that I never had any such 'talk with him, or he with me. Answer hereunto, 'if you think good (11).'

(11) Strype, ubi supra.

[G] *With the office of Chamberlain of the Exchequer, the Mastership of the Posts*, &c.] Mr Camden calls the office of Chamberlain of the Exchequer, 'a place 'formerly of great honor;'—*quod olim dignitatis plenum* (12): Which implies, that it was not reckoned so in his time. And D. Lloyd says, that of these two places, 'the first was but a name, and the second then 'but a noise (13).' By an *Abstract of King* James the First's *Revenue*, printed at the end of *Truth brought to light by time*, written by Fulk Greville Lord Brook (14), it appears, that the Chamberlain of the Exchequer had then for his Fee, only 52l. 3s. 4d. and the Master of the Posts, [answerable to the present office of Post-Master general] 66l. 13s. 4d.

(12) Annal. ad ann. 1590.

(13) State-Worthies, as above, p. 567.

(14) Printed at London, 1651, 4to. and in pages of the said Abstract, 43, 61.

[H] *Though he had great many Children.*] *Nec ille, etsi plures habuerit liberos, ex continenti cupiditatis moderatione plura concupivit*; is Mr Camden's account. D. Lloyd asserts, 'he had as many children at home 'as he had performed embassies abroad (15):' And if so, then he must have had eighteen.—He was married twice (16). One of his wives was sister to Sir Francis Walsingham (17).

(15) Ubi supra.

(16) Wood, Ath. ut supra.

(17) Vide Buchanani Carmina, inter Miscellan. No. 27.

[I] *From one of his Letters — he appears to have had a religious frame of mind.*] It is written to his brother-in-law Sir Francis Walsingham; and therein he puts him in mind, 'How worthy, yea how ne-'cessary a thing it was, that they should at length bid 'farewell to the Tricks, he of a Secretary, and him-'self of an Embassador; and both of them set their 'minds upon their heavenly country, and reconcile 'themselves to the divine mercy by a timely Repen-'tance (18)'.

(18) Camdeni Ann. ut supra.

[K] *However, very few of them have been as yet communicated to the world.*] Two of his Letters were published by James Oliphant, among G. Buchanan's Letters, 1711, 8vo. and have been inserted since in the Edinburgh and Leiden Editions of that fine writer's works I. One is to Buchanan himself; and the other to Mr Peter Yonge, Schoole-master to King James VI This latter being the most interesting, we shall present the reader with it.

'After my verie hartie Commendacions. Beinge 'lately mouid with the remembrance of my Maister, 'Mr G. Buchanan, by the sight of a Booke of his, '*De Jure Regni apud Scotos*, and callinge to mynde 'the notable Actes of his Lyfe, his Studie, his Tra-'vayle, his Danger, his Wisdome, his Learninge, 'and to be short, as muche as could be wished in a 'Man; I thought the Kinge your Maister more hap-'pie that had *Buchanan* to his Maister, then Alexan-'der the Great, that had *Aristotell* his instructor. I 'thought you very lukye that had his daily Company, 'joynid in office of lyke Seruice, and thanckid God 'not a litle for my self, that euer I was acquaintid 'with him. For one that hath so great Acquaintance 'as he hath with many learnid, and compaignons of 'his lyfe, and that hath so wel deseruid of the worlde, 'I maruaille that no man hath written of it: beinge a 'thinge so common unto all famous personnes, and 'most peculiar to the best learnid. Heerin I might 'chieflie blame you, my good freind Maister *Yonge*, 'so neere unto him, so deere unto him, that nothinge 'can

'can be hid of that which you desyre to knowe. If 'you say that tyme yeat seruithe, and that he yeat 'liuethe whose Life I wishe to be sett foorthe, surelie 'yeat I say unto you, that yf it be donne after his 'deathe, many things may be omittid that were wor-'thie of famous memorie, by him to be better knowen 'then after his deathe. The cause of the wrytinge 'against the Grey Friars is knowen to many, but af-'terwardes howe they preuailid against him, that he 'was faine to leaue his countrey, howe he escapid 'with great hazard of lyfe at Godes hand, the 'Thieues on the border, the plague in the north of 'England, what reliefe he found heere at a famous 'knightes handes, Sir John Rainsforde, the onlie man 'that maintaynid him against the Furie of the Pa-'pistes; none doth knowe so well as himself, or can 'giue better notes of his life then himself can. As 'he liuith vertuouslie, so I doubt not but he will dye 'Christianly, and may be addid, when the former is 'perfectlie knowen. This is desirid by many, spe-'cially lookid for at your handes, that can best doe, 'and are fittest to trauayle in so worthie a Worke. 'As I craue this at your handes, so shall you command 'what is in my power. And thus wishinge unto yow, 'my good Freind, hartely well, I take my leaue. 'London, the 15th of Marche, 1579.

'Your verie lovinge Friende,

'*Tho. Randolphe.*'

(19) Vol. II. p. 78, 79, 624. and Appendix to book 2 No. 26. Vol. III. p. 390.

II. Some of his Letters are printed in Mr Strype's Annals (19): and several of his State papers, Instructions, and Dispatches, are published in the same collection (20). In one of which, speaking of [...] Steuart, Lord D'aubigny, afterwards Earl of L[...] favorite of the young King, James VI, he give[...] character of him —'He hath continually his e[...] 'downlying and uprising: A maintainer of P[...] 'rebels, traitors, and such as ever served again[...] 'King, and are enemies to all virtue He br[...] 'over with him a notable personage, called Mo[...] '*Monberneau*, a Frenchman of kin to his wife; hard 'favoured, licentious, audacious but not stout, proud 'as his nation is, arrogant in his speech, bold and beg-'garly; to be short, of no good condition or honesty: 'And of such a life, as when men will speak of a 'pocky knave, it is used for a common proverb, *He 'hath danced in Monberneau's breeches.* This man is 'so familiar with the King, that in all pastimes he is 'a companion; in all Counsils he is one; in all As-'semblies none more forward or near the King, than 'he. The best that his friends can say for him is, 'that he is a jester, a cracker, and a man to make the 'King merry.———Many other Tatlers and pra-'ters and petty Companions there are: glad when 'they can get their word about, be it never so untrue 'or to little purpose: Not respecting what they speak, 'or of whom; so that either Credit or Profit may 'be won at the King's hands. God amend them 'all (21).'—III. Some of Sir Thomas's Letters, or Extracts from them, are also printed in 'Walter 'Goodall's Examination of the Letters said to be 'written by Mary Queen of Scots, to James Earl of 'Bothwell, &c. (22).' IV And eleven of his Letters are in the Appendix to Dr Robertson's excellent History of Scotland. C

(21) Vol. II. p. 622, 623.

(22) Edinburgh, 1754, 8vo. p. 201, 212, 215, 222, 246, 247.

RANDOLPH [THOMAS], a celebrated English Poet in the XVIIth century; was the son of William Randolph of Hams near Lewes in Sussex (steward to Edward Lord Zouch), by Elizabeth his wife, daughter of Thomas Smith of Newnham near Daventry in Northamptonshire. He was born at Newnham [*A*] the 15th of June 1605, and educated, as one of the King's Scholars, at Westminster-school. From thence he was chosen into Trinity-college in Cambridge, in 1623, of which he became Fellow; and commenced Master of Arts (*a*): which degree he was incorporated into at Oxford in the year 1631 (*b*). He may be said to have been born a Poet, having, as early as at the age of nine or ten, written *The History of the Incarnation of our Saviour*, in verse, which still remains in manuscript [*B*]. As he grew up, the ingenuity of his poetical performances, procured him the esteem of all that had any pretensions to wit, particularly of one of the best wits and scholars of that age, the rare Benj. Johnson [*C*], who adopted him for one of his sons [*D*]. But his lively and agreeable conversation engaged him into too much company, and sometimes among none of the best or the most peaceable persons. So that once, in a jovial and drunken meeting, a quarrel arising, he had the misfortune to lose the little finger of his left hand. Which accident, it seems, could not ruffle his temper; but rather inspired him with a pretty copy of extempore verses that are printed

(*a*) Wood, Ath. Vol. I. edit. 1721, col. 244.

(*b*) Idem, Fasti, Vol. I. col. 253.

[*A*] *He was born at Newnham.*] W. Winstanley, in his Lives of the English Poets (1), and G. Langbaine, in his Lives of the English Dramatick Poets (2), as also the late author of the British Theatre (3), affirm, That Mr Randolph was born at Houghton in Northamptonshire. But we chuse to follow Mr Wood, who had seen his Epitaph, and seems to have been furnished with the best and most authentic materials.

(1) Edit. Lond. 1687, 8vo. p. 142.

(2) Lond. 1699, p. 115.

(3) Lond. 1752, 8vo. p. 44.

[*B*] *The History of the Incarnation of our Saviour, which still remains in manuscript.*] Mr Wood says, that in his time it was 'preserved in manuscript in the 'Author's own hand-writing (4);' and we do not find it hath ever yet been published. It was undoubtedly upon account of that work, that Mr West passes the following compliment upon Mr Randolph.

(4) Athenæ, ut supra.

He lisp'd wit worthy th' presse, as if that he
Had us'd his cradle as a library.
Some of these fruits had birth, when other boyes
(His elders) play'd with nuts: Books were his
toys (5).

(5) Verses to the pious Memory of our Author, prefixed to his Works.

[*C*] *Particularly of one of the best wits and scholars of that age, the rare Benj. Johnson.*] The manner how their acquaintance began, is thus related by Winstanley (6). 'Mr Randolph having been at London so 'long as that he might truly have had a parley with 'his *Empty Purse*, was resolved to go see Ben. Johnson 'with his associates, which as he heard at a set time 'kept a club together at the Devil-Tavern near Tem-'ple-Bar: Accordingly, at the time appointed he 'went thither, but being unknown to them, and want-'ing money, which to an ingenious spirit is the most 'daunting thing in the world, he peep'd in the room 'where they were; which being espied by Ben John-'son, and seeing him in a Scholar's thread-bare habit, '"John Bo peep, says he, come in." Accordingly he 'did, when immediately they began to rhyme upon 'the meanness of his clothes, asking him, "If he "could not make a verse?" and withal to call for his 'quart of Sack. There being four of them, he im-'mediately replied,

(6) Ubi supra, p. 143, 144.

'I John Bo-peep, to you four sheep,
'With each one his good fleece,
'If that you are willing to give me five shilling,
'Tis fifteen pence a-piece.

'By Jesus, quoth Ben Johnson, (his usual oath) I be-'lieve this is my son Randolph:' which being made known to them, he was kindly entertained into their company, and Ben. Johnson ever after called him Son.

[*D*] *Who adopted him for one of his sons.*] Our Author wrote upon that occasion, 'A gratulatory to Mr '*Ben. Johnson*, for his adopting of him to be his 'Son:' which is printed among the rest of his poems (7).

(7) Edit. 1664, p. 17.

[*E*] *A*

printed among his works (*c*) [*E*]. The scantiness of his patrimony, or his own extravagance, brought upon him that evil too common to Poets, Poverty [F]. And his irregular, and too free way of living, among his companions and admirers, shortened in all probability his days. For, after he had continued some time at his father's in Little Houghton in Northamptonshire, he went to the house of William Stafford of Blatherwick in the same county, where he dyed in March 1634, aged not quite thirty years. The 17th of the said month, he was buried in an isle joining to Blatherwick-church, among the Stafford-family. And, soon after, Sir Christopher Hatton caused, at his own charge, a monument of white marble wreathed about with laurel, to be erected over his grave: the inscription on which, in Latin and English verse, was made by the Poet's friend Peter Hausted of Cambridge (*d*). He was a man of the greatest good humour, and a facetious companion; his Poems abound with wit; and though generally jocose, he is upon many occasions sententiously grave, and moral [*G*]. He appears to have been of

(*c*) Lives of the English Poets, &c. by W. Winstanley, Lond. 1687, 8vo. p. 142.

(*d*) Wood, Ath. ut supra, col. 244, 245.

[*E*] *A quarrel arising, he had the misfortune to lose the little finger of his left hand. Which accident*, &c.] The occasion of that misfortune is somewhat differently related by W. Winstanley, and the author of the British Theatre. The former says, That 'as it often 'happens, that in drinking high quarrels arise, so there 'chanced some words to pass betwixt Mr Randolph 'and another gentleman, which grew to be so high, 'that the Gentleman drawing his sword, and striking 'at Mr Randolph, cut off his little finger.'—But the latter affirms, 'He had the misfortune to lose one of 'his fingers, by a cut which he received in endea-'vouring to part two of his companions.' Which way soever it happened, the Verses he made upon the occasion, are these (8).

(8) See his Works, p. 32.

Arithmetique nine digits, and no more
Admits of, then I still have all my store;
For, what mischance hath ta'ne from my left hand,
It seems did only for a cypher stand.
But this I'le say for thee, departed joynt,
Thou wert not given to steal, not pick, nor point
At any in disgrace, but thou didst go
Untimely to thy death, only to show
The other members what they once must do:
Hand, arm, leg, thigh, and all must follow too.
Oft didst thou scan my verse, where if I miss,
Henceforth I will impute the cause to this.
A finger's losse (I speak it not in sport)
Will make a verse sometimes a foot too short.
Farewell, dear finger, much I grieve to see
How soon mischance hath made a hand of thee.

There is also another copy of verses upon the same subject, in his poems; full of religious sentiments (9).

(9) P. 106.

[*F*] *Brought upon him that evil too common to Poets, Poverty.*] He cannot forbear complaining of it in his works, especially in two humorous Poems; one intituled, 'A Parley with his empty Purse (10).' And the other, 'On importunate Dunnes (11).' Some stanzas of this last, we imagine, will not be disagreeable to the reader.

(10) See his Works, p. 98, 99.

(11) P. 101.

Heark, Reader, if thou never yet hadst one,
I'le shew the torments of a Cambridge Dun.
He railes where e're he comes, and yet can say
But this, that Randolph did not keep his day.
What? can I keep the Day, or stop the Sun
From setting, or the Night from coming on?
Could I have kept dayes, I had chang'd the doom
Of Times and Seasons, that had never come.
These evill Spirits haunt me every day,
And will not let me eat, study, or pray.
I am so much in their Books, that 'tis known
I am too seldome frequent in my own.
. . . .
. . . .
When I would go to Chappell, they betray
My zeal, and when I only meant to pray
Unto my God, faith, all I have to do
Is to pray them, and glad they'l hear me too.
. . . .

It concludes thus.

But my last Imprecation this shall be,
May they more debtors have, and all like me.

[G] *And though generally jocose, he is upon many occasions sententiously grave and moral.*] Particularly in his *Necessary Observations*, or thirty-seven Precepts; which begin thus.

First worship God, he that forgets to pray
Bids not himself good-morrow, nor good-day.
Let thy first labour be to purge thy sin,
And serve Him first, whence all things did begin (12).

(12) Poems, p. 33, &c.

The rest is in the like pious strain.

But for a sample of his more serious performances, we shall lay before the Reader the following poem of his, *In praise of Women in general.*

He is a paricide to his mother's name,
And with an impious hand murthers her fame,
That wrongs the praise of Women, that dares write
Libels on Saints, or with foule ink requite
The milk they lent us; better Sex command
To your defence my more religious hand
At sword or pen; yours was the nobler birth,
For you of Man were made, Man but of Earth,
The son of dust; and though your sin did breed
His fall, again you rais'd him in your seed:
Adam in's sleep a gainful losse sustain'd,
That for one rib a Better Self regain'd.
Who had he not your blest creation seen,
An An'chorite in Paradise had been.
Why in this work did the creation rest,
But that eternall Providence thought you best
Of all his six dayes labour? Beasts should do
Homage to man, but man should wait on you.
You are of comelier sight, of daintier touch,
A tender flesh, a colour bright, and such
As Parians see in marble: Skin more fair,
More glorious head, and far more glorious hair;
Eyes full of grace and quicknesse; purer roses
Blush in your cheeks, a milder white composes
Your stately fronts; your breath, more sweet than his,
Breathes spice, and nectar drops at every kiss.
Your skins are smooth, bristles on theirs do grow
Like quills of porcupines; rough wool doth flow
O're all their faces, you approach more near
The form of angels, They like beasts appear.

If

(e) Winstanley, and British Theatre, as above.

(f) See among the Copies of Verses prefixed to the Jealous Lovers. one of his which begins thus. *Non satis est quod te dederit natura priorem,* &c.

of a true poetical disposition, free, generous, and regardless of the world (*e*). Besi some miscellaneous Poems [*H*], he was author of six Dramatic pieces, of which an accou is given below [*I*]. His works were collected together by a younger brother of his (*j* named ROBERT, who was himself a good poet, as appears from several copies of hi verses printed not only at the head of our Author's, but also in several other books. I - was a Student of Christ-Church, Oxon. where he took the degree of Bachelor of Ar February 18, 1627, and afterwards became first Vicar of Barnetby then of Donningtou in Lincolnshire: he dyed, at the age of about sixty, and was interred at Donnington July 7, 1671 (*g*).

(g) Wood, Fasti, Vol. I. col. 236.

If then in bodies where the souls do dwell
You better us, do then our souls excell?
No; we in souls equall perfection see,
There can in them nor male nor female be.
Boast we of knowledg? You have more than we,
You were the first ventur'd to pluck the tree.
And that more Rhetorick in your tongues doth lye,
Let Him dispute against, that dares deny
Your least commands, and not perswaded be
With Samson's strength, and David's piety,
To be your willing Captives; Vertue sure
Were blind as fortune, should shee choose the poore
Rough cottage Man to live in, and despise
To dwell in You, the stately edifice.
Thus You are prov'd the better Sex, and we
Must all repent that in our pedigree
We chose the father's name; where should we take
The mother's, a more honour'd blood, 'twould make
Our generation sure, and certain be,
And I'de believe some faith in heraldry!
Thus, perfect creatures, if detraction rise
Against your sex, dispute but with your eyes,
Your hand, your lip, your brow, there will be sent
So subtile and so strong an argument,
Will teach the Stoick his affection too,
And call the Cynick from his tub to woo.
Thus must'ring up your beauteous troops, go on,
The fairest is the valiant Amazon (13).

(13) Poems, &c. p. 113, &c.

[*H*] *Besides some miscellaneous Poems*, &c.] They were undoubtedly thrown out into the world at different times; and, after his decease, collected together by his brother Robert, and published at Oxford in 1640. 8vo. Another edition was printed at London in 1652. which is extremely full of faults. Two other editions came out in 1664, and 1668. 8vo. which are better and more correct.

[*I*] *He was author of six Dramatic pieces.*] The names are as follows. 1. 'The Muses looking-glass.' A comedy. It was at first named *The Entertainment*; as is manifest from some encomiastick verses upon it by Sir Aston Cokain (14), which he intitles, 'To my 'friend Mr *Thomas Randolph* on his Play called the '*Entertainment*, printed by the name of the *Muses* '*Looking-Glass*.' It is full of good morality; which made Sir Aston say of it.

(14) Choice Poems, edit. 1669, 8vo. p. 98.

. . . . 'No
'True Moralist would be supposed thy foe.
' . . . .
'The Stagyrite will be slighted; who doth list
'To read or see't, becomes a Moralist.'

Reprinted in 1757 under the title of The Mirrour.

2. He wrote, '*Amyntas*, or The impossible Dowry. 'A Pastoral acted before the King and Queene at 'White hall.' 3. '*Aristippus*, or The Joviall Philo-'sopher. Presented in a private shew.' 4. 'The 'conceited Pedler, as it was presented in a strange 'show;' At Cambridge. 1630. 5. 'The jealous Lo-'vers. A Comedie. Presented to their gracious Ma-'jesties at Cambridge, by the Students of Trinitie-'Colledge.' This comedy was published by the Author himself, who dedicated it to Dr Comber Master of his college, &c. and inscribed it, in some copies of verses, to Sir Kenelm Digbie, Sir Christopher Hatton, Antony Stafford, Richard Lane, his Master Osbaldeston, and Tho. Riley. There are prefix'd to it some commendatory verses by Edward Hide, (afterwards Lord Chancellor) Edw. Fraunces, Richard Benefield, James Duport, &c.——Mr Randolph apologizes, in the Preface, for those many Dedications and Approbations, in these words. 'That I make so many de-'dications, think not that I value it as a present 'rich enough to be divided; but know whom I am in 'piety bound to honour. That I admit so many of 'my friends approbations, is not that I itch'd for 'praise and love rubbing, but that I was willing thou 'should'st have something worth thy reading.' This play was revived on the stage at London, in 1682. when Mrs Behn wrote an Epilogue for it, which is printed among her works. 6. Mr Randolph translated from Aristophanes's *Plutus*, a Comedy intituled 'Hey 'for Honesty, down with Knavery.' Lond. 1651. 4to. but not inserted among the rest of his works. It was afterwards augmented and published in 8vo. by another hand, viz. F. J. (15). C

(15) Langbaine, Wood, and British Theatre, as above.

RAY [JOHN] [*A*], a true Christian Philosopher, whose name is an honour to the English nation, was the son of Mr Roger Ray, a Blacksmith, and born at Black Notley in Essex, November 29, 1628. He received his first education at a school in Braintree [*B*] near his native place. Then, on the 28th of June, 1644, he was admitted into Catharine-hall in Cambridge, whence in 1646 he removed himself to Trinity-college in the

[*A*] RAY (JOHN)]. He wrote his name *Wray*, 'till about August 1670, when he dropt the W; of which he gave the following account in a Letter to Dr Lister (1). *Videbis me in titulo* Catalogi (2), *& dedicatione, literam nominis mei initialem* W *abjecisse, quod ne mireris, fateor tibi, me eam olim, antiquâ & patriâ scriptione immutatâ, citra idoneam rationem adscivisse.* i. e. 'You will see that both in the title and dedica-'tion of my Catalogue [of Plants,] I have cast off W 'the initial letter of my name; which that you 'may not wonder at, I own to you I had assumed it 'without sufficient reason, changing the antient man-'ner of writing my name, that which had been used 'by my ancestors.'——Dr Lister thereupon in his Answer (3), says;——'I was pleased with the Deriva-'tion of your name whilst V was at it, it agreed so 'well with a virtue so eminent in you, and which, I 'am confident, you will never lay aside; however 'you please to alter the writing of your name: you 'well know what *Vray* in French means.'——

(1) Philosophical Letters between the late learned Mr Ray and his correspondents, &c. Lond. 1718, 8vo. p. 72.

(2) Scil. Plantarum, &c.

(3) Philos. Letters, &c. p. 73.

[*B*] *He received his first education at a school in Braintree.*] This he mentions himself, in a letter to John Aubrey, Esq; (4).——'Neither is your Obser-'vation universally true, that the Sons of Labourers 'and Rusticks are more dull and indocile than those 'of Gentlemen and Tradesmen; for tho' I do not 'pretend to have been of the first Magnitude for Wit 'or Docility, yet I think I may without arrogance 'say, that in our paltry country School here at *Brain-'try*, *Ego meis me minoribus condiscipulis ingenio præ-'luxi*; but perchance the Advantage I had of my 'Contemporaries, may rather be owing to my In-'dustry than Natural parts; so that I should [say] '*studio* or *industria excellui*.'——

(4) See J. Aubrey's Hist. of Surrey, Vol. V. 8vo. p. 408.

[*C*] *As*

the same university. Having taken the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1647, he was elected Fellow of the college on the 8th of September 1649; and became tutor to many gentlemen (*a*). In the year 1651, he commenced Master of Arts (*b*). Being naturally consumptive and weakly (*c*), and withal having injured his health by a too intense application to his studies; he was advised, and obliged, to exercise himself by riding or walking in the fields. But as he was of a most ingenious and industrious disposition, he turned that otherwise idle time to profit, by studying Botany: in which science he arrived at a great perfection, as appears by the many learned and voluminous works he published about Herbs and Plants [*C*], and of which a more particular account will be given in the sequel of this article. His first longest excursion in search of plants, was in the summer of the year 1658, when he rode from Cambridge to Chester; from whence he went into North-Wales, visiting many places, and among the rest the famous hill of Snowdon (*d*), and returned by Shrewsbury and Gloucester. On the 23d of December, 1660, he was ordained Deacon and Priest by Dr Robert Sanderson, Bishop of Lincoln (*e*). In the year 1661, he took a second journey, with Francis Willughby, Esq; and others, in search of herbs, plants, &c. into the North of England; and thence into Scotland, through Edinburgh, as far as Sterling; from whence returning through Glasgow, and so into England by Carlisle, they arrived at Cambridge the 7th of September (*f*). The year following, taking Chester and all Wales in their way, they travelled through Cornwall, Devonshire, Dorsetshire, Hamshire, Wiltshire, Berkshire, &c. and returned to London by Windsor. But, upon the coming out of the Bartholomew-act, as it was called, Mr Ray quitted his Fellowship of Trinity-college, August 24, 1662 (*g*); because he could not comply with all the conditions required in that act [*D*]. In the years 1663, 1664, and 1665, he accompanied Francis Willughby, Philip Skippon, and ——— Bacon, Esqrs, in their Travels through the Low-Countries, Germany, Italy, France, &c. embarking at Dover the 18th of April, 1663, and returning thither April 8th, 1666 (*h*). He published afterwards the curious Observations he had made in those Travels [*E*]. Upon his return to England, he lived some time at his native place of Black-Notley [*F*], but mostly at Middleton-hall in Warwickshire, the seat of his most worthy and ingenious friend Francis Willughby, Esq; (*i*). In 1667, they visited together Worcestershire, and all the western counties. On the 7th of November, 1667, Mr Ray was admitted Fellow of the Royal Society (*k*). The year following, he visited Kent, in pursuit of his favourite study of Botany; and, for the same purpose, took another journey into the northern parts of England

(*a*) Dr Edm. Calamy' Continuation of the Account of the Ministers, &c. ejected and silenced after the Restoration, &c. edit. 1727, 8vo. Vol. I. p. 120, &c. Some of the dates are borrowed from the General Dictionary.

(*b*) From the University Registers.

(*c*) See Philosophical Letters between Mr Ray and his Correspondents, edit. 1718, 8vo. p. 22.

(*d*) In Caernarvonshire; reckoned one of the highest mountains in Britain, as being 1240 yards high, according to Mr Caswell's mensuration. See Philos. Transact. Vol. XXXV. p. 579.

(*e*) See Mr Ray's dying words, at the end of his Letters, p. 374.

(*f*) See his Letters, p. 358.

(*g*) Calamy's Account of the ejected or silenced Ministers, &c. Vol. II. edit. 1713, p. 87. and Continuation of the Account, Vol. I. p. 120.

(*h*) See Mr Ray's Observations made in his Journey: and Sir Phil. Skippon's Account of his Journey, inserted in Churchill's Collection of Voyages, Vol. VI.

(*i*) See Mr Ray's Letters.

(*k*) From some Minutes of his.

[*C*] *As appears by the many learned and voluminous works he published about Herbs and Plants.*] The first piece he published in that kind, was, *Catalogus Plantarum circa Cantabrigiam nascentium*, i. e. 'A catalogue of 'Plants growing near Cambridge: with an Appendix.' Printed in February 1659-60, *Cantabr.* 8vo. (5). ——————He also, in conjunction with Mr Willughby, made, out of Gerard, Parkinson, and *Phytologia Britannica*, a Collection of rare Plants, whose places are therein mentioned, and ranked them under the several counties. From which he compiled another book, wherein 1. He gives the Names of all Plants found growing in England in an alphabetical order; together with their *Synonyma*, except such as were mention'd in the above *Catalog.* whose *Synonyma* he omits, setting down only one name, and referring for the rest to *Catalog. Cant.* 2. He annexes a full *Index Anglico-Latinus*, after the manner of that in the said Catalogue. 3. He puts in the Counties, with the several rare Plants in them, marshalled alphabetically (6). This was published in 1670. 8vo. under this title, *Catalogus Plantarum Angliæ, & Insularum adjacentium, tum indigenas, tum in Agris passim cultas, complectens.* Reprinted in 1677. A third edition came out in 1724. corrected; with the addition of about 450 species of Plants, newly discovered; and illustrated with figures.

(5) See his Letters, p. 355.

(6) See his Letters, p. 49, 61, 71, 356.

[*D*] *Because he could not comply with all the conditions required in that act.*] We are told, 'that the 'true reason of his quitting his Fellowship, was, that 'he could not by any means satisfy himself to declare, 'that none were bound by the *Solemn League and Covenant*, that had taken it, tho' he himself never 'took it (7).' But that is very imperfectly express'd; for the words of the Declaration in the Act of Uniformity, are,——'And I do declare that I do hold, 'there lies no obligation upon me, or on any other 'person, from the oath commonly called the *Solemn 'League and Covenant*, to endeavour any change, or 'alteration of Government, either in Church or State; 'and that the same was in itself an unlawful oath.'— Though Mr Ray would not perfectly comply with the Act, yet he was a Lay-Conformist, and frequented the public prayers and Sacraments as long as his health and strength would permit (8). One may conclude from one of his Letters (9), that he was offered preferment after Bishop Wilkins's advancement to the Bishopric of Chester, and refus'd it. His words are,— D. Wilkins *in episcopalem cathedram evectum, & sui ipsius, & mei, & præcipuè ecclesiæ causâ vehementer gaudeo: Me tamen per eum ecclesiæ restitutum iri, stante sententiâ, planè est impossibile, nec enim unquam adduci me posse puto ut Declarationi subscribam quam lex non ita pridem lata Presbyteris aliisque ecclesiæ Ministris injungit.*—i. e. 'I extremely rejoyce that Dr Wilkins is 'advanc'd to a Bishopric, both for his own sake, and 'mine, and the Church's: But, in my present opinion, 'it is impossible for me to be brought again, through 'him, into the Church; nor do I think I can ever 'be induced to subscribe the Declaration injoyned the 'Ministers of the Church by a late Law, &c.'

(7) Calamy's Continuation, &c. Vol. I. p. 120.

(8) Ibid. p. 121.

(9) See his Letters, p. 35.

[*E*] *He published afterwards the curious Observations he had made in those Travels.*] They are intituled, 'Observations Topographical, Moral, and Physiological, made in a Journey through part of the Low-Countries, Germany, Italy, and France; by J. Ray. 'F. R. S. Whereunto is added a brief Account of 'Fran. Willoughby, Esq; his Voyage through a great 'part of Spain.' Lond. 1673. 8vo. These Voyages are full of such curious Remarks, as might be expected from the Authors universal Learning; and, particularly, take notice of the Plants in every place. They are inserted in the Second Volume of Dr John Harris's Collection of Voyages.

[*F*] *He lived some time at his native place of Black-Notley.*] Dr Calamy, in his usual inaccurate manner, says (10), that Mr Ray, 'after quitting his Fellowship, liv'd sometimes at Chester, with Bishop Wilkins, and sometimes at other places.' But Bishop Wilkins had no relation to Chester 'till the year 1668, when he was made Bishop of that see: and therefore Mr Ray could not be there with him, soon after losing his Fellowship, and before his Travels, as Dr Calamy's words naturally imply. Mr Ray was with the Bishop at Chester, that we are sure of, only in 1669, and 1671, and made but short visits (11).——For instances of Dr Calamy's numberless inaccuracies, see Bishop Kennet's Register and Chronicle, &c.

(10) Continuation, &c. Vol. I. p. 121.

(11) See his Letters, p. 45, 102.

(l) See his Letters, p. 30. He seems to have taken another simpling Voyage into the North in 1671. See his Letters, p. 93.

(m) See the dates of his Letters, 'till 1675 at least.

(n) Ar. Collins's Peerage, edit. 1735, 8vo. Vol. III. p. 404.

(o) Calamy's Continuation, as above; and General Dictionary.

(p) One of them married the Rev. Mr Blower, Rector of Pattiswick in Essex.

(q) See his Letters, p. 120, 129.

England (l). Thence he came and fixed at Middleton-hall, where he continued several years (m), pursuing his studies with great attention; and being quite happy in Mr Willughby's company. The death of that most valuable friend, on the third of July, 1672 (n), sensibly affected Mr Ray; who was in danger thereby of being deprived of his best, if not only, support. But that good man shewed his great esteem for him, by appointing him one of the executors of his will, and guardian to his children, and leaving him an annuity of sixty pounds a year for his life, which was duly paid without any deduction (o). Out of his valuable Collections, Mr Ray digested and compiled two folio Volumes, containing very curious Histories of Birds and Fishes; of which an account is given below in the note [G]. In July 1673, he married Margaret, one of the daughters of John Oakley of Launton in Oxfordshire, Gent. by whom he had four daughters, three of whom survived him. But, though he was very learned himself, he did not give them a tolerable education (p). Notwithstanding his marriage, he continued at Middleton the remainder of the year 1673, and all 1674 (q); but, very probably when his family increased, he removed to Coleshill, and Sutton-Cofield, in Warwickshire (r), where he abode 'till about Michaelmas 1677. Then he returned into Essex, and having lived above a year and a half at Faulkborn-hall, the seat of Edward Bullock, Esq; (s), he settled in a house of his own building at Black-Notley, where he continued the remainder of his days (t). In 1686 he published his great work of the History of Plants [H]; and some lesser pieces published by him at several times, upon the same subject, are set down below [I]. As his chief delight and employment was the general study of Nature, he put out in 1693 a concise but very accurate Account of Quadrupeds and Serpents [K]; free from the errors and fabulous relations of other writers upon that subject. He drew up likewise in the same method, and about the same time (u), a Synopsis of Birds and Fishes [L]; which being left

(r) See his Letters, p. 134, 138—142.

(s) He dedicated his *Stirpium Europæarum Sylloge*, to the Son, wherein he acknowledges his great Obligation to the Father.

(t) From persons who knew him.

(u) Vide Præfat ad Synopsin methodic. Avium. See also Mr Ray's Letters, p 278.

[G] *Out of his valuable Collections, Mr Ray digested and compiled two folio Volumes, containing very curious Histories of Birds and Fishes*, &c.] The History of Birds was publish'd first, under this title, Francisci Willoughbeii *de* Middleton, *Armigeri, è Reg. Soc.* Ornithologiæ *Libri tres, in quibus Aves omnes hactenus cognitæ, in Methodum naturis suis convenientem redactæ, accuratè describuntur: Descriptiones Iconibus elegantissimis, & vivarum Avium simillimis, æri incisis, illustrantur. Totum opus recognovit, digessit, supplevit,* Joh. Raius. Lond. 1676. fol. Mr Ray made great additions and improvements to Mr Willoughby's materials; 'taking in all the kinds of Birds he found 'in Books, which Mr Willoughby had not described: 'and adding a Figure for all the Descriptions, as far 'he could procure them (12).' He translated this Work also into English, and had it printed at London in 1678. fol. with very great improvements.

(12) Letters, p. 121.

As for the History of Fishes, it was published in 1686. fol. under this title, Fran. Willoughbeii *Armig. de* Historiâ Piscium *Libri quatuor, Jussu & Sumptu Societatis Regiæ Lond. editi. Totum opus recognovit, coaptavit, supplevit, Librum etiam Primum & Secundum integros adjecit* Joh. Raius, *è Soc. Reg.* Oxon. By which title it appears, that Mr Ray, besides digesting the whole work, added the *two entire First books.*— In 1743, Cromwell Mortimer M. D. caused the Title-page of this book to be reprinted; and subjoined, at the end of it, an Index of the Fishes described, or engraved in the Book, with their Names, in several languages. The names were pasted in the prints, at the bottom, or sides, of the figures of the several Fishes.

[H] *In 1686 he published his great work of the History of Plants*] The title of it, is, Historia Plantarum, *Species hactenus editas, aliasque insuper multas noviter inventas & descriptas complectens. Tomi Duo.* fol. Lond.——A third Volume, being a Supplement to the two foregoing, with additions from Father Camelli [a Jesuite at Manila,] and Monf. Tournefort, was published in 1704. fol.——Dr Compton Bishop of London proposed, in 1702, to have the Figures of the Plants engraved for these Volumes of Mr Ray's, but the great Charge attending that generous Design, undoubtedly put a stop to it (13).

(13) See Mr Ray's Letters, p. 319, 320.

[I] *And some lesser pieces, published by him, at several times, upon the same subject*, &c.] Besides, 1. *Catalog. Plantarum circa Cantabrigiam nascentium*; and 2. *Catalog. Plantarum Angliæ*, &c. the rest of his smaller pieces upon Botany, were these following. 3. *Catalogus Stirpium in exteris regionibus observatarum.* Lond. 1673. 8vo. 4. *Methodus Plantarum nova, cum Tabulis.* Lond. 1682. Eadem emendata & aucta. Lond. 1703. 8vo. 5. *Fasciculus Stirpium Britannicarum post editum Catalogum Plantarum Angliæ.* Lond. 1688. 8vo. 6. *Synopsis Methodica Stirpium Britannicarum, in quâ tum Notæ generum characteristicæ traduntur, tum Species singulæ breviter describuntur* Lond. 1690. 8vo. *Eadem Synopsis, multis Stirpibus & observationibus curiosis passim insertis, cum Muscorum Methodo & Historiâ plenìore*, &c. Lond. 1696. 8vo. (14). 7. *Stirpium Europæarum extra Britannias nascentium Sylloge. Quas partim observavit ipse, partim è Car. Clusii historiâ, Bauhini Prod. &c. collegit Joannes Raius. Adjiciuntur Catalogi rariorum Alpinarum & Pyrenaicarum, Baldensium, Hispanicarum Grisleii, Græcarum, & Orientalium, Creticarum, Ægyptiorum*, &c. Lond. 1694. 8vo. 8. *Epistola ad D Rivinum de Methodo Plantarum, in quâ Elementa Botanica D. Tournefort tanguntur.* Lond. 1696. 8vo. 9. *Dissertatio de variis Plantarum Methodis.* Lond. 1696. 8vo.

(14) A third edition of this was printed in 1724, 2 vols, 8vo. with the addition of near 450 species, discovered since the first publication.

[K] *A concise but very accurate Account of four-footed Beasts and Serpents.*] The title he gave it, is, *Synopsis methodica Animalium Quadrupedum et Serpentini generis. Vulgarium Notas characteristicas, Rariorum Descriptiones integras exhibens: cum Historiis & Observationibus Anatomicis perquam curiosis. Præmittuntur nonnulla de Animalium in genere, Sensu, Generatione, Divisione*, &c. Lond. 1693 8vo. i e. 'A methodical Synopsis, or View, of four footed Animals 'and Serpents. Giving the characteristical marks of 'the common ones, and entire descriptions of the 'more uncommon: with very curious histories and 'anatomical observations. To which are prefixed 'some things concerning the Sense, Generation, and 'Division of Animals in general.' More commodious, and more to be depended upon in general, than the voluminous works of Gesner, Aldrovand, &c.

[L] *A Synopsis of Birds and Fishes.*] The title of this, is, Joannis Raii *Synopsis methodica Avium & Piscium; Opus posthumum, quod vivus recensuit & perfecit ipse insignissimus Author: in quo multas Species, in ipsius Ornithologiâ & Ichthyologiâ desideratas, adjecit: Methodumque suam Piscium Naturæ magis convenientem reddidit. Cum Appendice, & Iconibus.* Lond. 1713. 8vo. i. e. 'A methodical Synopsis of Birds and 'Fishes; A posthumous Work of the late Mr John 'Ray: Which the illustrious Author revised and com-'pleated in his life time. Wherein many Species, 'wanting in his Ornithology, and Ichthyology, are 'added: and his Method of Fishes is rendered more 'agreeable to Nature. With an Appendix, and Fi-'gures.' The Figures are contained in four plates; whereof the two first represent Indian Birds about Fort St George, and the two last Fishes lately discovered on the coasts of Cornwall by the Reverend Mr George Iago.——He tells us himself in one of his Letters (15), what *new* things are in this Synopsis, that is, such as were not comprehended in Mr Willughby's works. And they are, 1. Hernandez's Mexican birds. 2. Some names and descriptions of Birds out of Nieuhoff. 3. Frid. Martens's Spitzberg Birds and Fishes. 4. Sir

(15) P. 278.

left in manuscript, was published afterwards by his learned and ingenious friend Mr Derham. Insects were also the objects of his thoughts and researches (w), and what observations he left upon that point were communicated to the world by his excellent friend just now mentioned [M]. Of his extensive knowledge he made that use, which every true Philosopher, and good Man, will always make; namely, to magnify the great Author of Nature, and to celebrate his most excellent Perfections, which are conspicuous in every part of the creation. For that purpose, he wrote his pious book on the Wisdom of God [N]: and to the same head may be referred his Three Physico-Theological Discourses [O], and his Persuasive to a holy Life [P]. Several curious pieces and observations of his, in Natural History and Philosophy, are inserted in the Philosophical Transactions [Q]. And a few other less things, published by him, are referred to the note below [R]. He continued

(w) See his Letters, p. 236, 321, 342, 343.

4. Sir Robert Sibbalds's Whales. 5. Dr Sloane's Jamaica Birds and Fishes. 6. Dr Tancr. Robinson's Birds and Fishes taken out of the Leyden catalogue. And lastly some few things out of Du Tertre.

[M] *Insects were also the objects of his thoughts and researches*, &c.] He tells us himself (16) that he had employed a great deal of time about them. 'As for 'our English Insects, says he, I think I may without 'vanity, say, that I have taken more pains about some 'tribes of them, than any Englishman before me.—— 'I have by me a History of our Diurnal English *Papilio*'s of my own knowledge, which I drew up 'some years since, they are in number about forty.— Elsewhere (17), he says,——'I have confined myself 'chiefly to two or three sorts [of Insects] viz. *Papilio's diurnal*, and *nocturnal*, *Beetles*, *Bees*, and *Spiders*. Of the first of these I have found about 300 'kinds, and there are still remaining many more undiscover'd by me, and all within the compass of a 'few miles. How many then may we reasonably 'conjecture are to be found in England, in Europe, 'in the East and West Indies, in the whole world. 'The Beetles are a tribe near as numerous as these, 'and the Flies of all sorts, not fewer. I have now 'given over my inquisition by reason of my disability 'to prosecute, and my approaching end, which I 'pray God fit me for.'——He renews the same complaints elsewhere (18); intermixing these curious observations:—'I admire, that there should be so many 'distinct Species of Gnats *in rerum naturâ*. As for 'the *Cimices* they may easily be compassed; but to find 'out, describe and methodize all the Species of *Flies* 'and *Beetles* of England alone, is the work of a 'man's life. The *Phalænæ* are so numerous, that 'should I live 20 years longer, and were in condition 'to search them out, yet I should despair of coming 'to an end of them, much less of discovering the several changes they go through, from the Egg to the '*Papilio*, and describing the *Erucæ* and *Aureliæ* of 'each. I am of opinion that the number of *Beetles* 'is equal to, if it doth not exceed, that of *Papilio*'s, 'and they all undergo the like changes with them.' ———So it seems he did not compleat the History of Insects; but what was found of it among his MSS. was published by Dr Derham; being, *Methodus Insectorum*. Lond. 1705. 8vo. and, *Historia Insectorum. Opus posthumum*. Lond. 1710. and 1726. 4to. Mr Ray had some Papers of Mr Willughby's upon Insects; which were returned to his Son Sir Thomas Willughby (19).

(16) Letters, p. 321.

(17) Ibid. p. 317.

(18) P. 343.

(19) See his Letters, p. 141, 343.

[N] *For that purpose, he wrote his pious book on the Wisdom of God*.] The title of it, is, 'The Wisdom of 'God manifested in the Works of the Creation: in 'two Parts; viz. The heavenly Bodies, Elements, 'Meteors, Fossils, Vegetables, Animals (Beasts, Birds, 'Fishes, and Insects); more particularly in the Body 'of the Earth, it's Figure, Motion, and Consistency; 'and in the admirable Structure of the Bodies of Man, 'and other Animals; as also in their Generation, &c. 'With Answers to some Objections' Lond. 1692. 8vo. The 6th edition in 1714. was revised and corrected by Dr Derham. The 7th edit. in 1717. is the fairest and best printed. There have been two or three editions since. 'Tis dedicated by the author to the Lady Lettice Wendy, sister to his best friend and patron Francis Willughby, Esq; He says in the Preface, that, 'By virtue of his function, he suspected himself to be 'obliged to write something in Divinity, having written so much on other Subjects: For being not permitted, says he, to serve the Church with my 'Tongue in Preaching, I know not but it may be my 'Duty to serve it with my Hand by Writing: And I 'have made choice of this Subject, as thinking myself 'best qualified to treat of it.'—

[O] *Three Physico-Theological Discourses*.] The rest of the Title, is,—'concerning, I. The primitive 'Chaos, and Creation of the World. II. The general Deluge, it's Causes and Effects. III. The 'Dissolution of the World, and future Conflagration. 'Wherein are largely discussed, the Production and 'Use of Mountains; the Original of Fountains, of 'formed Stones and Sea-Fishes Bones and Shells found 'in the Earth; the Effects of particular Floods, and 'Inundations of the Sea; the Eruptions of Vulcano's; 'the Nature and Causes of Earth quakes. Also an 'historical Account of those two late remarkable 'ones in Jamaica and England. With practical Inferences.' Lond. 1692. 8vo. And in 1693, Illustrated with copper-plates. The 3d Edition, much 'more enlarged than the former Editions, from the 'Author's own MSS. was published, in 1713. by 'Dr Derham. And there hath been another Edition 'since, in 1732.'

[P] *And his Persuasive to a holy life*.] First printed in 1700. Reprinted in 1709.

[Q] *Several curious pieces and observations of his,* —*are inserted in the Philosophical Transactions*.] We set them down here, according to the order of time in which they appeared. Observations and Experiments concerning Vegetation, and the running of the Sap, by Mr Willughby and Mr Wray (20). Concerning the Spiders darting their Threads (21). Concerning the acid Juice of Pismires (22). Of spontaneous generation. Of musk-scented Insects. Concerning a *Scolopendra* seen in the Cloysters of Trinity-college, Cambr. (23). Observations on the Anatomy of a Porpus seen at West-Chester in April 1669 (24). Odd Mushrooms found in Marton-woods in Craven by Dr Lister. Mr Wray thinks they were the *Fungus piperatus albus, lacteo succo turgens*; described by Bauhine—l. 40. c. 6 (25). Observations on the *Trochitæ* and *Entrochi*—and the *Astroites*———described by Dr Lister (26). Of the use of the Air-bladder in Fishes (27). Concerning the Wood-cracker, or *Picus Martius varius* (28). Considerations on the Improvement to be made of Maize, as affirm'd by Sir Richard Bulkley (29). Of a poisonous root like Hemlock (30). Of the pernicious effects of eating *Oenanthe Aquatica succo viroso*, i.e. Hemlock-water dropwort (31). Some Remarks on *Museo de Piante rare della Sicilia*, &c. by P. Boccone (32). Observations in a course of Anatomy of Signor Marchetti at Padua. Communicated by S. Dale (33). Observations made at Rome on the Comet which appeared in 1664. Communicated by the same (34).

[R] *And a few other less things published by him*, &c.] Such I reckon, I. his '*Collection of English* 'Proverbs Digested into a convenient Method for the 'Speedy finding any one upon occasion; with short 'Annotations. Whereunto are added Local Proverbs 'with their Explications, old Proverbial Rhythmes, 'less known or exotick Proverbial Sentences, and 'Scottish Proverbs.' Cambr. 1670. 8vo. (35). In '1678, a Second Edition came out, Enlarged by the 'Addition of many hundred English, and an Appendix of Hebrew Proverbs, with Annotations and 'Parallels.' The Hebrew Proverbs were communicated to him by his neighbour Mr Richard Kidder, Rector of Rayne, and afterwards Bishop of Bath and Wells (36). This Book he called 'a Toy and Trifle, 'not worth the owning (37).' II. A Nomenclator, or *Dictionariolum Trilingue, Secundum Locos communes, nominibus usitatioribus, Anglicis, Latinis, Græcis*. And a Collection of Proverbs, at the end, in those three languages.

(20) No. 48. p. 963.

(21) No. 65. p. 2103, &c.

(22) No. 68. p. 2063.

(23) No. 74. p. 2219, &c.

(24) Ibid. and No. 76. p. 2274.

(25) No. 89. p. 5116, 5117.

(26) No. 100. p. 6190. and No. 112. p. 278.

(27) No. 115. p. 349.

(28) No. 172. p. 1043.

(29) No. 205. p. 930.

(30) No. 231. p. 635.

(31) No. 238. p. 86.

(32) No. 247. p. 462.

(33) No. 307. p. 2282.

(34) No. 309. p. 2350.

(35) See his Letters, p. 41, 63, 81, 87, 90, 92.

(36) See above the article KIDDER [RICHARD].

(37) Letters, p. 92.

continued his studies as long as his strength would permit him, even to the last, though he complained for some time of great infirmities [S]. At length, after a pious, useful, and well-spent Life, he quietly expired, January the 17th, 1705-6, in the 78th year of his age. According to his own direction, he was buried with his ancestors in the church-yard of Black-Notley; though the Rector of that parish offered him a place in the chancel of the church: which the good man modestly declined. A monument was soon after erected near his grave, with an elegant Latin inscription [T], at the charge of Bishop Compton,

languages. Lond. 1672. 8vo. Often reprinted since. III 'A Collection of English Local words not generally used, with their Significations and Original, in two Alphabetical Catalogues, the one of such as are proper to the Northern, the other to the Southern and Eastern Counties.' Together with, A Catalogue of local Words parallel'd with British or Welsh by Edw. Lhwyd. *Glossarium Northanbymbricum*. An Account of some Errors and Defects in our English Alphabet, Orthography, and Manner of Spelling. An Account of preparing some of our English Metals and Minerals; viz. Silver in Caerdiganshire; Tin in Cornwal; Iron in Sussex, with several Notes of Husbandry; the Wire-work at Tintern in Monmouthshire; the manner of making Vitriol, and red Lead; the Allom-work at Whitby in Yorkshire; The making of Salt at Namptwych in Cheshire, and in Lancashire. Lond. 1674. 12mo. A second edition, augmented with many hundreds of words, observations, &c. came out in 1691. and the last was in 1742. 8vo. IV. He revised and corrected *Leonhart Rauwolf's Itinerary*, which was translated out of High-Dutch into English by Mr Nicolas Staphorst; adding, at the end, A Catalogue of more rare Oriental Plants, growing in those parts where Rauwolf travelled. But the Notes and Animadversions upon that work were done by Dr Tancr. Robinson (37). Mr Ray added a Second Volume, collected from Belon, Vernon, Dr Spon, Dr T. Smith, Dr Huntingdon, Mr Greaves, Alpinus, Veslingius, Thevenot, &c. The two Volumes were printed in 1693. 8vo. and reprinted in 1738. 8vo. V. He communicated to the learned Editor of the last and best translation of Camden's Britannia (viz. Dr Edmund Gibson, late Lord Bishop of London,) the Catalogues of more rare Plants growing wild in each County in England, which are inserted in that work (38).

(37) See Mr Ray's Letters, p. 266, &c. 270, 272.

(38) See Bishop Gibson's Preface to Camden's Britannia; and Mr Ray's Letters, p. 276.

To conclude the Account of Mr Ray's works, his worthy friend Mr Derham published his Letters, in 1718, under this title. 'Philosophical Letters between the late learned Mr Ray and several of his ingenious Correspondents, Natives and Foreigners. To which are added those of Francis Willughby, Esq; The whole consisting of many curious Discoveries and Improvements in the History of Quadrupeds, Birds, Fishes, Insects, Plants, Fossiles, Fountains, &c.' Lond. 8vo.—Mr Derham had also fitted for the press, Mr Ray's Travels about England, Scotland, and Wales, with an intent to have published them, with his Life (39). But we do not find that he ever publish'd them.

(39) See Preface to Mr Ray's Letters.

[S] *Tho' he complain'd for some time of great infirmities.*] In a letter, dated June 24. 1702, to Mr Derham, he hath this passage.——'For my part I am now almost threescore and fifteen years of age, so that it is time for me to give over these Studies and Enquiries; and besides I am so lame, and almost continually afflicted with pain, that I cannot attend any study, being diverted by Pain (40).'—The Lameness and pain he here complains of, was occasioned by Sores, or Ulcers, in his Legs (41).——In another letter to the same friend, dated Sept. 6. 1704, he has these words.——'The work which I have now entred upon [the History of Insects] is indeed too great a Task for me; I am very crazy and infirm, and God knows whether I shall over-live this winter. Cold weather is very grievous to me (42).'

(40) Letters, p. 317.

(41) See his Wisdom of God, &c. edit. 1717, p. 237.

(42) Letters, p. 343.

[T] *With an elegant Latin inscription.*] It is as follows.

Eruditissimi viri Joannis Raii, A. M.
Quicquid mortale fuit
Hoc in angusto Tumulo reconditum est,
At Scripta
Non una continet Regio:
Et Fama undiquaque celeberrima
Vetat mori.
Collegii S. S. Trinitatis Cantab: fuit olim Socius,
Nec non Societatis Regiæ apud Londinenses Sodalis,
Egregium utriusque Ornamentum.
In omni Scientiarum genere,
Tam divinarum quam humanarum
Versatissimus.
Et sicut alter Solomon (cui forsan unico Secundus)
A Cedro ad Hyssopum,
Ab Animalium maximis ad minima usque Insecta
Exquisitam nactus est Notitiam,
Nec de stantis solum quæ patet Terræ facie,
Accuratissimè differuit;
Sed & intima ipsius Viscera Sagacissimè rimatus,
Quicquid notatu dignum in Universi Naturâ
Descripsit.
Apud exteras Gentes agens,
Quæ aliorum oculos fugerant, diligenter exploravit,
Multaque scitu dignissima primus in lucem protulit.
Quod Superest, eâ Morum simplicitate præditus,
Ut fuerit absque invidiâ doctus:
Sublimis ingenii,
Et (quod raro accidit) demissi simul Animi & modesti.
Non sanguine & genere insignis,
Sed (quod majus)
Propriâ virtute illustris.
De opibus titulisque obtinendis
Parum Sollicitus,
Hæc potius mereri voluit, quam adipisci:
Dum sub privato lare suâ sorte contentus,
Fortunâ lautiori dignus consenuit.
In rebus aliis sibi modum facilè imposuit,
In studiis nullum.
Quid plura?
Hisce omnibus
Pietatem minime fucatam adjunxit,
Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ
(Id quod Supremo habitu confirmavit)
Totus & ex animo addictus.
Sic bene latuit, bene vixit vir beatus,
Quem præsens Ætas colit, postera mirabitur.

On the Table on the East side, is added.

Hoc Cenotaphium
Olim in Coemeterio sub dio positum,
Inclementis Coeli injuriis obliteratum,
Et tantum non collapsum,
Refecit & sub tectum transposuit
J. Legge, M. D.
XVI. Kal. Aprilis, A. D. 1737.

On the Table on the West side.

J. RAY { Nat. 29. Nov. 1628. Ob. 17. Jan. $170\frac{5}{6}$.

Of which the following stiff, and not very elegant, Translation hath been given.

JOHN RAY, Master of Arts,
Once Fellow of Trinity-College in Cambridge,
Afterwards

A Member

Compton, as we have been informed. Of his dying words and behaviour, an account is given below [*U*]. He was a man of very extensive Learning [*W*], and withal modest, affable, and communicative: of exemplary piety; dividing his time chiefly between his devotions and studies: of great candour, and strict integrity; remarkably sober and temperate; and charitable to the utmost of his power, having, out of his small pittance, left a legacy to the poor of his own parish, and five pounds to Trinity-college, the place of his education, to buy Books for the Library there. His collections of natural curiosities were considerable; and he bestowed them, a few days before his decease, upon his ingenious neighbour, Samuel Dale, Apothecary in Braintree, who, with the addition of many of his own, made a present of them afterwards to the Royal Society (*x*). Besides his manuscript Travels about England, &c. mentioned above in note [*R*], Mr Ray left in his *Adversaria* many Observations, Inscriptions, Epitaphs, Antiquities, &c. which being collected together, would make a large Supplement to his Observations already published (*y*).

(*x*) From the information of a friend. See also the General Dictionary.

(*y*) Philosophical Transactions, No. 307. p. 2282.

A Member of the Royal Society in London;
And to both those learned bodies
An illustrious Ornament.

Hid in this narrow tomb, this marble span,
Lies all that death could snatch from this great man.
His body moulders in it's native clay;
While o'er wide worlds his Works their beams display
As bright and everlasting as the day.
To those just fame ascribes immortal breath,
And in his Writings he outlives his death.
Of every Science every part he knew,
Read in all Arts divine and human too:
Like Solomon (and Solomon alone
We as a greater King of knowledge own)
Our modern Sage dark Nature's Secrets read,
From the tall cedar to the hyssop's bed;
From the unweildiest *Beast* of land or deep,
To the least *Insect* that has power to creep.
Nor did his artful labours only shew
Those *Plants* which on the earth's wide surface grew,
But piercing ev'n her darkest entrails through,
All that was wise, all that was great he knew,
And Nature's inmost gloom made clear to common view.
From foreign stores his learning bright supplies,
Exposing treasures hid from others eyes,
Loading his single Mind to make his country wise.
But what's yet more, he was so *Meekly* great,
That envy unrepining saw his state;
For, rare accomplishment! his *humble* mind
Possess'd a jewell, which it could not find,
A great descent lent nothing to his fame;
Virtue, not birth, distinguish'd his high name:
Titles and wealth he never strove to gain;
Those he would rather merit than obtain.
His private life in humble shades he spent;
Worthy a palace, with a cell content.
Unwearied he would knowledge still pursue;
The only thing, in which no mean he knew.
What more did add to these bright gifts, we find
A pure untainted *Piety* of mind.
England's blest Church engross'd his zealous care,
A truth his dying accents did declare.
Thus lost he in retirement his great breath;
Thus dy'd he living, who thus lives in death.
Thus has heav'n call'd his age's glory home,
And the bright wonder of the age to come.

This Monument beginning to grow ruinous, was remov'd from the Church-yard into the Church, at the expence of J. Legge, M. D. March 17. 1737.

J. Ray { was born 29. Nov. 1628.
dyed 17. Jan. 170$\frac{5}{6}$.

[*U*] *Of his dying words and behaviour, an account is given below.*] The Rev. Mr Pyke, Rector of Black-Notley, who attended Mr Ray in his last moments, hath left the following Account of his dying words, and behaviour.——' I am a Priest of the Church of ' England, ordained by Dr Sanderson, then Bishop of ' Lincoln. That I did not follow the peculiar Duties ' of my Function more, is now the greatest concern ' and trouble to me. I do here profess, that as I ' have lived, so I desire, and, by the grace of God, ' resolve to dye in the Communion of the Catholick ' Church of Christ, and a true, tho' unworthy Son of ' the Church by law establish'd in this kingdom. I ' do think from the bottom of my heart, that its ' Doctrine is pure, its Worship decent, and agreeable ' to the word of God; and in the most material points ' of both conformable to the Faith and Practice of ' the godly Churches of Christ in the primitive and ' purer Times. I am not led to this persuasion so ' much from force of Custom and Education, as upon ' the clear evidence of Truth and Reason. And after ' a serious and impartial examination of the Grounds ' thereof, I am fully persuaded, that the Scruples men ' raise against joining in Communion with it, are un-' reasonable and groundless; and that the Separation ' which is made, may very justly be charged upon the ' Dissenters themselves, as the blame-worthy Authors ' of it.' He then desired to have the Prayers of the Church, appointed for the Visitation of the Sick, and the Absolution in particular, read. After which he received the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper; which he said was a necessary *Viaticum*, he thought, for the great journey he was a going (43). Dr Calamy, in his usual invidious way, suggests (44), that this Declaration does not agree with Mr Ray's ' declared senti-' ments, when in health, and his parts were good.' Of which sentiments he gives one instance, or two, upon the authority of persons he doth not name: viz. That Mr Ray, when he might have had preferment from Archbishop Tillotson, said, Though he made use of the book of Common Prayer, and approv'd of it as a Form, yet he could not declare his unfeigned Assent and Consent, to all and every thing contain'd in it. And that he objected especially against the use of Godfathers and Godmothers in Baptism, exclusive of the Parents. But, might not the good man, in the last period of his life, view Things in a different light from what he had before viewed them in? Might he not seriously and dispassionately consider, what *unessential Things*, not to call them Trifles, are used as a Pretence for keeping up a Separation?

[*W*] *He was a man of very extensive Learning.*] Dr Robinson justly styles him, ' the best Botanist, and ' the most accomplish'd Naturalist of this, or perhaps ' any Age.' And represents him as a man of ' a vast ' Memory, exact Judgment, universal Knowledge, ' and extraordinary Talents (45).' C

(43) See at the end of his Letters, p. 374.

(44) Continuation, &c. Vol. I. p. 121.

(45) Letters, p. 151, 153, 154.

RICAUT, or RYCAUT, [Sir Paul], a gentleman employed in several Negotiations in the last century, and author of many useful Books, was the tenth and youngest son of Sir Peter Ricaut, Knt [*A*], and Mary his wife, without the intervention of a daughter (*a*). Where he was born, and educated, we cannot find. But his education was undoubtedly a genteel one: for he travelled many years in foreign parts, not only in Europe, but also in Asia and Africa, and performed some public services (*b*). His first employment abroad, was that of Secretary to Heneage Finch, Earl of Winchelsea [*B*], sent Embassador extraordinary to the Ottoman Porte in 1661 (*c*), where he continued about eight years. During which time, he had occasion to take two voyages from Constantinople to London: one of them was by land, through Hungary, where he remained a while in the Turkish camp, with the great and famous vizier Kuperlee, attending to the affairs of the English nation. He published, in 1663, the Capitulations, Articles of Peace, &c. concluded between King Charles the Second, and Sultan Mahomet Han (*d*). They were very much to the advantage of our Merchants; one article being, that English ships should be free from search or visit under pretence of foreign goods, a point never inserted in any former capitulation (*e*). After having laudably discharged his office of Secretary to Lord Winchelsea, he was made Consul for the English nation at Smyrna [*C*]; in which trust having acquitted himself, for the space of about eleven years, to the great and entire satisfaction of the Turkey-Company, and with universal love and respect from all the Europeans in those parts, he obtained leave, at his own motion and desire, to return to England. Here he employed himself in compiling and publishing some Books [*D*]; living in honour and good esteem, as also in peace and plenty (*f*). The Earl of Clarendon

(*a*) Supplement to the Great Historical Dictionary, by J. Collier; in the Continuation, at the end.

(*b*) Ibid.

(*c*) Ibid. and Sir William Dugdale's Baronage, Tom. III. p. 448. and Mercurius Publicus, No. 12.

(*d*) They were in the late Dr Mead's Library. See his Catalogue, p. 146.

(*e*) Mercur. Publ. No. 12. p. 189.

(*f*) Supplement to the Historical Dictionary: and Voyage de Spon & Wheler, edit. Haye, 1724. Vol. I. p. 184.

[*A*] *And youngest son of Sir Peter Ricaut*, Kt.] Sir Peter Ricaut was one of the persons excepted, in the *Propositions of the Lords and Commons* assembled in Parliament, *for a safe and well grounded peace*, July 11. 1646, *sent to King Charles* I. *at Newcastle* (1): 'among all such of the Scotish nation, as had concurred in the Votes at Oxford, against the kingdom of Scotland, and their proceedings, or had sworn or subscribed the Declaration against the Convention and Covenant, and had assisted the Rebellion in the North, or the Invasion in the South of the said kingdom of Scotland, or the late Invasion made there by the Irish and their adherents.' And it was demanded, that they should 'be removed from his Majesties counsels, restrained from coming within the verge of the Court;' and disabled from 'bearing any office, or having any imployment concerning the State or Commonwealth, without the advice and consent of both Houses of the Parliament of England, or the Estates in the Parliament of Scotland respectively.'——In the Catalogue of the Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen that compounded for their Estates (2), we find, that *Sir Peter Rychant of London Knight* paid 1500l. for his Composition. By which undoubtedly is meant our *Sir Peter Rycaut*; that book being very full of mistakes and misnomers.

(1) Printed for J. Wright, July 17, 1646. Inserted also in Husband's Collection, fol. p. 900, 906. and Parliamentary History, Vol. XV. p. 29, &c.

(2) Edit. Lond. 1655, 8vo.

[*B*] *His first employment abroad, was that of Secretary to Heneage Finch, Earl of Winchelsea.*] Whilst he continued in that station, he wrote, 'The present State of the *Ottoman* Empire, in three Books; containing the Maxims of the Turkish Politie; their Religion and Military Discipline. Illustrated with divers Figures.' Lond. 1670. fol. and also 8vo. 1675. ——It was translated into French by Monsieur *Bespier*, who has added notes and Animadversions. For there were a few mistakes in it; some of which have also been taken notice of by Mr Bayle (3), especially, what he had asserted, 'that the Mahomedan women have no hopes of going to heaven.' Whereas the Turkish women hope, they will be one day admitted into heaven as well as the men. Sir Paul received an account of many things, inserted in this work, from Hali Beigh, al. Bobovius *.

(3) Dictionary, under the articles *Hali-Beigh*, and *Job*.

* Voyage de Spon & Wheler, as above, Vol. I. p. 154.

[*C*] *He was made Consul for the English nation at Smyrna.*] During his residence there, at the command of King Charles II. he composed, 'The present State of the Greek and Armenian Churches, *Anno Christi*, 1678.' Which, upon his return to England, he presented with his own hands to his Majesty: and it was published in 1679. 8vo. In this work he shews a good deal of Learning, and especially a true pious and Christian Spirit (4).

(4) See Voyage de Spon & Wheler, Vol. I. p. 184.

[*D*] *Here he employed himself in compiling and publishing some Books.*] The Ist. of them was, A Continuation of the History of the Turks.——Richard Knolles, School-master at Sandwich, in Kent, had published 'The general History of the Turks,' from the beginning of that Nation to the year 1610. Lond. 1610. fol. (5). And it had been continued by another hand from the year 1610 to 1621 ——Our author, Paul Rycaut, Esq; continued it from 1623 to 1677. Printed at London in 1680 fol. And again from 1679 to 1699. Lond. 1700 fol. He [illegible] be acknowledged excellently well qualified for that work, as he had been so much conversant with the Turks, and Turkish affairs. II He continued *Platina*'s Lives of the Popes, from the year 1471. to his own time. For tho' his name alone appears in the title-page of that book, he informs the reader, that he had *no greater* share in that work: As is manifest from this part of the Preface. 'The History of Platina of the Lives of the Popes, being *rendred into English by an unknown hand*, was delivered to me by the Bookseller; and considering that Platina was an Author of good reputation in the world, I often wished that he had lived in that age, in which he might have deduced his History from ancient to the present times; or that some other of our learned men would have continued the same in the language of our country.——But observing that this work was neglected, and not thought worthy the labour of a better pen, I essayed to do it in my own rude and plain style, without affectation or ornament, more than the simplicity of naked truth would afford me; in search of which I have always had recourse to the best and to the most impartial Authors, who have neither disguised the Vices of Men by flattery, nor out of prejudice branded those Actions with shame and obloquy, which might have admitted of a fairer character. Nor have I mixed any thing of Religion in this History, but where the nature of the relation could not subsist without it'——

(5) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 303.

In the Introduction he says, that 'This Continuation of Platina (the Subject of which is the Lives and Reigns of the Popes) is a Treatise purely historical, collected from several Latin, French, and Italian Authors.'——The book was published in 1685. fol. with this title, 'The Lives of the Popes from the time of our Saviour Jesus Christ, to the reign of Sixtus IV. written originally in Latine by Baptista Platina Native of Cremona, and translated into English. And the same History continued from the year 1471. to this present time; wherein the most remarkable Passages of Christendom both in Church and State are treated and described, By Paul Rycaut, Esq;' III. He translated from Spanish into English, 'The Royal Commentaries of Peru, in two parts. The first treating of the Original of their Kings, of their Idolatry, their Laws and Government, &c. before the Spaniards invaded their Countries. The second describing the manner by which that new World was conquered by the Spaniards, &c. Illustrated with Sculptures, written originally in Spanish by the Inca Garcillasso de la Vega' Lond. 1688. fol. IV. There goes also under his name, 'The Spanish Critick' Lond. 1681. 8vo.

[*E*] *Namely*

Clarendon being appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland in 1685, made him his principal Secretary for the Provinces of Leinſter and Conaght. And King James the Second knighted him, conſtituted him one of his Privy-Council for Ireland, and Judge of the high Court of Admiralty, which he enjoyed 'till the Revolution in 1688. Soon after this, he was employed by King William the Third, in quality of his Reſident with the Hanſe-Towns in Lower-Saxony, namely Hamburg, Lubeck, and Bremen [*E*]; where he continued for the ſpace of more than ten years, to the ſatisfaction of all that knew him, as well as of the ſenates and governments of thoſe republics, and of the company of the Engliſh Merchants there. At length, worn out with age and infirmities, he had leave, in 1700, to return into England, where he dyed in December that year (*g*). He was Fellow of the Royal Society, for many years before his deceaſe: and a paper of his is publiſhed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions [*F*]. Beſides his own mother-tongue, the Engliſh; he underſtood perfectly the Greek both ancient and modern, the Turkiſh, Latin, Italian, and French languages (*b*).

(*g*) Supplement to the Hiſtorical Dictionary, as above.

(*b*) Voyage de Spon & Wheler, as above, Vol. I. p. 185.

[*E*] *Namely at Hamburg, Lubeck, and Bremen.*] Some of his Letters, written from Hamburg to Sir William Dutton Colt envoy to the Court of Hanover, are in the poſſeſſion of Henry Burrard, Eſq; Sir William's grandſon: One of which, relating to the Sea-fight near Beachy-head, is in theſe words.

July 16. 1690.

'I cannot but condole with you the unfortunate ſucceſs of the late Sea-fight againſt the French, which turned not much to our damage, unleſs ſo far as concerns the honour of the nation, but greatly to the detriment and ruin of our allies, who were beaten to pieces, whilſt we ſtood Spectators of their deſtruction. What loſs they ſuſtained you will beſt ſee in the letter which Admiral Evertſon writes to the States, and what was the cauſe, that our fleet in general did not fight, was (as this Admiral writes) upon examination, by the Earls Pembroke and Devonſhire, who were going from ſhip to ſhip to make inquiry into this matter, to diſcover where the treachery lay; for nothing but that could keep our fleet from engaging: and where to charge that, a letter written from my Lord Nottingham to my Lord Durſley, tranſlated with the conſent of my Lord Durſley into Dutch, and inſerted into the *Courant* for the better quieting and Satisfaction of the people, doth plainly declare, and on whom the treachery is to be charged. All I have to comfort myſelf and all others in this matter, is, that Mr Warre writes me under the 4th inſtant, that we ſhould ſpeedily have a better fleet at ſea than before. And Dr Aglionby writes me on the $\frac{12}{22}$ inſtant from the Hague, that by this letter to my Lord Durſley, and the aſſurances that Mr Harbord was coming over from the Queen to the States, that the minds of the people were much ſettled; and that the Government loſes no courage, for that the States of Holland on the 19th inſtant, and ſo did the States general on the 21ſt reſolve, that a new Squadron with all expedition be put to ſea; untill which was done, all commerce was to be ſuſpended. The States of Holland unanimouſly, and without ſo much as conſulting their principals, came to this reſolution. God grant that we may correſpond in like manner with them in England, God grant alſo, that there may be no treachery in Ireland, from whence we expect to receive great and good news by the next poſt.'

[*F*] *And a paper of his is publiſhed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions*] It contains an account of the *Sable Mice*, or *Mures Norwegici*, deſcribed by Olaus Wormius in his Muſæum.—'In their march they keep a direct line, generally from North eaſt to South-weſt, and are innumerable thouſands in each troop, which for the moſt part is a ſquare: They march by night, and in twilight, and lie ſtill by day. The diſtance of the lines they go in is of ſome ells, and parallel to each other. If they meet any thing that might ſtop them, they avoid it not, tho' it were a fire, a deep well, a torrent, lake, or moraſs, but without any heſitation venture through, and by that means many thouſands of them are deſtroyed. If they be met ſwimming over lakes, and be forced out of their courſe, they preſently return into it again; when they are met in woods or fields and ſtopt, they ſet themſelves upon their hinder feet like a dog, and make a kind of barking or ſqueeking noiſe, leaping up as high as a man's knee, defending their line as long as they can: And, if at laſt they be forced out of it, they creep into holes, and ſet up a cry ſounding like *Biabb, Biabb*. They never come into any houſe, nor meddle with any thing that is Man's meat; if a houſe happen to be in their way, there they ſtop 'till they die, but through a ſtack of hay or corn they will eat their way; when they march through a meadow, they endamage it much, by eating the roots of graſs, but if they encamp there by day, they quite ſpoil it, and make it look as if it were burnt, or ſtrewed with aſhes. The roots of graſs, with rotten wood, and the inſects in it, are their chief, if not only food.———During the winter they lie under the ſnow, and have their breathing-holes upon the top of it, as hares and other creatures uſe to have (6).'———They are deſcribed much in the ſame manner, in the Natural Hiſtory of Norway, by Biſhop Pontoppidan (7), who calls them Læmen, or Lemming. C

(6) Philoſophical Tranſactions, No 251, p. 110, 111.

(7) Part ii. p. 30, &c.

ROE, or ROWE, [Sir THOMAS], a very able Stateſman, and Embaſſador to ſeveral Courts in the XVIIth century, was born at Low-Leyton in Eſſex [*A*], about the year 1580 [*B*]. In 1593, he was admitted into Magdalen-college in Oxford: but, before he had ſtaid there long enough to be qualified for any degree, he was taken from the univerſity: and, after ſome time ſpent in one of the inns of Court, or in France, or both, he was made Eſquire of the Body to Queen Elizabeth, about the latter end of her reign. On

[*A*] *Was born at Low-Leyton in Eſſex.*] His father was Robert Roe, a younger Son of Sir Thomas Roe, Kt. Lord Mayor of London in 1568, by Mary his wife, daughter of Sir John Greſham, Kt. Which Sir Thomas was ſon of Robert Roe, citizen and merchant-taylor of London, who was Son to Reynald Roe of Lee in Kent (1).——During his Mayoralty, Sir Thomas laid aſide the Midſummer-watch, or muſters, in the city of London, which brought great crouds of the worſt of people together; and, in the room of it, inſtituted a ſubſtantial ſtanding Watch for the ſafety and preſervation of the city (2). He incloſed the new church-yard in Bethlem with a brick wall; and was a conſiderable benefactor to the Merchant-Taylors-company (3). He was buried Septemb. 2. 1570. in Hackney-church, where his monument and epitaph are yet extant. Of eleven children he had, ſix ſurvived him, namely four ſons and two daughters (4).

[*B*] *About the year* 1580.] Mr Wood ſays (5), that, 'when entring into his teens he became a Commoner of Magd. Coll. *an.* 1593, by the indulgent care of his mother, then the wife of ——— Berkley of Rendcomb in Glouceſterſhire, of the family of the Lord Berkley.' Now, if he was entring into his teens in 1593, he muſt conſequently have been born in or about the year 1580.

(1) Wood, Ath. ut ſupra. and Stow's Survey of London, with Strype's additions, Vol. II. book v. p. 134, 135.

(2) Stow's Survey, &c. Vol. I. book i. p. 257.

(3) Ibid. p. 264, and book ii. p. 95, 96.

(4) Idem, Vol. II. Append. I. p. 127.

(5) Ath. ut ſup.

[*C*] *To*

On the 23d of March, 1604, he received the honour of Knighthood from King James the First at Greenwich; and, soon after, was sent by Henry Prince of Wales, to make discoveries in America (*a*) [*C*]. In 1614, he was appointed, at the request of the East-India Company, to go Embassador to Ichan Guire, the then Great Mogul; on purpose to conclude a firm peace between him and the King of Great Britain; to establish a fair and secure Trade, and settle Factories for the English Merchants, as well at sea-ports as inland towns, in his dominions (*b*). Having therefore embarked in March 1614-15, he arrived at Surat the 26th of September following: and continued at the Mogul's court 'till the beginning of the year 1618. During his residence there, he employed himself zealously in the service of his King, and of the Merchants trading to the East-Indies; as appears by his Journal, of which extracts have been published more than once [*D*]. He is said to have been the first English Embassador, that was dispatched to any of the far remote Eastern Princes (*c*). And he tells us himself (*d*), that he was dismissed by the Great Mogul with more favour and outward grace (*e*), than ever was shewn to any Embassador either Turkish or Persian, or other whatsoever. In 1620, he was elected one of the Burgesses for Cirencester in Gloucestershire, in the third parliament of King James I. which met at Westminster January 30, 1620-21 (*f*). And, the year following, was sent Embassador to the Grand Seignor [*E*], which station he continued in, under the Sultans

(*a*) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 52.

(*b*) Purchas his Pilgrimes, Part i. edit. 1625, p. 544. and Stow's Annales, edit. 1631, p. 1022.

(*c*) Stow's Annales, as above.

(*d*) Journal, in Purchas, p. 542.

(*e*) 'If he was not flattered by the Christians,' that were then at the Mogul's Court; as he observes himself. 1616.

(*f*) Dr Br. Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria. edit. 1750, Part ii. p. 179.

[*C*] *To make discoveries in America.*] In the year 1609, at his own and his friends charge, he built a ship and a pinnace, for the discovery of Guiana in South-America. Setting sail from Plymouth the 24th of February, he fell in, about the end of April, with the great river of the Amazons, which at the entrance of it is 150 miles wide, and full of islands, and runs with fresh water fifty miles into the sea. This river he first discovered, and went up 200 miles in it with his ship, and then 100 more with boats; and made divers journeys into the main land among the natives, where he found the country well inhabited, and full of good commodities, though not so plenteous as might be, by reason the natives provide no more than bare necessaries. From thence he came along the coast into divers rivers, and entred the country with canoes, and going over the cataracts and hills, passed over thirty-two falls in the river of Wia Poco, now named Caroleigh. Having with great labour and peril, spent thirteen months in this discovery, from the river of the Amazones to the river Oronoque, and not finding all the West-Indies to be full of gold, as some supposed, he returned by Trinidad, and the Western islands, and arrived at the isle of Wight in July 1611 (6).

[*D*] *As appears by his Journal, of which extracts have been published more than once.*] The first extract of it was published, in the Author's life time, by Mr Purchas in his Pilgrimes (7), together with some of his Letters to G. Abbot Archbishop of Canterbury, and other great persons. Another Extract, or rather Abridgment, of it, was printed in Churchill's Collection of Voyages (8); But in this the Language is altered; the Author's sense mistaken in several places; and it abounds with faults, as appears by examining only one page (9), where we find these errors—Col. 1. *parcels*, for paths——Col. 2. *cows*, for cocos——*both*, for bold, &c.——The account Sir Thomas gives of the Mogul's magnificence, is really wonderful.—On his birth-day, he was sitting cross-legg'd on a little Throne, all covered with diamonds, pearls, and rubies. Before him was a table of gold, and on it about fifty pieces of gold-plate, all set with jewels, some very large and extremely rich, others of less value, but all of them almost cover'd with small stones (10).———Upon another occasion, when the Emperor was going upon an expedition, he describes his dress thus. One came, " and girt on his Sword, and hung on his buckler set all over with diamonds and rubies, the belts of gold suitable.———On his head he wore a rich turbant with a plume of herons feathers, not many but long. On one side hung a ruby unset, as big as a walnut; on the other side, a diamond as large; in the middle, an emerald like a heart, much bigger. His staff was wound about with a chain of great pearl, rubies, and diamonds drill'd. About his neck he wore a chain of three strings of most excellent pearl. Above his elbows, bracelets set with diamonds, and on his wrist three rows of several sorts: his hands bare, but almost on every finger a ring.———His coat was of cloth of gold without sleeves.——A footman carried a footstool of gold set with stones.———Among other parts of the retinue, there followed about twenty elephants royal, led for him to mount, so rich in stones and furniture, that they glitter'd like the sun (11)."——He made a present to Sir Thomas of a Cup of gold, set all about with small rubies and Turky-stones, the cover with large rubies, emeralds, and Turky-stones in curious works, and a dish suitable to set the cup on. Many of the stones were small; and the greater, which were many, not all clean, but they were in number about two thousand, and the gold about twenty ounces. He sent, at the same time, Sir Thomas word, that he esteemed him more, than ever he had done any Frank (12)——Sir Thomas observes elsewhere (13), that it was the wicked policy of the then Mogul, and his ancestors descendants of Tamerlane, to ruine and dispeople all the ancient Cities, and forbid their being repaired. One of them he saw in that ruinous condition, named *Chitor*, which, (says he,) 'shews the 'footsteps of wonderful magnificence. There are still 'standing a hundred churches [or Temples] all of 'carved stone, many fair towers and lanthorns, many 'pillars, and innumerable houses, but not one inhabitant. There is but one steep ascent cut out of the 'rock, and four gates in the ascent before you come 'to the city gate, which is magnificent. It is in the 'country of Ranna (a prince then newly subdued by 'the Mogul) lineally descended from Porus. Near it 'stands a pillar, erected by Alexander the Conqueror, 'with a great [Q. Greek] inscription.'——Mr Salmon observes (14), That Sir Thomas was not supported with an Equipage suitable to the Character he bore; nor were the presents, the East-India Company furnish'd him with to that Court, suitable to the dignity of the Prince he came from, or the Mogul to whom he was sent, as the Indian Court themselves observed; and occasion'd his Voyage to be less advantageous to the Company than otherwise it might have been; for Sir Thomas seems to have been a Gentleman every way qualified for the employment he undertook, and in the circumstances he was, maintain'd his character to admiration,

[*E*] *And, the year following, was sent Embassador to the Grand Seignior.*] In his passage to Constantinople, he wrote a Letter from Messina to George Villiers Duke of Buckingham, then Lord High Admiral; wherein he complained of the 'great increase of Pi'rates in the Mediterranean sea; representing, that if 'they were suffered to increase, they would brave the 'Armies of Kings at Sea in a few years, and attempt 'even the Coasts and Shoars with peril.'——And he took the opportunity, of getting thirteen English captives released from the Spanish gallies (15). He arrived at Constantinople the 22d of December 1621 *.

During his Embassy, he wrote, 'A true and faithful 'Relation represented to his Majesty and the Prince, 'of what hath lately hapned in Constantinople, con'cerning the Death of Sultan Osman, and the setting 'up of Mustapha his Uncle. With a continuation of 'the same story.' Printed at London 1622. 4to.

And he kept a most curious Account of his Negotiations at the Porte, which remained in Manuscript 'till the year 1740, when it was published by the Society for promoting Learning; under the title of, 'The Negotiations of Sir *Thomas Roe*, in his Embassy 'to the Ottoman Porte from the year 1621 to 1628 'inclusive: Containing a great Variety of curious and 'important Matters, relating not only to the Affairs 'of

(6) Stow's Annales, with Edm. Howes's Continuation, edit. 1631, fol. p. 1022. and the Geographical Accounts of those parts.

(7) Part i. p. 535—592.

(8) Vol. I. p. 617.

(9) P. 626.

(10) P. 635. of Vol. I. of Churchill's Collection.

(11) P. 643.

(12) P. 636.

(13) See Purchas, Part i. p. 541.

(14) Modern History, Vol II. 8vo. edit. 1725, p. 448.

(15) Cabala, edit. 1663, fol. p. 352. and his Negotiations, &c. p. 7, 37, 38.

* Dr Smith's Account of the Greek Church, p. 252.

Sultans Oſman, Muſtapha, and Amurath the IVth. The Engliſh nation reaps to this day the happy effects of his Negotiations at the Porte. For, before his time, the affairs of our Merchants there were in great diſorder, and little regard was had to the capitulations and privileges, granted by the Turkiſh Emperors either to our Nation, or any other. But Sir Thomas, to his immortal reputation, recovered the reſpect due to Embaſſadors, which had been utterly loſt for ſeveral years before, through the audacioufneſs of a ſucceſſion

' of the Turkiſh Empire, but alſo to thoſe of the ' other States of Europe, in that Period: His Correſ' pondences with the moſt illuſtrious Perſons, for Dig' nity or Character; as with the Queen of Bohemia, ' Bethlem Gabor Prince of Tranſylvania, and other ' Potentates of different Nations, &c. And many uſe' ful and inſtructive Particulars, as well in relation to ' Trade and Commerce, as to Subjects of Literature; ' as Antient Manuſcripts, Coins, Inſcriptions, and ' other Antiquities.' fol.—In the Dedication to this valuable Volume, the Printer obſerves, That ' the ' Letters and Negotiations of this wiſe and able Mi' niſter will, on peruſal, be found to contain ſuch a ' fund of Knowledge in almoſt every uſeful branch of ' it; ſuch deep, but honeſt policies, ſuch a zeal for ' his Prince, ſuch a love for his country, and ſuch ' rare abilities to manage the moſt arduous Affairs, and ' in the moſt difficult and dangerous times; that it ' may be boldly ſaid, the laſt Century has not pro' duced a more valuable Collection of this kind (16).' ——The period they treat of, (from 1621, to 1628) was ' a period ſo fruitful of great events, that in the ' *firſt fifteen months* of it only, Sir Thomas obſerves, ' that he had ſeen there three emperors of the Turks, ' ſeven prime viſiers, two captain baſſa's, five aga's of ' the Janiſſaries, three great-treaſurers, ſix baſſa's of ' Cairo, and other changes in proportion (17).——— ' This able miniſter contented not himſelf with giving ' a bare detail of facts in his letters and relations, but ' mixes with them ſuch reflections and obſervations, ' as, at the ſame time that they ſet forth the extent ' of his genius and capacity, inlighten the readers ' with the knowledge of the cauſes and ſprings of the ' actions and counſels he deſcribes and communicates. ' ———He made himſelf thoroughly acquainted with ' the nature of the Turkiſh Government, the maxims ' of their policy, the ſtate of their revenues, the ' condition of their forces, the ſituation of their pro' vinces, and the circumſtances of the Subjects in all ' their dominions; and the reader will probably be ' ſurprized to peruſe his accounts of it, and ſee on ' what a precarious footing that empire ſubſiſts; how ' few reſources it has in caſe of conſiderable diſaſters, ' and how likely it is to be overturned in a moment ' by the effects of a ſingle, if complete, victory over ' their forces in a general battle.————Sir Thomas ' made it a rule to ſhare his fortune with the Poor, to ' whom he allotted a tenth of his Subſtance. And, at ' one time, during his Embaſſy, he procured the re' demption of upwards of eight hundred Engliſh Ma' riners, who were compelled to do Service on board ' the Barbary rovers, and made the moſt conſiderable ' ſtrength of their fleets. This advantage he obtain'd ' for his country, and preſcribed laws to thoſe rapa' cious rovers, in ſpite of the utmoſt oppoſition they ' could make to the contrary at the Porte, when thoſe ' rovers were in the height of their power and inſo' lence, and ſcoured the ſeas at their pleaſure, not ' ſparing even the Ottomans themſelves; and at a ' time, when they were confeſſedly acknowledg'd by ' the Turkiſh miniſters to be the marine bulwarks and ' defence of their empire! And what is ſtill more ' wonderful, he found means to inforce and renew ' theſe laws, upon that ungovernable race of Pirates, ' in every change and revolution at the Porte, when ' no man ſtood in ſafety.———Nor ought his conduct ' to be forgotten in relation to the point of Precedence ' claimed by the French ambaſſador at the Porte, over ' the Engliſh; a claim which had too tamely been ' comply'd with by his predeceſſors at Conſtantinople; ' but to which no art, perſuaſion, ſtratagem or bluſter, ' could make him yield. And yet there is no point ' in which his prudence and moderation were more ' conſpicuous, as it is the intereſt of all the ambaſſa' dors at the Porte, to unite in order to ſtrengthen ' themſelves againſt the inſolences to which they are ' too often expoſed at that proud court. And indeed ' the ſuperiority of his talents, gave him ſo great ad' vantage over the French ambaſſador, that he always ' fruſtrated and diſappointed his deſigns: particularly ' in the affair of the Greek Church, and [Cyrillus ' Lucaris] the patriarch of Conſtantinople; both ' which Sir Thomas defended againſt the open and ' ſecret practices, not only of that ambaſſador, who ' acted alſo as Legate of the Pope in the Turkiſh do' minions; but of the united cabals of the court of ' Rome, the then newly eſtabliſh'd congregation *de ' propaganda fide*, and the ſociety of Jeſuits, combin'd ' to the deſtruction of both. And, not contented to ' diſappoint their deep-laid and miſchievous projects, ' he actually procur'd the baniſhment of that turbu' lent order from thoſe dominions (18), and that in a ' manner the moſt mortifying that could be, to that ' arrogant and buſy ambaſſador, whom, as he ſays in ' one of his letters, he was reſolved to keep under, ' during the time of his embaſſy. He was equally ' vigilant and ſucceſsful in his oppoſition to the in' trigues of the Imperial ambaſſadors, who, from time ' to time, endeavoured to bring about a treaty of ' peace and commerce between Turkey and Spain; ' which the latter ſought with the greateſt induſtry, in ' order to cut the Engliſh out of the Eaſtern com' merce, and to be at liberty in the Mediterranean ' ſea to imploy her fleets againſt the Venetians, and ' other powers with whom ſhe was at variance: but ' he found means always to fruſtrate the applications ' of both thoſe powers as often as they attempted this ' deſign, and turn'd it to the diſgrace of both, and ' that in a moſt ſignal manner.———The Senate of ' Venice with moſt diſtinguiſh'd reſpect, the prince of ' Tranſylvania, the king and queen of Bohemia, the ' kings of Denmark and Sweden, and other Sovereign ' Princes and States, beſides the king of Poland and ' the Emperor, all ſeparately did him the juſtice which ' his abilities and integrity deſerved. The firſt gran' dees of Poland, and the ambaſſadors of that Crown ' at the Porte, were ordered to take his advice in all ' their tranſactions there. The Turkiſh miniſters, ' tho' ſo often changed in his time, almoſt conſtantly ' confided in him, and were frequently govern'd by ' his counſels, even in their own affairs: For they re' vered his wiſdom, and always found him above chi' cane or double-dealing. Nor was there in all his ' time but one prime Viſier who inſulted him, and ' dared to avow himſelf his enemy.———Cyrillus ' Lucaris, patriarch of Conſtantinople, a wiſe and ' good man, ow'd his preſervation to him both as to ' his life and dignity, more than once, and never un' dertook any thing of conſequence in his time, of a ' publick nature, without conſulting him. He was a ' ſtay and a balance to the Dutch ambaſſador at the ' Porte, whoſe ſordid temper and inconſideration had ' otherwiſe hurry'd him into inconveniencies unworthy ' of his publick character: He was a ſupport to two ' Venetian bailo's of great gravity and wiſdom. So ' that when, for the common intereſt of all, he joined ' with the Chriſtian reſidents, they carry'd every ' thing; and when once, contrary to his advice and ' exhortations, they would proceed without him, they ' met with ſhame and repulſe.———— Upon the ' whole, conſidering the difficulty and danger of his ' employment, through the revolutions and diſtractions ' at the Ottoman court in his time; the variety of ' affairs under his management; the active enemies ' who oppoſed him; the faithleſs and arrogant mi' niſters he had to treat with at the Porte, and their ' frequent changes, generally from bad to worſe; the ' profound policy and diſſimulation of Bethlem Gabor ' prince of Tranſylvania, who made himſelf of high ' importance to the moſt formidable princes of that ' time; and the diſtracted ſtate of the Engliſh affairs, ' whereby the Crown was diſabled to ſupport the vi' gorous and intrepid genius of it's miniſter, &c.—theſe ' things being conſidered, we may venture to pro' nounce, that Sir Thomas Roe was one of the ableſt, ' wiſeſt, moſt vigilant, and intrepid miniſters that ever ' appeared in that ſtation (19).'

(16) Dedicat. p. iv.

(17) See Negotiations, p. 178.

(18) See Negotiations, &c. p. 757.

(19) Preface, p. 5—14.

ſucceſſion of inſolent Viziers. And he deſerved moſt highly, not only of the Greek Church by his generous protection of it againſt thoſe who endeavoured to deſtroy its very being, but of Chriſtendom in general, and particularly of Poland: which King Sigiſmond acknowledged with great reſpect and thanks, in a letter written to him from Warſaw in September 1622 (*g*). During his reſidence in the Eaſt, he made a large collection of valuable manuſcripts in the Greek and Oriental languages; which, in the year 1628, he preſented to the Bodleian Library (*h*). He alſo brought over the fine Alexandrian manuſcript of the Greek Bible, ſent as a preſent to King Charles the Firſt, by Cyril Patriarch of Conſtantinople; which hath been ſince tranſcribed and publiſhed by the learned Dr Grabe, and Dr Wigan (*i*). In the latter end of the year 1629, he was ſent Embaſſador to mediate a peace between the Kings of Poland and Sweden. He ſucceeded in his negotiation, and gained ſo much credit with the great Guſtavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, that he inſpired him with the deſign which he executed in 1630, of making a deſcent into Germany to reſtore the freedom of the Empire [*F*]. In his return from this embaſſy, he was charged with a negotiation at Copenhagen, in which he had the like ſucceſs, and in a few days finiſhed a treaty with the King of Denmark, which had been carrying on for ſeveral years. He was employed again in another negotiation at that Court, and with ſeveral Princes in Germany [*G*]. As he was likewiſe at the Congreſs of Hamburgh, removed afterwards to Ratiſbon, and Vienna (*k*). On the 17th of October, 1640, he was elected one of the repreſentatives for the univerſity of Oxford, in the Parliament which met the third of November (*l*): wherein he ſhewed himſelf a perſon of great eloquence, learning, and experience, as appears by his printed ſpeeches [*H*]. The 13th of November, he made a Report to the Houſe of Commons, how far the Engliſh Commiſſioners had proceeded with the Scotiſh, at the Treaty of Rippon (*m*). In April 1641, he was appointed by the King, to go Embaſſador to the Diet at Ratiſbon, in order to mediate the Reſtoration of the late King of Bohemia's ſon to the Palatinate: whereupon, he requeſted the Houſe of Commons, 'That, notwithſtanding that employment, he 'might ſtill continue a member of the Houſe;' which was granted accordingly (*n*). During the courſe of his negotiations, he offered to make an Alliance offenſive and defenſive between England and the Houſe of Auſtria [*I*]; if the Emperor would give the King his

(*g*) See Account of the Greek Church, &c. by Tho. Smith, D. D. Lond. 1680, 8vo. p. 252, &c.

(*h*) Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq Univ. Oxon. Lib. ii. p. 52. & Ath. Vol. II. col. 52, 53. See alſo Troubles and Tryal of Archbiſhop Laud, by H. Wharton, fol. p. 44. and Catal. MSS. Angliæ, &c. Vol. I. p. 35—38.

(*i*) See the Prolegomena to the firſt volume of that edition; and Sir Thomas's Negotiations, p. 335, 344, 500, 618.

(*k*) See Preface to his Negotiations, p. 13. and Letters and Memorials of State of the Sidney family, Vol. II. p. 541, 564, 570, 571.

(*l*) Wood, Ath. col. 52. and Br. Willis, as above, p. 247.

(*m*) Nalſon's Collections, Vol. II. p. 524.

(*n*) Idem, p 804.

[*F*] *Of making a deſcent into Germany*, &c.] That king, 'upon gaining the victory of Leipſic, ſent Sir 'Thomas a preſent of 2000l. and in his letter calls 'him his *ſtrenuum conſultorem*, he being the firſt who 'had adviſ'd him to this German war, after he had 'made peace betwixt him and the Polander (20).'

[*G*] *And with ſeveral Princes in Germany.*] The 22d of Nov. 1639, he ſent notice to King Charles I. that 'the Scots who arrived about Bremen, ſpoke 'deſperately and traiterouſly, as if there were very ill 'reſolutions fomented in that kingdom. That Leſley 'had written to a merchant in Bremen, his principal 'correſpondent in thoſe parts, that he would come 'thither in March or April for ſome buſineſs, and re'turn with ſpeed. Bremen (adds he) is the only reſort 'now of the Scots, and the only Port from whence 'they can ſecurely extract all kinds of Arms and Mu'nition.' Upon this advice, General Leſley's ſiſter, and about fifteen Scotiſh commanders, were taken at ſea, and brought priſoners to Berwick; but, a ſhort time after, releaſed, and permitted to go into Scotland (21).

[*H*] *As appears by his printed Speeches*] Such as have come to our knowledge, are, 1. 'Speech, or 'Report, from the Committee to the Commons houſe 'in Parliament,' in 1640: relating chiefly to the Lord-Keeper Finch, and his *Speech in Parliament.* 2. A Speech in Parliament, wherein is ſhew'd the cauſe and decay of Coin, and Trade in this Land, eſpecially of Merchants Trade, &c. Lond. 1641. 4to. 3. A Speech of his, at the Council-table, touching *Braſs-money*, or againſt mixing Braſs-money with Silver, in July 1640, is alſo printed in Ruſhworth's and Nalſon's Collections (22).

[*I*] *During the courſe of his negotiations, he offered to make an Alliance offenſive and defenſive between England and the Houſe of Auſtria.*] This particular we learn from the late learned Mr De Wicquefort, whoſe account is in theſe words (23).——" *La Ferté-Imbault*, que l'on a connu depuis ſous la qualité de Mareſchal *Deſtampes*, eſtant Ambaſſadeur en Angleterre en l'an 1642, avoit ſceu que *Roe*, qui eſtoit de la part du Roy d'Angleterre à Ratiſbone, y avoit offert de faire une Alliance offenſive & défenſive avec la Maiſon d'Auſtriche, ſi l'Empereur donnoit ſatisfaction au Roy, ſon maiſtre, touchant le Palatinat & la dignité Electorale, *dont il fit des plaintes au Parlement* par le moyen du Comte de Hollande. Le Parlement n'avoit jamais pris connoiſſance de cette ſorte d'affaires, & ce n'eſtoit pas a cette aſſemblée, que les Ambaſſadeurs avoient accouſtumé de s'addreſſer; c'eſt pourquoy le Roy fit eſcrire a *la Ferté*, par l'un de ſes Secretaires d'Eſtat, que l'Ambaſſadeur, qui n'eſtoit pas bien informé de la negotiation que *Roe* faiſoit en Allemagne, avoit trop legerement crû & publié ce qu'il avoit oüi dire. Il luy fit demander auſſy, ſi c'eſtoit de l'ordre du Roy, ſon Maiſtre, qu'il s'eſtoit adreſſé au Parlement, ou ſi *cette nouveauté eſtoit ſon ouvrage; & ce qui l'avoit obligé a faire cette inſulte a ſa Souveraineté. La Ferté* répondit, qu'il avoit executé le Commandement du Roy, ſon Maiſtre. Ce fut une tres grande imprudence à ce Miniſtre, que de produire de cette maniere ſon Prince, & de le faire l'objeƈt de l'averſion du Roy de la Grande Bretagne; a qui on ne pouvoit pas faire un plus ſanglant affront. Auſſy eſcrivit il en France, que ſi on ne revoquoit incontinent cet Ambaſſadeur, il en uſeroit ainſy qu'il le jugeroit a propos pour ſon honneur, & pour le bien de ſon ſervice. On le revoqua, & d'une façon qui fit bien connoiſtre, qu'on le jugeoit plus propre pour la guerre que pour la negotiation." i. e. '*La Ferté Imbault*, known afterwards by the title 'of Marſhal Deſtampes, being Ambaſſador in England 'in 1642, was told, that *Roe* Ambaſſador from the 'King of England to the Diet of Ratiſbon, had offer'ed to enter into an Alliance offenſive and defenſive 'with the Houſe of Auſtria, if the Emperor would 'give ſatisfaction to the King his Maſter concerning 'the Palatinate and the Electoral Dignity,—and he 'got the Earl of Holland to complain of it to the 'Parliament. The Parliament had never intermeddled 'in ſuch affairs, and it was not to them Ambaſſadors 'uſed to addreſs themſelves; wherefore the King or'dered one of his Secretaries of State to write to La 'Ferté, "That not being acquainted with the deſign " of Roe's Negotiation in Germany, he had too " raſhly believed and made public what he had heard. " He ordered him alſo at the ſame time to be aſked, " whether it was by the King his Maſter's command " he had thus addreſſed himſelf to the Parliament; or " had, of his own head, taken that unprecedented " ſtep; and what it was that had thus obliged him to " inſult his Royal Dignity." La Ferté anſwered, 'That he had executed the Command of the King 'his Maſter. It was a very imprudent ſtep in that 'Miniſter, thus to expoſe his Prince, and render him 'the object of the King of Great Britain's averſion; 'to whom no greater affront could be offered. Accordingly King Charles wrote to the Miniſtry in 'France,

(20) J. Howell's familiar Letters, p. 228.

(21) Ruſhworth's Hiſt. Collect. edit. 1680, Vol. III. p. 979.

(22) Ruſhworth, Vol. III. p. 1217. and Nalſon, Vol. II. p. 492*.

(23) L'Ambaſſadeur, &c. as above.

his master satisfaction concerning the Palatinate and the Electoral dignity (o). And he behaved in so handsome a manner, as to draw this high encomium from the Emperor, 'I have met with many gallant persons of many Nations, but I scarce ever met with an 'Ambassador 'till now (p).' After his return home, the King made him Chancellor of the Garter, and one of his Privy-Council: in which domestic, as before in his foreign, employments, he shewed himself a man of eminent abilities, and most admirable accomplishments. The calamities of the nation, wherein he could not avoid having a share, deprived him of that agreeable Recess and Ease which he had reason to expect at home; and not only imbittered his life, but served in all probability to shorten it (q). For he dyed November 6, 1644, and, two days after, was privately buried in Woodford church in Essex. An elegant epitaph was made for him by Dr Gerard Langbaine, which may be seen in Wood (r) [K], but was not put over his grave. He bequeathed a fine collection of 242 silver medals to the Bodleian Library. And, besides his writings abovementioned, he translated a small piece, of which an account is given below [L]. His character is thus given. There was nothing wanting in him towards the accomplishment of a Scholar, Gentleman, or Courtier: and, as he was learned, so was he also a great encourager and promoter of learning and learned men. His spirit was generous and public, and his heart faithful to his Prince. He was a great, able, and honest Statesman; as good a Patriot, and as sound a Christian, as this Nation hath had in many ages (s). The rest of his Character is given in the note below [M].

(o) L'Ambassadeur & ses Fonctions, par Monf. de Wicquefort. Haye, 1682, 4to. p. 105.

(p) Wood, Ath. ut supra.

(q) July 2, 1642, being imperfect in his health, he craved leave of the Parliament to travel to the Bath, to use all requisite means for his recovery, which was granted accordingly. *A perfect Diurnal*, &c. No. 49. p. 389.

(r) Ubi supra, col. 53.

(s) Ibid.

'France, that unless the Ambassador was immediately 'recalled, he would act in such a manner as he should 'judge most consistent with his honour and interest. 'He was recalled, but with circumstances that shewed, 'he was looked upon as fitter for war than for nego'tiating'

[K] *An Epitaph was made for him by Dr Gerard Langbaine*] The conclusion of it is in these words.— 'Demum ille tot regnorum, dissitorum internuntius, 'dissidentium coagulum; ille foederum interpres, & 'pacis publicæ sequester; ille duorum Reg. Jacobi & 'Caroli, ad quinque Imperatores, tres Reges, legatus; 'deposità tandem personâ, honorum et annorum satur, 'cessit è Scenâ, propitij numinis indulgentiâ præreptus 'opportunè, ne funestam regni catastrophen, paulò post 'insequutam, spectaret.'

[L] *Besides his writings abovemention'd, he translated a small piece*, &c.] The translation was in English, and intituled, 'A Discourse concerning the King of Spain's 'surprizing of the Valtoline' But we are not inform'd out of what language it was translated, nor when and where printed.

Our learned Author left the two following Books in manuscript. 'Compendious Relation of the Proceed'ings and Acts of the Imperial Dyet held at *Ratisbon*, 'in 1640 and 41, abstracted out of the Diary of the 'Colleges.' It was in the possession of the late learned Tho. Smith, D. D.——'Journal of several Proceed'ings of the Knights of the Garter.' Often cited by Elias Ashmole, Esq; in his *Institution, Laws*, &c. *of the Order of the Garter* (24).

(24) See Wood, Ath. col. 53. & Catal. MSS. Angliæ & Hib. Vol. I. p. 330. col. 1.

In 1730. Proposals were publish'd, for printing by Subscription, 'The Negotiations and Embassies of Sir 'Thomas Roe, from the year 1620, to the year 1644. 'The greatest part design'd by himself to be made 'publick. To which *were* to be added many others, 'which he intended not to publish, as being of too 'private a nature to be made publick in times of jea'lousy and distraction. Interspersed with a large ac'count of the Embassies of Sir Robert Anstruther, Sir 'Isaac Wake, Sir William Boswell, Sir Dudley Carle'ton, the Lord Scudamore, the Earl of Leicester, the 'most learned and ever-memorable Earl of Arundel, 'and other principal Ministers of that time. To 'which *were* to be added, authentick Advices, ori'ginal Powers and Instructions, Treaties of Peace and 'of Commerce, and many rare and valuable pieces of 'great use to clear up the History of that important 'period. All from their original Letters and Papers 'of State.' It was to be comprized in Five Volumes in folio. But the undertakers not meeting with sufficient encouragement, dropp'd this useful design. And, only the Volume mention'd above in note [E] was publish'd in 1740. But the most curious and interesting part of his Papers still remains in manuscript.

[M] *The rest of his Character is more fully given in the note below.*] "Sir Thomas Roe was indeed one of the most sagacious and accomplished Ministers that this Country hath produced. His knowledge of foreign affairs was remarkably extensive, having been acquired amidst a great variety of important Events, and intricate Negotiations; as is manifest from this whole article.—So large a sphere of action and business has fallen to the lot of few, even of the most exercised in foreign employments. And we may venture to affirm, that no one could have filled it with more Capacity, Diligence, and Address, which were alike conspicuous, whether he was to pursue his Instructions with a scrupulous exactness, or whether he was to conduct himself by his own lights, as was frequently the case, when Difficulties and Commotions at home gave the English Ministers little leisure or inclination to look into the course of Affairs abroad. His Penetration into the Views and Tempers of those with whom he negotiated, was quick and refined. His Judgment, on points of the greatest moment, solid and comprehensive. His Intelligence of the private as well as publick transactions, of the Courts where he resided, exact, early, and authentick. And his personal carriage happily adapted to conciliate the affection and benevolence of Mankind, without departing from the dignity and gravity of his character. It was no unpleasant saying of the Emperor, after Sir Thomas had prevailed with him to grant Prince Rupert his Liberty, 'That if he had been one of the 'Fair Sex, and a Beauty, he was sure the engaging 'Conversation of the English Ambassador would have 'proved too hard for his Virtue.' But Sir Thomas would scarce have put it to the trial, being as eminent for the piety and regularity of his manners, as for the most consummate political abilities Nor was the influence of his Piety confined to himself, but extended to the Protestant Interest in general; which he endeavoured on all occasions, to strengthen, by uniting the different Parties upon the most important and fundamental Principles of their Religion. He was, besides, master of a very useful part of Knowledge, for the Representative of a trading Nation, having acquired a perfect insight into almost every branch of its Commerce, during the course of his imployment in the East Indies, the Levant, and the Northern parts of Germany. He not only understood perfectly the nature and various branches of Commerce throughout the world; but also the maxims and arts of politicks, the different interests and situations of states; and was master of all those different parts of learning and knowledge, which are necessary to enable a person to discharge the functions of an ambassador He was a man of admirable penetration, and excellent judgment, exceeding happy in discerning the arts and designs of the ministers with whom he treated, and ever guarded himself against all surprizes. His eminent virtues, extraordinary capacity. and approved wisdom, integrity, and probity, gained him credit and procured him the confidence of every court to which he was employed, and the greatest deference was always paid to his judgment. Nor is it less to be admired, that he found leisure, amidst the hurry and agitation of business, to cultivate the politer Arts: In what now passes under the name of *Virtu*, he was better skilled than most of his contemporaries; and the *Arundel* Collection, whilst it remained intire, could have shewn some Monuments of his taste in that way (25). From this short sketch of the Virtues and Services of Sir Thomas Roe, the Reader may be inquisitive to know what were the Rewards conferred upon him in return, and

(25) See his Negotiations, p. 334, 386, &c.

and we make no doubt will be surprised to hear, that this great Man, after *Forty* years employment Abroad, tasted very sparingly of his Master's Bounty, which (as he says himself) overflowed to so many others, over his head. The only Places which the King ever conferred on him, were those of Privy Counsellor, and Chancellor of the Garter, though he would have adorned one of the first stations in the Government (26)."

(26) Note of A. Collins, Esq; in Letters and Memorials of State of the Sydney family, Vol. I. p. 541—542, and Preface to Sir Thomas Roe's Negotiations, p. 6.

ROGERS [Dr JOHN], a late learned English Divine, was born at Ensham in Oxfordshire, in the year 1679. His father was Vicar of that parish, and Rector of Wick Rissington in Gloucestershire; a very worthy clergyman. Our author was bred up at New-college school in Oxford, under the memorable Mr Badger. In January 1693, he was elected Scholar of Corpus-Christi-college: he was the youngest of all the competitors, who appeared more numerous on this occasion than had been remembered; so that his success implies no small commendation of his merit. In this early time of life, when young mens passions often sally out into some kind of extravagance or other, he shewed in one instance an uncommon turn of mind, being at once intent on pursuits in themselves widely different, country diversions and academical studies. It was his singular happiness, amidst all his excursions, to preserve his own innocency, and still to keep the main point in view. For, application in the night-time repaired the defects of the broken day; and, without the appearance of much industry, he made a considerable proficiency in learning (*a*). With reputation he proceeded to the degree of Master of Arts, on the 13th of March, 1700 (*b*). He had a remarkable briskness of spirit, such as could contemn and overcome difficulties; and withal, an openness and sincerity of temper, which gained the love and esteem of his contemporaries: a quick apprehension, a large capacity, and an unwearied attention to any point in view: an happy frame of mind which would have rendered him eminent in any profession. But his inclination, as well as the ordinary course of his education, determined him to the study of Divinity. Accordingly he entered into Holy Orders; and not being like to be soon chosen Fellow, he accepted of the curacy of Buckland in Berkshire, about ten miles distant from Oxford, in which he continued between five and six years, most usefully and agreeably dividing his time between the university and his country cure [*A*]. His preaching and conversation were so acceptable to the parishioners, that they raised for his benefit a handsome subscription for a sermon in the afternoon every Sunday. And he used to say, that the time spent in this station was the happiest part of his life, tending no less to his own satisfaction and improvement, than the improvement of his people *. Having waited a long time for a Fellowship, by reason of the slow succession in the college, he at length succeeded the very learned Mr Edmund Chishull, in April 1706. The 8th of July, 1710, he took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity (*c*). And in 1712, he was invited to London, and chosen Lecturer of St Clement's Danes. His abilities seemed to rise in proportion to the exigencies of his station; and he gained popularity without courting it. The excellency of his discourses, together with a graceful upright gesture, and a clear pathetick elocution; made him, on account both of the matter and manner of his preaching, justly be reckoned one of the most eloquent and instructive preachers of his time. His reputation in this respect was so well established, that, out of regard to his singular merit, the inhabitants of the united parishes of Christ-Church, and St Leonard's Fotter-lane, unanimously chose him their Lecturer. He continued many years in this capacity, all the while beloved and reverenced by the parishioners, to whom he made suitable returns in a conscientious discharge of his duty (*d*). In 1716, he was presented to the Rectory of Wrington in the county of Somerset. The same year he resigned his Fellowship, and was married to the Hon. Mrs Lydia Hare, sister to the Lord Colerane, who was his pupil in the university †. At his coming to Wrington, he found a ruinous old parsonage-house, and a parish in no small disorder; but he rebuilt the one, and reformed the other: the first being the effect of a good fortune joined with a beneficent mind, and the latter wholly the work of prudence and virtue. Some time after, by the favour of Bishop Hooper, and the Dean and Chapter, he was elected Canon residentiary of the church of Wells; in which he also bore the office of Sub-dean. To this station he did credit in all respects, not abusing the honourable leisure he there enjoyed in luxurious ease, or ostentatious hospitality, but devoting it to the duties of his profession, especially frequent preaching, and the service of the Christian Church (*e*). In 1719, he was engaged in the Bangorian controversy [*B*], wherein he acquitted himself to

(*a*) An Account of the Life of Dr John Rogers, prefixed to his nineteen Sermons on several occasions. Lond. 1730, 8vo. p. 16, 17.

(*b*) Catal. of Graduats.

* Life of Dr Rogers, as above, p. 18—21.

(*c*) Catal. of Graduats.

(*d*) He quitted this Lecture Jan. 12, 1723-4, and preached a Farewel Sermon, which he published. Lond. 1724. 8vo.

† By her he had two daughters, the eldest of whom is married to Rob. Knight, Esq;

(*e*) Life, &c. p. 23—25.

[*A*] *Most usefully and agreeably dividing his time between the university and his country cure.*] The author of his Life makes, upon that occasion, this pertinent reflexion (1). 'From his example I cannot help 'observing, of how great consequence it is to Clergymen in his circumstances, to inure and habituate 'themselves to the discharge of the several Duties of 'their sacred function, which is the chief end to which 'all their studies are ultimately to be directed. How 'far preferable is such an employment to the Life of a 'Clergyman wholly spent within the college-walls 'in inglorious Ease, or curious Speculation; 'till at 'once he is called out into the world, a learned, unexperienced old man, too regular and severe in life 'to make allowance for the Infirmity of his people, 'or too profoundly wise to inform their ignorance.'

(1) P. 21.

[*B*] *In* 1719 *he was engaged in the Bangorian Controversy.*] He published upon that occasion, 1. 'A 'Discourse of the Visible and Invisible Church of 'Christ: In which it is shewn, that the Powers claimed 'by the Officers of the Visible Church are not inconsistent with the Supremacy of Christ as Head, or 'with the Rights and Liberties of Christians, as Members of the Invisible Church.' Lond. 1719, 8vo. The author of his Life, &c. gives the following account of the Occasion of that Discourse (2). 'He had for some time attentively observed the progress of the Dispute: he observ'd, among some other points, certain

(2) P. 30.

to the satisfaction of all disinterested persons *(f)*. On account of his abilities in that respect, as well as of his learning and merit in general, the university of Oxford conferred upon him by diploma, in 1721, the degree of Doctor in Divinity, without his desire or knowledge. He was not only famed for controversy, but also for being an eminent casuist; and as such frequently applyed to, in easing scruples of conscience, and resolving points of religion. More especially, he was consulted by persons in danger of being seduced into Popery; for whose use he composed some excellent Treatises [*C*]. As a favourer of all generous designs, he particularly encouraged Charity-schools, and the Corporation for the relief of Clergymens widows and children; not only by the example of his own liberality, and his application and influence, but also by his eloquent Discourses, some of which he made public [*D*]. In the year 1726, by the recommendation of some eminent persons, who were desirous to bring him forth into public view, he was made Chaplain to his present Majesty, then Prince of Wales, an honour unexpected and unsought. About the same time, he appeared in Defence of Christianity, against the malevolent attacks of Antony Collins in his Scheme of Literal Prophecy considered, &c. [*E*] In the same year, having resigned his lecture of

(f) See his Life, p. 27.

certain Propositions advanc'd concerning the Church in indefinite terms, of an exceptionable meaning, such as in their natural consequences were apprehended to be inconsistent with the notion of a regular Society. The debate soon grew warm; on one hand the Charge was urg'd home with aggravations; on the other, complaint was made of misrepresentations, and an Answer offer'd, but such, it seems, as did not give satisfaction, or remove the grounds of offence. In these circumstances, some interposition appear'd necessary, in order to reconcile, if possible, this variance; at least to give a just state of the Point in Debate, by considering distinctly the Assertions which had given the Offence, with those Restrictions and Limitations under which they were defended; so that it might appear upon the whole, in what sense and what degree they were true or false; and thus the dispute might be brought to a fair issue. With this view he publish'd his *Discourse*, &c. not by way of personal controversy, but direct assertions; in which he set forth at large those two distinguishing relations, under which the Church stood, considered; and the several properties which resulted respectively from each. The great end of his writing was to inform and direct the judgment of his readers. Accordingly he has clear'd the subject from those perplexities, in which some had industriously involv'd it; laying down plain principles, and tracing them through a regular series of conclusions; and whenever the point stood in need of a direct and full explication, he never kept himself within the cautionary reserves of a Defendant, but endeavour'd to give all possible satisfaction to the serious enquirer, with openness and sincerity of heart declaring the whole truth. This Discourse was favourably received by the publick, and distinguish'd by the approbation of Dr Fr Hare then Dean of Worcester.

The Rev. Arthur A. Sykes having publish'd an *Answer* to that Discourse; our learned Author wrote, 2. ' A Review of the Discourse of the Visible and ' Invisible Church of Christ, being a Reply to Mr ' Sykes's Answer to that Discourse.' " In this work, (as the Author of his Life observes,) he has more fully done justice to his argument, and more explicitly unfolded and supported his principles, pursuing them through their several conclusions, and pointing out their application to particular cases. And with regard to the Cavils and Objections offer'd against his former positions, he has with much patience consider'd, and answer'd them so unexceptionably, as to preclude any farther opposition from those who seem'd ambitious of being thought controversial writers. And tho' the very form of the disputation, as it was a reply to the exceptions of an opponent, and of course contain'd many particularities *ad hominem*, was such as he was very unwillingly drawn into; yet has he constantly kept the main point in view, being no farther sollicitous to confute his adversary, than it was necessary in order to clear up and establish the truth. Upon the whole, he may not improperly be said to have put an end to this Dispute; not only as he was in order of time perhaps the last Writer upon the Subject, but as he handled it in such a masterly and decisive manner, and brought it to that issue, upon which it has rested ever since."

[*C*] *For whose use he compos'd some excellent Treatises.*] One of them was publish'd by him, under this title; 3. ' Reasons against Conversion to the Church ' of Rome, in a Letter to his Guardian, a late Convert to that Church; by a Student in the Temple.' Lond. 1726. 8vo. In this piece he treats only of the Infallibility of the Church of Rome; which is one of the main and fundamental supports of that monstrous heap of Superstition. The Argument is manag'd by him in a new and singular manner.

[*D*] *Some of which he made public.*] One was intituled, 4 ' A Sermon preached before the Corporation ' for Relief of the Poor Widows of Clergymen, at ' their Anniversary Meeting in the Cathedral Church ' of St Paul's Dec. 4. 1718.' Lond. 1719. 5. He also preached at St Sepulchre's, on Easter-Tuesday, the 'Spital-Sermon, at the yearly Meeting of the Charity-Schools, in and about the Cities of London and Westminster, in 1729. Printed in 1730.

And, to mention here in one view the rest of his Sermons that are printed: After his decease, Three Volumes of his Sermons were published, namely, 6. ' Twelve Sermons preached upon several occasions. ' By John Rogers, D. D.' &c.' Lond. 1730. 8vo. The Preface is sign'd T. C. and dated April 10th 1730. 7. ' Nineteen Sermons on several Occasions. To ' which is prefix'd, The Author's Life, with an Elo' gium written by John Burton, B. D. Fellow of Eton ' college.' Lond 1730. 8vo. 8. ' Seventeen Sermons ' on several Occasions. To which are added Two ' Tracts, viz. 1. Reasons against Conversion to the ' Church of Rome. 2. A Persuasive to Conformity, ' address'd to the Dissenters. Never before printed.' And written for the use of the Dissenters in the parish of Wrington. Lond. 1736. 8vo. ' Being the Third ' and Last Volume of the Author's posthumous ' Works.' 9. He writ also a Persuasive to Conformity, address'd to the Quakers.

[*E*] *About the same time, he appeared in Defence of Christianity, against the malevolent Attacks of Antony Collins in his Scheme of Literal Prophecy, &c.*] Our learned Author did not at first professedly write against the *Scheme*, &c. But publishing in 1727, a Volume of Sermons, intituled, 10. ' The Necessity of Divine ' Revelation, and the Truth of the Christian Reli' gion asserted: in eight Sermons;' He prefix'd to them ' A Preface with Remarks on the Scheme of ' Literal Prophecy, &c.'——This Preface, as the writer of our Author's Life observes (3), being written in much haste, and with an honest zeal for the Defence of our religious Establishment, and on a point which requires some tenderness and caution in the handling, seem'd liable to some exception, or rather to demand a more full and distinct explication This gave occasion to a letter from his friend Dr Nath. Marshall Dec. 20. 1727. which, with our Author's satisfactory Answer, dated the 1st of January following, was publish'd in the Vindication of the Civil Establishment of Religion; as will be mentioned presently. The same Writer of his Life, is inclined to think (4); that, from the Number of these Sermons, (viz. 8.) the Subject matter, and Manner of writing, they were primarily design'd to be preached at Boyle's Lecture; and would have been reckoned among some of the best performances on that occasion. But to return to the Preface: Antony Collins having written, *A Letter to the Reverend Dr* Rogers, *on occasion of his eight Sermons concerning the Necessity of Divine Revelation, and the Preface prefixed to them*; our learned Doctor published, 11. ' A Vindication of the Civil Establishment of Re' ligion; wherein some Positions of Mr *Chandler*, the ' Author of *The Literal Scheme*, &c. and an anony' mous

(3) P. 38.

(4) P. 27.

of St Clement's Danes, he retired from London, with a full intention of ſpending the remaining part of his life in the country, chiefly at Wrington, which he had made very commodious; and where he employed himſelf in rural diverſions and exerciſes. He ſeemed to have ſo much fixed his affection there, that in 1728, during his courſe of waiting as King's Chaplain; when a Nobleman's Favour gave him reaſonable Expectations of further advancement, he declined it; alledging, That as his duty had called him up to the Court, it now called him away to another place, from which no other views could detain him. Accordingly he haſtened back into the country (g): but he had not been there many days, when he received ſo handſome and generous an offer, from the Dean (h) and Chapter of St Paul's, of the Vicarage of St Giles's Cripplegate in London, then vacant by the death of Dr Thomas Bennet (i), that he could not well refuſe it. Though he accepted that great preferment with undiſſembled anxiety and reluctance (k) [F], he was inſtituted thereto about the latter end of October, 1728 (l). While he was poſſeſſed of it, he did not only diſcharge the duties of his miniſterial function with his uſual abilities and integrity: but alſo endeavoured to the utmoſt to ſet the perplexed ſtate of that pariſh's affairs upon a better footing, and to extricate the inhabitants out of ſome difficulties into which they were involved. A ſincere deſire to ſerve them in theſe reſpects engaged his continual application, even to the neglect of his own health; and is thought to have haſtened his death (m): which happened in the fiftieth year of his age, on the firſt of May, 1729 (n), after ten days illneſs, and after he had enjoyed his new preferment only about ſix months. He was buried the thirteenth of May, in the pariſh church of Enſham, where a very handſome monument is erected to his memory by his widow (o) [G]. Dr Rogers was a comely perſon, and to all appearance of a ſtrong and robuſt conſtitution. His Religion was pure and unaffected. His piety real and rational; zealous without exceſs, and temperate without any faulty coldneſs; free from ſupercilious reſerves, and haughty appearances; but agreeably ſeaſoned with a peculiar livelineſs of ſpirit, as well as all fit urbanity and freedom of converſe (p). He was an excellent Writer, though he was never ambitious of being thought a great Scholar: his Learning was for uſe, not for oſtentation: he neither collected nor read many Books, nor was curious in their editions, being perſuaded, that a few well choſen, and ſtudied to good purpoſe, communicate more real knowledge, than a copious ſlowly-growing Common-place-book. Not to mention others, he appeared more particularly converſant in the writings of the judicious Mr Hooker, and the ingenious Mr Norris, and he made their excellencies his own (q). The reſt of his character is given below [H].

(g) Life, &c. p. 46, 47.

(h) Dr Francis Hare.

(i) See above the article BENNET [THOMAS].

(k) Life, &c. as above, p 48.

(l) Monthly Chronicle, 4to. Vol. I. p. 225.

(m) Life, &c. as above, p. 50, 51.

(n) Monthly Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 97.

(o) Life, &c. p. 59.

(p) Dr Marſhall's funeral Sermon on Dr Rogers, p. 29.

(q) Life, &c. as above, p. 44.

'mous Letter on that Subject are occaſionally conſidered. With an Appendix, containing a Letter 'from the Reverend Dr *Marſhall*, and an Anſwer to 'the ſame' Lond. 1728 8vo. T. Chubb made ſome Remarks upon this Book in his *Short Reflections on the Grounds and Extent of Authority and Liberty, with reſpect to Civil Government.* 1728.

[F] *Tho' he accepted that great preferment with undiſſembled anxiety and reluctance,* &c.] So the author of his Life aſſures us. Which is alſo confirm'd by Dr N. Marſhall, in his funeral Sermon. 'It fell, ſays 'he, to my lot to give him that earlieſt notice of his 'Invitation to this extenſive Cure, which I am morally ſure, 'till then he had never thought of, much 'leſs ſought after, or canvaſſed for it. His Anſwer 'convinc'd me, that his own Choice would have rather fix'd him in a rural privacy, than have enter'd 'him upon ſuch a public Scene of Action: But a Call 'ſo unlook'd for, ſo utterly unexpected, he eſteem'd 'Providential; as ſuch he obey'd it rather than embrac'd it'

[G] *Where a very handſome monument is erected to his memory,* &c] The Epitaph begins in this manner. *Hic juxta cineres paternos corpus ſuum ſepeliri voluit* Johannes Rogers, S. T. P. *magni vir animi, ad fortunam omnem, ad munus omne, ſive ſuſtinendum, ſive ornandum, ita inſigniter compoſitus, ut illius qui recenſuerit titulos, idem quoque ſimul laudaverit virtutes.* i. e. 'John Rogers, D. D. deſired his body might be depoſited here, near his Father's remains; a man of a 'great mind, ſo well adapted to ſupport, as well as to 'adorn, every condition of life, every employment 'or dignity, that he who mentions his titles and preferments, doth at the ſame time praiſe his virtues.' &c. The reſt containing only Facts, already mentioned in this Life, we thought it improper to repeat them again here.—This Epitaph is moſt wretchedly tranſlated in the Appendix to the Exemplary Memorials, &c. p. 10.

[H] *The reſt of his character is given below.*] The author of his Life, gives this further juſt elogium of him (5). 'No one more attentively examin'd his own 'Notions, or digeſted them more methodically; ſerious meditation effected what could never be attain'd 'by mere aſſiduity of reading. His attention and 'patience in the purſuit of truth, were equal to his 'quickneſs and ſagacity; and continual exerciſe 'ſtrengthened and enlarg'd his capacities. As a maſterly Reaſoner he paid a juſt deference to Authority, yet admitted no principle implicitly without 'mature examination, and regularly work'd out his 'own concluſions. In ſhort, he may be truly ſaid to 'have built upon his own bottom, being, what few 'can juſtly boaſt of, thoroughly acquainted with the 'extent of his own abilities, and a compleat maſter 'of his own knowledge.———Whether we regard 'moral or intellectual qualities, he will appear a moſt 'excellent Writer, and poſterity, by imitating, will 'praiſe the good example. We find in him the acuteneſs of a Critick, the cloſe reaſoning of a Logician, 'the good manners of a Gentleman, and charity of a 'Chriſtian: On all occaſions a true greatneſs of mind, 'diſdaining every purſuit but that of truth; above all 'party-views, and perſonal altercations; and incapable of the common little arts of evaſions, diſſimulations and miſrepreſentations: A quickneſs of wit 'that gave life and beauty to his compoſitions; a ſpirit 'either inſenſible or ſuperior to injuries and ſlander, 'ſuch as could contemn with ſilence, rebuke with gravity, or forgive with meekneſs: In the management 'of his argument an honeſty and ſincerity, which few 'obſerve amidſt the heat of the diſputation; an impartiality and candor, which his opponents cannot 'but allow; a perſpicuity of ſtyle and ſentiment, 'which they cannot honeſtly miſinterpret; and a 'ſtrength of reaſoning, which they can no more gainſay than imitate'——Dr Marſhall gives alſo this character of him (6). 'I ſhould not mention among 'the praiſes due to him, that clear, comprehenſive, 'and ſtrong Underſtanding God had given him, but 'for the excellent uſes to wich he applied it. His 'Works will praiſe him, when our lips can no longer 'perform the grateful office: The infidel and libertine 'may ſtand thence corrected or inſtructed; as the ſerious and faithful may thence derive a farther ſupport and confirmation in their reſpective ſentiments 'and practices. Had he been born of a parentage 'which had eaſily led him to the higheſt ſtations in 'life, he was amply qualified for ſuſtaining and adorning them; as in a lower figure of life and fortune 'he

(5) P. 41, 45.

(6) Funeral Sermon.

'he was equally fitted for improving, or being content 'with it. A mind so exquisitely form'd for any situa'tion any posture of affairs, to which the Providence 'of God might have call'd him; such an indifference 'toward the honours and profits of this life, with 'such abilities to have acquired the one, and to have 'adorned the other, are talents rarely to be met with 'in the same person, and very hardly to be imi'tated by any other.—He was an entire despiser of 'craft and cunning, that ape of Wisdom, the uglier 'for being so like it; yet with the simplicity and 'godly sincerity of the honest Christian, with the 'harmless temper of the dove, he had such a due 'proportion of the serpent's wisdom, that as he would 'impose upon none, so he was not himself easily im'pos'd upon. Of his public spirit, he has left behind 'him very costly monuments in the several cures, to 'which he stood for any time related. He concludes, 'with calling him, a worthy man, a pious Christian, 'a vigilant Pastor; in whom Religion in general had 'lost an able champion, the Church of England in 'particular a prudent and strenuous defender, and his 'Parish a discreet, faithful, and watchful overseer (7).'

C

(7) See also Mr Burton's Character of our learned Author in elegant Latin verse, Prefixed to his Sermons.

ROOK, or ROOKE, [Sir GEORGE], one of the bravest and most experienced sea-commanders Great-Britain ever bred (*a*), was the son of Sir William Rooke, Knt. of an antient and honorable family in the county of Kent [*A*], where he was born in the year 1650. His father gave him the education becoming a gentleman; and, when he grew up and fit to enter upon business, put him to a genteel profession. But, as it frequently happens that genius gives a bias too strong for the views even of a parent to conquer, so Sir William, after a fruitless struggle with his son's bent to naval employment, gave way to his inclinations, and suffered him to go to sea. His first station in the navy was that of a reformade, in which he distinguished himself by his undaunted courage and indefatigable application. This quickly acquired him the post of a Lieutenant, from whence he rose to that of a Captain, before he was thirty; a thing in those days very extraordinary, when no man, let his interest or quality be what it would, was raised to that station, before he had given ample as well as incontestable testimonies of his being able to fill it with honor (*b*). So far he was advanced in the reign of King Charles the Second. His successor, King James, who certainly had uncommon skill and experience in maritime affairs, entertained so good an opinion and esteem of our young Captain, that he was continued in his post, and obtained the command of the Deptford, a fourth rate man of war. But being too honest to favour the unlawful designs of that Prince, he heartily concurred in the Revolution (*c*) [*B*]. About the end of April, 1689, Admiral Herbert distinguished him early, by sending him, as Commodore, with a squadron on the coast of Ireland; to assist in the reduction of that kingdom, wherein King James had landed with a French army. He arrived off of Greenock the tenth of May; kept the Scots from having any intercourse with King James and his army; and was particularly instrumental in the taking of the isle of Inch in Lough-Swille, and in the relief of London-derry. Soon after, he convoyed the Duke of Schomberg's army to Carrickfergus; and continued with that General 'till he had taken the place. Then, by his direction, he sailed southward along the Irish coast; came into Dublin-bay September 16, where he insulted the city, which King James was personally present in, and attempted to take or burn all the vessels in the harbour: but the wind turning, and blowing hard, drove him out to sea. The 18th of September he came before Cork, and sent in some small vessels for intelligence, and to assure the people of their Majesties (*d*) favour: and, notwithstanding their violent fire from some batteries at the harbour's mouth, he landed his men, and took possession of the great island; though this was looked upon as the best fortified port in Ireland. He might have done further services, had not his ships grown by this time foul, and his provisions of all kinds very low. By which means being constrained to quit his station, he arrived in the Downs October 13, after having given, by his activity, vigilance, and indefatigable attention to his duty in this expedition, an earnest of the great things, which he afterwards performed (*e*). In the beginning of the year 1690, he was made Rear-Admiral of the Red, upon the Earl of Torrington's recommendation (*f*) [*C*]: in which station he served at the unfortunate fight off Beachy-head, June 30. But notwithstanding the ill success of our arms, which was indisputably one of the greatest we ever met with at sea, Mr Rooke was, upon examination, found to have behaved well (*g*). Thererefore, he had the command of a squadron given him; and King William thinking his own presence absolutely necessary at the approaching congress at the Hague, no one was thought so proper to be trusted with the guard of his royal person, in that voyage, as Rear-Admiral Rooke: a thing the more remarkable, because this was the first time of his Majesty's going

(*a*) Boyer's Hist. of Queen Anne, in the Annual List of the deaths of eminent persons, p. 45.

(*b*) Ibid. Life of Sir George Rook, Lond. 1707, 8vo. p. 1, 2. Lives of the Admirals, &c. by J. Campbell, Esq; L.L.D edit. 1750. Vol. IV. p. 292.

(*c*) Life, &c. as above, p. 2.

(*d*) King William and Queen Mary.

(*e*) Life, p. 3—11. Complete Hist. of the Transactions at Sea, &c. by Josiah Burchett, Esq; Lond. 1720. fol. p. 417, &c. and Dr Campbell as above, Vol. IV. p. 12, &c.

(*f*) Dr Campbell, Vol. IV. p. 294.

(*g*) Life, p. 12. and Dr Campbell, Vol. IV. p. 294.

[*A*] *Of an antient and honorable family in the county of Kent.*] They were seated at Monks-Horton in that county. And of the same family, very probably, was George Rookes, a person in the service of King James I. who was sent by him upon some special affairs in Sicily, in the year 1604 (1). Sir William, our brave Admiral's father, was Sheriff of Kent, and Mayor of Canterbury, in 1684 (2).

[*B*] *He heartily concurred in the Revolution.*] The author of his life informs us, That 'as Captain Rook 'did not at all favour the designs concerted by King 'James II. against his country, there was indeed no'thing but meer necessity (i. e. the want of good of'ficers) that made the King entertain him and some 'others in his service. Captain Rook, upon the land'ing of the Prince of Orange in England, and the 'success of his arms, coming into the Downs, under 'my Lord Dartmouth's command, (King James his 'Admiral,) there readily concurred to have several 'officers in the fleet that were known or at least sus'pected to be Papists to be dismissed from their em'ployments; and indeed this Gentleman in parti'cular, as much affected to the Religion and Liberty 'of his country as any in the Navy could be, en'gaged in his station early and heartily in promoting 'the happy Revolution that ensued (3).'

[*C*] *Upon the Earl of Torrington's recommendation.*] Arthur Herbert, Esq; Vice-Admiral of England, was created Baron of Torbay and Earl of Torington 29 May 1689.

[*D*] *And*

(1) Lediard's Naval History, fol. p. 403.

(2) Somner's Antiquities of Canterbury, edit. [illegible] fol. P. ii. p. 185.

(3) Life, &c. p. 2, 3.

going over to Holland, since he had been King of England. The Admiral sailed out of the Downs, January 16, 1690-91, with a squadron under his command towards Margate road: and his Majesty embarking at Gravesend, they put to sea on the 17th. Having encountred great dangers from the ice, on the coast of Holland, the King landed safely a little to the northward of the Maese. And the Rear-Admiral having faithfully discharged his great trust, and continued on that coast 'till he saw the yachts and small frigates safely in, he returned, on the 25th, with his squadron to Margate-road. He sailed again to the eastward on the 15th of March, 1690 91, but returned the 21st of the same month from the coast of Holland; the King not being yet ready to imbark, and taking the opportunity of coming back, about the middle of April, with part of the Dutch squadron. However, his Majesty making but a very short stay in England, Rear-Admiral Rooke had the honor to convoy him over the second time, and on the second of May landed him in Holland. The Rear-Admiral, after this, rejoined the grand Fleet, commanded now by Admiral Russell; but all their endeavours to meet with and engage the French fleet proving ineffectual, this year terminated without any memorable action (*b*). The next proved one of the most illustrious in the British Annals, and was particularly famous for the destruction of the French fleet at la Hogue; in which our brave officer bore a very large part. But we are previously to observe, that, in March 1692, he again convoyed King William to Holland, and was then, or very soon after, promoted to the rank of Vice-Admiral of the Blue; in which station he served in the famous battle of la Hogue, on the 22d of May. He behaved there with great courage and conduct; and it was owing to his vigorous behaviour, that the last stroke was given on that important day; which threw the French entirely into confusion, and forced them to run the utmost hazard, by passing through the race of Alderney, full of sholes and rocks, with a most furious and rolling sea, in order to shelter themselves from their victorious enemies. But the next day, May the 23d, was for him still more glorious. For he received orders to go into la Hogue, and burn the enemy's ships as they lay. There were thirteen large men of war, drawn up as close to the shoar as possible; besides transports, tenders, and ships with ammunition, disposed in such a manner that it was thought impossible to burn them. Moreover, the French camp was in sight, with all the French and Irish troops that were to have been employed in the invasion of England, and several batteries upon the coast well provided with heavy artillery. Vice-Admiral Rooke, however, made the necessary preparations for obeying his orders; but when he came to make the attempt, he found it impossible to carry in the ships of his squadron. Therefore he ordered his light frigates to ply in close to the shore: and having manned all his boats, went out himself to give directions for the attack, burned that very night six three-deck ships; and the next day, May 24, burnt six more [*D*], from seventy-six to sixty guns, and destroyed the thirteenth, which was a ship of fifty-six guns; with most of the transports and ammunition-vessels; and yet, through his wise conduct, this bold enterprize cost the lives of no more than ten men (*i*). For his good services in this affair, King William settled a pension of a thousand pounds a year upon him for life (*k*). About the beginning of July, Mr Rook, in company with Vice-Admiral Callemberg, was sent with a squadron towards St Malo, to bring an account whether the whole, or what number of the French fleet might ride there; and undoubtedly to endeavour to destroy them. He carefully examined the ground and tides thereabouts; and observed, that there were at St Malo's about 35 or 36 sail rigg'd: but not one of the pilots would undertake to carry in any man of war or fire-ships to make an attempt on the French ships. So dangerous were all approaches to that place! He came back, therefore, through very stormy weather, and safely arrived at Torbay on the 13th of July (*l*). In the spring of the following year, about the middle of

(*b*) Life, &c. p. 12—15.

(*i*) Life, &c. p. 17, 18. Burchett, &c. as above, p. 467, 468. Dr Campbell, as above, Vol. III. p. 64—67. and Vol. IV. p. 295, &c.

(*k*) Life, p. 19. and Dr Campbell, Vol. IV. p. 297.

(*l*) Life, p. 19.

[*D*] *And the next day, May 24, burnt six more*] Mr Richard Allyn, chaplain of the Centurion, gives the following particulars of this memorable transaction (4). —— 'May 23.——At ten or eleven we discovered our fleet about two leagues to the Northward of La Hogue, and at two we anchored by them, they having chaced into la Hogue thirteen sail of the French. In the afternoon Vice-Admiral *Rook*, and about ten sail of third and fourth rates, by the Admiral's orders weighed, and went in almost within shot of the ships, but the pilots would not carry them farther in by reason of the shoal water, besides several banks which are on that coast. The Vice-Admiral hoisted his flag in the Eagle, and, besides the ships that were with him, he had all the barges and pinnaces of the fleet to attend him, well mann'd and arm'd. In the evening he sent in a fire ship and all the boats to destroy the six ships that lay outmost. The fire-ship ran ashore, but was got off the next day. As soon as the French saw our boats with a fire-ship coming near them, they all quitted their ships Our boat was the first that got aboard any of the ships. Lieutenant Paul entered a three-deck ship, and found no creature aboard, so he ordered the boats crew to cut chips and lay them together in order to set her on fire, which was soon done. My Lord Danby burnt his face as he was blowing tow and oakam, &c. to set another ship on fire, some gun-powder taking fire near him. The whole mob of boats went from ship to ship untill they had burnt the six, notwithstanding they were within less than musket shot of the town, and a small fort of about six or eight guns. But as the ships were burning, their guns which were all loaden went off, and the bullets flying all round, so disordered all the men on the shore, that they quitted their posts.———May 24. This morning all the boats and two fire-ships were again ordered in to destroy seven sail more, that were got at least a mile above the town. The fire ships run ashore, and not being able to get off were burnt by our own men; but though the fire-ships had met with such bad success, yet our boats met with better, and did execution even beyond expectation, for they not only burnt the seven men of war, but also at least twenty vessels supposed to be transport ships designed for England, and every thing they met with so far as they went. In the whole action we lost not ten men. They plainly saw King James's camp and standard near la Hogue from their boats.'

(4) Narrative of the Victory at la Hogue, 8vo. p. 30, 31.

[*E*] *Or*

of February 1692-3, King William went to Portfmouth; and having firft viewed the fortifications, and the dock-yard, he afterwards went to fee the fleet at Spithead; and going on board Vice-Admiral Rooke, with whom he dined, he was pleafed, as a mark of his royal favour, and the high efteem he had of his fervices, to confer the honor of Knighthood upon him. A little before (*m*), a grand naval promotion was made, in which Sir George was declared Vice-Admiral of the Red. Shortly after, he was appointed commander of the fquadron, which was to efcort the Mediterranean and Smyrna fleet of merchants. And the reft of the Englifh and Dutch men of war received orders to accompany him to a certain latitude, or as far as they fhould think proper [*E*]: then, his inftructions were, to take the beft care of the fleet he could, and, in cafe of any misfortune, to retire into fome of the Spanifh ports, and put himfelf under the protection of their cannon (*n*). In the mean time, the French fleet had failed, from Breft and other ports, for the Mediterranean, about the middle of May, in three fquadrons, confifting all together of feventy-one fhips of war, befides tenders, bomb-veffels, and fire-fhips; and, being joined by the Toulon fquadron, and amounting now to no lefs than one hundred and fourteen fail, were got into Lagos-bay on the coaft of Portugal, with a defign of waiting for and intercepting the Englifh fleet. Our Admiralty and Miniftry, to their great

(*m*) Febr. 8. See Dr Campbell, Vol. III. p. 86.

(*n*) Idem, Vol. IV. p. 298.

[*E*] *Or as far as they fhould think proper.*] At a Council of war, on the 15th of May, they came to the following refolution; "That, if the Toulon fquadron was come out of the Streights, and had joined the Breft fquadron; Ten of our men of war, a fmall frigate, and a fire-fhip, would be a fufficient convoy for the Streights and Turkey fleet. And that the feparate convoy for Spain ought to proceed with them, and the body of the fleet, accompany them out of the Channel: But that if the French were not joined, it was proper the whole fquadron fhould forthwith proceed with their convoys. On the other hand, if the French fleet was joined, and at fea, it was judged advifeable for the main fleet to proceed with the Mediterranean fquadron fo far as a council of war fhould think proper, when in the Soundings; but if no certain advice could be got of the Toulon fquadron's being come out of the Streights, or where they were, before the fleet failed from St Helen's, it was determined that the Mediterranean fquadron (that is ten men of war, a frigate, and a fire-fhip) fhould remain at St Helen's till intelligence could be gained. On the 19th of May, the Lords of the Admiralty, in obedience to the Queen's commands, fent orders to the Admirals, to fail in company of the fquadron bound to the Mediterranean, and of the Virginia and Bilboa convoys; and, that, after they had proceeded with them as far as fhould be judg'd requifite, they fhould order the Streights fquadron to fteer fuch courfe to Cadiz, as fhould be thought moft fafe by a council of war, with refpect as well to the Breft fleet, if gone to fea, as to the Toulon fquadron; and then with the body of the Fleet to put in execution the inftructions they had received. A council of war being hereupon called, it was determin'd, That the main fleet, and Mediterranean fquadron fhould proceed together thirty leagues weft fouth-weft off of Ufhant, and that when the Admirals fpread a blue flag at the main-top-maft head, and fired three guns, Sir George Rook, as well as the other convoys, fhould proceed, according to the orders they had received from the Lords of the Admiralty. The fleet being, on the 4th of June, 30 leagues W. S. W. off Ufhant, a council of war of the flag-officers was call'd; when it was determined, That fince they had no intelligence of the enemy, the fleet fhould accompany the Mediterranean fquadron 20 leagues further, and then return to the former ftation, and take up the cruizers, and from thence proceed to the rendezvous 10 leagues North-weft off Ufhant; where accordingly they arriv'd June 8. During this time they met with no intelligence of the enemy's fleet; but the Lords of the Admiralty receiv'd advice on the 13th from Sir Lambert Blackwell, conful at Leghorn, that the Toulon fquadron, with thirty-five galleys, were ready to proceed from Marfeilles. Some fhips being fent to gain intelligence on the French coaft, one of them return'd to the fleet the 17th of June, with an account, That fhe had ftood fo near in St Matthew's point, as to bring Breft bay open, and that neither fhip nor other veffel could be difcover'd there, except two or three fifhing boats; fo that the Admirals determined to fail off of Scilly to look for the enemy, and from thence to repair to Torbay, with the fixty-nine fhips of the line of battle they had with them. They arrived the 21ft in great want of feveral kinds of provifions. However a council of war was called the 23d upon commands from her Majefty concerning Sir George Rook, it being apprehended, tho' too late, that he might be in great danger from the French fleet By this council it was determined to proceed to Lifbon, and join the Mediterranean fquadron; but it was found upon ftrict enquiry, they had not fufficient provifions fo to do. Neverthelefs, fince it was judged, that fquadron did greatly require the affiftance of the fleet, it was refolved to proceed in fearch of the enemy, if in fourteen days time they could be compleated with victuals for ten weeks at whole allowance. About that time, advice came from the Englifh conful at Oporto, dated the 9th of June, and alfo from other quarters, That the French fleet had been difcover'd in Lagos bay the 6th of June, confifting in all of about 120 fail, of which feventy were great fhips, befides fixteen fire-fhips, and fix bomb-veffels, and that twenty of them were cruizing weftward. Upon thefe alarming news, the Lords of the Admiralty did, on the 23d of June, fend orders to the Admirals to diftribute the expected provifions equally, fo foon as they fhould arrive, and to caufe each captain to take on board what water he could, fince 'twas probable the fervice might require the Fleet's continuing at fea a confiderable time; and exprefs directions were given to the Commiffioners for victualling, to provide as faft as they poffibly could, and haften to the fleet, what provifions were then fhip'd off. On the 1ft of July, the flag officers fubmitted it to her Majefty, whether it might be advifable for the fleet to proceed to Lifbon, for that if the French were join'd and fail'd northward, *the coaft of England would be expofed to infults*. What had before induced them to propofe going thither, was for the fecurity of Sir George Rook, and the merchant fhips; and to proceed with him further, or accompany him home, as fhould be thought moft proper: But fince orders were fent to him to return, they thought it would be very uncertain where to meet him; and they were of opinion, That her Majefty's orders to him were fo full, that there was no occafion to give any additional ones, fince thereby he was directed, That if he was obliged to go into the river of Lifbon, and received certain intelligence, during his ftay there, that the Toulon fquadron had join'd the reft of their fleet, and were together gone northward from the coaft of Portugal, he fhould leave a proper number of fhips, both Englifh and Dutch, to proceed up the Streights with the Turkey fleet, and return Himfelf with the reft, and join the body of our fleet in thefe feas, and not meeting them in his paffage, to make the port of Plimmouth, and there expect further orders. But thefe orders not being fent away before the 3d of June, they could not poffibly arrive time enough (5)." This whole Account I have chofen to fet down; becaufe it fhews the Weaknefs and Unfteadinefs of the meafures of our Miniftry, and how they were the obvious caufe of Sir George Rook's mifcarriage. Their Lazinefs or Cowardife, cloaked under the pretence of our 'Coaft's being in 'danger, was a weak and ruinous meafure; which 'expofed our brave Admiral, and the rich fleet under 'his care, to be attacked by the whole force of France, 'while we had a fuperior fleet, riding to no purpofe 'in our channel (6).'

(5) Life, &c. p. 22—28.

(6) This is Dr Campbell's juft obfervation, Vol. III. p. 91.

[*F*] *However*

great dishonor, had not taken care to get proper intelligence of the enemy's motions. Sir George sailed about the end of May, with a fleet of four hundred merchant-men of all nations; and, besides his own squadron of twenty-three ships, was accompanied with forty-five English, and twenty-four Dutch men of war. These left him on the sixth of June (o), though he expressed to them some concern at the great risque the numerous fleet of merchant-men under his convoy was like to run; as they had not yet any certain intelligence either of the force of the French squadrons, or where they were sailed (p). However, he pursued his course for the Streights, leaving by the way the vessels bound for Bilboa, Lisbon, St Ubes, and other places: but a very brisk gale of wind arising, drove him directly towards the enemy, before he could be apprized of their number, or his own danger. On the 16th of June, several French ships were discovered in Lagos-bay; upon which a council of war being called, Sir George advised, in vain, that they should lye by 'till the enemy's strength could be known. A ship they took, would make them believe that it consisted only of fifteen ships of the line: but Sir George easily counting eighty sail of men of war, resolved to push forward and make the best of his way; 'till considering, that he should thereby leave the merchant-ships exposed to the enemy, he brought to, and stood off with an easy sail, that the Dutch and the heavy ships might work up to the windward. He sent orders, at the same time, to the small ships that were near the land, and therefore not likely to keep up with the fleet, to use their utmost endeavours in the night to save themselves in the neighbouring ports of Faro, St Lucar, or Cadiz: which advice, as it was well given, so it was happily pursued, no less than fifty getting into Cadiz only. However the number of those taken and destroyed was great [F]. But it shewed great presence of mind in Sir George, to provide so wisely for the most distant part of the fleet, when himself, and those about him were in such imminent danger (q). The enemy amused themselves in attacking two Dutch men of war, and some of their merchant-ships; which they pursued, as they made for the shore, and thereby gave Sir George, with the ships that were to the windward and a-head, a fair opportunity to escape. He stood off all night, with a fresh gale: and, the next morning, June the 18th found fifty-four of the merchant-ships, and several men of war about him. The day following, he sent for the officers of the men of war and merchant-ships on board, to get the best account he could of the state they were in, and to concert proper measures for the security of the remainder. Being in want of water, and in hopes of meeting some of his scattered ships, which had steered southwards, he resolved to sail to the Madeiras; whence he departed the 27th of June, and arrived, August the third, at Cork in Ireland (r). In this whole affair, Sir George shewed a great deal of conduct. His whole squadron consisted of no more than twenty-three ships of war; and that of the enemy of one hundred and twenty sail in all, of which 64 were of the line, and 18 three-deck ships: yet Sir George saved all the men of war; for he brought twelve of them to Kingsale, and the other got into Cadiz; and he likewise brought back with him sixty merchant-men. Therefore, while in France the people in general charged their admirals with not making the most of their advantage, and the admirals themselves charged each other with want of conduct and neglect of duty, there was not so much as a single reflection made upon Sir George Rooke's behaviour; but, on the contrary, he was said to have gained more reputation by his escape, than accrued to the French by their conquest [G]. On his return home, the merchants gave him their thanks; and he underwent a strict examination, in the next meeting of the Parliament, when no imputation of misconduct or treachery could be fixed upon him (s). King William was so far from thinking Sir George had any ways been wanting in his duty, that he was pleased to promote him, in February 1693-4, from being Vice-Admiral of the Blue to the rank of Vice-Admiral of the Red; and, in April following, as a further mark of his favour and confidence, appointed him one of the commissioners of the Admiralty; soon after which, he was advanced again from Vice-Admiral of the Red to be Admiral of the Blue. He was not much at sea this summer; but gave constant attendance at the Admiralty-board, where he earnestly promoted all good regulations (t) [H]. In May 1695, he convoyed the King to Holland: and in September, being Admiral of the White, was constituted Commander

(o) About fifty leagues W.S.W. of Ushant. Idem, Vol. III. p. 90. and Life, p. 24.

(p) Life, p. 24, &c. 39. Burchett, p. 482, &c. Dr Campbell, Vol. III. p. 88—92. and Vol. IV. p. 298, &c.

(q) Life, p. 26, &c. Burchett, p. 484, &c. Dr Campbell, Vol. III. p. 92—96. and Vol. IV. p. 298, &c.

(r) Life, p. 33. Burchett, p. 486. Dr Campbell, Vol. III. p. 94, &c.

(s) Dr Campbell, Vol. IV. p. 300, 301. and Proceedings of the House of Commons.

(t) Life, p. 42, 43.

[F] *However the number of those taken and destroyed was great.*] M. Coetlogon burnt, or sunk, four of the largest Smyrna ships at Gibraltar, and took seven; M. de Tourville and M. Destrées took two Dutch men of war, and twenty-nine merchant men; burnt an English man of war, and a rich pinnace, and destroyed about fifty merchant ships; and five more at Malaga; and a few more in other places. The value of the cargoes, and of the men of war, were computed at about one Million sterling (7).

[G] *Than accrued to the French by their conquest.*] 'This is certain, says Mr Du Mont (8), that they 'missed the greatest part of the convoy, and that Sir 'George Rook, upon this occasion, acquired infinitely 'more honor than those who commanded the French 'fleet. While the one, though unable to resist such 'as attacked him in the midst of threatning dangers, 'by his prudence, dexterity, and courage, saved the 'best part of the fleet committed to his charge, at a 'time that others suffered themselves to be deprived, 'by the superior skill of this Admiral, of a booty, 'which, if they could have kept it, fortune put into 'their hands.'

[H] *Where he earnestly promoted all good regulations.*] Particularly one to this effect: 'That whereas 'the Lords Commissioners had appointed sufficient salaries for their Secretaries, Clerks, and other Officers, they did order and direct, that they should 'neither demand, take, nor receive any fees, gratuities, or rewards from any person or persons, who 'might have occasion to apply to the board, upon any 'pretence whatsoever, upon the penalty of forfeiting 'their salaries, and being discharged from their respective imployments for ever (9).'

[I] *Was*

(7) Idem, p. 96.

(8) Journal printed at that time in Holland.

(9) [illegible]

Commander in chief of a squadron to be sent in the Mediterranean [*I*], consisting of a fleet of seventy men of war and merchant-ships. He sailed, in thirty-eight days, from England to Cadiz: and, on the 21st of November, called a council of war, to consider of a proper convoy for the ships bound to Turkey. But his men proving very sickly, and his force much inferior to the French, not above half of what they could bring out; he resolved therefore, at a council of war on the 19th of January 1696-7, to secure his fleet in the harbour of Cadiz, 'till a reinforcement could arrive from England. In the mean time he received orders, dated January 27, to return home. However, to amuse the enemy, he pretended to go to Port-Mahon; but being sensible how inferior at all events he would be to the French, he put to sea about the middle of March, and arrived in the English Channel the 22d of April, 1696; to the great joy and satisfaction of the nation in general, which much feared, lest the French fleet should come up with and overpower him (*u*). On his arrival, he took the sole command of the fleet; and received orders, May 2, to proceed into the Soundings, and to endeavour to prevent the French squadron, expected from Toulon, from getting into any port of France [*K*]. These hard instructions he was under great difficulties to perform, by reason of his great want of men [*L*], and the small strength of his fleet. However he sailed to the coast of Britanny; and receiving certain advice, that the Toulon squadron got, May the 15th, safe into Brest, he thought fit, according to his last instructions, to return to Torbay, where he came the 23d of May. Soon after, our fleet being reinforced to the number in the whole of one hundred and fifteen sail, sixty-seven of them English, and forty-eight Dutch, whereof eighty-five were of the line of battle; *he formed the glorious project of blocking up the French fleet in Brest, while ours insulted their coasts, and bombarded their towns* [*M*]. Receiving orders, on the 29th of May, to come to London, and attend his duty at the Admiralty-board, he communicated his proposal to the Ministry (*w*): but, after many considerations and delays, it ended in the bombardment only of Olonne, and St Martin's in the isle of Rhé, and the ravaging of the small islands of Grouais, Houat, and Heydic, on the coast of Britanny (*x*). In the beginning of the year 1697, Sir George was appointed Admiral and commander in chief of the fleet; which put to sea, in June, in a very indifferent condition, being but half manned and scarce half victualled. As the French avoided fighting, Sir George found it impossible to do any thing very considerable; and yet this summer's expedition gained him no small reputation; by his seizing a large fleet of Swedish merchant-men, freighted by French merchants, and laden chiefly with Indian goods, that had been taken out of English and Dutch ships; and which, upon a fair tryal, were adjudged to be legal prize (*y*). The peace of Ryswick, concluded about this time, gave our brave Admiral rest, the remainder of this, and the two following years, 1698 and 1699. In 1698, he was chosen member of Parliament for Portsmouth; and not voting servilely as the courtiers liked, they endeavoured to ruin him in the King's esteem, and to have him removed from the Admiralty-board, but his Majesty nobly refused (*z*) [*N*]. A confederacy being formed, in the year 1699, by the Czar of Muscovy, the King of Denmark, and others, against the young King of Sweden Charles the XIIth, an English squadron, commanded by Sir George, jointly with a Dutch one, was sent into the Baltic (*a*), to preserve the ballance in the North, and forward a peace: which being signed August 18, 1700, he returned home, about the middle of September. And the States-General were so sensible of his prudent management, that they thanked his Majesty for having intrusted him with the commission (*b*) [*O*]. In the spring of the

(*u*) Life, p. 44—50.

(*w*) Life, p. 50—61. Burchett, p. 543.

(*x*) Burchett, p. 546, &c. Dr Campbell, Vol. III. p. 160.

(*y*) Dr Campbell, Vol. IV. p. 303—306.

(*z*) Life, p. 62. and Dr Campbell, Vol. IV. p. 307.

(*a*) He arrived in the Sound, about the middle of June. Burchett, p. 583.

(*b*) Life, p. 62, &c. Burchett, p. 582, &c. Dr Campbell, Vol. III. p. 252.

[*I*] *Was constituted Commander in chief of a squadron to be sent in the Mediterranean.*] By his instructions, he was required, To annoy the enemy on all occasions; To prevent their being furnished from these seas with naval stores and provisions; To take under his command the ships of war left at Cadiz by Admiral Russel; and if he received certain advice that the French had passed the Streights, with the whole or part of their fleet, to follow them, or detach after them such a strength as might be proportioned to theirs (10).

(10) Life, p. 44.

[*K*] *And received orders, May 2, to proceed into the Soundings, &c.*] His instructions were, To proceed with the fleet, and lie in such a station as he should judge most proper, for preventing the squadron expected from Toulon, and their convoys, getting into any port of France; and, according to intelligence of their proceedings, to remove to proper stations, for the effectual performance of that service; and upon meeting them, or his being informed that they were got into any port where they might be attacked, he was to endeavour to destroy them: But if he received certain advice they were got into Brest, he was then to come with the fleet to Torbay, and remain there 'till farther order (11).

(11) Life, p. 53.

[*L*] *By reason of his great want of men.*] For he did at that time want Three thousand three hundred men, of the 19500 the allowed complement of his Fleet: which consisted only of thirty-nine men of war.——Besides sixteen Dutch (12).

(12) Life, p. 57.

[*M*] *While ours insulted their coasts, and bombarded their towns.*] His proposal was, That the body of our fleet should lie in Camaret and Bertram bays, and a detachment be made to sustain the small frigats and bomb-vessels, while they went in to do what mischief they could. It was his opinion, That thus blocking up the enemy's fleet in their principal port, insulting their coasts, and burning their towns at the same time, would expose them to the world, make them very uneasy at home, and give reputation to his Majesty's arms: And he believed it might be done, if speedily undertaken, with the assistance of some small frigats, which were much wanted (13).

(13) Life, p. 61.

[*N*] *But his Majesty nobly refused.*] "When his Majesty was pressed by some of his courtiers, to remove Sir George from the admiralty-board, he answered plainly, 'I will not. Sir George Rooke served 'me faithfully at sea, and I will never displace him 'for acting as he thinks most for the service of his 'country, in the house of Commons." An answer truly worthy of a British prince, as it tends to preserve the freedom of our constitution, and the liberty of parliaments (14)."

(14) Dr Campbell, Vol. IV. p. 307.

[*O*] *For having intrusted him with the commission.*] Therefore, 'when Sir George was so unlucky as to 'labour under the displeasure of a powerful party in 'England,

the year 1701, Sir George was conſtituted Admiral and Commander in chief of the fleet; and went on board in the Downs the 2d of July; from whence he failed to Spithead, where he was ſpeedily joined by the reſt of the fleet, conſiſting of forty-eight ſhips of the line, beſides frigates, fire-ſhips, and ſmall veſſels. He had under him ſome of the greateſt ſeamen of the age (c), and was not long after reinforced by fifteen Dutch men of war, beſides frigates, &c. The whole fleet was obliged to wait at St Helen's until the middle of Auguſt for want of proviſions; and when he put to ſea, was forced again by the high winds to put into Torbay. Towards the latter end of the month he failed again; and on the ſecond of September he detached Vice-Admiral Benbow with a ſtout ſquadron for America. The French expected, that this fleet would actually have proceeded to the Mediterranean; and it was to confirm them in this belief, we had demanded the free uſe of the Spaniſh harbours: but this was only to conceal things, and to gain an opportunity of ſending a ſquadron early to America, without putting it in the power of the French to gain any exact account of it's ſtrength (d) [P]. A new Parliament being ſummoned in 1701, Sir George was again elected one of the repreſentatives for Portſmouth. In the choice of the Speaker, he voted for Robert Harley, Eſq; in oppoſition to Sir Thomas Lytelton who was eſpouſed by the court; which expoſed Sir George to many ſevere reflexions from that party [Q]. But the clamours that had been raiſed againſt him ceaſed upon the death of King William, which happened on the 8th of March 1701-2. Queen Anne being ſenſible of his great ſervices and true merit, was pleaſed, beſides the command of the fleet, to confer an additional honour and truſt upon him, by appointing him Vice-Admiral, and Lieutenant of the Admiralty of England, and Lieutenant of the fleets and ſeas of this kingdom (e). He was alſo made one of the Council to George Prince of Denmark, upon his being conſtituted Lord High-Admiral (f). War being declared againſt France on the 4th of May 1702, it was reſolved, that Sir George Rook ſhould command the united Engliſh and Dutch fleets [R], and the Duke of Ormond the land-forces; deſigned for an expedition againſt Cadiz, and concerted by the late King William; in order to prevent the French from getting poſſeſſion of the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, or at leaſt to hinder their keeping them long (g) [S]. The confederate fleet weighed from Spithead the 19th of June, and on the 12th of Auguſt anchored before Cadiz at the diſtance of two leagues from the city, and the next day got into the bay of Bulls. Sir George, according to his inſtructions, was for protecting the Spaniards, and drawing them, by gentle uſage, to declare for the houſe of Auſtria [T]: but the land forces proceeded as declared and rapacious

(c) Namely, Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, Sir Tho. Hopſon, John Benbow Eſq; and Sir John Munden.

(d) Dr Campbell, Vol. III. p. 257, 258.

(e) Life, p. 66.

(f) Dr Campbell, Vol. III. p. 321.

(g) Idem. p. 326.

'England, he was known and acknowledged in Holland to be the beſt officer, and the greateſt ſeaman of the age. This, perhaps, was the reaſon, that, notwithſtanding the difference of parties, king William always preſerved a good opinion of this gentleman, and employed him as long as he lived in the moſt important commands (15).'

[P] *Without putting it in the power of the French to gain any exact account of its ſtrength.*] Biſhop Burnet, (16) and others, find fault with Sir George Rooke, for his doing ſo little, when he was at Sea with ſo great a fleet. But the merit of this admiral was, that he always knew, and did, what was to be done. This was a fleet of amuſement; the war was not declared; and, therefore, the longer Sir George could keep the French and their allies in ſuſpence, the greater ſervice he did; though, without this key, haſty people might miſtake the thing, and believe he did no ſervice at all. (17)

[Q] *Which expoſed Sir George to many ſevere reflexions from that party.*] The writer of his life juſtly obſerves upon this occaſion. . . 'Now comes on Sir George his grand crime, and it was ſuch a ſin in the eyes of ſome people, as the Scripture declares ſhall never be forgiven. The brave gentleman having always the good of his country at heart, and by reaſon of his long experience in maritime affairs being the more willing and capable to deliver his mind upon this occaſion, gave his opinion againſt Sir Thomas his being put into the chair, not out of any diſreſpect to the gentleman, whom he knew to be very capable of the great truſt; but upon account of his being *Treaſurer of the Navy*, which office required the utmoſt application and attendance in the war that was like to enſue, wherein in all probability he himſelf was to act a main part, as indeed it afterwards came to paſs (18).'—However, this it was that drew upon Sir George ſo many and ſo ſevere reflexions, and obſcured all the great actions he did. From this period, Biſhop Burnet, very falſely and ungenerouſly, never mentions Sir George Rooke, without the utmoſt prejudice and meaneſt partiality.

[R] *Should command the united Engliſh and Dutch fleets.*] The Engliſh fleet conſiſted of thirty, and the Dutch of twenty, ſhips of the line, excluſive of ſmall veſſels and tenders, which made in all about 160 ſail. As to the land-forces, the Engliſh conſiſted of 9663, including officers, and the Dutch of 4138, in all 13801 (19).

[S] *In order to prevent the French from getting poſſeſſion of the Spaniſh Weſt Indies, or at leaſt to prevent their keeping them long.*] But, how getting Cadiz, in particular, could hinder the French from poſſeſſing themſelves of the Weſt-Indies; is not eaſily apprehended. Are there not many other ports in the Atlantic Ocean, both upon the Spaniſh and French coaſts, where the Trade from America could be carried on? This was therefore one of the airy Projects, that have abounded in this century; and which have ſprung from the Ignorance of our own, and the Enemies, ſtrength.—However, King William's notion was, that the French Weſt-India trade, and their ſettlements there, might have been ruined, by making ourſelves maſters of Cadiz, and ſending a ſquadron to the Weſt-Indies, which was to have been followed by another (20)

[T] *And drawing them, by gentle uſage, to declare for the houſe of Auſtria.*] Biſhop Burnet ſays (21), that 'Rook ſpoke ſo coldly of the Deſign he went upon before he ſailed, that thoſe who converſed with him, were apt to infer, that he intended to do the enemy as little harm as poſſible.' But the truth is, He ſuſpected he could do no great good, becauſe this expedition was of a doubtful nature; for, on the one hand, our fleet and army were enjoined to ſpeak to the Spaniards as friends, and at the ſame time were ordered to act againſt them as enemies (22). And therefore when his conduct came to be examined by the houſe of Lords, he arraigned his Inſtructions with great boldneſs, and ſhewed how improper a thing a deſcent on Cadiz was (23).——This expedition was originally concerted, on a ſuppoſition that the Spaniards had a natural affection for the houſe of Auſtria, and would join with us in their favour againſt the French. But when Sir George found the contrary, he thought it madneſs to expoſe the lives of the Queen's Subjects where they might be ſpared to better advantage; and therefore was not over fond of burning towns and cutting throats, to convince the Spaniards of our hearty affection for them (24).

[U] *In*

(15) Dr Campbell, Vol. III. p. 252.

(16) Hiſt. of his own Time, ed. 1753, 8vo. Vol. III. p. 400.

(17) Dr Campbell, Vol. III. p. 258. note.

(18) Life, p. 65, 66.

(19) Dr Campbell, Vol. III. p. 327.

(20) Idem, p. 326.

(21) Hiſt. of his own Time, Vol. III. p. 564.

(22) See Dr Campbell. Vol. III. p. 328, note.

(23) Burnet, Vol. III. p. 474.

(24) See Dr Campbell, Vol. III. p. 333.

rapacious enemies, which alienated the natives from them, and obliged them to defend themselves to the utmost. Our troops were not landed 'till three days after their arrival. The Duke of Ormond was very earnest for landing immediately in the isle of Leon, wherein Cadiz stands, in order to a sudden and vigorous attack of the town, where the consternation was so great, that in all probability the enterprize would have been attended with success. But many, especially the sea officers, opposing the Duke's motion, it was resolv'd, That the army should first take the fort of St Katherine, and Port St Mary, in order to facilitate their nearer approach to Cadiz (*b*) [*U*]. Accordingly, the 17th, they made themselves masters of a village called Rotta; and, the 20th, took possession of Port St Mary's, a general warehouse or kind of magazine for Cadiz, which had been forsaken by the inhabitants; and being full of wines, and rich goods and merchandizes, was unjustly plundered by our people, contrary to the express orders of the Duke of Ormond. The 22d they became also masters of fort St Katherine (*i*). Next, they took into consideration how to get into the port of Cadiz, and destroy the French ships and gallies there: and judging it necessary to be first masters of Matagorda, one of the forts that command the entrance therein, they attacked it, without success. Whereupon, at a council of the flag officers on the 4th of September, it was resolved, to take the opportunity of the first fair night and smooth water, to bombard Cadiz, and so on successively, 'till it were judged that this service was effectually done. But the Prince of Hesse D'armstadt, commander of the German forces, representing, in a letter to Sir George, That the bombardment of the wealthy city of Cadiz, would totally alienate the Spaniards, already sufficiently provoked by the plundering of Port St Mary's, from the confederates [*W*]; that design was therefore laid aside (*k*). And, as it was judged impracticable by the general officers, with the land-forces they had, to make an attempt for the reducing of Cadiz; it was thought best, that all the magazines they had at Port Real, Port St Mary's, and Rotta, should be burnt and destroyed; and that the army should re-imbark from Rotta as soon as possible. Accordingly they re-imbarked the 14th, 15th, and 16th of September; and set sail from Cadiz the 19th. The Duke of Ormond was for having the land-forces put on shore, and wintering, either at Ayamonte, Vigo, or Ponte-Vedra (*l*). While they were debating about it, Captain Thomas Hardy gave Sir George intelligence, on the 6th of October, that twenty-two Spanish galleons, guarded by thirty French men of war, were arrived in the harbour of Vigo. Immediately, Sir George sent advice of it to the Dutch Admiral, declaring it as his opinion, that they should all directly sail to that place; and fall upon those ships (*m*) [*X*]. They anchored in the harbour of Vigo October the

(*b*) Life, p. 72, &c. Dr Campbell, Vol. III. p. 328. Boyer's History of Queen Anne, fol. 1735. p. 30.

(*i*) Burchett, p. 622, &c.

(*k*) Life, p. 81, 89.

(*l*) By the Treaty subsisting between England and Portugal, we could not be admitted to have more than six ships of war in the harbours of Portugal, at one and the same time. Burchett, p. 624.

(*m*) Life, p. 100. Boyer, as above, p. 31.

[*U*] *In order to facilitate their nearer approach to Cadiz.*] Their reasons are thus given more at large.— 'Upon a reconsideration of Sir George Rook's instructions; the advices and intelligences they had from Mr Methuen, and the Prince of Hesse D'armstadt; and the concurring information they had receiv'd from several fishermen taken on the coast; from which it might be reasonable to conclude, that the enemy had about 4000 disciplin'd troops in the town of Cadiz, besides Burghers, and 1000 horse of old troops, besides the militia, for the guard of the coast; and in regard the fleet could give no other assistance to the dis-embarkment, than covering their forces in their landing, and bombarding the town; and the impossibility of supplying the forces from the fleet in blowing weather, it was judg'd *impracticable* to attempt the island of Cadiz, immediately, in these circumstances: But, in consideration, the taking the fort St Catarina, and Port Sta Maria, might facilitate the access of the fleet into the harbour, and annoying the town with our bombs; getting better intelligence of their condition, and for supplying the fleet with water, which they began to be in want of; and trying the affections and inclinations of the people of the country to the house of Austria, it was resolved to land the forces in the bay of Bulls, in order to reduce the aforesaid fort and town, and upon the success of this attempt it might be consider'd what was farther to be done, in prosecution of her Majesty's instructions, and that his Grace the Duke of Ormond should send a summons to the town to submit to their lawful King of the house of Austria (25)."——Bishop Burnet observes (26), that 'It is certain our Court had false accounts of the state the place was in, both with relation to the garrison and the fortifications: The garrison was much stronger, and the fortifications were in a better condition, than was represented."

(25) Life, p. 72—74.

(26) Vol. III. p. 457.

[*W*] *Already sufficiently provok'd by the plundering of Port St Mary's.*] The Duke of Ormond 'had published a manifesto, according to his instructions, by which the Spaniards were invited to submit to the Emperor, and he offered his protection to all that came in to him: But the spoil of St Maries was thought an ill commentary on that text.——Some of the general officers set a very ill example to all the rest, chiefly Sir Charles O'Hara, and Sir Henry Bellasis (27)," for which they were afterwards put under arrest, and the latter broke.——The behaviour of our people was indeed very violent and unjustifiable. For, the first night, the half-famished and thirsty soldiers spent in the cellars of rich wine they had found out. The next day, their licentiousness being heightened by the fumes of the liquor, they proceeded to rifle and pillage the houses in a most outrageous manner, not contenting themselves to take moveables, but breaking and spoiling what they could not carry away. And as this booty would have been of no use to them, unless they could secure it on board the fleet, they called the seamen to their assistance, who from seconds soon became principals, and pilfered whatever they could lay hands on, with more eagerness than the others. Nor did the plundering stop here: For the officers of the army themselves thought it prudence, to share the sweetness and profit of a misdemeanor, which they could not hinder: Nay, some went so far, as to think themselves entitled, by their eminent stations, to engross the greater part of the booty. For which purpose, they set guards on the avenues, and stopped all the meaner sort, that were carrying goods to the fleet, with which they stored their own magazines, and afterwards retailed them for ready money. Some Churches fared no better than private houses, being despoiled of their most precious ornaments. Insomuch, that the damage done to the enemy was computed at three millions sterling (28).——Sir George Rooke condemn'd this treatment, as contrary to the Duke of Ormond's declaration, and to all Faith and Justice (29).

(27) Burnet, Vol. III. p. 459.

(28) Boyer's Annals of Queen Anne, for the year 1702.

(29) See his Life, p. 77.

[*X*] *Declaring it as his opinion, that they should all directly sail to that place, &c.*] The manner how our fleet came to be inform'd of the arrival of those ships, was merely accidental: and is thus related.——" Sir George Rooke, in his return to England, having sent the Pembroke man of war, with two others, and some transports, to water in Lagos-bay; Mr Beauvoir, the chaplain of the Pembroke, and some of the officers, went on shore. But not meeting with any person that could

the 11th; the weather having proved so hazy, that the town never discovered them 'till they were just upon it. The French Admiral had taken all precautions imaginable to secure his ships, by drawing them up beyond a very narrow streight, defended by platforms on both sides, and a castle on the one side; and laying a strong boom across the Streight. But our brave Admiral not discouraged with this, observing he could not send in the whole fleet without danger of their running foul of one another; selected a detachment of fifteen English and ten Dutch men of war, and all the fireships; which he charged to use their best endeavours to take or destroy the enemy's fleet. For the better performance of this, Sir George with great zeal and unwearied vigilance, spent almost the whole night, in going from ship to ship in his own boat, to give the necessary directions, and to encourage both officers and seamen to discharge their duty. And so well did they perform it, that the enemy's fleet was entirely destroyed [*Y*], and an immense booty brought to England (*n*) [*Z*]. After this glorious exploit, Sir George set sail from Vigo October 19, and arrived in the Downs the 7th of November (*o*). During his absence, a new Parliament having been called, he was elected a member for Portsmouth; and when he came to take his seat in the house, the Speaker was directed to return him thanks for his great services [*AA*]: he was also sworn a Privy-Counsellor (*p*). But complaints having

(*n*) Life, p. 100—114. Burchett, p. 625, &c. Boyer, p. 31, &c. and Dr Campbell, Vol. III. p. 334, &c.

(*o*) Life, p. 115. compared with Boyer's Life of Queen Anne, p. 32.

(*p*) Nov. 13. Life, p. 119.

could understand them, they roved for a while from place to place: At length, Mr Beauvoir seeing a gentleman, who by his countenance and garb seemed to be no Portuguese, and addressing himself to him in the French language, he proved to be the French consul; into whose favour Mr Beauvoir so far insinuated himself, that the other offered the use of his house, both for himself, and his friends. They lay there two nights, in which time Mr Beauvoir having an opportunity of several conversations with the Consul, the latter boastingly magnified the power of France, giving broad hints of Mr de Chateau Renaud's being safe, not far off, with the galleons. On the 24th Mr Beauvoir having a more certain and particular account of their arrival at Vigo, from two Letters sent by a messenger from the Imperial Embassador at Lisbon, he immediately communicated the contents, at his return to his ship, to Captain (afterwards Sir Thomas) Hardy (30). Upon which, a consultation of the Captains then at Lagos being held, it was resolved, this intelligence was of that importance, that a ship should be sent to acquaint Sir George Rooke with it: And as Capt. Hardy's ship was the best sailor, and He was master of the intelligence, he was ordered to sail a head to find out our fleet, which he happily effected on the 6th of October. Sir George Rooke immediately imparted the advice to the Dutch Admiral, Callemberg, declaring it his opinion that they should all set sail directly for Vigo The Dutch Admiral readily concurr'd with Sir George, who, the next day, call'd a Council of Flag-officers, wherein it was resolv'd, 'That 'in regard the attempting and destroying the French 'and Spanish ships at Vigo, would be of great advantage to her Majesty, and no less honorable to Her 'and her allies, and tend in a great measure to reduce 'the exorbitant power of France, the fleet should 'make the best of their way to that port, and fall on 'immediately with the whole line, if there were room 'sufficient for it; otherwise to attack the enemy with 'such detachments as might render the enterprize most 'effectual and successful (31).'

(30) Annals of Queen Anne, for 1702. and Appendix to Harris's Vol. II. of Collection of Voyages, p. 26. edit. 1705. Mr Beauvoir was a Guernesey-man; and Sir Tho. Hardy a Jersey-man.

(31) Life, p. 100, 101.

[*Y*] *That the enemy's fleet was entirely destroyed.*] Of the French men-of-war, in the harbour of Rodondella—Five were taken by the English; one by the Dutch; and brought home. Eight were burnt, besides three advice-boats. And four were either sunk, or run ashore, and bulged.——There were also three Spanish men of war taken.——And of the thirteen galleons, four were taken by the English, five by the Dutch; and all the rest were destroyed (32).——But, according to other accounts, 5 men of war, 2 frigates, 1 fire-ship, and 3 small vessels, were taken by the English; and 1 man of war by the Dutch. Five were burnt; and 4 more taken, but bilged. They make also the number of galleons seventeen: 4 of which were taken on float, and 2 on shore by the English, and 5 by the Dutch. The others were burnt (33).

(32) Life, p. 106, 107, 108.

(33) Burchett, p. 627. Dr Campbell, Vol. III. p. 339.

[*Z*] *And an immense booty brought to England*] The cargo of the Galleons was universally acknowledg'd to be the richest that ever came from the West-Indies into Europe; but, of the real value of it we never had any exact account. According to some, the silver and gold on board was computed at Ten millions of pieces of eight, of which Eight millions only were taken out of the galleons, and secur'd by the enemy, and the rest was either taken, or left in the galleons that were burnt or sunk. And the Goods were valued at Four millions of pieces of eight more, one fourth part of which was sav'd, near two destroy'd, and the other taken by the Confederates: Besides the ships already mention'd, and a great deal of plate and goods belonging to private persons, most part of which was either taken or lost (34).——According to others, the silver and gold was computed at Twenty millions of pieces of eight, of which fourteen millions had been taken out of the galleons and secured by the enemy, at Lago or Lugo five and twenty leagues from Vigo, and the rest was taken, or destroyed by the Confederates. And the Goods were valued at Twenty millions of pieces of eight more, One fourth part of which was sav'd, near two destroyed, and the other taken (35). *It is certain, that the Spanish and French ships had been twenty-five days in Vigo harbour, before the Confederates arrived there; in which time, they debarked the best part of the plate and rich goods,* and sent them up the country. And, as we were bringing the prizes home, one of the galleons struck on a hidden rock, and foundered However, *Two millions in silver*, and *Five in goods*, were brought away by the English and Dutch (36) The Silver brought to England, was recoined, and hath VIGO under the Queen's bust, for a lasting memorial of this very remarkable event.

(34) Life, p. 111, 112.

(35) Boyer's Annals of Queen Anne.

(36) Dr Campbell, Vol. III. p. 339, 340. and note. Burchett p. 630.

[*AA*] *The Speaker was directed to return him thanks for his great services*] Which he did in the following words. "Sir George Rook, you are now return'd 'to this house, after a most glorious expedition. Her 'Majesty begun her reign with a declaration that her 'heart was truly English, and heaven hath made her 'triumph over the enemies of England; for This, 'thanks hath been return'd in a most solemn manner 'to almighty God: There remains yet a debt of gratitude to those who have been the instruments of so 'wonderful a victory (the Duke of Ormond, and 'yourself, who had the command of the sea and land 'forces). In former times, Admirals and Generals 'have had success against France and Spain separately; 'but this action at Vigo hath been a victory over them 'confederated together: You have not only spoiled 'the enemy, but enriched your own country: Common victories bring terror to the conquered; but you 'brought destruction upon them, and additional 'strength to England. France had endeavoured to 'support its ambition by the riches of India; your 'success, Sir, hath only left them the burden of Spain, 'and stript them of the assistance of it: The wealth 'of Spain, and ships of France, are by this victory 'brought over to our juster cause. This is an action 'so glorious in the performance, and so extensive in 'its consequence, that as all times will preserve the 'memory of it, so every day will inform us of the 'benefit. No doubt, Sir, but in France you are 'written in remarkable characters in the black list of 'those who have taken French gold, and 'tis justice 'done to the Duke of Ormond and your merit, that 'you should stand recorded in the registers of this 'House, as the sole instrument of this glorious victory. 'Therefore this House came to the following resolution: "Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, that the

"Thanks

having been made in the Houſe of Lords of his conduct at Cadiz, he laid before them an account of his proceedings, and underwent an examination: which ended in this vote (q), That Sir George Rook had done his duty, purſuant to the councils of war, like a brave officer, to the honor of the Engliſh nation (r). Early in the year 1703, he propoſed a ſcheme for diſtreſſing the enemy, by ſailing very early into the bay of Biſcay, where he thought, if the French had any men of war without port Louis and Rochefort, they might be ſurprized and taken (s). For that purpoſe, he came to St Helen's, about the middle of April, with eighteen ſhips of the line; and was detained there by a fit of the gout, and in waiting for the Dutch, 'till the 9th of May; when he ſailed, and continued cruizing above a month on the coaſts of France, putting the whole country into an unſpeakable conſternation. On the 23d of May he ſent in a French Eaſt-India ſhip, worth 100,000 l. and on the 15th of June a French man of war of 36 guns, and a Weſt India merchant-man worth 40,000 l. But finding that his deſign had been betrayed to the French, and that moſt of their ſquadrons were ſailed, he returned to St Helen's the 22d of June, with many prizes (t). He was made choice of, in the beginning of the year 1704, to command the Engliſh ſquadron employed to carry Charles the Third, the new King of Spain, to Liſbon. And he ſhewed himſelf ſo active and vigilant in that ſervice, that ſailing from St Helen's the 12th of February, he arrived in Liſbon river the 25th, after a fine paſſage (u). Soon after, he ſent a ſquadron to cruize off Cape Spartell: and himſelf put to ſea the 9th of March, and continued cruizing for a month. In April, he received orders from England, of the 24th and 28th of March, to proceed into the Mediterranean, to the relief of Nice and Villa Franca, which the French threatned to attack by ſea. And, by the way, took about two thouſand land-forces, to land at Barcelona, where a ſtrong party had promiſed to declare for King Charles; which, however, was diſcovered, and prevented. He ſailed from Liſbon-river May 11, came before Barcelona the 18th, and ſteered for the iſles of Hieres the 21ſt. On the 27th they had ſight of a French fleet of forty ſail, making towards Toulon, which they chaſed 'till the 29th, in order to prevent its joining their other fleet there: but not being able to prevent it, they ſailed back, and the 4th of June paſſed through the Streights of Gibraltar (w). Two days after, they were joined by Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, with a reinforcement of thirty three ſhips of the line: a council of war then being called, ſeveral ſchemes were propoſed, particularly a ſecond attack on Cadiz, or Barcelona, which was ſoon found to be impracticable for want of a ſufficient number of land-forces. However they reſolved to proceed up the Streights, in order to be ready to face the French (x). Sir George Rooke being very ſenſible of the reflections that would fall upon him, if, having ſo conſiderable a fleet under his command, he ſpent the ſummer in doing nothing of importance; called a council of war the 17th of July, when the fleet was about Seven leagues to the eaſtward of Tetuan: and, after the propoſal of ſeveral ſchemes, it was reſolved to make a ſudden and vigorous attempt upon *Gibraltar*, for theſe reaſons; Becauſe in the condition the place then was in, there was ſome probability of taking it; which, in caſe it had been properly provided, and there had been a numerous garriſon, would have been impoſſible: becauſe the poſſeſſion of that place was of infinite importance during the preſent war: and, becauſe the taking of it would give a luſtre to the Queen's arms, and poſſibly diſpoſe the Spaniards to favour the cauſe of King Charles (y). In purſuance of this reſolution, the fleet came into the bay of Gibraltar the 21ſt of July; and, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the marines, Engliſh and Dutch, to the number of 1800, with the Prince of Heſſe at the head of them, were put on ſhore on the neck of land to the northward of the town, to cut off any communication with the country. The Prince having poſted his men there, ſent a ſummons to the governor; which he rejected with great obſtinacy. Sir George, on the 22d in the morning, gave orders, that the ſhips, which had been appointed to cannonade the town under the command of Rear-Admiral Byng, and Rear-Admiral Vanderduſſen, as alſo thoſe which were to batter the ſouth mole-head, commanded by Capt. Hicks of the Yarmouth, ſhould range themſelves accordingly; but the wind blowing contrary, they could not poſſibly get into their places, 'till the day was ſpent. In the mean time, to amuſe the enemy, Capt. Whitaker was ſent with ſome boats, who burnt a French privateer of twelve guns at the mole. The 23d, ſoon after break of day, the ſhips being all placed,

(q) Feb. 17. See Boyer, p. 45, 47. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own time, Vol. III. p. 474. Dr Campbell, Vol. IV. p. 313, &c.

(r) Boyer, p 47.

(s) Life, p. 119. Dr Campbell, Vol. III. p. 365, &c. and Vol. IV. p. 315, 316.

(t) Ibid and London Gazette. Burchett, p. 640, &c.

(u) Life, p. 119. Dr Campbell, Vol. III p. 390. Burchett, p. 662, &c.

(w) Burchett, p. 669, &c. Dr Campbell, Vol. III. p. 391, 393, 395, 397. Our Hiſtorians are not exact in their accounts; ſometimes following the new, and ſometimes the old ſtyle.

(x) Burchett, p. 676, 677. Life, p. 126. and Dr Campbell, Vol. III. p. 398.

(y) Dr Campbell, Vol. III. p. 398.

" Thanks of this Houſe be given to the Duke of Ormond, and Sir George Rooke for the great and ſignal ſervice performed by the nation at ſea and land; which thanks I now return you."

To which Sir George returned the following Anſwer. " Mr Speaker, I am now under great difficulty how to expreſs myſelf upon this very great occaſion. I think myſelf very happy, that in zeal and duty to your ſervice, it hath been my good fortune to be the inſtrument of that which may deſerve your notice, and much more the return of your thanks. I am extremely ſenſible of this great honour, and ſhall take all the care I can to preſerve it to my grave, and convey it to my poſterity without ſpot and blemiſh, by a conſtant affection and zealous perſeverance in the Queen's and your ſervice. Sir, no man hath the command of fortune, but every man hath Vertue at his will, and tho' I may not always be ſucceſsful in your ſervice, as upon this expedition, yet I may preſume to aſſure, I ſhall never be the more faulty. I muſt repeat my inability to expreſs myſelf upon this occaſion; but as I have a due ſenſe of the honour this Houſe hath been pleaſed to do me, I ſhall always retain a due and grateful memory of it; and tho' my duty and allegiance are ſtrong obligations upon me to do my beſt in the ſervice of my country, yet I ſhall always take this as a particular tie upon me, to do right and juſtice to your ſervice upon all occaſions."

[*BB*] *And*

placed, the Admiral gave the signal for beginning the cannonade; which was performed with very great fury, above 15,000 shot being made in five or six hours time against the town, insomuch, that the enemy were soon beat from their guns, especially at the south mole-head: whereupon, the Admiral considering, that by gaining the fortification, they should of consequence reduce the town, ordered Captain Whitaker, with all the boats, armed, to endeavour to possess himself of it, which was performed with great expedition. But Capt. Hicks, and Capt. Jumper, who lay next the mole, had pushed ashore with their pinnaces, and some other boats, before the rest could come up; whereupon, the enemy sprung a mine, that blew up the fortifications upon the mole, killed two lieutenants, and about forty men, and wounded about sixty. However, our men kept possession of the great platform, which they had made themselves masters of; and Capt. Whitaker landing with the rest of the seamen which had been ordered upon this service; they advanced and took a redoubt, or small bastion, half way between the mole and the town, and possessed themselves of many of the enemy's cannon. Sir George then sent a letter to the governor, and at the same time a message to the Prince of Hesse, to send to him a peremptory summons; which the Prince did accordingly; and on the 24th the place did capitulate *(z)* [*BB*]. As this design was contrived by Sir George Rooke and the rest of the Admirals, so it was executed entirely by the seamen, and therefore the whole honor of it is due to them. After putting as many men as could be spared into the place, the fleet sailed to Tetuan, to take in wood and water. On the 9th of August, when it was returning from thence towards Gibraltar the scouts discovered the French fleet, about ten leagues off, which they resolved to receive and engage. But perceiving, that night, they were for getting away, they followed them the next morning with all the sail they could make. The 11th they forced one of the enemy's ships ashore, which the crew quitted, and set on fire. They continued still pursuing them: and, the 12th, not hearing or seeing any thing of them, our Admiral suspected they might slip between him and the shore. Whereupon he resolved to make the best of his way to Gibraltar: but discovering them about noon, near Cape Malaga, he and his squadron made all the sail they could, and continued the chace all night. On Sunday, the 13th in the morning, the English fleet was within three leagues of the enemy, who formed, and were ready to receive them. Their line consisted of fifty-two ships, and twenty-four gallies [*CC*]. They were very strong in the center, commanded by the Count de Toulouse, Admiral of France. Our line of battle consisted of fifty-three ships. A little after ten in the morning, our fleet bore down upon the enemy, and began the battle. About two in the afternoon, the enemy's van gave way to ours, and the battle ended with the day, when the enemy went away by the help of their gallies. The next day, both sides lay by, within three leagues one of another, repairing their defects, and at night the enemy filed, and stood to the northward. On the 15th our fleet endeavoured to renew the fight, but the French avoided it, and on the 16th were out of sight. The English bore away to the westward, supposing the enemy would have gone away for Cadiz; but receiving advice that they did not pass the Streights, it was concluded they had been so severely treated, as to oblige them to return to Toulon *(a)*. This plainly discovers that we had the victory, notwithstanding the great Advantages of the French [*DD*]. But the skill of Sir George Rooke, and

(z) This is Sir George's account, as published in the London Gazette, No. 4045.

(a) Extracted from Sir George's Account in the London Gazette, No. 4054.

[*BB*] *And on the 24th the place did capitulate.*] The town was extremely strong, and had a hundred guns mounted, all facing the sea, and the two narrow passes to the land, and was well supplied with ammunition. The officers who viewed afterwards the fortifications, affirmed, There never was such an attack as the seamen made; for that fifty men might have defended those works against thousands (37). One circumstance did greatly contribute to dispose the Spaniards to surrender; which was this. "It being Sunday, all the 'women were at their devotions in a little chapel, 'about four miles distant from the Town, so that our 'men were between them and their husbands; which 'was a very great inducement to the citizens to oblige 'the governor to capitulate." This fact is retaled by some of our modern Historians, as if it was an anecdote to be found only in Burnet's History (38): Whereas it was published before by Secretary Burchett (39).——Gibraltar is of great service to the English Navigation; "situate as it were in the center of our 'business, in the very narrow of the Streights mouth, 'commanding from shore to shore, and awing by our 'cruizers, all the intercourse betwixt East France and 'Cadiz, &c. all the coasting Trade of both Nations, 'and the whole French Navigation into and out of the 'Ocean. And by making it a magazine for all our 'naval stores, our fleets may there be supply'd, clean, 'refit, victual, &c. and be dispatch'd without hardly 'stirring from their station, which is the life of a 'cruizing war. There our sick and wounded men 'also may be commodiously entertain'd; our trading 'ships likewise bound up may lye for a wind, and 'may take sanctuary in time of distress, either by 'weather or the enemy; and all the summer long, 'which is the season of action, when the Levant winds 'blow almost constantly and with greatest violence, 'ships may ride and lye quiet as in a calm (40).'

[*CC*] *And twenty four gallies.*] These Gallies were so remarkable an accession of strength to the enemy, (as they waited on them, keeping close under their lee, with every needful thing, such as fresh men, stores of all sorts, ammunition, &c) and of such consequence were they on so pressing an occasion, that the French fleet, thus circumstanc'd, might not be unfitly compar'd to a town besieg'd, and not being quite surrounded by the enemies works, has the benefit of a gate open, whereby to be supported and supply'd from abroad with every thing necessary to their defence (41).

[*DD*] *Notwithstanding the great advantages of the French*] "Those who understand maritime affairs, will allow them to be as great as any fleet ever had. For, first, their ships were bigger; they had seventeen three-deck ships, and we had but seven. Secondly, they had a great advantage in their weight of metal; for they had six hundred guns more than we. Thirdly, they were clean ships, just come out of port; whereas ours had been long at sea, and had done hard service. Fourthly, they had the assistance of their gallies; and how great an advantage this was, will appear from hence, that about the middle of the fight, the French admiral ordered a seventy-gun ship to board the Monk, a sixty gun ship of ours, commanded by captain Mighells; which she did, and was beat off three times, and after every repulse she had her wounded men taken off,

(37) London Gazette, No. 4045.

(38) Vol. IV. p. 69.

(39) P. 677.

(40) A Narrative of Sir George Rooke's Voyage, &c. Lond. 1704, 4to. p. 3, 4.

(41) Narrative, &c. as above, p. 10, 11.

and the bravery of the officers and seamen under his command, supplied all defects, and enabled them to give the French so clear a proof of their superiority over them in all respects at sea, that they not only declined renewing the fight at present, but avoided us ever after, and durst not venture a battle on that element during the remainder of the war. It may be therefore justly said, that the battle of Malaga decided the empire of the sea, and left to us and the Dutch an indisputed claim to the title of Maritime Powers (*b*). Sir George having left 2000 English marines in Gibraltar, with a sufficient quantity of stores and provisions, and 48 guns besides those that were in the place before; set sail the 24th of August, and arrived safely in England the 24th of September (*c*). He was extremely well received by the Queen his mistress, and the bulk of the people. His conduct and bravery were celebrated in numerous Addresses [*EE*], and her Majesty was desired, to bestow a bounty upon the seamen and land-forces which had behaved so gallantly (*d*). But the Whigs, that had now engrossed the management of affairs, could not bear that such high commendations should be bestowed upon a man who was not of their party. Therefore they used him so unhandsomely, that he chose to retire from publick business. Thus, immediately after Sir George Rooke had rendered such important services to his country, as the taking Gibraltar, and beating the whole naval force of France in the battle of Malaga, the last engagement which during this war happened between these two nations at sea, he was constrained to quit his command. Such is the effect of party-spirit in general! Such the unreasonable heat with which it proceeds! Such its dangerous and destructive effects with respect to the welfare of the state! After this strange return for the services he had done his country, Sir George passed the remainder of his days as a private gentleman, and for the most part at his seat in Kent. At last, the gout, which had for many years greatly afflicted him, brought him to his grave on the 24th of January, 1708-9, in the 58th year of his age: and he was buried in Canterbury-cathedral, where a monument is erected to his memory. He was thrice married (*e*) [*FF*]. His character is given below, drawn up by a masterly hand [*GG*].

(*b*) Dr Campbell, Vol. III. p. 402, 403.

(*c*) Life, p. 134. and Dr Campbell, Vol. III. p. 411.

(*d*) London Gazettes, No. 4061. and Proceedings of the House of Commons.

(*e*) Dr Campbell, Vol. IV. p. 325—328.

(42) Dr Campbell, Vol. III. p. 402, 403. and London Gazette, No. 4054. and Narrative, &c. as above, p. 2, 5, 6, 11.

off, and her complement restored by the gallies. Fifthly, the French fleet was thoroughly provided with ammunition; which was so much wanted in ours, that several ships were towed out of the line, because they had not either powder or ball sufficient for a single broadside (42)."

[*EE*] *His conduct and bravery were celebrated in numerous Addresses.*] Particularly in one from the county of Cornwall, wherein was the following paragraph.——
'But 'tis not enough that your Majesty triumphs at 'land; to complete your glory, your forces *at sea* 'have likewise done wonders. A fleet so much inferior, in so ill a condition, by being so long out, in 'such want of ammunition, by taking Gibraltar without gallies, which were of so great service to the 'enemy: all these disadvantages considered, nothing 'certainly could equal the conduct of your *Admiral*, 'the bravery of your officers, the courage of your 'seamen, during the engagement, but their conduct, 'their bravery, and their courage after it, whereby 'they perfected a victory, which otherwise, in human 'probability, must have ended in an overthrow; an 'action as great in itself, as happy in its consequences. 'May your Majesty never want such commanders by 'sea and land———(43).'

(43) London Gazette, No. 4074.

[*FF*] *He was thrice married.*] First to Mrs Mary Howe, daughter of Sir Thomas Howe, of Cold-Berwick in the county of Wilts, baronet: next, to Mrs Mary Lutterel, daughter of Colonel Francis Lutterel, of Dunster-Castle in Somersetshire, who dyed in childbed of her first child, in the month of July 1702; and lastly, to Mrs Katherine Knatchbull, daughter to Sir Knatchbull, of Mersham-hatch, in the county of Kent, baronet: By which wives, he left only one son, born of the second, George Rooke, Esq; the sole heir of his fortune (44).

(44) Dr Campbell, Vol. IV. p. 330.

[*GG*] *His character is given below.*] "He was certainly an officer of great merit, if either *Conduct* or *Courage* could entitle him to that character. The former appeared in his behaviour on the Irish station, in his wise and prudent management, when he preserved so great a part of the Smyrna fleet, and particularly in the taking of Gibraltar, which was a project conceived and executed in less than a week. Of his Courage he gave abundant testimonies; but especially in burning the French ships at La Hogue, and in the battle of Malaga, where he behaved with all the resolution of a British admiral; and as he was first in command, was first also in danger. In party-matters, he was perhaps too warm and eager, for all men have their failings, even the greatest and best; but in action, he was perfectly cool and temperate, gave his orders with the utmost serenity, and as he was careful in marking the conduct of his principal officers, so his candour and justice were always conspicuous in the accounts he gave of them to his superiors; he there knew no party, no private considerations, but commended merit wherever it appeared. He had a fortitude of mind that enabled him to behave with dignity upon all occasions, in the day of examination as well as in the day of battle; and though he was more than once called to the bar of the House of Commons, yet he always escaped censure; as he likewise did before the Lords; not by shifting the fault upon others, or meanly complying with the temper of the times; but by maintaining steadily what he thought right, and speaking his sentiments with that freedom which becomes an Englishman, whenever his conduct in his country's service is brought in question. In a word, he was equally superior to popular clamour, and popular applause; but, above all, he had a noble contempt for foreign interests, when incompatible with our own, and knew not what it was to seek the favour of the great, but by performing such actions as deserved it. In his private life, he was a good husband, and a kind master, lived hospitably towards his neighbours, and left behind him a moderate fortune: so moderate, that when he came to make his will, it surprized those who were present; but Sir George assigned the reason in few words, "I do not leave much, said he, but what "I leave was honestly gotten: it never cost a sailor "a tear, or the nation a farthing (45)." C

(45) Dr Campbell, Vol. IV. p. 328, 329.

ROWE [Nicolas], an eminent poet, was born among his mother's friends (*a*), in 1663, at Little-Berkford in the county of Bedford. He was descended from the ancient family of the Rowes of Lambertoun in Devonshire, by his father John Rowe, Esq; [*A*]; who being bred to the Law resided at London, and sent our author first to a private school at Highgate (*b*), but afterwards placed him under the care of Dr Busby at Westminster, where he was chosen King's scholar, then about twelve years of age. Upon this foundation he made a great proficiency in classical learning, and early discovered his bent to poetry by the happy facility of his compositions (*c*) that way, several of which, both in Greek and Latin, as well as some in English, were much admired. He was taken from school at sixteen, and entered a student in the Middle Temple by his father, who designed him for his own profession. Accordingly he applied himself to the study of the Law, and made considerable advances in it; and being called to the Bar, lost no reputation by the figure he made there, and had even some particular encouragements to proceed in this gainful employment [*B*]. But though he had shewn a filial regard to his father's desire, by engaging in a study which was dry and irksome to him, yet no views of gain were able to change his nature, in which a passion for poetry was predominant; and at the age of twenty-five (*d*), he wrote the Ambitious Stepmother, as a trial of his genius for tragedy. In this performance, the purity of his language, the justness of his characters, and the noble elevation of the sentiments, met with a reception on the stage suitable to their merit (*e*). Pleased with the success, he absolutely discarded the Law, and fixed his thoughts, where his affections had always been, unalterably upon his darling Muse. He afterwards wrote several other tragedies [*C*], which all succeeded very well; but his Tamerlane (*f*) was received with the loudest applause [*D*]. He once tried his talent likewise at

(*a*) At the house of her father, Jasper Edwards, Esq;. Welwood's preface to Rowe's translation of Lucan, p. 18. 1718, fol.

(*b*) Memoirs of Nicolas Rowe, Esq; prefixed to his Miscellaneous Works, by George Sewell.

(*c*) Dr Welwood, ubi supra, observes, that they came with very little pains, and seemed to flow from his imagination almost as his pen.

(*d*) Ibid.

(*e*) It was acted at Lincoln's-Inn-fields, and dedicated to the Earl of Jersey.

(*f*) This was his next attempt to the Ambitious Stepmother; he wrote both these plays before he quitted his chambers in the Temple. Sewell's Memoirs, ubi supra, p. 5.

[*A*] *John Rowe, Esq;*] Mr Rowe could trace his ancestors in a direct line up to the times of the Holy War; in which one of them distinguished himself so much as to be rewarded with the arms that the family have born ever since, enjoying a competent estate and a handsome seat upon it. His father was the first of the family who changed a country life for a liberal profession; in order to which, after he had passed through the schools at home he was brought up to London, and entered a student in the Middle-Temple, was called to the Bar, and at length created a Serjeant at Law. He was a gentleman in great esteem for many engaging qualities, had very considerable practice at the Bar, and stood very fair for the first vacancy on the Bench, at the time of his death, which happened on the thirtieth of April, 1692. He was interred in the Temple church May 7. following. He published Serjeant Benloe's and Judge Dalison's Reports, in the reign of King James II. and had the honesty and boldness in the preface to observe, at that time, when a dispensing power was set up as inherent in the Crown, how moderate those two great lawyers had been in their opinions concerning the extent of the Royal Prerogative (1).

(1) Welwood's preface, p. 18, 19. ubi supra, in the text.

[*B*] *He had some particular encouragements*] For instance, he had the friendship and approbation of Sir George Treby, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, who was fond of him to a great degree, and had it both in his power and inclination to promote his interest. Dr Welwood, from whom we have this information, observes, that Sir George was one of the finest gentlemen, as well as one of the greatest lawyers, at that time, and it was to the genteel part of this study that Mr Rowe chiefly applied himself. He told Dr Welwood, he was not content to know the Law as a collection of statutes and customs, but as a system founded upon right reason, and calculated for the good of mankind (2).

(2) Ibid.

[*C*] *Several other tragedies.*] These are, 1. The Fair Penitent. 2. Ulysses. 3. The Royal Convert. 4. The Tragedy of Jane Shore. 5. The Tragedy of the Lady Jane Grey. It has been well observed, that there runs through all our author's plays, an air of religion and virtue, attended with all the social duties of life, and a constant and untainted love of his country. That his muse was so religiously chaste, that not one word could be found in any of his writings, which might admit even of a double entendre in point of decency or morals. There is nothing in them to feed the depraved taste of nibbling at scripture, or depreciating things in themselves sacred. And it is the less wonder that he observed this rule with his pen, since we are assured that in his ordinary conversation, when his mirth and humour enlivened the whole company, he used to express his dissatisfaction in the severest manner against any thing that looked that way. On the other hand, being much conversant in the sacred writings, it is observable, that to raise the highest ideas of virtue, he has with great art in several of his tragedies made use of those expressions and metaphors in them, that taste most of the sublime. Dr Welwood extends this observation to his other writings (3). To which the epigram on a lady, who shed her water at seeing the tragedy of Cato, may perhaps be thought an exception. One would be apt indeed to conclude thereby, that Mr Rowe, as well as others, was not absolutely without his gay moments; did not this instance plainly appear to be the effect of party zeal, as follows:

(3) Ubi supra, p. 20.

Whilst Maudlin Whigs deplore their Cato's fate,
Still with dry eyes the Tory Celia sat;
But though her pride forbad her eyes to flow,
The gushing waters found a vent below.
Tho' secret, yet with copious streams she mourns,
Like twenty river gods with all their urns.
Let others screw an hypocritic face,
She shews her grief in a sincerer place;
Here nature reigns, and passion void of art;
For this road leads directly to the heart (4).

(4) His Miscellanies, p. 41. 4th edit. 1740.

But to return to his tragedies, in which softness was his characteristic talent (5), and, excepting Otway, he is more moving than any other poet of that age, and his diction is more exactly dramatic, than any other modern author. Mr Cibber informs us, that nobody consulted the dignity of the stage more, nor expressed greater disdain at the introduction of the pantomimes (6). His plays were collected into two volumes, and dedicated to the Earl of Warwick and Holland. Nobody was better beloved by people of all degrees and stations, but his greatest intimacy among the quality was with this nobleman, his wife being so dear to the Countess that they were in a manner inseparable (7).

(5) Colin's Complaint is another instance of this part of the character of our author's genius.

(6) Cibber's Apology, chap. xiv.

(7) Life of Pope, as before. We need not mention, that this Countess, after the death of the Earl, was married to Mr Addison.

[*D*] *Tamerlane was received with the loudest applause.*] Our author, we are told, valued himself more upon this, than any other of his tragedies (8). A poetical genius, inflamed as he was in the highest degree with a passion for liberty, and an abhorrence of slavery, must needs be singularly delighted with writing those scenes in which the happy effects of the former are so beautifully contrasted with the horrors of the latter, under the persons of Tamerlane and Bajazet; and this pleasure became exquisitely compleat, by the view which he had of couching under the characters of these two Princes, those of King William III. and Lewis XIV. The play, however, after having kept an uninterrupted yearly possession of the stage, from it's first appearance, 'till 1710, came, it seems, to be discouraged, next to a prohibition, in the latter end of Queen Anne's reign. This being remarked with disdain by our author's apologist, Dr Welwood, who says,

(8) Welwood, p. 20.

at comedy (g); but that essay meeting with a different fate, he had the good sense to push his genius no farther, in a way for which it was not adapted. He was very particularly fond of Shakespear; one of his plays (h) is professedly written in the taste of that author's stile: and he published an edition of his plays in 1709, to which he prefixed an account of the life (i) of that inimitable genius. When the Duke of Queenberry was promoted to the office of Secretary of State, he appointed Mr Rowe his Under-Secretary, and admitted him to a near familiarity and friendship. Our author continued in this employment near three years (k), 'till the death of that nobleman; after which he made his addresses to the Earl of Oxford, from whom, 'tis said, he received a very remarkable instance of coldness [E]. But this was sufficiently recompenced, by the regard which King George the First testified of his merit. Upon his accession to the Crown, he was made Poet Laureat, and one of the Land Surveyors of the Customs in the port of London. His present Majesty likewise, then Prince of Wales, conferred on him the place of Clerk of his Council; and the Lord Chancellor Parker, the very day he received the Seals, made him Secretary of the Presentations (l) without his asking it. Mr Rowe wrote several small original poems, besides some pieces in prose. He likewise translated Mr Quillet's Callipædia [F], from the Latin into English verse, and just lived to finish his most distinguished work, at least in this kind, a translation of Lucan's Pharsalia [G]. Not long

(g) It was called the Biter; it contained three acts, and was introduced on the Theatre at Lincoln's-Inn fields, but damn'd.

(h) The tragedy of Jane Shore.

(i) See his article.

(k) Life of Pope, Vol. I. p. 212.

(l) Sewell's Memoirs, &c. p. 6.

says, I leave it to others to give a reason; that reason is observed not only to be obvious, but honourable to those who did it, and indeed is conceded in the Doctor's own remark; that though King William was dead, yet Lewis XIV. was then alive, and the insult here made upon him was justly deemed very unfit to be particularly authorized by any other crowned head, as must be understood whenever it was acted by the royal company of comedians. Nor is that all; this much applauded piece, though it has numbers of exceeding fine verses, is thought by many very good judges (tho' not by the multitude) to be our author's worst tragedy. Besides it's being a flattering picture, unlike a Prince then living, at it's first appearance, and a party-play, the love scenes, between the general Axella and Selima, are very tedious and tiresome, and ill-timed into the bargain; when he should have been in the field at the head of his soldiers, he is making long similies (9), and telling very tender love-stories, even to whining; nay, she is not behind hand with him: they seem to strive to out-do one another (10).

(9) And songs like similies in love,
They much describe, they nothing prove.
Prior's Alma.

(10) Pope's Life, Vol. I. p. 209, 210.

[E] *He was received coldly by the Earl of Oxford.*] The story is this. Mr Rowe, it seems, going one day to pay his court to the Earl, then advanced to be Lord High-Treasurer, was courteously received by his Lordship, who asked him if he understood Spanish well? He answered, no; but thinking that the Earl might intend to send him into Spain on some honourable commission, he presently added, that he did not doubt in a short time both to understand and speak it: and the Treasurer approving of what he said, Mr Rowe took his leave, and immediately retired to a private country farm-house, where in a few months having learnt Spanish, he waited again upon the Earl, to acquaint him with his diligence; whereupon his Lordship asking if he was sure he understood the language thoroughly, and our author answering in the affirmative: that fathomless minister burst out into the following exclamation; How happy are you, Mr Rowe, that you can enjoy the pleasure of reading and understanding Don Quixot in the original (11)!

(11) Life of Michael de Cervantes Savaadra, written by Don Gregorio Magoni et Siscar, his Catholic Majesty's Library Keeper, §. 145.

[F] *Several small original poems, &c*] These were published together in one volume, the fourth edition of which was printed in 1740, under the title of *The Miscellaneous Works of* N. Rowe Esq;. Among them is an epigram upon the union of England and Scotland, in 1707, couched under the emblems of the Rose and Thistle; which we shall insert as being a specimen of our author's talent in Latin poetry, and for that reason a proper part of the character of his genius.

Dum rosa purpureo suffunditur ore rubore,
 Spina gravis rutili floris amore calet,
Protinus armorum posuit pacatior iras,
 Et jam blanda suæ porrigit ora rosæ.
Ut videt alterius ambas concurrere votis
 Quæ regit hortarum, Massica Flora, vices,
Felices jubet, hinc coëant in fœdera, utrisque,
 Unus ut ex uno stemmate surgat honos.
Tu decus æternum dixit, mea, da, rosa, spinæ;
 Et tu perpetuam protege, spina, rosam.

[G] *Lucan's Pharsalia*] Our author, in his last sickness, having desired Dr James Welwood to take the trouble of publishing this book (12), and the dying request was soon after his decease faithfully executed by that friend; who observes, that it was our poet's great love of liberty that inclined him to undertake this task; and that perhaps he was farther animated to it by the conduct of the French translator, Brabeuf, who had the honest boldness to publish such a work in his native language, so diametrically opposite to the maxims of the Prince then reigning, and that too, when all the other classics were published for the use of the Dauphin, and Lucan alone prohibited (13). It is likewise observable, that the Frenchman in some places, has carried the heat of Lucan further than Lucan himself, and by attempting the fire of his author, has fired himself much more. The performance of the Frenchman is however in the main, admirably well done, especially in one passage, which is too one of the finest in the original, as follows.

(12) It is dedicated to the King by his widow, according to our poet's desire.

(13) Preface to Rowe's Lucan. See also the Freeholder, No. 40. by Mr Addison.

Phœnices primi, famæ si creditur, ausi
Mensuram rudibus vocem signare figuris.

Thus, in French.

C'est de luy que nous vient cet art ingenieux,
De peindre la parole & de parler aux yeux,
Et par des traits divers des figures tracées,
Donner de la couleur & du corps aux pensees.

We have chosen this passage because of it's excellent imitation by the first Ld Viscount Molesworth's daughter, mentioned in this work (14), who has been thought to transcend Brebeuf, and even Lucan himself. Thus,

(14) In Lord Molesworth's article, in remark [G].

The noble art from Cadmus took it's rise,
Of painting words, and speaking to the eyes;
He first in wond'rous magic fetters bound
The airy voice, and stopp'd the flying sound.
The various figures by his pencil wrought,
Gave colour and a body to the thought.

Lucan was also translated into English by Mr May, in 1635, but his performance does not reach the spirit or sense of Lucan. The language and versification are yet worse, and fall infinitely short of the lofty numbers and propriety of expression in which Mr Rowe excels *. We have already heard Dr Welwood's remark, that our author undertook this task out of his great love for liberty; and the same thing is alluded to by Mr Amherst, in his poem on Mr Rowe's death, as follows.

* Mr Addison recommended our author's undertaking, from some specimens which he had before given the world of it; wherein, says that excellent critic, the fire of the original is not only kept up, but the sentiments delivered with greater perspicuity, and in a tenderer turn of phrase and verse. Freeholder, No. 40. for May 7, 1716.

Such must he be as Lucan was of old,
His figures strong and his expressions bold;
With the same constant love of freedom charm'd,
With the same passion for his country warm'd.

Whose

long before his deceaſe, he alſo attempted ſomething towards a tragedy, upon the ſtory of the Rape of Lucretia [*H*]. He was twice married; the firſt time to a daughter of Mr Auditor Parſons, and afterwards to Mrs Deveniſh, a gentlewoman of a good family in Dorſetſhire. By this firſt match he had a ſon, and by the ſecond a daughter, who was married to Henry Fane, Eſq; (*m*). He bore his laſt illneſs with an exemplary Chriſtian fortitude and reſignation [*I*], 'till it put a period to his life December 6th, 1718, in the 45th year of his age (*n*). His corpſe was interred on the 19th, in Weſtminſter-abbey, over againſt Chaucer; and Dr Atterbury, Biſhop of Rocheſter and Dean of Weſtminſter, out of a particular mark of eſteem for him as a ſchoolfellow, honoured his aſhes by performing the laſt offices himſelf (*o*). There is a ſumptuous monument, with an inſcription to his memory, erected in that church by his widow [*K*]. Mr Rowe's perſon was graceful and well made, his features regular, and his complexion of a manly beauty. The character of his genius is ſeen in his Works [*L*]. He was maſter of moſt parts of polite learning, eſpecially the claſſic authors. He underſtood the French, Italian, and Spaniſh languages; ſpoke the firſt fluently, and the other two tolerably well. He had a good taſte in Philoſophy, and made great advances therein, at the times when he retired into the country, which were frequent. He had ſo early imbibed the principles of liberty, and a freedom of thought, that they ſeemed a part of his conſtitution, and appeared in all he wrote. He had a hearty affection for the Eſtabliſhed Church of England, without condemning or cenſuring thoſe of another perſwaſion (*p*). His converſation either ſtruck out mirth, or promoted learning and honour, wherever he went (*q*). Envy and detraction bore no part in his natural temper: whatever provocations he met with at any time, he paſſed them over without the leaſt thought of revenge, or ſo much as reſentment (*r*). He had

(*m*) Ibid. See alſo his monument.

(*n*) Ibid.

(*o*) Sewell, ubi ſupra.

(*p*) Welwood, p. 24.

(*q*) Sewell, ubi ſupra.

(*r*) Welwood.

Whoſe veins with one unvaried temper flow,
Zealous and active like immortal Rowe (15).

(15) Rowe's Miſcellaneous Works, in 1740. 4to.

[*H*] *The rape of Lucretia.*] Our author was in the country with Mr Pope, in the beginning of the year 1716 (16), and during his ſtay, which was about a week, their converſation often turned upon the ſubject for a new tragedy. The death of King Charles I. was firſt ſpoken of, but it was thought too recent; that the characters of the preſent age would be touched in thoſe of their families, then engaged in that affair, and perhaps ſome offence in the free ſpeeches of the republicans given to the Crown; ſo that was ſet aſide. The author of that play has, and it was a very good thought, introduced the King's children, taking their laſt leave of him, which alone moved the ſpectators, and would have done ſo, had they not ſpoke a word. Mr Pope adviſed him to reſcue the Queen of Scots out of the hands of Banks, as he had done by the Lady Jane Grey before, which Mr Rowe ſaid he would conſider of, but if he ſhould do ſuch a thing, he would by no means introduce Queen Elizabeth: for he ſaid, where Queen Elizabeth appears, all the Queens and Heroines upon earth would make but a little figure. Other ſubjects were talked of, but what Mr Rowe himſelf ſeemed moſt inclined to, was the Rape of Lucretia; nor was it any objection, that Thomas Heywood, who was a third or fourth rate poet, and an actor, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth and King James, had wrote on the ſame plot. It is a very great pity, that his ill health, and ſhort time of life, (for he lived but little above two years after) hindered him from putting his deſign in execution: probably he might be with-held from his ardent deſire to finiſh Lucan before his death. Some few verſes he had wrote for the character of Lucretia, but many of the lines were left unfiniſhed; nor did any of them receive the laſt correction from his hand (17). Though there might be ſeen in them what intitles Mr Rowe to the character given him by Mr Amherſt, in his poem on the death of Mr Addiſon,

(16) That is, according to the preſent ſtyle. See Pope's Letter to Blunt, dated Feb. 10, 1715-16. Where Pope alſo declares, there was a vivacity and gaiety of diſpoſition, almoſt peculiar to Mr Rowe, which made it impoſſible to part from him, without that uneaſineſs which generally ſucceeds all our pleaſures. Pope's Works, Vol. VIII. Warburton's edition.

(17) This ſubject has been managed ſo, that we have few worſe plays all owning that name. Cibber's Lives of the Poets, Vol. IV.

Of ſoft complaining Rowe.

[*I*] *Fortitude and reſignation.*] He kept up his good humour to the laſt, and took leave of his wife and friends immediately before his laſt agony, with the ſame tranquillity of mind, and the ſame unconcern, as if he had been upon taking a ſhort journey (18): So that his laſt moments confirmed the juſtneſs of his thought in thoſe excellent lines in Tamerlane, ſpeaking of death's dark ſhades; which, ſays he, ſeem as we journey on to loſe their horror.

(18) Welwood, as before.

At near approach the monſters, form'd by fear,
Are vaniſh'd all, and leave the proſpect clear.

[*K*] *A monument, &c.*] Not long after our author's death, Mr Pope writes to a friend thus.

'Poor Parnelle, Garth, Rowe,
'You juſtly reprove me for not ſpeaking of the 'death of the laſt. Parnelle was too much in my 'mind, to whoſe memory I am erecting the beſt mo'nument I can, by publiſhing, at his requeſt, a ſelect 'collection of his writings; yet I have not neglected 'my devoirs to Mr Rowe. I am writing this very 'day, his epitaph for Weſtminſter-Abbey. It is as 'follows.

'Thy reliques, Rowe, to this fair urn we truſt,
And ſacred place by Dryden's awful duſt.
Beneath a rude and nameleſs ſtone he lies,
To which thy tomb ſhall guide enquiring eyes.
Peace to thy gentle ſhade, and endleſs reſt,
Bleſt in thy genius, in thy love too bleſt.
One grateful woman to thy fame ſupplied,
What a whole thankleſs land to his denied (19).

(19) Pope's Letters.

But theſe lines were afterwards changed for thoſe which we ſee upon the monument.

[*L*] *The character of his genius.*] Several particulars of it have been already remarked in the courſe of this memoir; for the reſt, he is generally allowed to have underſtood a greater variety, and could change the harmony of his lines more, than any other poet, that ever wrote in our language. We ſhall give the following ſpecimen of this excellence from *Jane Shore*.

Such is the lot unhappy women find,
And ſuch the curſe intail'd upon our kind;
That man, the lawleſs libertine, may rove,
Free and unqueſtion'd through the wiles of love;
But woman, ſenſe and nature's eaſy fool,
If poor weak woman ſwerve from virtue's rule,
If ſtrongly charm'd, ſhe leaves the thorny way,
And in the ſofter paths of pleaſure ſtray,
Ruin enſues, reproach, and endleſs ſhame,
And one falſe ſtep intirely damns her fame.
In vain, with tears, her loſs ſhe may deplore,
In vain look back to what ſhe was before.

It is even ſaid (and more cannot be ſaid) that though not in beauty, yet in variety of numbers, he ſurpaſſes Mr Pope, who often made uſe of his friendſhip; and whenever he receiv'd any of his verſes, after they had paſſed Mr Rowe's cenſure, uſed to ſay, they were then like gold three times tried in the fire (20).

(20) Life of Pope, p. 209.

had a natural sweetness and affability, that it was impossible not to be obliged by something in the tone of his voice, so soft and winning, that every body used to be sorry when he left off speaking *(s)*. He had the openness of a Gentleman, the unstudied eloquence of a Scholar, and the perfect freedom of an Englishman *(t)*. P

(s) Life of Pope.

(t) Sewell.

ROWE [ELIZABETH], a lady of distinguished parts as well as piety, whose maiden name was SINGER, being the daughter of Mr Walter Singer, a dissenting minister of a good family, and possessed of a competent estate near Frome in Somersetshire *(a)*; but being imprisoned for nonconformity in the reign of King Charles the Second at Ilchester, was visited there by Mrs Elizabeth Portnel, a worthy gentlewoman of the same perswasion in that town, out of compassion for his sufferings in the cause. Hence commenced an acquaintance, which, after several such charitable interviews, terminated in a marriage, the first fruits whereof was our Poetess, who was born on the 11th of September, 1674, at Ilchester, in which town her father resided 'till the death of his wife; but soon after that removed into the neighbourhood of Frome, where his good sense, integrity, prudence, and piety, notwithstanding his religious opinions, recommended him to the particular esteem of Lord Weymouth, a very good judge of men, and his worthy friend, the devout and truly catholic-spirited Bishop Ken, who lived with his Lordship at Long-Leat, and thence frequently visited Mr Singer, sometimes once a week *(b)*. But his chief happiness lay within the pale of his own family [*A*], especially the subject of the present article; whose uncommon genius and religious disposition opening even in her infant years, must needs give him the most exquisite delight; and the more so, particularly with regard to the latter felicity, as it seems to have been derived, as by hereditary right, from himself [*B*], since he was religiously inclined when about ten years of age, and from that time never neglected prayer. Accordingly, the daughter received the first serious impressions of religion probably as soon as she was capable of them. *My infant hands*, says she in one of her pious addresses to God, *were early lifted up to thee, and I soon learned to know and acknowledge the God of my Fathers (c)* [*C*]. 'Tis true, devotion is the characteristic of the sex, and is a species of piety not unfrequently united to some very indifferent qualities in their compositions. But Miss Singer's piety knew no such base alloy; for, though the sprightliness and vivacity of her temper, gave her a full relish of life in the midst of all the enjoyments that could make it agreeable *(d)*; as most tender and affectionate parents, easy circumstances, a good constitution, chearfulness of temper, the love and esteem of all that knew her, and a rising reputation, yet these never betrayed her into any reproachable follies; her heart felt the force of the obligations to her duty, in the same measure as her opening reason discovered them. However, at the same time, 'tis plain from several parts of her devout exercises, that she struggled with the common passions incident to youth, and that she did not attain that superiority of command over them, which constitutes the essence of virtue, and is the perfection of the Christian life, without going through the preceding stages of the Christian warfare *(e)*. In the mean time, her parts kept pace with her piety; and, as her strongest bent was to poetry, she began to write verses at twelve years of age, which was almost as soon as she could write at all. The same turn of genius naturally begat in her a fondness for the sister-arts of music and painting. She took great delight in the former, especially that of the grave and solemn kind, such as best suited to the grandure of her sentiments, and the sublimity of her devotion. And as to painting, she was more than an admirer; she took up the pencil when she had hardly strength and steadiness of hand sufficient to guide it, and almost in her infancy would squeeze out the juices of herbs to serve her instead of colours. Her father perceiving her fondness for this art, was at the expence of a master to instruct her in it, and it never ceased to be her amusement at

(a) Miscellaneous Works of Mrs Eliz. Rowe, &c. with her life prefixed, p. xxxiii. N.B. Most of the particulars of this article are taken thence.

(b) This must be after the Revolution. See Bishop Ken's article.

(c) Devout Exercises, p. 36.

(d) In a familiar letter to a friend she writes, 'I have ease and plenty to the extent of my wishes, and can form desires of nothing but what my father's indulgence would procure.'

(e) See several parts of her Devout Exercises, published by Dr Watts.

[*A*] *His chief happiness lay within the pale of his own family.*] Besides our authoress he had two daughters, one of which died in her childhood, and the other survived to her twentieth year, a lovely concurrent with her elder sister, in the race of virtue and glory. She had the same extreme passion for books, chiefly those of medicine, in which she arrived at a considerable skill. Both the sisters frequently studied 'till midnight (1).

[*B*] *Her devotion seems to be derived from her father.*] She frequently pleaded her relation to it, and, as it were, glories in it, in her private devotions: the following instance is a specimen. '*I humbly hope*, says 'she, *I have a rightful claim. Thou art my God, and* '*the God of my religious ancestors*; *the God of my mo*-'*ther, the God of my pious father: dying, and breath*-'*ing out his soul, he gave me to thy care*; *he put me* '*into thy gracious arms, and delivered me up to thy* '*protection: he told me thou wouldest never leave me,* '*nor forsake me*; *he triumphed in thy long experienced* '*faithfulness and truth, and gave his testimony for thee* '*with his latest breath* (2).

[*C*] *I soon learned to know and acknowledge the God of my fathers.*] She devoted herself to the service of heaven, in a solemn covenant, after the example of her pious mother, to whose sacred engagement of this kind, Mrs Rowe made this addition, which appeared, by the hand, to be wrote in her younger years. 'My God, and my father's God, who keepest covenant and mercy to a thousand generations; I call thee to witness, that with all the sincerity of my soul, I consent to this covenant, and stand to the solemn dedication made of me in my baptism. And to this,

I God's high name my awful witness make.

And thus with the utmost willingness and joy, I subscribe, with my hand, to the Lord E. Singer.'

And beneath, in the same paper, she writes thus: renewed September 1728. 'When I am standing before the judge of all the earth, to be sentenced for all eternity, let this contract be an evidence that I renounce the world, and take the supreme God for my portion and happiness (3).' Thus it appears Mrs Rowe's good sense convinced her of the use and advantage of confirmation, and what was denied by the constitution of her Church, to be done publickly, she performed, in as solemn a manner, as could be done privately.

(1) Life of Mrs Eliz. Rowe, ubi supra, p. ix, x.

(2) Devout Exercises of the Heart, published by Dr Watts, p. 129.

(3) From a MS. of devotional exercises found among her papers after her death by the writer of her Life.

at times all her life. But poetry was her favourite employment, in youth her most distinguishing excellence. It was this which first introduced her into the notice of the noble family at Long-Leat. She wrote a small copy of verses, with which they were so highly delighted, as to express a curiosity to see her; and in this visit there commenced a friendship, which subsisted ever after. She was not then twenty. Her paraphrase of the thirty-eighth chapter of Job was wrote at the request of Bishop Ken, who, as we have already observed, was entertained in that family, and gained her a great deal of reputation. She had no other tutor for the French and Italian languages than the honourable Mr Thynne, son to the Lord Viscount Weymouth, who willingly took that task upon himself, and had the pleasure to see his fair scholar improve so fast under his lessons, that in a few months she was able to read Tasso's Jerusalem with great ease (*f*). In 1696, the 22d of her age, a collection of her poems on various occasions were published at the request of two of her friends, which we may suppose did not contain all that she had by her, since the ingenious prefacer (*g*) gives the reader to hope, that the author might in a little while be prevailed with to oblige the world with a second part, no way inferior to the former. Her shining merit, and the charms of her person and conversation, had procured her a great many admirers. Among others, 'tis said, the celebrated Matt. Prior would have been glad to share the pleasures and cares of life with her (*h*); but Mr Thomas Rowe was the person reserved by Heaven to be the happy man, both to be made and to make happy. How she passed her time during the five years of her marriage, will be related in the subsequent article. As the enjoyment she had in possessing him was exquisite, so the grief and affliction she felt for his loss was equally so, as was also the beautiful and unaffected eloquence of her description of it, both in the poem mentioned in the following article, and in several of her letters; and we are assured that she continued to the last moments of her life, to express the highest veneration and affection to his memory, and likewise a particular regard and esteem for his relations, several of whom she honoured with a long and most intimate friendship. Nay, it was but a short time before her death, that she shewed how incapable she was of forgetting him, by shedding fresh tears on occasion of the mention of his name. It was only out of regard to Mr Rowe, that with his society she was willing to bear London during the winter season; and, as soon after his decease as her affairs would permit, she indulged her unconquerable inclinations to solitude, by retiring to Frome in Somersetshire, in the neighbourhood of which place the greater part of her estate lay (*i*). When she forsook the town, she determined to return to it no more, but to conceal the remainder of her life in an absolute retirement. However, in compliance with the importunate requests of the honourable Mrs Thynne, she passed some months with her at London, after the death of her daughter the Lady Brooke; and, on the melancholy occasion of the decease of Mrs Thynne herself, she could not dispute the commands of the Countess of Hertford, who earnestly desired her to reside some time with her at Marlborough *, to soften, by her conversation and friendship, the severe affliction of the loss of so excellent a mother [D]: and once or twice more, the power this last illustrious

(*f*) She seems to be entirely unacquainted with the learned languages. Her father, indeed, took the greatest care of her education, first at home, and afterwards sent her to a boarding-school to complete it in all female accomplishments, which he seems to have thought sufficient, without the languages ancient or modern.

(*g*) Mrs Johnson.

(*h*) See his article, and his answer to Mrs Rowe's Pastoral on Love and Friendship, both printed in her Miscellanies. Mr Prior has also done justice to the fineness of her genius, in the dedication of his Poems to Lord Dorset; and our authoress wrote in 1734, some admirable songs on his Solomon. Miscellanies, p. 166.

(*i*) This is referred to in note (*a*), to shew the *situation* of Mr Singer's estate. The *competency* of it appears from hence, that it afforded his daughter ease and plenty to the extent of her wishes; and she seems to have supported a gentlewoman's station and figure with one half of it, the other half being consecrated by her to charitable uses.

* A seat of the Earl of Hertford, afterwards Duke of Somerset; the house is called the Mount, and stands at that end of Marlborough next to Bath.

[D] *To soften her affliction at the loss of so excellent a mother.*] How capable Mrs Rowe was of performing this latest part of friendship, is evinced by her much admired elegy on the death of this honourable Lady. We shall insert the concluding lines for a reason which will be seen presently after.

'But sacred friendship thy superior flame,
'Shall time out-live, and be unchang'd the same.
'When all the fond relations nature knows,
'When all the ties that human laws impose,
'Are cancell'd; when the mighty league expires,
'That holds the universe, when yon gay fires
'Have wasted all their glory; thou shalt rise
'In triumph o'er the ruins of the skies:
'Thy power, immortal friendship, then confest,
'Shall fill with transport every heavenly breast (4).

(4) Rowe's Miscell. Vol. I. p. 156.

Among other admirers of this excellent poem, the Earl of Orrery ought to be particularly distinguished in honour to our poetess. His Lordship, it seems, had then lately lost his own consort, whereupon he addressed Mrs Rowe in the following lines.

'So sweet you sing, so well your Laura paint,
'Weep so pathetic a departed saint,
'That with fresh rage my sorrows you renew,
'And call my Henrietta to my view.
'Before my eyes the charmer stands confest,
'Again I see her, and again am blest.
'Oh, no—the vision's gone—an airy dream,
'Rais'd by the magic of your mournful theme.
'But since, by fate, we are alike oppress'd,
'Since ling'ring sorrows both our minds infest,
'From hence let mutual consolation flow,
'And let each breast with newborn friendship glow:
'Thus when the tedious race of life is run,
'And all our fleeting earthly joys are gone,
'Together to the realms of light we'll fly,
'You to meet Laura, Henrietta, I (5).

(5) Ibid. p. 158. The verses are dated from Marston, his Lordship's seat, Dec. 17, 1734.

This generous overture was as generously accepted by our poetess, who, in the same vein, inscribed her acceptance to his Lordship thus.

'Immortal friendship, thou unblemish'd name,
'Why shou'd I fear t'admit thy sacred flame;
'Why with fantastic rules thy force controul,
'And damp the noble ardour in my soul?
'When thou art banish'd from the human breast,
'Envy and rage the gloomy seat infest.
'Thy gentle warmth inspires the worlds above,
'Those pure abodes of innocence and love.
'Then come, a welcome inmate, to my breast,
'And be thy power thro' all my soul confest.
'When such distinguish'd merit is in view,
'The sacred tribute is intirely due (6).'

(6) Ibid. p. 160.

The

illustrious lady had over Mrs Rowe, drew her, by an obliging kind of violence, to spend a few months with her at some of the Earl of Hertford's seats in the country; yet even on these occasions, she never quitted her retreat without very sincere regret; and always returned to it again, as soon as ever she could with decency disengage herself from the importunity of her noble friends. It was in this recess, that she composed the most celebrated of her works, *Friendship in Death*, and the several parts of the letters moral and entertaining. In 1736, the importunity of some of Mrs Rowe's acquaintance, who had seen the history of Joseph in manuscript, prevailed on her to suffer it, though not without reluctance, to be made public. She wrote this piece in her younger years, and, when first printed, had carried it on no farther than the marriage of the heroe of the poem; but, at the request of her friends (particularly the Countess of Hertford, to whom she could scarce refuse any thing), that the relation might include Joseph's discovery of himself to his brethren, she added two other books; the composing whereof, 'tis said, was no more than the labour of three or four days. This additional part, which was her last work, was published but a few weeks before her death. That grand event, to prepare for which she had made so much business of her life, befel her, according to her wish, in her beloved recess. She was favoured with an uncommon strength of constitution, and had passed a long series of years, with scarce any indisposition severe enough to confine her to her bed (*k*). But about half a year before her decease she was attacked with a distemper, which seemed to herself as well as others, attended with danger: though this disorder, as she expressed herself to one of her most intimate friends, found her mind not quite so serene and prepared to meet death as usual; yet when by devout contemplations on the atonement and mediation of our Saviour, she had fortified herself against that fear and diffidence, from which the most exalted piety does not always secure in such an awful hour, she experienced such divine satisfaction and transport, that she said with tears of joy, *she knew not that she had ever felt the like in all her life*. And she repeated on this occasion Mr Pope's verses, entituled, *The Dying Christian to his Soul*, with an air of such intense pleasure, as evidenced that she really felt all the elevated sentiments of pious exstasy and triumph, which breathe in that exquisite piece of sacred poetry. After this threatning illness, Mrs Rowe recovered her usual good state of health, and though at the time of her decease she was pretty far advanced in age (*l*), yet her exact temperance, and the calmness of her mind, undisturbed by uneasy cares and passions, encouraged her friends to flatter themselves with a much longer enjoyment of so valuable a life, than it pleased heaven to allow them. On the day in which she was seized with that distemper, which in a few hours proved mortal, she seemed to those about her to be in perfect health and vigour. In the evening, at about eight o'clock, she conversed with a friend in all her usual vivacity, and not without laughter; after which she retired to her chamber. About ten her servant, hearing some noise in her mistress's room, ran instantly into it, and found her fallen off the chair on the floor, speechless, and in the agonies of death. She had the immediate assistance of a physician and a surgeon, but all the means used were without success, and after having given one groan she expired, a few minutes before two o'clock on Sunday morning, February 20. 1736-7. Her disease was judged to be an apoplexy. A pious book was found lying open by her (*m*), as also some loose papers on which she had wrote some unconnected sentences [*E*]. As she was greatly apprehensive that the violence of pain, or langours of a sick-bed, might occasion some depression of spirits, and melancholy fears, unsuitable to the character and expectations of a Christian, her manuscript book of devotions contains frequent petitions to heaven that she might not, in this manner, dishonour her profession; and to her friends she often expressed herself desirous of a sudden removal to the skies, as it must necessarily prevent any such indecent behaviour in her last moments: so that the suddenness of Mrs Rowe's death may be interpreted as a reward of her singular piety, and a mark of the divine favour in answer to her prayers [*F*]. She

(*k*) I suppose the small-pox is one of the exceptions here intimated by the word *scarce*; on her recovery from that distemper, she wrote a hymn of thanks, which is printed in her Miscellanies, Vol. I. p. 94. and there is an excellent ode on the occasion, addressed to her by Mr Standen, dated September 8, 1712, and subjoined to the account of her Life, p. ci, cii, ciii, civ.

(*l*) She died in what is often called the grand climacteric, that is, the 63d year of her age.

(*m*) It contained some meditations on religious subjects; but the book was lost, nor could the title be exactly remembered by those who were about her at the time of her death.

The friendship thus commenced, did not fail to continue as long as Mrs Rowe lived, who distinguished his Lordship among those friends to whom she addressed letters to be delivered immediately after her death. That to the Earl of Orrery, begins thus.

'My Lord,

There seems to be something presaging in the message you ordered me to deliver to your charming Henrietta, when I met her gentle spirit in the blissful regions, which I believe will be very soon. I am now acting the last part of life.——The nearer I am approaching to immortality, the more extensive and enlarged I find the principles of amity and good will in my soul: from hence arise the most sincere wishes for your happiness, and of the charming pledges your lovely Henrietta left, &c. (7).'

(7) Mrs Rowe's Life, p. xlv, xlvi.

[*E*] *Some loose papers, on which she had wrote some unconnected sentences.*] These were as follow.

O guide, and counsel, and protect my soul from sin!
O speak, and let me know thy heavenly will!
Speak evidently to my list'ning soul!
O fill my soul with love, and light, and peace,
And whisper heav'nly comfort to my soul!
O speak, celestial spirit, in the strain
Of love, and heav'nly pleasure, to my soul!

There was a few more lines, but so ill wrote, occasioned perhaps by the trembling of her hand, at the approach of death, that no consistent sense could be made of them (8).

(8) Ib. p. xxxviii.

[*F*] *The suddenness of Mrs Rowe's death may be interpreted a mark of the divine favour.*] This was very well expressed by Mr Grove in a letter to a friend soon after her decease. 'Though her death, says he, be 'universally lamented, yet the manner of it is rather 'to be esteemed a part of her happiness. One mo'ment to enjoy this life, the next, or after a pause, we 'are not sensible of, to find ourselves got beyond, not 'only the fears of death, but death itself; and in 'possession of everlasting life, and health, and plea'sure: this moment to be devoutly addressing ourselves 'to

She was buried according to her requeſt under the ſame ſtone with her father in the meeting-place at Frome, on which occaſion her funeral ſermon was preached to a very crowded audience, by Mr Bowden (*o*). Her death was lamented with very uncommon and remarkable ſorrow, by all who had heard of her virtue and merit, but particularly by thoſe of the town, where ſhe had ſo long reſided, and her moſt intimate acquaintance. Above all, the news of her death touched the poor and diſtreſſed with inexpreſſible affliction: and at her doors and over her grave, they bewailed the loſs of their benefactreſs, poured bleſſings on her memory, and recounted to each other the gentle and condeſcending manner with which ſhe heard their requeſts, and the numerous inſtances in which they had experienced her unexampled goodneſs and bounty. In her cabinet were found letters to the Counteſs of Hertford, the Earl of Orrery, and to ſome others of her friends, for whom ſhe had an high eſteem and affection, which ſhe had ordered to be delivered immediately after her deceaſe to the perſons to whom they were directed, and by their permiſſion were communicated to the public by the writer of her life (*p*). Her friendſhips were founded on virtue, but not a perfect agreement in thoſe leſſer matters, which divide us as Chriſtians and Engliſhmen; in which ſhe ſhewed a generous mind, elevated above the mean principles of party and bigotry. She was favoured with the eſteem and acquaintance of the Counteſs of Winchelſea, the Viſcounteſs Weymouth, the Viſcounteſs Scudamore, the Lady Carteret, the Lady Brooke, the honourable Mrs Thynne, the Earl of Orrery, Dr Ken, Biſhop of Bath and Wells, Sir Richard Blackmore, Dr Watts, Mr Prior, Mr Grove, &c. But above all ſhe poſſeſſed the higheſt degree of friendſhip with another illuſtrious ornament of the age, a friendſhip which began as ſoon as ever her Ladyſhip was capable of this generous paſſion, and continued without the leaſt interruption to the laſt moments of Mrs Rowe's life; and it is none of the leaſt teſtimonies of her virtue and merit, that her life was honoured with the friendſhip, and her death lamented with the tears of the Counteſs of Hertford. A life like Mrs Rowe's, paſſed in almoſt perpetual retirement, furniſhes but few facts. It was *not buſied with accidents to divert the reader*. It was *more pleaſant for* herſelf *to live, than for an hiſtorian to deſcribe* (*q*). For this reaſon the writer of her life has enlarged the more upon her character, which repreſents what ſhe was every day, and which he thinks could not be ſhortned without injuſtice to herſelf and to the world. It is in ſubſtance as follows: As to her perſon, Mrs Rowe was not a regular beauty, yet ſhe poſſeſſed a large meaſure of the charms of her ſex. She was of a moderate ſtature, her hair of a fine auburn colour, and her eyes of a darkiſh grey, inclining to blue, and full of fire. Her complexion was very fair, and a natural roſy bluſh glowed in her cheeks. She ſpoke gracefully, and her voice was exceeeding ſweet and harmonious, and perfectly ſuited to that gentle language which always flowed from her lips. But the ſoftneſs and benevolence of her aſpect is beyond all deſcription. It inſpired irreſiſtible love, yet not without ſome mixture of that awe and veneration which diſtinguiſhed ſenſe and virtue apparent in the countenance are wont to create. Her acquaintance with the Great had taught her all the accompliſhments of good breeding, and without formality or affectation, ſhe practiſed in a diſtant ſolitude all the addreſs and politeneſs of a court. The labours of the toilette conſumed very little of her time. She deſpiſed the arts of dreſs and ornament, yet without falling into the other extreme of indecent negligence. She lived a recluſe aſcetic (*r*), without growing auſtere. On the contrary, ſhe was as exemplary for every ſocial virtue and good nature, as for the exact ſanctity of her manners. And thought the ſins of the fleſh attended with leſs degrees of guilt, than the vices of the ſpirit, and thoſe of a graver ſort. She had ſuch a command over her paſſions, that it has been queſtioned, whether ſhe was ever angry in her whole life. No one had reaſon to wiſh her wit leſs. For, together with the moſt manly genius, ſhe poſſeſſed all that gentleneſs and ſoftneſs, which gives the ſex ſuch irreſiſtible charms. Next to lewd and profane writings, ſhe expreſſed the ſtrongeſt averſion to ſatire; as being uſually replete with perſonal malice and invective. No ſtrokes of this kind can be found in her works, and her converſation was not leſs innocent of every appearance of ill nature, than her writings. Scandal and detraction, ſo incident to the ſex, appeared to her extreme inhumanity, which no charms of wit and politeneſs could make tolerable. She had few equals in her excellent turn for converſation. Her wit was inexhauſtible, and ſhe expreſſed her thoughts in the moſt beautiful and flowing eloquence. Though her wit, beauty, and merit, had even from her youth conciliated to her much compliment and praiſe, and from ſuch judges of worth as might have made ſome degree of vanity ſeem almoſt pardonable in a lady and an author, yet ſhe retained all the humility of the meaneſt and moſt obſcure perſon. She was perfectly untainted with the love of pleaſure; ſhe was even ignorant of every polite and faſhionable game. She had no reliſh for novels and romances, and abſtained entirely from the entertainments of the theatre. The native grandure of her ſoul, preſerved her from any kind of luxury. She was always

(*n*) I would lie, ſays ſhe in her laſt orders, in my father's grave, and have no ſtone nor inſcription. Life, p. lxxi.

(*o*) But ſhe left a particular charge that he ſhould not ſay one word of her in his ſermon. Ibid.

(*p*) That to Lord Orrery has been already mentioned in remark [*D*]. The reſt were to the Counteſs of Hertford, Mr James Theobald, and Mrs Sarah Rowe her mother-in law, to Dr Watts, printed before her devotions, and another of a private nature to her brother in-law, who wrote her life.

(*q*) Dryden's expreſſions concerning Plutarch.

(*r*) The love of ſolitude diſcovered itſelf very early, and never forſook her but with life. Before her marriage, ſhe had only made a ſhort viſit to the town of a few weeks, and, after Mr Rowe's deceaſe, ſhe devoted the remainder of her days more ſtrongly to retirement. Life, p. lvi.

'to God, or employed in delightful meditations on '*his perfections, the next in his preſence, and ſur*'rounded with ſcenes of bliſs perfectly new, and un'ſpeakably joyous; is a way of departing out of life 'to be deſired, not dreaded by ourſelves, and felici'tated, not condoled by our ſurviving friends. When 'all things are in a readineſs for our removal out of 'the world, 'tis a privilege to be ſpared the ſad cere'mony of parting, and all the pains and ſtruggles of 'feeble nature (9).'

(9) P. xxxix. Mr Grove was a relation by his mother's ſide to Mrs Rowe. See his article in Vol. IV. To which we ſhall add, that he wrote part of Mrs Rowe's Life, and would have finiſhed it had not death prevented him. The Life, p. xxix. note (*).

[*G*] *She*

always pleased with whatever she found on her table, and neither the nature of her food nor manner of dressing it, gave her any uneasiness. She despised formal visits; and indeed, except *drawing*, she had almost an equal distaste for every thing, that bears the name of diversion and amusement, even of the most innocent kind. She had a contempt of riches that has been rarely equalled (*s*). As she was much pleased with her own moderate fortune, so she never pursued any designs to advance it. She could not be persuaded to publish her works by subscription, or even to accept some advantageous terms offered her by the Bookseller, if she would permit her scattered pieces to be collected and published together (*t*). She wrote no dedication to the Great, and the name of no minister of state is to be found in her works. She never saw a court. She wrote no preface to any of her works to prepossess the public in their favour, nor suffered them to be accompanied with panegyrics of her friends. She would not indeed so much as allow her name to be prefixed to any of them, except some few poems in the earlier part of her life: and though this was the occasion that a beautiful pastoral of her's was ascribed to another hand, she would not alter the modesty of her conduct [*G*].—Mrs Rowe was exemplary for every relative duty. Filial piety was a remarkable part of her character [*H*], and the highest esteem and most tender affection appeared in all her conduct to her husband (*u*). She was a gentle and kind mistress (*w*); a warm and generous friend; so generous, that there was not perhaps one of her friends in any rank of life, who did not experience her beneficent disposition, by receiving from her presents of books, pictures, &c. if not gifts of higher value. But her charity exceeded every other principle. The exercise of this godlike virtue was half the pleasure of her life, and she solemnly consecrated half of her yearly income to charitable uses; besides which, she employed her own hands in providing cloaths for the necessitous. Nor was her beneficence limited only to those, who in strict terms might be called poor. She was wont to say, *It was one of the greatest benefits that could be done to mankind, to free them from the cares and anxieties that attend a narrow fortune.* And in these cases she knew how to heighten every favour, by the ready and obliging manner in which she conferred it. She even studied to spare their blushes, while she softned their adversity. For instance, when one such person of her acquaintance was in some distress, she contrived to lose at play a sum of money sufficient to supply the necessity of the case. This was perhaps the only time she touched a card in her life. 'Tis astonishing how the moderate estate she was possessed of, could supply such various and expensive benefactions; and her own sense of this, once broke out to an intimate friend. I am surprized, said she to her, how it is possible my estate should answer all these things, and yet I never want money! But the truth is, that to enlarge her abilities of doing good, she denied herself what might in some sense be called the real necessaries of life. Mrs Rowe's charity could be exceeded only by her piety, from whence it flowed as from it's genuine principle.

(*s*) She carried this, poet-like, to excess. She did not know her own estate from others, 'till some motives of prudence obliged her to inform herself when she apprehended she was soon to leave them. She also let her estates under value, as appeared by the considerable advance of the rents after her decease. Life, p. lxvii, lxviii.

(*t*) The first time she accepted of a gratification from the Bookseller for any of her Works, she bestowed the whole sum on a family in distress. Ibid. p. lxxix.

(*u*) See several instances of this in the ensuing article.

(*w*) None of her servants ever quitted the service, except on account of their marriage. Ibid.

[*G*] *She would not alter the modesty of her conduct.*] Dr Young was the author of the preface to *Friendship in Death*: and the last of her writings, which, by her consent, appeared in public under her own name, were some copies of verses printed in the miscellanies in 1704. Sir Richard Steele when he published the pastoral mentioned above in his poetical miscellanies, ascribed it to the author of the anonymous verses before the tragedy of Cato. When she intended to publish *Friendship in Death*, she shewed the manuscript to no more than one person, on whose secrecy she could rely; and after he had, by her order, copied it in his own hand, she sent it to Dr Young, only knowing him by his works, and inscribed her name to the dedication, in hopes, that being published by him, and appearing under the patronage of his name, all her acquaintance would imagine the piece to be written by some friend of that eminent poet. And when the particular beauties of her manner of writing discovered the true author, and this performance began to be universally admired, she still continued to avoid owning it, as far as was consistent with a strict regard to truth. Moreover, when she selected from her manuscript volumes of devotions some exercises of piety, with a view to their publication after her decease, she studiously omitted those parts that would have discovered her unexampled charity, and other virtues, which conciliate the esteem and veneration of the world (10).

(10) Ibid. p. lxix, lxx.

[*H*] *Filial piety was a remarkable part of her character.*] She loved the best of fathers as she ought, and repaid his uncommon care and tenderness, by just returns of duty and gratitude. She had been heard to say, that she could die rather than displease him. In a memorandum relating to his last sickness and death, are these words. 'My father often felt his pulse, and complained that 'twas still regular, and smiled at every symptom of approaching death: he would be often crying out, Come Lord Jesus, come quickly: come ye holy angels, that rejoyce at the converſion of a ſinner, come and conduct my soul to the skies, ye propitious spirits; and then would add. But thy time, Lord, not mine, is best. When shall I awake, and be satisfied with thy likeness? What is death? I never made the experiment, and nobody about me knows, when persons are dying. I have heard of jaws falling, and eye-strings cracking, but where are the tokens? and yet nature fails, and I am dying. I have seen people die without half so much ado, just lean back, and having fetched a calm sigh, expire.' Hence it appears he was in great pain, and the anguish she felt at seeing him in it was so great, that it occasioned some kind of convulsion, a disorder from which she was wholly free in every other part of her life. He died April 18. 1719 (11). I know divines generally agree in the opinion, that such persons as happily die the death of the righteous, may, and some actually have had some antepasts of their future blessedness, especially on their death-bed. However that be, surely Mr Rowe's behaviour, as here described by his daughter, savours somewhat of the fanatic, which perhaps will be thought not quite so excusable in him, as a divine, as it was in his daughter, who copied his example both by influence and hereditary constitution. This foible is intimated by Dr Watts, who insinuates that her devout expressions are often a little too rapturous; and he has made the best excuse for it, that 'if her style was raised above that of common meditation or soliloquy, it must be remembered that she was no common Christian. As her virtues were sublime, so her genius was bright and sparkling (12),' and sometimes she was herself not insensible of it. In a letter to a lady, sent with one of these sacred meditations, she thus expresses herself. '*You will find by the inclosed, how my thoughts were employed in the little fit of sickness which lately confined me. There is, I confess, something so glittering and romantic in this description of a future state, that I am afraid you will think I have been reading the Alcoran, and am become a proselyte to the Turkish religion.*'

(11) P. v, vi, and lxxi.

(12) Preface to Devout Exercises, p. 11.

principle. In reality, she seemed born for the practice of sublime and ascetic piety, 'twas the supreme pleasure of her life. Yet she did not set too high a value on strong emotions of the passions, and religious fervors; nor was tempted by the love of devotion, to prefer it to social virtue. She affected no kind of singularity, or appearance of severity, nor presumed to censure those who came not up to that strictness, to which she obliged herself. She possessed a large measure of that serenity and chearfulness of temper, which seem naturally to flow from conscious virtue, and the hopes of the divine favour. This happy disposition of mind continued to her last moments, and was never interrupted by any of those fantastic disorders, that so often cloud the imaginations of the softer sex; so that excepting the intervals of sorrow, occasioned by her devout and compassionate dispositions, and just affliction for the loss of Mr Rowe, and Mr Singer; her whole life seemed to be not only a constant calm, but a perpetual sunshine, and every hour of it sparkled with good humour, and inoffensive gaiety. Her love of piety was not confined to those of her own party in religion, it was truly Catholic (*x*), and it is mentioned as an exemplary instance of her Christian moderation, that she continued all the latter part of her life in constant communion with persons who differed from her in some, which she thought, important articles; though she was frequently sollicited to an opposite conduct, by persons of a more narrow spirit; and could not escape censure, for her adherence to the charity of the gospel (*y*). And, as her zeal did in no part of her life degenerate into religious fury, so, towards the close of it, her gentle and charitable dispositions increased, and she seemed to be visibly ripening into the temper of that blessed region to which she was soon to be removed. Though her several works have been occasionally cited in the course of this memoir, yet it may not be amiss to throw them here together in one view, as follows. (1) *Poems on several occasions*, published in 1696, 8vo. under the fictitious name of *Philomela*. These she afterwards in her maturer years condemned, as juvenile follies, to oblivion. (2) *Friendship in Death*, &c. 1728, 8vo. (3) *Letters, moral and entertaining, in Prose and Verse*; Part I. 1724. Part II. 1731. Part III. 1733, 8vo. (4) *The History of Joseph*, 1736. (5) *Devout Exercises of the Heart*, &c. published by Isaac Watts, D. D. Lond. 1737, and again, 1739. (6) *The Miscellaneous Works, in Prose and Verse, of Mrs Elizabeth Rowe: to which are added, Original Poems, and Translations, by Mr Thomas Rowe*, &c. To the whole is prefixed an account of the Lives and Writings of the Authors. Lond 1739. in 2 Vol. 8vo. (*z*), [by Mr Theophilus Rowe] who observes, that his sister-in-law's exquisite wit and delicate imagination was scarce any thing indebted to the assistance of art or labour. She read no critics, nor could her genius brook the discipline of rules; and, as the pains of correcting appeared to her some kind of drudgery, she seldom made any great alterations in her composures, from what they were when she first gave copies of them to her friends: for she did not set so high a value on her works, as to employ much labour in finishing them with the utmost accuracy; and she wrote verses through inclination, and rather as an amusement, than as a study and profession, to excel in which she should make the business of her life (*aa*).

(*x*) She once resolved to receive the Sacrament in the Church of England, and attended the preceding service, with that intent; but the sermon happening to be animated with more zeal against her sect than was agreeable, she would not stay the Communion.

(*y*) This alludes probably to that schism which broke out in those days among her sect upon the subject of the Trinity, when both parties excommunicated each other, while the cooler heads among them took occasion thence to extol the moderation of the Church of England, in regard to the disputes on the same subject.

(*z*) In this collection are reprinted all the poems of her's that had been before inserted in other miscellanies.

(*aa*) Life, p. liv.

Such a very extraordinary character, naturally raises a curiosity to know something of that person whom she thought worthy to possess her charms; for which reason we shall give some account of him in the next article. P

ROWE [THOMAS], a gentleman of learning and genius, and a poet too of no inconsiderable rank, was of a genteel descent both on the father's and mother's side, being grandson of William Rowe, Esq; a gentleman of worth and considerable estate, and Alice, a lady of distinguished sense, beauty, and virtue, daughter of Thomas Scott, Esq; Member of Parliament for Aylesbury in Buckinghamshire (*a*): and the eldest son of the Rev. Mr Benoni Rowe, a dissenting clergyman, who, to a very accurate judgment, and a considerable stock of useful learning, joined the talents of preaching, and a most lively and engaging manner in conversation. Our author was born at London, on the 25th of April, 1687. His genius and inclination to literature were conspicuous in his earliest years. He was able to read as soon almost as he could speak; and had such a pleasure in books, as to take none at all in the diversions which children are so fond of: and when he was sometimes prevailed on to make one in the recreations of his companions, his unreadiness and inattention plainly shewed it was not out of choice he engaged, but purely from good-nature, which would not suffer him always to resist their importunity. He commenced his acquaintance with the classics at Epsom in Surry, while his father resided there; and, by the swift advances in that part of learning, quickly became the delight of his master, a man very able in his profession, who, in spite of the natural ruggedness and severity of his temper, treated this scholar with a very particular indulgence. After some time, his father removing to London, placed him under the famous Dr Walker, Master of the Charter-house school (*b*). His exercises here never failed of being distinguished, even among those that had the approbation of that excellent master, who would fain have perswaded his father to send him to one of our English universities; but this not being agreeable to Mr Rowe's principles, he chose to enter him in a private academy in London, and sent him from thence to Leyden. Here he studied Jewish Antiquities under Witsius, Civil Law under Vitriarius, the Belles Lettres under Perizonius, and Experimental Philosophy under Senguerdius; and established a reputation for capacity, diligence, and

(*a*) By the maternal side he was descended from the Rowes of Devon, of which some account may be seen in the article of Nicolas Rowe, Esq;

(*b*) Author of Walker's Particles, a well known useful school-book, which has gone through many editions.

and an obliging deportment both among the professors and students. He returned from that celebrated mart of learning, with a vast accession of treasure both in books [*A*] and in knowledge, and entirely uncorrupt in his morals, which he had preserved as inviolate as he would have done under the most vigilant eye, though left without any restraints but those of his own virtue and prudence (*c*). In the interim he lost his father, but not before he was fixed in the same religious as well as political principles. Under these influences, he became very uneasy, not long after his return home in 1708, to see the Tories growing into power. To these measures he opposed himself with a zeal, which might have had more influence, indeed, in a higher sphere, but could not have been more honest and open. Being at Bath in 1709, he was introduced, by a gentleman of her acquaintance, into the company of Mrs Singer, who lived in a retirement not far from that city. The idea he conceived of her from report, and from her writings, charmed him; but when he had seen and conversed with her, he felt another kind of impression, from the presence of so much beauty, wit, and virtue; and notwithstanding the disparity of age (*d*), the esteem of the theorist was converted into the rapture of a lover. Love is the daintiest food of poetry. During the courtship, our inamorato wrote a poetical epistle to a friend that was a neighbour of Mrs Singer, and intimate in the family; a few lines of which are inserted below, as a specimen both of his poetical genius, and the turn of his passion [*B*], which cannot fail of engaging the attention so much more, as it prevailed with the dear object to gratify it in a marriage, which was celebrated in 1710. On which occasion, a learned friend of Mr Rowe's wrote a Latin epigram, the beauty and elegance whereof deserves a place in this memoir [*C*]. Mrs Rowe's exalted merit and amiable qualities could not fail to inspire the most generous and lasting passion; and Mr Rowe knew how to value that treasure of wit, softness, and virtue, which Divine Providence had given to his arms in the most lovely of women, and made it his study to repay the felicity with which she crowned his life. The esteem and tenderness he had for her is inexpressible, and possession seemed scarce to have abated the fondness and admiration of the lover. 'Twas some considerable time after his marriage, that he wrote to her, under the name of Delia, a very tender ode, full of the warmest sentiments of connubial friendship and affection [*D*].——At the same time, and in like manner, his desires after knowledge increased with his acquisitions, instead of abating: all his morning hours, and a large part of the afternoon, were devoted to study. He had a penetration and quickness of thought, hardly to be imagined, so as upon just glancing over an author, to see to the bottom of his sentiments. None of the politer kinds of learning were neglected

(*c*) Viz. By the constitution of that and all other foreign universities: A fault which is provided against only in our own at home.

(*d*) He was only 22 years of age, and she 35, an old maid, but had all the vivacity and sprightliness of youth. See his ode, in remark [*B*].

[*A*] *A great treasure of books.*] His library, in collecting which he was assisted by his great knowledge in the best editions of books, consisted of a great number of the most valuable authors; and as he was making continual additions to it, amounted at his death to above five thousand volumes (1).

(1) Life of Mrs Rowe, p. xxiii.

[*B*] *A few lines of it below*] They are as follow.

'Youth's liveliest bloom, a never-fading grace,
'And more than beauty sparkles in her face;
'Yet the bright form creates no loose desires,
'At once she gives and purifies our fires,
'And passions chaste as her own soul inspires.
'Her soul heaven's noblest workmanship design'd,
'To bless the ruin'd age, and succour lost mankind;
'To prop abandon'd virtue's sinking cause,
'And snatch from vice it's undeserv'd applause (2).'

(2) See the whole epistle in Mrs Rowe's Miscellanies, Vol. II.

[*C*] *A beautiful epigram in Latin on their marriage.*] The author of the epigram was Mr John Russel, who inscribed it thus.

In nuptias Thomæ Rowe & Elizabethæ Singer.

Quid doctum par usque tuum sociosque labores
Fabræ & Dacerii, *Gallia vana crepas?*
Par majus gens Angla dedit, juvenem atque puellam,
Quos hodie sacro foedere junxit amor.
Namque ea, quæ nostri Phœbo *cecinêre docente,*
Explicuisse tuis gloria summa foret.

Thus translated by a young gentleman.

On the marriage of Mr Thomas Rowe and Mrs Elizabeth Singer.

No more, proud *Gallia*, bid the world revere,
Thy learned pair, *Le Fevre*, and *Dacier*;
Britain may boast, this happy day unites,
Two nobler minds in Hymen's sacred rites:
What *these* have sung, while all th' inspiring Nine,
Exalt the beauties of the verse divine;
Those (humble critics of th' immortal strain)
Shall bound their fame to comment and explain.

[*D*] *An ode full of the warmest sentiments of conjugal friendship and affection.*] The following lines from it are inserted, as they serve to shew how sensible Mr Rowe was of the little prospect he had from the weakness of his constitution, to live long in the possession of his charming consort.

So, long may thy inspiring page,
And great example, bless the rising age!
Long in thy charming prison, may'st thou stay;
Late, very late, ascend the well-known way,
And add new glories to the realms of day.
At least, heaven will not sure this prayer deny,
Short be my life's uncertain date,
And earlier far than thine, the destined hour of fate!
Whene'er it comes, may'st thou be by,
Support my sinking frame, and teach me how to die;
Banish desponding nature's gloom,
Make me to hope a gentle doom;
And fix me all on joys to come!
With swimming eyes, I'll gaze upon thy charms,
And clasp thee dying, in my fainting arms:
Then gently leaning on thy breast,
Sink in soft slumbers to eternal rest.
The ghastly form shall have a pleasing air,
And all things smile, whilst heav'n and thou art there.

[*E*] Eight

neglected by him. He was a good judge in poetry, and had it in his power to have been an eminent poet, for he had actually the most essential parts belonging to that character, the *vivid fire*, the *rich vein*, the *copious diction*: but as poetry was not his predominant inclination, his genius had not all the polishing, which art and constant practice might have added to nature (*e*). History was his favourite study, for which his talents of a vast memory, and an exquisite judgment, for one of his years, peculiarly qualified him. He had formed a design to compile the lives of all the illustrious persons in antiquity, omitted by Plutarch; and in that view read the ancient historians with great care. This design he in part executed. Eight lives were finished by him [*E*]; in which, though so young a guide, he strikes out his way like one well acquainted with the dark and intricate paths of antiquity. The style is perfectly easy, yet concise and nervous; the reflections just, and such as might be expected from a lover of truth, and mankind; and the facts interesting in themselves, are made more so, by his skill in relating them. As Mr Rowe had not naturally a strong constitution, so an intense application to study, beyond what the delicacy of his frame would bear, might perhaps contribute to that ill state of health, which allayed the happiness of his married life during the greater part of it. In the latter end of the year 1714, his weakness increased, and he appeared to labour under all the symptoms of a consumption. That fatal distemper, after some months confinement, cut off the fairest hopes of his doing great honour and service to his country, and put a period to his life on the thirteenth of May 1715, when he was but just past the twenty-eighth year of his age. An age when all the faculties, in a state of health, are in full bloom, for relishing the enjoyments of life, and which was rendered exquisite to the highest degree by Mrs Rowe, who, from her entrance into a marriage-state, evinced the highest esteem and most tender affection to him, in all her conduct; and by the most gentle and obliging manners, and the exercise of every social and good natured virtue, confirmed the empire she had gained over his heart. She complied with his inclination in several instances, to which she was naturally averse; and made it her study to soften the anxieties, and heighten all the satisfactions of his life. Her capacity for superior things, did not tempt her to neglect the less honourable, which the laws of decency impose on the softer sex, in the connubial relation: much less was she led, by a sense of her own great merit, to assume any thing to herself inconsistent with that duty and submission, which the precepts of Christian piety so strictly enjoin. Mr Rowe had some mixture of natural warmth in his temper, of which he had not always a perfect command: if at any time this broke out into some little excesses of anger, it never awaked any passion of the like kind in Mrs Rowe: but, on the contrary, she always remained mistress of herself, and studied by the gentlest language, and most soothing endearments, to restore Mr Rowe's mind to a reasonable calmness. And she equally endeavoured, in every other instance, by the softest arts of persuasion, and in a manner remote from all airs of superiority, to lead Mr Rowe on to that perfection of virtue, to which she herself aspired with the truest Christian zeal. During his long illness she scarce ever stirred from him a moment, and alleviated his severe affliction, by performing with inconceivable tenderness and assiduity, all the offices of compassion [*F*], suited to that melancholy season. She partook his sleepless nights, and never quitted his bed, unless to serve him, or watch by him. And as she could scarce be persuaded to forsake even his breathless clay, so she consecrated her future years to his memory, by honouring his ashes with resolutions of perpetual widowhood, which she inviolably maintained. He died at Hampstead, near London, where he had resided some time for the benefit of the air, and was buried in the vault belonging to his family, in the cœmetery in Bunhill-Fields. Where on his tomb were only marked his name, and the date of his birth and death. But an inscription of greater pomp was rendered unnecessary, by the honour Mrs Rowe did to his memory in the elegy she wrote on his death, which is deservedly ranked among the most celebrated of her poetical works. Thus much is observed of Mr Rowe, that he was a perfect master of the Greek, Latin, and French languages;

(*e*) His poetical pieces are inserted in Mrs Rowe's Miscellanies, under the title Select Poems on Several Occasions, by Mr Tho Rowe, of which two only small translations from the French of Madam Des Houliers were printed in his life time. Life of Mrs Rowe, p. lii.

[*E*] *Eight lives were finished.*] These were published after his decease by way of supplement to Plutarch, with a preface, by the reverend and learned Mr Chandler. Besides these eight, our author had finished, and fitted for the press, the life of Thrasibulus, which being put into the hands of Sir Richard Steele, for his revisal, was somehow or other unhappily lost, and never since recovered. The famous Dacier having translated Plutarch's Lives into French, with remarks, historical and critical, the Abbé Bellenger (3), added, in 1734, a ninth tome to the other eight, consisting of the life of Hannibal, and Mr Rowe's lives, made French, by that learned Abbé.

(3) Well known, saith the *Journal des Sçavans*, in the republic of letters, by some works that do him honour.

[*F*] *Performing—all the offices of compassion.*] We have no account of the particulars of Mr Rowe's behaviour, under his last illness, except his last words to his beloved attendant, which it would be an injustice to both to omit, as recorded by her in the elegy on his death; which, though cloaked in a poetical dress, no doubt, had a proper foundation in truth. They are as follow.

My dearest wife, my last, my fondest care!
Sure heaven for thee will hear a dying prayer.
Be thou the charge of sacred Providence,
When I am gone, be that thy kind defence:
Ten thousand smiling blessings crown thy head;
When I am cold, and number'd with the dead.
Think on thy vows. Be to my memory just,
My future fame and honour are thy trust.
From all engagements here, I now am free,
But that which keeps my ling'ring soul with thee.
How much I love, thy bleeding heart can tell,
Which does like thine, the pangs of parting feel.
But haste to meet me on those happy plains,
Where mighty love, in endless triumph reigns.
He ceased. Then gently yielded up his breath,
And fell a blooming sacrifice to death.

[*A*] For

languages; and had at once such a prodigious strength of memory, and an inexhaustible fund of wit, as would singly have afforded a stock of reputation for any man to trade upon, and much more to write. This, with an easy fluency of words, the frankness and benevolence of his temper, a readiness to communicate of his learned store, and a life and spirit which nature must bestow, since it can be but poorly imitated, made his company universally courted and prized by those that knew him. 'Twas impossible there should be a drowsy soul where Mr Rowe was present: he animated the conversation, every one was awake, and every one pleased. P

RUSHWORTH [John], author of the useful *Historical Collections*, &c. was born in, or about, the year 1607 *(a)*. His father and mother were both natives of Yorkshire, and of an antient family; but they resided then in Northumberland, tho' we are not told in what particular place. Towards the end of King James the first's reign, he was a student in the University of Oxford. Soon after, he left it without being matriculated, and entring himself in Lincoln's-inn, continued there 'till he became a Barrister.. But his genius leading him more to state-affairs than the common-law *(b)*, he 'began, early, to 'take, in characters, or short-hand, Speeches and passages at Conferences in parliament, and 'from the King's own mouth when he spake to both Houses; and was upon the stage 'continually, an eye and ear witness of the greatest transactions. He did also personally 'attend and observe all occurrences of moment, during the eleven years interval of Par-'liament from 1630 to 1640, in the Star-chamber, Court of honour, and Exchequer-'chamber, when all the Judges of England met there upon extraordinary cases; at the 'Council-table, when great causes were heard before the King and Council. And when 'matters were agitated at a greater distance, he was there also, and went on purpose, out 'of curiosity, to see and observe the passages of the camp at Berwick, at the fight at 'Newborn, at the treaty at Rippon, and at the great Council at York *(c)*.' On the 25th of April 1640, he was admitted Clerk-assistant to Henry Elsynge, Esq; Clerk of the House of Commons *(d)*, by which means he became acquainted with the debates in the House, and also privy to the circumstances of their proceedings *(e)*. The House reposed so much confidence in him, that they intrusted him with affairs of weightiest concern; and particularly, employed him in the conveyance of their Messages and Addresses to King Charles I. whilst residing at York. And he rode several times between this city and London with so much expedition, that he performed the journey, being 150 miles, in twenty-four hours *(f)*. In May 1641, he was sent by the House of Commons with a message to Hull *(g)*. In May 1642, we find him dispatched with Letters from the Committee of Parliament at York, to both Houses *(h)*. In July following, he was sent by the two Houses post to Beverley; to acquaint his Majesty, that the Earl of Holland, Sir John Holland, and Sir Philip Stapylton, were coming down with a Petition of both Houses, in answer to his Majesty's message concerning the delivering up of Hull *(i)*. He was likewise, in March 1642-3, one of the Messengers between the two Houses of Parliament and their Committee, for the treaty of Peace at Oxford *(k)*. For these industrious services he was not only rewarded with presents, but also recommended for a place in the Excise [*A*]. In 1643 he took the Covenant, and sided entirely with the Presbyterians. When his near relation Sir Thomas Fairfax was appointed General of the Parliament-forces, he made him his Secretary; a place in which he had an opportunity of amassing a large fortune, but did not. During the siege of Oxford in 1646, he was of great service to his master; and when the treaty for the surrender of that place to the Parliamentarians was depending, he was often posting to London upon intermessages and other fatiguing employments, 'till it was delivered up *(l)*. In 1649 he attended his master, now become Lord Fairfax by the death of his Father, with several officers of note, to Oxford; where being all splendidly entertained by the then governing members of the university, he was created Master of Arts, on the 21st of May, as a member of Queen's college *(m)*. At the same time, he was made one of the Delegates to take into consideration the affairs depending between the citizens of Oxford and the members of that university. Upon the Lord Fairfax's laying down his commission of General, Mr Rushworth went and resided for some time in Lincoln's inn *(n)*; and being then in much esteem, he was one of the Committee, appointed by the House of Commons January 20. 1651-2, to take into consideration what inconveniencies there were in the Common Law, and to reform them *(o)*. In 1658. he was chosen one of the Burgesses for Berwick upon Tweed, to serve in Protector Richard's parliament, which began at Westminster the

(a) This appears from his age at the time of his death, as mention'd below.

(b) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721. Vol. II. col. 846.

(c) This is the account given by himself, in the Preface to Part i. of his Historical Collections, p. 4, 9.

(d) Journals of the House of Commons, for 1640. p. 12.

(e) See the aforesaid Preface.

(f) Wood, ubi supra, col. 847.

(g) Parliamentary Hist. Vol. X. p. 484.

(h) See his own Collections, Part iii. p. 718. and Parliament. Hist. Vol. XI. p. 51.

(i) Hist. Collect. Part iii. Vol. IV. p. 603. and Parl. Hist. Vol. XI. p. 296.

(k) Parl. Hist. Vol. XII. p. 200. and Hist. Collect. Part iii. Vol. II. or Vol. IV. p. 177. edit. 1692.

(l) Wood, Ath. ut supra. and Dr Nalson's Impartial Collect. &c. in the Introduction, p. iv.

(m) Wood Ath. ut supra. & Fasti, Vol. II. col. 80.

(n) Wood Ath. ut supra.

(o) Whitelock's Memorials, edit. 1732. p. 520.

[*A*] *For these industrious services he was not only rewarded with presents, but also recommended for a place in the Excise*] This appears from these two articles in the Journals of the House of Commons. 'Wednes-'day, June 14. 1643. Ordered, That the mare and 'young horse, belonging to Mr Endimion Porter, 'lately brought up from Enfield to London, be forth-'with delivered to Mr John Rushworth, to be em-'ployed in the service of the parliament, in sending 'messages between this House and the Lord General, 'and the persons that seized them are hereby required 'forthwith to deliver them to the said Mr Rushworth. '——Tuesday, June 27. 1643. Resolved, That Mr 'John Rushworth shall be recommended to the Com-'mittee of this House for Excise, and to the Trea-'surers and Commissioners, to be employed in some 'office or place, suitable to his condition and the re-'commendation of this House, towards a recompence 'for the several services he hath done for the king-'dom.'

the 27th of January 1658-9 (*p*). He was again chosen for the same place, in the healing Parliament which met April the 25th 1660 (*q*). And in February 1659-60, was appointed one of the Clerks of the new Council of State. After the Restoration, he presented to King Charles II. several of the Privy Council's books [*B*], which he preserved from ruin during the late unhappy distractions; for which, however, he doth not appear to have received any other reward than Thanks (*r*). Sir Orlando Bridgman, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, appointed him his Secretary in September 1667, and continued him in that office as long as he kept the Seals: He had now again an opportunity of inriching himself, or at least of obtaining a comfortable subsistence; but, through his own carelessness or extravagance, he never became master of any considerable possessions. In 1678, he was a third time elected Burgess for Berwick, in the parliament which began March 6. 1678-9; as he was afterwards for that which met the 17th of October 1679; and for the ensuing one at Oxford: he being then, as always before, esteemed no great friend to the Church of England. After the dissolution of the Oxford-parliament, he lived in the utmost retirement and obscurity in the city of Westminster. At length being arrested for debt, he was committed to the King's-bench prison in Southwark, where he dragg'd on the last six years of his life, in a miserable condition; having greatly lost the use of his understanding and memory, and indulging himself too freely in strong liquors to keep up his spirits. At last death released him from his confinement and miseries, on the 12th of May 1690; he being then aged about eighty-three. Two days after, his body was buried in St George's church in Southwark. He had several daughters, virtuous women, of which one was married to Sir Francis Vane of the North (*s*). He published himself the two first Parts of his Historical Collections, in three volumes [*C*], and left the others in manuscript, which were printed after his decease [*D*]. He published also The Tryal of Thomas Earl of Strafford, &c. [*E*]. His Historical Collections have been highly extoll'd by some, and as much condemned by others [*F*], according as they were influenc'd by Interest or Party.

(*p*) Dr Br. Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria. Lond. 1750. Part ii. p. 191.

(*q*) List of that Parliament.

(*r*) Bishop Kennett's Register and Chronicle, p. 68, 176.

(*s*) Wood Ath. col. 848, 849.

[*B*] *After the Restoration, he presented to King Charles* II. *several of the Privy Council's books*, &c.] Upon that occasion the following entry was made in the Council-books. 'June 7. 1660. Upon reading 'the humble petition of *John Rushworth*, shewing, 'that he in the time of the late unhappy wars, did 'preserve from plunder, and got into custody, several 'of the Council-Books of his late Majesty of ever 'blessed memory, containing the Proceedings of the 'Privy Council, which he did now humbly present to 'his Majesty: It is this day ordered by his Majesty in 'Council, that the Clerk of the Council do in his 'Majesty's name return to the said Mr Rushworth, his 'Majesty's gracious Thanks for his great care and di'ligence in preserving and restoring the said Books for 'his Majesty's service.'

[*C*] *He published himself the two first Parts of his Historical Collections*, &c.] The first Part was published in 1659. folio, with a Dedication to Richard Cromwell, then Protector. The title of this first part was, 'Historical Collections of private Passages of State, 'Weighty Matters in Law, Remarkable Proceedings 'in Five Parliaments. Beginning the sixteenth year 'of King James, anno 1618. and ending the fifth year 'of King Charls, anno 1629. Digested in order of 'time.' In this first part he had the assistance of John Corbet (1); and also of some manuscripts of Bulstrode Whitelock, Esq; When it was finished, he presented the copy to Oliver Cromwell then Protector: but he having no leisure to peruse it, recommended it to Mr Whitelock; and he accordingly running it over more than once, made some alterations in, and additions to, it (2). It was reprinted, by stealth in 1675, and again in 1682. &c.——The Second Part, in two Volumes folio, appeared in 1680. 'Containing (as the 'title declares) the principal Matters which happened 'from the Dissolution of the Parliament on the 10th 'of March, 4 Car. 1. 1628-9. until the summoning of 'another Parliament, which met at Westminster, April '13. 1640. With an account of the Proceedings of 'that Parliament; and the Transactions and Affairs 'from that time, until the meeting of another Par'liament, November the 3d following. With some 'remarkable passages therein during the first six months. 'Impartially related and disposed in Annals. Setting 'forth only matter of fact in order of time, without 'observation or reflection.' At the end of the last Volume of this Second Part, is an Appendix of Star-Chamber Reports, for the years 1625, 1626, 1627, 1628, &c. and other matters.

(1) See Wood Ath. Vol. II. col. 675.

(2) Whitelock's Memorials, p. 666. and Wood Ath. Vol. II. col. 848.

[*D*] *And left the others in manuscript, which were printed after his decease.*] The Third Part, in two Volumes folio, extending from November 3. 1640, to the end of the year 1644, came out in 1692. And the Fourth and last part, likewise in two Volumes folio, extending from the beginning of the year 1645, to the death of King Charles I. in 1648, did not appear 'till 1701. All the *Seven* Volumes were reprinted uniformly together in 1721.——He intended to have carried on the work to April 1653, the time of the dissolution of the Long Parliament (3); but was prevented.

(3) See the end of the Preface to Vol. II.

[*E*] *He published also the Tryal of Thomas Earl of Strafford*, &c.] It was published in 1680. fol. and reprinted in 1721.

[*F*] *His Historical Collections have been highly extoll'd by some, and as much condemn'd by others.*] All that have writ on the Puritan or Presbyterian side, and with a settled aversion to King Charles I. and his whole measures, have highly extoll'd, nay almost idoliz'd them. Such as R. Coke (4), Monsieur Rapin (5), Oldmixon, &c. Others, on the contrary, who were favourers of King Charles I. and his cause, have represented them as extremely partial, and discredited them as much as possible. Nay Mr Rapin owns (6), 'it is certain that Rushworth's aim and design, in 'publishing his Collections, was to cry down the 'King's conduct, and favour the Parliament's cause.' But the person who professedly set himself to oppose them, and to ruin their credit, was *John Nalson*, L. L. D. He published, by King Charles the Second's special command, 'An Impartial Collection of the 'Great Affairs of State, from the beginning of the 'Scotch Rebellion in the year 1639. to the Murther 'of King Charles I. wherein the first Occasions, and 'the whole Series of the late Troubles in England, 'Scotland, and Ireland, are faithfully represented. 'Taken from authentick Records and methodically 'digested.' The title promised, that it should be brought down to the murder of King Charles I. But Dr Nalson liv'd only to put out two Volumes in folio, Lond. 1682. and 1683. which bring the History no lower than January 1641-2. He professeth, in that work, 'to make it appear, That Mr Rushworth hath 'concealed Truth, endeavoured to vindicate the pre'vailing Detractions of the late Times as well as their 'Barbarous Actions, and with a kind of rebound li'bel'd the Government at second hand (7).' Four capital Accusations he brings against Rushworth: viz. That he does not inform us where he had his *Stock*; and therefore we have only his own authority for what he relates: That he prints false and erroneous copies of some Papers: That, under colour of epitomizing others, he has not only obscured, but in many places quite corrupted and disguised the sense: That he seems so transported with Partiality to a party, that he has recorded

(4) Detection of the Court and State of England.

(5) Considerations, &c. prefix'd to the XXth book of his History; and throughout the reign of King Charles I.

(6) Considerations, &c. as above.

(7) Introd. p. v.

(8) Ibid. p. vi, &c.

recorded little but what relates to the Justification of those he favours and their proceedings; omitting what might serve to manifest the King's Innocence (8).

But those that have most closely sifted Mr Rushworth's Historical Collections, are the Authors of the Parliamentary History of England; whose Criticisms thereupon, having been at the pains of collecting together, we shall here lay before the Reader. And first they observe (9), that Rushworth says, (Vol. I. p. 21) 'Writs were issued forth to assemble the Parliament the 30th of January.' But it appears by the Journals, that this Parliament was summon'd to meet first on the 16th of January, from thence prorogu'd, by proclamation, to the 23d, and then again to the 30th. The Speech he hath inserted there, as the King's to the Parliament, is so different both in style and manner, as renders it justly suspected. The genuine one is in Frankland and Nalson ——He says, (p. 23, 24) that the Parliament 'petitioned the King for the due execution of the Laws against Jesuits, Seminary Priests, and Popish recusants:' of which there is not one word in the Journal of this Session (10).——He omits (p 33) this last clause in Sir Henry Yelverton's case, 'I know well that I suffer unjustly, in my restraint, for my offence, by his Lordship's means: For my heart tells me I was ever faithful to his Majesty; I sought no riches but his grace (11).'——And the following words in Lord-Keeper Williams's advice to soften the harshness of the King's Answer, (p. 52) 'For where were the Commons before Henry I. gave them authority to meet in parliament (12)?'——In p. 54, he hath only given a short abstract of the King's proclamation for dissolving the Parliament. 'A very great omission [add the authors of the Parliamentary History] in a Collector of such materials for a just History of those times (13).'——He hath much curtail'd and abridged, the King's Speech at the meeting of the Parliament Feb. 19. 1623, for what reason we know not: And the Narration of the Prince's transactions in Spain, (p. 115, 119) (14).——In him, (p. 136) the Archbishop's preamble, the parliament's declaration, and the King's answer to them, are widely different from those in the Lords Journals. The introductory speech, indeed, is pretty exact; but the Declaration, in him, is quite a different thing; being the Proposition which was made to the King, some days after this, on his answer to the Declaration. The King's Answer is likewise defective in many places; whole paragraphs being omitted, and others strangely mutilated. The Prince's Explanations of some passages in his Father's speech, were not made at the time when the King spoke it; but when the Attorney-general was ordered to read it again to the Lords. Otherwise, as it stands in Rushworth, it looks as if the King had placed the Prince and the Duke at his elbow, to explain his own meaning to the Committees (15).——In p. 146, these words are omitted in the Speaker's Speech, after—*enjoyed this Parliament*, 'and in particular for their freedom from arrests (16).'——He omits (p 178,) several lines near the end of the King's Speech (17). And gives but a very lame and imperfect account of the Proceedings of the first Parliament of King Charles I. (18).——In p. 180, he sets down—*Copies of Letters, and other papers*——instead of Copes, Altars, Chalices, &c. (19).———He omits (p. 186) almost the whole preamble to the Duke of Buckingham's Speech. 'But for what reason [add the authors of the Parliamentary-History] we know not, since we have not yet met with a more pathetical one through the whole course of these enquiries (20).' They observe further, that the Report is very incorrectly given in Rushworth; and many omissions made, 'not quite consistent with the credit or character of an exact collector, as any Reader may find who will take the trouble to compare both (21).'——In p. 249. after—*the said Count Palatine and his Children*, he omits these words,—'and for the restoring of the Electoral Dignity unto them.' And likewise (p. 253. l. 5.) after—*in his religion*—he omits these—'and put into the power of a foreign Prince.' There are several other omissions and errors in those articles.——In p. 357. in the King's Speech, instead of the words—*Speeches lately spoken*, it ought to be, 'Speeches spoken to you yesterday by way of digression.' And he hath miserably curtailed and mangled the Duke of Buckingham's pathetic Speech against the Commons, (in p. 358) (22).——In Sir Dudley Carleton's Speech (p. 360. l. 1.) after—*heads of it*—he omits this paragraph—'as I never heard the like in parliament before; but I have indeed heard the like when a criminal was indicted or accused at a bar.' And these words, at the conclusion of the same Speech. 'I move therefore for a grand committee to consider of the best remedy to get us out of this strait (23).'——Several of the Speeches of the managers of the house of Commons, in enforcing the charge against the Duke of Buckingham, are put down in his collections in a very different manner from what they are in the Lords Journals (24).——He hath omitted the Scedule of the gifts and grants to the Duke of Buckingham, or to his immediate use; and the Scedule at the end of the Duke's answer to his articles, (p. 356, 390.) (25).—— The Duke's Speech to the Lords house, before he gave in his answer, (p. 375.) is very incorrect, several words and passages being omitted.——He hath left out (p. 477) the beginning of the Lord Keeper's Speech; no less than fifteen lines (26).——The Speaker's Speech, and the Lord Keeper's answer (p. 482, 485) are extremely incorrect, imperfect, and mutilated (27).—— So are likewise the Debates at p. 499, &c. (28).—— In the Debates touching his Majesty's Propositions (p. 519, &c.) he hath omitted several of the Speeches (29).——He says (p. 525) that five Subsidies were resolved on, April 4; but they were not voted 'till several days after (30).——In Secretary Cook's message concerning Supply, (p. 538) and the King's reply to the Speaker's Speech, (p. 545) there are several omissions (31).——He hath given only the Speeches of two of the Judges, in the Debate about the Opinions of the Judges in the King's-bench, (p. 509) (32).——And hath omitted the Earl of Warwick's Speech, in the Committee on the liberty of the Subject (33).——He hath very much curtailed and altered Sir Benjamin Rudyard's Speech, (p. 551) (34).——Hath omitted Mr Hackwell's Speech (35).——A paragraph of 18 lines is omitted in Mr Secretary Cook's message, (p. 553) (36).——The Speaker's Speech; the King's Answer; (p. 555, &c.) and his Majesty's letter, (p. 560,) as also Mr Mason's Speech, (p. 564.) are full of faults, as he has printed them (37) ——The copy he has given of Rouse's charge against Dr Manwaring, (p. 585) is very imperfect and uncorrect (38).——In the account he gives (p. 606) of the Speaker's commanding the House not to proceed; he hath omitted the words within crotchets,—[*with tears in his eyes,*] There is a command, &c. In Volume III. of his Collections, (p. 1131) he hath omitted the King's Speech (39).——In pages 1144, &c. he gives a very loose and imperfect account of the proceedings of the Commons about Innovations (40):——Affirms (p. 1149) that a grand Conference of many extraordinary Subjects was held Apr. 29. but it does not appear so by either of the Journals (41).——He is very faulty in his Diurnal of this Session; setting down facts as done on one day which happened on another (42).——Vol. IV. of his Collections, (p. 238)——He hath omitted the following words, in the King's answer to the Petition about Recusants, after—*it shall be done according to law*—'therefore, in this, I shall not be unwilling to have your advice and assistance (43).'——He hath represented the Resolution of the Commons, Sept. 1. 1641, in a very different manner from what it is in the Journals (44).——And likewise the Reasons of both Houses for the continuance of a guard, (p 435.) (45). —— He has omitted, the proceedings against Judge Berkeley (46): the Declaration, which precedes the King's Answer to the Commons Petition and Remonstrance (47): the King's Answer to the Commons Remonstrance (48): the proceedings against the thirteen Bishops (49): the Commons Declaration for putting the kingdom into a posture of defence (50): the proceedings against Sir Edward Dering (51).

For the rest of Mr Rushworth's Errors and Omissions, pointed out by the Authors of the Parliamentary History, the Reader will be pleased to consult the subsequent Volumes of that History (52). In the preface to the IXth Volume, the Authors endeavour to excuse his Mistakes; and think, 'most of them seem to be owing rather to the Negligence and Ignorance of Transcribers, than to any partial intention of his own. Nevertheless, add they, in his Collections, almost all the proceedings of the house of Lords, in the Long Parliament, are omitted, except where they concurr'd with the prevailing party of the Commons.' Mr Rushworth professes great Impartiality, Faithfulness, and sufficient Knowledge and Information, in the Prefaces to his Collections; and gives Himself as an Instance, 'That it is possible for

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(9) Parl. Hist. Vol. V. p. 310, 312.
(10) P. 338.
(11) P. 438.
(12) P. 507.
(13) P. 516.
(14) Vol. VI. p. 4, 19.
(15) P. 103, 104.
(16) P. 337.
(17) P. 358.
(18) P. 373.
(19) P. 374.
(20) P. 387.
(21) P. 394.
(22) Parl. Hist. Vol. VII. p. 41, 42.
(23) P. 161, 162.
(24) P. 44.
(25) P. 140, 261, 264.
(26) P. 341.
(27) P. 347, 353.
(28) P. 361, &c.
(29) P. 397.
(30) P. 435.
(31) P. 437. See also p. 450.
(32) Parl. Hist. Vol. VIII. p. 2.
(33) P. 69.
(34) P. 81.
(35) P. 85.
(36) P. 96.
(37) P. 145, &c
(38) P. 151.
(39) P. 448.
(40) P. 450.
(41) P. 458.
(42) P. 459.
(43) Parl. Hist. Vol. IX. p. 241.
(44) P. 490.
(45) Parl. Hist. Vol. X. p. 52.
(46) P. 10.
(47) P. 101.
(48) P. 117.
(49) P. 142.
(50) P. 206.
(51) P. 458.
(52) Viz. Vol. XI. p. 429, 430, 431. Vol. XII. p. 96, 268. Vol. XIII. p. 263, 311. Vol. XIV. p. 320. Vol. XV. p. 466. Vol. XVII. p. 102, 348.

(53) See particularly Preface to his firſt Part.

' an ingenious man to be of a *Party*, and not *Partial* (53).' However, it is ſubmitted to the Reader's conſideration, Whether a man, who was employed as Clerk-aſſiſtant to the long Parliament; who was an indefatigable meſſenger in their Service, and rewarded for it; who ſubmitted his Collections to Oliver Cromwell's peruſal and correction; and dedicated them to his Son, could be thoroughly impartial. Was not a man, in thoſe circumſtances, under ſome bias at leaſt to diſguiſe or conceal, and could it be expected that he ſhould do King Charles and the Royaliſts juſtice in every reſpect, eſpecially in his Firſt Part? The Value of his Collections ariſes, from their having preſerved together ſeveral detached pieces, which otherwiſe would have been loſt, or grown extremely ſcarce, and from being the fulleſt during the period they treat of. But they are far from being compleat: For a very uſeful Appendix might be added to them, from the Papers printed at the time by one John Wright in the Old Bailey, and many others which eſcaped his notice and reſearches. C

RUSSELL [Lord WILLIAM], a gentleman of noble birth, and memorable fame, in the Engliſh annals, as the head of that party which aſſerted Revolution principles, in the reign of King Charles II. He was deſcended from the ancient and illuſtrious family of his name, being the third ſon (*a*) of William the fifth, Earl, and firſt Duke of Bedford, by his Lady Anne, daughter to Robert Carre, Earl of Somerſet [*A*]. He was born probably about the time of the breaking out of the Civil War in 1641 (*b*). In which, as his father ſided with the parliament (*c*), ſo he took care to breed up his children in the ſame principles (*d*). However, Lord William being in the full verdure of his manly youth at the Reſtoration of King Charles the Second, gave freely into the gaieties of that voluptuous Court for a while; but quitting thoſe irregularities in a few years (*e*), he entered, in 1667 (*f*), into a marriage with Rachel, ſecond daughter and coheir of Thomas Wriotheſley, Earl of Southampton, and widow of Francis Lord Vaughan, eldeſt ſon of Richard Earl of Carberry; and turning his thoughts to buſineſs, he obtained a ſeat in the Houſe of Commons before the diſſolution of the ſecond Parliament [*B*], and continued a member

(*a*) Memoirs of the family. Collins, in the Peerage of England, Vol. I. under Ruſſell, gives him the 2d place, omitting his elder brother John, who died in his infancy.

(*b*) His father was married in 1637. See a Letter to Lord Strafford from Mr Garrard, in Strafford's State Papers, &c. dated July 24, 1637, beginning thus: 'My Lord Ruſſell is now at length married.'

(*c*) He was General of the Horſe under the Earl of Eſſex. See ſome account of him, together with his character, in Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. I. fol. (*d*) Burnet, in the Hiſtory of his own Time, Vol I. fol. expreſſes it thus: That his Lordſhip was inclined, *from his firſt education*, to favour the Nonconformiſts. (*e*) Id ibid. where that writer declares, that after this his life was unblemiſhed in all reſpects. (*f*) At his trial in 1683, Dr Fitz-Williams gave in evidence, that he had known his Lordſhip fourteen years from the time he was married to his preſent lady, the doctor being then Chaplain to her father. Lord Ruſſell's trial, in State Trials, Vol. II. fol.

[*A*] *By Anne, daughter to Robert Carre, Earl of Somerſet.*] As the negotiations for this match were very long, made a great noiſe at Court at the time, and the King himſelf had a ſhare therein, we ſhall mention ſome particulars relating to it, from ſome letters to the Lord Wentworth, (afterwards Earl of Strafford) then Lord-Deputy of Ireland. In the firſt of theſe, dated April 5. 1636, Mr Samuel Garrard, the writer, informs his Lordſhip, among other news, that the King had lately ſent the Duke of Lenox to my Lord Bedford, to move him to give way to the marriage between my Lord Ruſſell, and Lady Anne Carre, daughter to the Earl of Somerſet, which he would take well at his hands. 'The love between them, continues 'Mr Garard, hath been long taken notice of, though 'diſcreetly and cloſely carried, for his father gave him, 'as I take it, leave and liberty to chuſe in any family 'but in that. But marriages are made in heaven (1).' Notwithſtanding the Royal interceſſion, the old Earl's conſent was not obtained 'till almoſt a year after, as appears from another letter, dated March 23. in the cloſe of the year. The ſame correſpondent, ſpeaking of the ſame ſubject, writes thus. 'The 'marriage will now ſhortly, at Eaſter, be ſolemnized. '—A moſt fine Lady.—My Lord of Bedford loves 'money a little too much, which, together with my 'Lord of Somerſet's unexpected poverty, hath been 'the cauſe of this long treaty, not any diminution of 'the young parties affection, who are all in a flame in 'love: my Lord of Somerſet told the Lord Chamberlain, who hath been a great moderator in this 'buſineſs, before his daughter, though one of them 'muſt be undone if that marriage went on, he choſe 'rather to undo himſelf, than to make her unhappy; 'and he hath kept his word. For he hath ſold all he 'can make money of, even his houſe which he lives 'in at Chiſwick, with all his plate, jewels, and houſehold-ſtuff, to raiſe a portion of 12000l. which my 'Lord of Bedford is now content to accept. This Lord '[Somerſet] pretends, that he lent my Lord Goring '3000l. when he was in the Tower, and being now 'in ſome ſtraits about raiſing the portion, he hath ſent 'to the Lord Goring, and demanded it of him; he 'denies it lent, for he ſays it was given for real ſervices then done him, which the Duke of Bucks could 'witneſs, were he living. This hath made a great 'noiſe, and much ſiding in the buſineſs. My Lord 'Chamberlain, moſt fierce to carry it for Somerſet, 'being one night at Saliſbury-houſe, fell into diſcourſe 'about this 3000l. ſaying, that it was due to my Lord 'of Somerſet; and that Somerſet would aſk leave of 'the King to ſue my Lord Goring, and that he would 'recover it for ſomewhat that he knew. This he 'ſpeaking with much vehemence, my Lord Powis being by, ſpoke to moderate him, eſpecially ſince it 'concerned my Lord Goring, who had always been 'his true and faithful friend: he replied, he loved my 'Lord Goring well, but he loved a truth better, for 'one ſervice my Lord Goring had done him, he had 'requited him with twenty. Powis ſaid, that he did 'believe further, that my Lord Goring was not able 'ſuddenly, if it were due, to pay ſuch a ſum; and 'aſked him, whether he would make himſelf a *Sollicitor* to gather in Somerſet's debts? That word, *Sollicitor*, heated his Lordſhip, he fell then into higher 'paſſion, and ſwore deeply, G—d d—n me, I have 'ſeen a letter under my Lord Goring's hand, where 'he confeſſeth the debt, and it muſt be a great curteſie, muſt deſerve 3000l. It was a gift for a Prince 'to give, not for a ſubject. Let my Lord Goring 'ſhew, wherein he did ever my Lord Somerſet a curteſie worth 300l and he ſhall quit his 3000l. for 'which he hath his letter to ſhew. My Lady Saliſbury ſaying then, *If* he had ſuch a letter to ſhew, 'let him ſhew it, and the buſineſs was at an end. 'That *if*, my Lord Chamberlain took worſe from 'her, than any thing ſpoken before. Would ſhe *if*, 'when he had ſworn he had ſeen it? Still ſhe repeated '*if*, and ſhe thought ſhe might ſay *if*, to the King, 'much more to him. She further told him, that in 'all diſputes, he muſt have his own way, but he ſhould 'not have it of her; he ſhould not ſilence her in her 'own houſe, ſhe would ſpeak. So ſhe roſe up, and 'went from him and the company into her chamber. 'But it muſt not reſt ſo: my Lady Vaux, and my 'Lady Powys, undertook his Lordſhip, and he being 'of an excellent good diſpoſition, they brought him 'to a better temper, and to more reaſon; which effected, in they go to my Lady Saliſbury's chamber, 'who now was the angrier of the two. There they 'made them friends. Powys made them kiſs. *Sic 'finita, eſt fabula* (2).'

(1) Strafford's State Papers, by Knowler, Vol. II. p. 2.

(2) Ibid. p. 57, 58.

[*B*] *He was in the houſe of Commons before the diſſolution of the ſecond Parliament of King Charles II.*] This is advanced upon the credit of the printed Journals of that houſe, where Lord Ruſſell appears in a committee on the 24th of October, 1678, appointed for hindering Papiſts to ſit in either houſe of Parliament;

member in the three subsequent ones of this reign. He presently distinguished himself in that station; and, as his noble birth, added to his eminent worth and abilities, gave him great weight among the Whigs * [C], to which party he always adhered: so when the Privy Council was new-modelled in April 1679, to please that party, he was taken into it, Lord Shaftesbury being then made President (g). The Duke of York was also sent out of the kingdom with the same view; but his Majesty, on the 28th of January, having declared to that Board, that he would send for that Duke to Court, not finding any good effects from his absence, Lord Russell petitioned to be discharged from his new post, which was complied with on the thirty-first of that month (h). After this, he went in a public manner, attended by some of his party, to Westminster-hall, and, at the King's-Bench there, presented the Duke of York as a Popish recusant. He appeared in Parliament, at the head of the most active of those who promoted the Bill of Exclusion, for disabling the Duke to inherit the Crown, and engaged with particular zeal in all the steps that were taken in the two Parliaments which met in 1680, to bring his Majesty under a necessity of submitting to pass that bill †. This occasioned the dissolution of those Parliaments [D]. After which, no new one being called, his Lordship proceeded to enter into other measures for compassing the same design, and carried them to such a length as was then judged treasonable; and being legally tried and convicted [E], he was condemned

* The nick-names of Whig and Tory prevailed especially in this reign.

(g) Sir William Temple's Memoirs, under this year.

(h) Salmon's Chron. Hist. under this year.

† See the general Histories of England.

Parliament; and this Parliament, which began May 8. 1661, was not dissolved 'till Jan. 25. 1678 (3). 'Tis not the method of these Journals, to mention the place represented by the members; perhaps his Lordship might be chosen for the county of Bedford, upon the death of one of their representatives, during that long Parliament. Which may be the reason that no notice is taken of it by Browne Willis, Esq; in whose list we find his Lordship inserted, with Sir Humphry Monnox, as elected for the county, in the three succeeding Parliaments of this reign (4).

(3) Journals of the House of Commons, Vol. IX. fol. edition.

(4) Notitia Parliamentaria, Vol. I.

[C] *He had great weight among the Whigs*] This is taken notice of in the General Histories of England; but there are two letters in confirmation of it, which claim a particular regard. They were sent from Mr Richard Montague, the English Ambassador at Paris, to the Lord Danby, then Lord-Treasurer, and read in the House of Commons, during the debates about the impeachment and trial of that nobleman. The first is dated January 11. 1677-8, wherein the Ambassador communicates the following intelligence to his Lordship. 'The reason of Ruvigny's son's going into England. He is to make use of all the lights his father will give him, and by the near relation he hath to my Lady Vaughan, who is his cousin (5), and the particular friendship which father and son have with Mr William Russell, he is to be introduced into a great commerce with the male-content members of Parliament, and to cross your measures at Court, if they shall prove disagreeable here. While Barillon goes on in his smooth subtle way (6).' In the second letter, dispatched the ensuing week, and dated January 18. 1677-8, the Ambassader writes further. 'The reason of Ruvigny's journey, is to let the King know, that the King of France did hope he was so firm to him, as not to be led away by the Lord-Treasurer; and as for money, if he wanted it, he should have what he would from hence. His instructions are, if this design takes, by the means of Will. Russell, and other discontented people, to give a great deal of money, and cross all your measures at Court.' We see here Lord Russell remarkably pointed at by the Court of France, as a principal leading man among those that opposed the Court in Parliament, at, and before the time of penning these letters; which serves likewise to confirm what is advanced in the preceding remark, that he was a member in this, that is, the second Parliament of King Charles II. We need not observe, that the project here intimated, of gaining him over to the French interest, by bribery, shews their ignorance of the man and his inflexible probity, and could only be formed upon the general presumption of the never-failing force of that engine, when skilfully applied, to which however Lord Russell was utterly impregnable.

(5) Lady Russell, in a letter to Dr Tillotson, dated Octob. 1685, mentions the small-pox having proved fatal to a cousin of her's, a niece of her cousin german, Monf. Ruvigny. He was afterwards Earl of Galway, and General of the English forces in Spain. Birch's Life of Tillotson, p. 122. edit. 1753, 8vo.

(6) Barillon, Ambassador from France, arrived in England Aug. 19, 1677. Salmon's Chron. Hist. under that year.

[D] *This occasioned the dissolution of those Parliaments.*] When the bill of exclusion first passed the house of Commons, Lord Russell was pitched upon to carry it up, as he did on the 15th of November, 1680, to the house of Lords, at the head of the greatest part of the Commons; and when the bill was rejected by the Lords, he was so much exasperated, as to declare, That if ever there should happen in this nation, any such change, as that he should not have liberty to live a Protestant, he was resolved to die one, and therefore would not willingly have the hands of their enemies strengthened. He also desired the Lords not to destroy themselves by their own hands; and if the Commons might not be so happy as to better the condition of the nation, he prayed the Lords would not make it worse, by giving money to the King, while they were sure it must go to the hands of the Duke's creatures. Agreeably to this speech, it was proposed in the house of Commons, on the 15th of December (7), to bring in a bill for making any illegal exaction of money from the people, high treason (8). On the 7th of January, it was also resolved there, that until a bill be passed for excluding the Duke of York, they could not give any supply, without danger to his Majesty, and extreme hazard of the Protestant religion. They also resolved, that whoever should lend the King any money upon any branch of his revenue, or buy any tally of anticipation, should be judged a hinderer of the sitting of Parliaments, and be responsible for the same in Parliament. And on the 10th, having notice that the King would prorogue them, they came early to the House, and resolved, (1) That whoever advised his Majesty to prorogue the Parliament, was a betrayer of the King, and kingdom, and the Protestant religion. (2) That the penal acts against recusants, ought not to be extended to Protestant Dissenters. (3) That prosecuting the Dissenters upon the penal laws, at this time, was grievous to the subject, a weakening of the Protestant interest, and dangerous to the peace of the kingdom. After which, the King sent for them up to the house of Peers, and the Parliament was prorogued to the 20th instant, but was dissolved on the 18th, and a proclamation issued for calling another, to meet on the 21st of March, at Oxford (9); where the bill of exclusion being again read in the house of Commons, on the 28th, and a second reading ordered. This Parliament was likewise dissolved the same day, and on the 8th of April, ensuing, anno 1681, his Majesty published a declaration, with his reasons for dissolving the two last Parliaments. Among which were their resolves against any person that should lend him money, or buy any tally of anticipation, thereby endeavouring to reduce him to a more helpless condition than the meanest of his subjects; and their taking upon them to suspend the laws and acts of parliament, by voting against the prosecution of Dissenters. This declaration was ordered to be read in all churches and chapels, throughout the kingdom (10).

(7) 'Tis something remarkable, that the Prince of Hanover, afterwards King George I. arrived in England on the 29th. Salmon's Chron. Hist. under this year, 1680.

(8) They voted, on the thirtieth, that no member should accept any place without the leave of the House, which was a precedent for passing the act as it now stands, whereby their seat in the House is forfeited, by the acceptance of several places under the Crown, but without infringing the privileges of the people, to re-elect them if they think proper.

(9) About the end of the month of January, the Duke of Monmouth, the Earls of Bedford, Essex, &c. to the number of 15 or 16 noblemen, petitioned the King against the Parliament's meeting at Oxford. Rapin.

(10) See the Declaration.

[E] *Being legally tried and convicted.*] The reader will observe, that in these words it is not intended to vindicate the measures taken by the Court, in order to obtain his Lordship's condemnation. Our meaning is only this, which indeed is the whole just import of the words; that his trial and conviction was according to the usual forms, and rules and maxims of law. That is, the jury was legally impannelled, and unexceptionable in law; the witnesses such, as are deemed legal; and the facts sworn to by them, amounted to treason in the law; and lastly, the verdict, whereby he was brought in guilty of the indictment, was legal. Notwithstanding all this, 'tis not denied that the jury consisted of such persons, picked out by the sheriffs, as were

condemned and executed in July 1683 (*i*). But his opinion concerning the doctrine of Resistance being espoused at the Revolution, he was then deemed a martyr for that cause, an act passed to reverse his attainder, and a committee appointed by the House of Lords on the second of November, 1689, to consider who were the advisers and promoters of the murther (so they call it) of his Lordship (*k*) [*F*]. While he lay under sentence

(*k*) See the Journals of that House.

(*i*) He was tried at the Old Bailey on the 13th of July, and being condemned was sent to Newgate, whence he was brought in a coach to a scaffold, erected for the purpose in Lincoln's-Inn-fields, and beheaded there on Saturday the 21st of that month.

were inclined to favour the Court, and for the purpose; and that the principal witnesses, with regard to the most material facts, might be forsworn, as his Lordship solemnly declared they were. His Lordship's chaplain, indeed, Mr Samuel Johnson, is very hot, according to his nature, in maintaining the illegality of this trial. *His manner of delivering himself, on the occasion*, is highly mettled, and not unentertaining. He was prompted to it by a pamphlet published after the Revolution, intituled, *The Magistracy and Government of England vindicated* (11). ' Wherein, ' says he, the murdering of the greatest Englishman ' we had, for endeavouring to save his country, is still ' avowed. If these men, continues he, had the trying of causes once more, no doubt we should have ' our late deliverance arraigned for an invasion, and ' every brave Englishman, who joined with that unexpected helping-hand from the clouds, indicted, ' and condemned for a traytor. I shall only say in ' general, that that *Vindication* wants another, as much ' as the magistracy and government which it pretends ' to vindicate; for there is not one material word of ' it true. For instance, a consult to levy war, is not ' an overt act of compassing the death of the King, be- ' cause the actual levying of war, is often done with- ' out any such tendency, as I could instance, over and ' over again, in former times. But I love to quote ' what is fresh in memory. My Lord Delamere (whom ' I mention out of honour to him) did very lately levy ' war; and when he had the late King in his power ' at Whitehall, was so far from compassing his death, ' that he only delivered him a message to remove in ' peace. And seeing that illegal trial is still justified, ' I must needs add this. That if there had been law ' enough left, to have tried a felon in the county of ' London and Middlesex, that great man had never ' been brought upon his trial. But because the parties ' concerned, desire to answer it only in Parliament. ' I only desire that they may be put to make out, how ' known unlawful sheriffs *de facto*, obtruded upon the ' city of London, against their own lawful choice, on ' purpose to be instruments of destroying the lives, li- ' berties, and estates, of the best subjects, could be at ' the same time lawful sheriffs *de jure*: and on the ' other hand, it is easy to make it good, that the va- ' lidity of *that* trial and proceedings, depending upon ' the legality of the Sheriffs and Jury, that pretended ' court was of no authority, and was such another low ' court of justice, as the black-guard are able to make ' among themselves every day. Perhaps they may ' plead ignorance of so notorious a matter, and that ' they could take no cognizance of it, because it did ' not come judicially before them, but that cannot be ' said; for the nullity of those very sheriffs was, be- ' fore that, brought in that very place, in a special ' plea, and over-ruled (12).' Thus, in reverence to the memory of his truly worthy patron, does this choleric writer lay boisterously about him; whose last argument, however, sufficiently confirms the formal judicial legality of these sheriffs, which is all that is intended at present. How far the constitution was infringed, by too great a stretch of the prerogative in their appointment, is the subject of the next remark. However, we must not omit taking notice of another answer to the same piece, *The Magistracy, &c.* by Sir John Hawles, Sollicitor-General to King William, especially as it will serve to confirm what has been observed in Sir Walter Ralegh's article, concerning the irregularity of his trial; which is cited as a precedent to justify this of Lord Russell. The Sollicitor General, in his reply, having observed, that the accusations of Sir Walter did not amount to a legal proof, proceeds thus; ' Not to mention all that might be excepted to, in the trial of the case cited. I would know by what law is the deposition of a person, meaning my Lord Cobham, who might be brought face to face to the prisoner, read as evidence. Would know by what law it is forbidden, that the accuser should be brought face to face, to the accused? I would know by what law Brooke's deposition of what Lord Cobham told him of Ralegh, was evidence against Ralegh? I would know by what law the story Dyer told, of what an unknown man said to him at Lisbon of Don Ralegh, was evidence against Ralegh? I would know by what statute the statutes of the 25th of Edward III. and the 5th Edward VI. are repealed. This trial was so very irregular throughout, that I would willingly believe it was not so, as it is related. But if it were so, I am sure none can defend it; and even for that reason, if any such resolution was in the case, as is cited, I am sure it ought to carry no credit with it; and there is no reason to believe there was any such resolution, there being no occasion for it, the question being only fact, which Sir Walter denied. The circumstances of his trial, in which the court always over-ruled the prisoner, were somewhat like the Lord Russell's: he complained of the ill usage of the King's-Counsel, as well as the Lord Russell, and both had reason so to do. Hearsay was admitted to be given in evidence against both. All that either of them said for themselves, though very material, was slighted. The one was put in mind, at his trial, of the death of the Earl of Essex, as the other was of the death of the Viscount Stafford: both, in their dying speeches, vindicated themselves from those aspersions. The principal witnesses, in both cases, had, before the trials, affirmed they knew nothing against them. They were both accused of having heard what other persons had said, in their company, and had not discovered it; they both gave the same answer, that they could not help other mens talk. I think it is plain, at this day, that of Sir Walter's is thought a sham plot; what the Lord Russell's is thought, let the author say.'

(11) This pamphlet was printed in 1689, in two half sheets in fol.

(12) Sam. Johnson's Works, p. 240. edit. 1710, fol.

[*F*] *A committee to consider who were the advisers of the murther of his Lordship.*] We see here Mr Johnson was not without good authority, for the use of the word *murther*, on this occasion. This committe were also to consider who were the advisers of issuing out writs of *Quo Warranto*, against corporations, and who were their regulators *; implying, that all these were arbitrary proceedings, and unjustifiable. However, surely *murder* was somewhat too harsh a term for these executions, at least not well suited to the gravity of a supreme Senate. It is, indeed, generally urged, in defence of such methods, that the circumstances of the times require and authorize them. Accordingly, we may observe, that statesmen in recovering and restoring the constitution of governments, when disordered by any violences, to their true frame, generally follow that rule and maxim of husbandry, which teaches to bend a warped tree as much the contrary way, in order to reduce it to a just rectitude. But how necessary soever it might be for the time, to stigmatize the execution of Lord Russell, with the brand of murder; yet such language, upon a cooler reflection, at this distance, is seen to be intemperate. Since it is well known to have been the most received opinion, and espoused in general, both by very great and very good men, that there were no such infringments upon the constitution before Lord Russell's death, as even could be sufficient grounds for those measures of resistance which were avowed, and not denied to have been put in practice by him. This, I say, was then the received opinion among great and good men, however they might change it afterwards, as was the case particularly of Dr Burnet, and Dr Tillotson. After all, it is far from our intention, by any thing that has been said, either in this, or the preceding remark, to derogate in the least from the just reputation of Lord Russell, whose firmness in refusing the only means to purchase his life, from an exasperated Court, by the least retractation of an opinion, of which his conscience was thoroughly persuaded, is undeniably the strongest proof of that integrity and virtue, which gave him so much weight and influence in his own

* Journals of the House of Lords.

tence of death, he made application several ways to obtain his pardon, and even addressed a letter to the Duke of York to that purpose [G]. And, when every attempt of this kind was rejected, as he had before constantly charged his prosecution to the malice of his enemies, so he then wrote a letter to the King, involving his Majesty in the same censure [H]. He also delivered a paper to the Sheriffs upon the scaffold, wherein he declared, he had and did believe, that *Popery was breaking in upon the nation, and that those who advanced it would*

time, and which have endeared his memory to ours. Upon this account, every particular which serves to illustrate that firmness, is highly worth preserving in the present memoir: we shall therefore insert the following extract from Dr Burnet's Journal. This divine then tells us, that being sent for by his Lordship, on Monday July 16. 1683, he thought by the ground which he had gained, in discoursing on the subject of Resistance, it would be easy to persuade his Lordship, that it was absolutely unlawful; though indeed his Lordship went no further at first, than he did at last. However, the Doctor thinking that step which his Lordship had made, gave further hopes, told the Dean [Tillotson] that he believed his Lordship was convinced of that point. Lord Russell persisting in his former opinion, notwithstanding the endeavours of the Dean and Doctor to alter it, added to the speech he was composing, the following passage, not now extant, in the printed copy, *For my part I cannot deny, but I have been of opinion, that a free nation, like this, might defend their religion and liberties, when invaded and taken from them, though under pretence and colour of law. But some eminent and worthy divines, who have had the charity to be often with me, and whom I value and esteem to a very great degree, have offered me weighty reasons to persuade me, that faith and patience are the proper ways for the preservation of religion; and the method of the gospel is to suffer persecution, rather than to use resistance. But if I have sinned in this, I hope God will not lay it to my charge, since he knows it was only a sin of ignorance.* This being read to the Dean, on Friday morning July the 20th, he was sorry to find it so defective; but not having then leisure to speak to Lord Russell of it, he returned in the afternoon, and pressed his Lordship to deliver himself more fully in that matter, and gave him a paper concerning it; and as he came out, meeting Dr Burnet, desired him to urge the point home to his Lordship, and either to carry him farther, or strike out the whole paragraph above-cited, since the conclusion of it was so cold; and wished that the first part of it might be quite left out. The Doctor, accordingly, discoursing Lord Russell again upon the affair, his Lordship answered, that he could not say a lye, and he was sure the Doctor would not desire it, and he was sure if he went further, he must needs lye. He said, that he had not leisure now to study politics: that the notion which he had of the laws, and of the English government, was different from that of the two Divines; yet he said, so far did he submit to them, and to the reasons which they had offered him, that he was willing to go so far as he had done, but he could not go farther without being disingenuous. And when at last the Doctor proposed the suppressing of the whole paragraph, he was very well satisfied; and said, that his chief reason for putting it in, was to prevent any inconveniency that might arise to them. So it was struck out. But he said often, that whatever his opinion might be, in cases of extremity, he was against these ways; and ever thought a parliamentary cure was the proper remedy for all the distempers of the nation; and said, that he and a few more, (I think he said half a dozen, or half a score,) had taken much pains to moderate people's heats, for three years together, and had ever persuaded their friends to be quiet, and wait for a parliament (13).

(13) Birch's Life of Tillotson, p. 108—110.

[G] *He wrote a letter to the Duke of York.*] It was delivered by his Lady to the Duchess of York, being drawn up in these terms.

'May it please your Highness,

'The opposition I have appeared in to your Highness's interest, has been such, as I have scarce the confidence to be a petitioner to you, though in order to the saving of my life. Sir, God knows what I did, did not proceed from any personal ill-will, or animosity to your Royal Highness; but merely because I was of opinion, that it was the best way for preserving the religion established by law: in which, if I was mistaken, yet I acted sincerely, without any ill end in it. And as for any base design against your person, I hope your Royal Highness will be so just to me, as not to think me capable of so vile a thought. But I am now resolved, and do faithfully engage myself, that if it shall please the King to pardon me, and if your Royal Highness will interpose in it, I will in no sort meddle any more, in the least opposition to your Royal Highness; but will be readily determined to live in any part of the world, which his Majesty shall prescribe, and will never fail in my daily prayers, both for his Majesty's preservation and honour, and your Royal Highness's happiness; and will wholly withdraw myself from the affairs of England, unless called by his Majesty's orders to serve him, which I shall never be wanting to do to the uttermost of my power. And if your Royal Highness will be so gracious to me, as to move on my account, as it will be an engagement upon me, beyond what I can in reason expect, so it will make the deepest impressions on me possible; for no fear of death can work so much with me, as so great an obligation will for ever do upon,

'May it please your Royal Highness,

'your Royal Highness's most humble,

'and most obedient servant,

'W. RUSSELL (14).'

Newgate, 16. July, 1683.

(14) This letter was written at the earnest sollicitation of his lady; and as he was folding it up, having shewn it to Dr Burnet, he said to him, This will be printed, and will be selling about the streets, as my submission, when I am led out to be hanged. Burnet's Journal.

[H] *He wrote a letter to the King, involving his Majesty in the same censure.*] This appears from the account given of the letter in Burnet's Journal, where that writer relates, that being with his Lordship, on Wednesday July 18. upon some discourse after dinner, about his writing to the King, he chearfully resolved on it. For though he always said, he never did any thing that he thought contrary to his interest, yet many railleries and other indecent things, had passed, for which he prayed God to forgive him, and he resolved to ask the King's pardon. And he said, he thought he must likewise let the King know, that he also forgave him; and he himself hit on that expression [*of all concerned in his death, from the highest to the lowest*]. Accordingly, on Thursday he wrote the letter, to be delivered after his death (15), which is as follows.

(15) It was delivered by his uncle, John Russell, then Colonel of the first regiment of foot-guards. He had been a Colonel for King Charles I. in the Civil Wars. Collins's Peerage of England, as before.

'May it please your Majesty,

'Since this is not to be delivered 'till after my death, I hope your Majesty will forgive the presumption of an attainted man's writing to you. My chief business is humbly to ask your pardon, for any thing that I have either said, or done, that might look like want of respect to your Majesty, or duty to your government. In which, though I do to the last moment, acquit myself of all designs against your person, or of altering of the government, and protest I know of no design, now on foot, against either; yet I do not deny but I have heard many things, and said some things contrary to my duty; for which, as I have asked God's pardon, so I humbly beg your Majesty's. And I take the liberty to add, that though I have met with hard measure, yet *I forgive all concerned in it, from the highest to the lowest*; and I pray God to bless both your person and government, and that the public peace, and the true Protestant religion may be preserved under you. And I crave leave to end my days with this sincere protestation, that my heart was ever devoted to that which I thought was your true interest; in which, if I was mistaken, I hope your displeasure against me

would stick at nothing to carry their designs [*I*]. Though tender in his nature, he met death

'me will end with my life, and that no part of it shall 'fall on my wife and children; which is the last pe'tition will ever be offered you from,

'May it please your Majesty,

'your Majesty's most faithful,

'most dutiful,

'and most obedient subject †,

'W. RUSSELL.

Newgate, July 19. 1683.

† These words, though on so particularly solemn an occasion, are evidently used in no other sense, than what is always understood by them at the bottom of an ordinary letter.

[*I*] *That those who advanced Popery, would stick at nothing to carry on their designs.*] As these words evidently point at the King and his brother, so the speech being printed made a great noise at Court, and Dean Tillotson and Dr Burnet being the two Divines who, at his own request, had attended him during the whole interval, from his condemnation to his execution; they were both examined before the Cabinet-Council the next day, where were present, the King, the Duke of York, the Lord-Keeper North, the Duke of Ormond, the Lord Hallifax, the Lord Rochester, and Sir Leoline Jenkins. The King asked the Dean whether he had any hand in the paper, which was published in Lord Russell's name? to which he answering that he had not, his Majesty was satisfied (16). Apparently, on account of the Dean's letter, given to his Lordship the day before his execution, in defence of the doctrine of Passive Obedience, a copy of which had come into the King's hands (17). In reality, the suspicion fell chiefly upon Dr Burnet, as he had foreseen, and thereupon had drawn up an account in writing, of all that passed between him and his Lordship, concerning it. He delivered this Vindication of himself to the Council, and afterwards easily obtained of Lady Russell to write a letter to his Majesty, assuring him, that her husband was the real author of that paper delivered to the Sheriff. As this letter is an illustrious proof of the extraordinary talents of that Lady, who was so much beloved by Lord Russell, the reader has a right to expect it here, as follows.

(16) Journal of the House of Lords, under the year 1689.

(17) See Tillotson's article.

'May it please your Majesty,

'I find my husband's enemies are not appeased with 'his blood, but still continue to misrepresent him 'to your Majesty. 'Tis a great addition to my sor'rows, to hear your Majesty is prevailed upon to be'lieve, that the paper he delivered to the Sheriff at 'his death, was not his own. I can truly say, and 'am ready in the solemnest manner to attest, that [du'ring his imprisonment *] I often heard him dis'course the chiefest matters contained in that paper, 'in the same expressions he therein uses, as some of those 'few relations that were admitted to him, can like'wise averr. And sure 'tis an argument of no great 'force, that ther is a phrase or two in it another uses, 'when nothing is more common than to take up such 'words as we like, or are accustomed to in our conver'sation. I beg leave, further to avow to your Ma'jesty, that al that is set downe, in the paper read to 'your Majesty on Sunday night, to be spoken in my 'presence, is exactly true (18); as I doubt not but 'the rest of the paper is, which was written at my re'quest; and the author of it in al his conversation 'with my husband, that I was privy to, shewed him'selfe a loyal subject to your Majesty, a faithful frind 'to him, and a most tender and conscientious Minister 'to his soule. I do therefore humbly beg your Ma'jesty would be so charitable to beleve, that he who 'in al his life was observed to act with the greatest 'clearnesse and sincerity, would not at the point of 'death doe so disingenious and false a thing, as to de'liver for his own what was not properly and expresly 'so. And if after the losse in such a manner of the 'best husband in the world, I were capable of any 'consolation, your Majesty only could afford it, by 'having better thoughts of him; which, when I was 'so importunat to speak with your Majesty, I thought 'I had som reason to beleve I should have inclined 'you to, not upon the credit of my word, but through 'the evidence of what I had to say. I hope I have 'writ nothing in this that wil displease your Majesty, 'if I have, I humbly beg you to consider it as coming 'from a woman amazed with grief, and that you wil 'pardon the daughter of a person, who served your 'Majesty's father in his greatest extremityes [and your 'Majesty in your greatest posts *] and one that is not 'conscious of having ever done any thing to offend 'you [before *]. I shal ever pray for your Majesty's 'long life and happy reign,

* These words included in the brackets are crossed out.

(18) It was wrote at Lady Russell's request, and contained an account of all that passed between the doctor and his Lordship, concerning his last speech and paper. It is called the Journal, in the History of his own Time, Vol. I. p. 562. and is printed in the General Dictionary, and again the greatest part in Tillotson's Life by Birch.

* These words are likewise crossed out.

* This word was also crossed out.

'Who am,

'with al humility,

'may it please your Majesty, &c.'

It appears from Dr Burnet's account, that his Lordship took extraordinary pains in penning this paper, delivered to the Sheriffs; and employed upon it the greatest part of the time, during his imprisonment, both before and after his condemnation; which as he had always looked for, not doubting, but the Sheriff would take care to return such a Jury as was resolved to condemn him, if the King's Counsel should bid them, so he had been forming in his mind what was fit for him to do in this matter (19). Mr Johnson has observed, that he was at this time practised upon, to bequeath a legacy of slavery to the nation, by acknowledging the doctrine of Passive Obedience; and 'tis evident, that in this paper, his intention was, to leave the nation a legacy of Liberty, by finally avowing the contrary doctrine of Resistance. Accordingly, care was taken to provide the public with several answers to it, which were printed with the following titles. (1) *Animadversions upon a paper, intituled, The Speech of the late Lord Russell*; consisting of two half sheets in folio. Wherein the author observes, that one motive for his Lordship's drawing up this speech, being to clear his conduct at his trial; where, in pursuance to the direction of his counsel, he had not declared the whole cause of his being present at the meeting, when the treasonable design of seizing the guards was talked of, and charged upon him: therefore in this speech he professes he would declare the whole matter of fact, so far as related to his share in it, plainly, without any reserve whatsoever. In that view he confesses, that the tasting of wine, though one reason, was not the sole reason of his going to Shepherd's house, which was to hear what proposals should be there made, towards carrying on a design of obliging his Majesty by distress to consent to a bill of Exclusion; and that one of these means was the seizing of the guards: But this being only mentioned as feasible, without coming to a resolution to put it in practice, and besides being not consented to by him, the whole of the charge, as to his particular, could amount to no more than misprision of treason; and he hopes nobody will imagine him capable of so mean a thought, as to go about to save himself by accusing others. To this plea, the author of the Animadversions observes, that his being designedly present at these meetings, implies his consent in the eye of the law, which he cannot be supposed to be ignorant of. And as to his honour in not betraying others to save himself, it is answered, that though the discovering it might have been said to be done in order to save himself, by turning informer, (as Lord Howard did) yet for his oath's sake he ought not to have concealed it, as being against his duty both to God and man. In the oath taken by every Member of the house of Commons, pursuant to an act of the third of James I. he swears, 'to do his best endeavour to disclose and 'make known to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, 'all treasons and traiterous conspiracies, which he 'shall know, or hear of, to be against him, or any of 'them.'

(19) Account of his Lordship's behaviour after condemnation. &c. printed in General Dictionary, under Lord Russell's article.

(20) His Lordship takes notice, that he was cast upon this reasoning, which he calls a fetch, notwithstanding it was alledged, as a ruled point in Law, that whoever comes into an assembly twice where rebellion is proposed, is guilty of high treason; 'tis misprision the first time.

(2) *Animadversions upon a printed paper, intituled, The Speech of the Lord Russell; being an antidote against the poison of that paper, composed of some Remarks upon the paper printed by the direction of the Lady Russell, and mentioned to have been delivered by the Lord Russell to the Sheriffs, at the place of his execution.* This author censures the Speech, as not penned with that ingenuity, sincerity, and plainness, which is suitable to a dying gentleman; it contains seven pages in folio.

(3) *Animadversions*

death with a good degree of firmneſs [*K*], and great decency; being poſſeſſed, if we may believe Biſhop Burnet, with ſuch a full aſſurance of his ſalvation, as has been thought to border upon Fanaticiſm [*L*]. His character, as a man of probity, muſt have been unexceptionable, ſince it is atteſted by thoſe who were far from approving his political principles. Sir William Temple, for inſtance, ſpeaking of the meaſures taken to exclude the Duke of York from the ſucceſſion, obſerves, that ‘ His [Lord Ruſſell's] ſetting himſelf at the head of ‘ thoſe affairs, had a great influence in the Houſe [of Commons], as being a perſon in ‘ general

(3) *Animadverſions on the late Speech and Confeſſion, of the late William, Lord Ruſſell*, 3½ pages in 4to.

(4) *Conſiderations, upon a printed ſheet, intituled, The Speech of the late Lord Ruſſell to the Sheriffs; together with the paper delivered by him to them, at the place of execution, July* 21. 1683. 4 pages, 4to. To this is annexed, Dr Tillotſon's Letter to his Lordſhip, and his Prayer for him upon the ſcaffold. The writer of this, was the famous Mr, afterwards Sir Roger, L'Eſtrange, who was particularly employed by the Court (21).

(21) See more of this in Archbiſhop Tillotſon's article.

[*K*] *He met death with a good degree of firmneſs*] Several particulars of this kind, are related by Biſhop Burnet, to whom we refer the reader. But there is one inſtance of this firmneſs, which deſerves a place here, as it riſes to a degree of magnanimity. I mean his conſtant refuſal to make his eſcape, as he might have done, both before his commitment to the Tower, and after his condemnation, while he lay in Newgate. Having intelligence of a meſſenger's being ſent, before he was apprehended, time enough to withdraw, and a propoſal, after ſentence, made by his couſin Cavendiſh, to change cloaths with him, that ſo he might go off in that diſguiſe. But he bravely rejected both: alledging, in the firſt caſe, that it would give the Court too great advantage againſt him, as confeſſing guilt (22). The very ſame reaſon that was given for a like refuſal, to make his eſcape by Archbiſhop Laud, while he lay in the Tower a priſoner of the long Parliament *, in order to be brought to his trial, on a charge of high-treaſon, grounded upon quite contrary principles and practices. And this too, while he was as much convinced, and with as much reaſon as Lord Ruſſell, of the malice of his proſecutors; which had taught him alſo, as aſſuredly as it had his Lordſhip, to look for what followed.

(22) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Time, Vol. I. fol.

* See Dr Pococke's article.

[*L*] *Such a full aſſurance of ſalvation, as has been thought by ſome to border upon Fanaticiſm.*] This cenſure ſeems to be grounded, in a great meaſure, upon Dr Burnet's account of his Lordſhip's behaviour in Newgate. In which that divine, who was his confeſſor at this time, relates, that on Monday the 10th of July, his Lordſhip, among other things, told him, that for death he thanked God, as a man, he never was afraid of it, and did not conſider it with ſo much apprehenſion as the drawing of a tooth. But that he found the courage of a man that could venture in the heat of blood, was very different from the courage of a dying Chriſtian, and dying in cold blood: that muſt come from an inward peace of conſcience, and aſſurance of the mercy of God; and *that* he had to ſuch a degree, that though from the firſt day of his impriſonment, he reckoned he was a dead man, it had never given him any uneaſineſs. He added, that God knows the trouble I ſaw him in ſome weeks ago, when his ſon was ill, had gone nearer to his heart, and taken more of his reſt from him, than his preſent condition had done: and he remembered of a colic he had lately, which had filled him with ſo much pain, and ſo oppreſſed his ſpirits, that he ſaw how little a man could do, if he came to die in ſuch a manner: whereas he had now all his thoughts perfectly about him, and had no other apprehenſions of death, but being a little gazed at by his friends and enemies, and a moment's pain. He ſaid, that though he had been guilty of many defects and failings, (among which, he reckoned his ſeldom receiving the Sacrament) yet he thanked God he bad a clear conſcience, not only in relation to the public, (in which he had gone ſo ſincerely, that he was ſure he had nothing to anſwer for but the ſins of ignorance, and ſome indecent diſcourſes, in which he had been generally more guilty by hearing them, and being pleaſed with them, than by much ſpeaking) but in relation to all his other concerns. He had ſpent much, but it was in no ill way. He could never limit his bounty, to his condition; and all the thoughts he had of a great eſtate, that was to deſcend upon him, was to do more good with it; for he had reſolved not to live much above the pitch he was then at. He thanked God, that now for theſe many years, he had made great conſcience of all he did; ſo that the ſins of omiſſion was the chief thing he had to anſwer for. God knew the ſincerity of his heart, that he could not go into a thing he thought ill, nor could he tell a lie. On Friday morning, the Doctor having preached two ſermons to him, in which he had taken notice of the joys and longings of ſome very pious men to die, and be with God. His Lordſhip told him at night, that what he ſpake came into his heart, and he believed it was ſent to him from God. In the interval, he told me, continues the Doctor, he could not pretend to ſuch high joys and longings, but an entire reſignation of himſelf to the will of God, and a perfect ſerenity of his mind. He ſaid, he once had ſome trouble, becauſe he found not thoſe longings Mr Hampden the younger had, of whom he ſpake often with great kindneſs and eſteem. He had, a few days before his commitment, given him, from Mr Baxter, his late book of Dying Thoughts; and he found many things in that, ſo pat to his own condition, that he bleſſed God for the comforts of that book. At night again he talked of his change, how great a change death made, and how wonderful thoſe new ſcenes would ſtrike on a ſoul. He had heard how ſome, that had been born blind, were ſtruck, when by the couching of their cataracts they ſaw. But what, ſaid he, if the firſt thing one ſaw, were the ſun riſing? On Saturday morning, the day of his execution, he was in the ſame temper he had always been in, and thanked God he felt no ſort of fear nor hurry in his thoughts. We prayed together, ſays the Doctor, with ſome intervals, five or ſix times; and between hands, he often went into his chamber and prayed by himſelf. Once he came out with more than ordinary joy, and ſaid, he had been much inſpired in his laſt prayer, and wiſhed he could have writ it down and ſent it to his wife. The Dean [Tillotſon] came and prayed, and ſpake alſo with him, we both looked at one another, amazed at the temper he was in. As we were going, [in the coach to Lincoln's-inn-fields, where the ſcaffold was erected] I obſerved he was ſinging often within himſelf, but could not hear the words. I aſked what he ſang? he ſaid, it was the beginning of the 119th pſalm, but he ſhould ſing better very ſoon. And obſerving the crowd, he ſaid, he ſhould ſoon ſee a greater and better company. As we came to turn into little Queen-ſtreet, he ſaid, I have often turned to the other hand with great comfort, but now I turn to this with greater. Thus far his confeſſor, Dr Burnet, and the whole is ſufficiently confirmed by his Lordſhip's ſpeech upon the ſcaffold. In which he declared, that in this extremity he had been ſo wonderfully ſupported, that neither his impriſonment, nor the fear of death, had been able to diſcompoſe him in any degree. ‘ I have, ſays he, ‘ even the aſſurance of the love and mercy ‘ of God, in and through my bleſſed Redeemer, in ‘ whom only I truſt: and I don't queſtion, but that I ‘ am going to partake of that fulneſs of joy, which ‘ is in his preſence, the hopes whereof doth ſo won‘ derfully delight me, that I reckon this the happieſt ‘ time of my life, though others may look upon it as ‘ the ſaddeſt.——

Such inſpirations, joyful aſſurances, and foretaſtes of happineſs, in a future ſtate, as his Lordſhip here pretends to feel, may indeed be well grounded, and conſonant to the cooleſt reaſon, at the cloſe of a life ſpent in a courſe of moſt eminently diſtinguiſhed piety and virtue. But how to reconcile it to that temper of mind in which Lord Ruſſell died, ſtudying for a particular phraſe whereby he might upbraid the King, in the keeneſt manner, with malice, for proſecuting him, and conſtantly calling his death murder, notwithſtanding by his own confeſſion he had committed a crime, which by the known rules of law amounted to treaſon; muſt be left to the judgment of the reader.

[*N*] *Parting*

'general repute, of an honest worthy gentleman, without tricks or private ambition (*l*).' Dr Sprat also, though he charges him with being carried away beyond his duty and allegiance (*m*), yet acknowledges him to be a person of great probity, and constant abhorrence of falsehood (*n*). Hence we may more safely credit Bishop Burnet, who represents him as a man of great candour, and of a general reputation, universally beloved and intrusted; and that he never knew any man of so entire a credit in the nation; that indeed he was slow [of apprehension], and of little discourse, but of a true judgment after sufficient consideration (*o*). To this we shall add, that he was a most tenderly affectionate husband, and perfectly happy in the mutual love of his excellent lady, the parting from whom he declared was the bitterest ingredient in his cup of death [*M*]; after which she was a most faithful guardian of his fame. We have one instance that deserves particularly to be recorded. A few days after the defeat and death of the Duke of Monmouth, with whom Lord Russell had an intimate connection, and spoke honourably of him, as detesting, equally with himself, all base designs against the life of King Charles the Second, this lady made use of that opportunity to declare, that she took his Grace's late attempt to be a new project, not depending on, or being linked in the least to, any former design, if there was then any real one, which she was satisfied was no more than, her own Lord confessed, talk; and it is possible that talk going so far, as to consider, if a remedy to supposed evils might be sought, how it could be formed. 'He had, continues she with a warmth of expression well becoming her relation to him, 'so just a soul, so firm, so 'good, he could not warp from such principles that were so, unless misguided by his 'understanding, and that his own not another's: for, I dare say, as he could discern, he 'never went into any thing considerable upon the mere submission to any one's particular 'judgment (*p*).' Her Ladyship also, in the same affectionate regard to her Lord's memory, after the Revolution, made use of her interest in favour of his chaplain Mr Samuel Johnson, and was very instrumental in procuring him the pension, and other bounties, which he received from that government (*q*). As she had promised her Lord to take care of her own life for the sake of his children (*r*), she was religiously mindful to perform that promise, and continued his widow to the end of her life, which did not happen 'till Michaelmas-day, 1723, at the age of fourscore and seven [*N*], having lived to see her son (*s*) succeed

(*l*) Temple's Memoirs, p. 312.

(*m*) See his account of the Rye-House plot, p. 21. edit. 1685.

(*n*) In his second letter to the Earl of Dorset, dated March 26, 1689.

(*o*) Hist. of his own Time, Vol. I. fol.

(*p*) Extract of a letter from her Ladyship to Dr Fitz-Williams, dated July 21, 1685, in Birch's Life of Tillotson, p. 114. second edit. 1753.

(*q*) See his article, and also that of Archbishop Tillotson.

(*r*) These were, a son and two daughters; of whom Rachel, the eldest, married Will. Cavendishe, Duke of Devonshire, and Catharine to John Manners, Marquis of Granby, and afterward, Duke of Rutland.

(*s*) Her son Wriothesley succeeded his grandfather in 1700, became Knight of the Garter in 1702, and died of the small-pox in 1711; was succeeded by his eldest surviving son Wriothesley, who married in 1725, and dying without issue in 1732, was succeeded by his brother the present Duke.

[*M*] *Parting with his Lady was the bitterest ingredient in his cup of death.*] The instances of this conjugal tenderness and affection are very interesting, as we have them from Bishop Burnet; who tells us, in a journal which he kept of his Lordship's behaviour in Newgate, that 'on Tuesday before his execution, after dinner, when his Lady was gone, he expressed great joy in the magnanimity of spirit he saw in her; and said, the parting with her was the greatest thing he had to do; for he was afraid she would be hardly able to bear it. The concern about preserving him, filled her mind so now, that it in some measure supported her; but when that would be over, he feared the quickness of her spirits would work all within her. On Thursday, while my Lady was gone to try to gain a respite 'till Monday; he said, he wished she would give over beating every bush, and running so about for his preservation. But when he considered that it would be some mitigation of her sorrow, that she left nothing undone, that could have given any probable hopes, he acquiesced. And indeed, says the doctor, I never saw his heart so near failing him, as when he spake of her: Sometimes I saw a tear in his eye, and he would turn about, and presently change the discourse. On Friday, at ten o'clock [at night] my *Lady* left him, he kissed her four or five times, and she kept her sorrow so within herself, that she gave him no disturbance by their parting. After she was gone, he said, *now the bitterness of death is passed*; and ran out into a long discourse concerning her; how great a blessing she had been to him; and said, what a misery it would have been to him, if she had not had that magnanimity of spirit, joined to her tenderness, as never to have desired him to do a base thing for the saving of his life. Whereas, otherwise, what a week should have passed, if she had been crying on me to turn informer, and be a Lord Howard.—He said, there was a signal providence of God in giving him such a wife, where there was birth, fortune, great understanding, great religion, and great kindness to him; but her courage in his extremity was beyond all: he was glad that she and his children were to lose nothing by his death (23), and that she had promised him to take care of herself for their sakes (24).'

[*N*] *She died at the age of eighty-seven.*] Dr Birch has enriched the public with several of her letters, taken from a large collection of them, all written with an uncommon force of stile and sentiment; and the course of this memoir hath led us to give two specimens of the justice of the Doctor's encomium. But as those were written in defence of her beloved Lord, and perhaps she may be thought to be raised above her ordinary pitch, by that most interesting subject, we shall produce another, which was dictated by nothing more than a sincere friendship and respect, and which sets her talent this way beyond the reach of all objections. Dr Tillotson having informed her, in a letter dated September 19. 1689, that upon his kissing the King's [William's] hand, for the Deanery of St Paul's, his Majesty acquainted him with his design to give him the see of Canterbury, saying, *it was necessary for his* [*the King's*] *service, and he must charge it upon his conscience*, proceeds in these terms. 'This hath brought 'me into a real difficulty. For on the one hand, it is 'hard to decline his Majesty's commands, and much 'harder yet, to stand out against so much goodness, 'as his Majesty is pleased to use towards me. On the 'other hand, I can neither bring my inclination nor 'my judgment to it. This I owe to the Bishop of 'Salisbury, one of the worst and best of friends I 'know: best, for his singular good opinion of me: 'and the worst, for directing the King to this method, 'which I know he did; as if his Lordship and I had 'concerted the matter, how to finish this foolish piece 'of dissimulation, in running away from a Bishopric, 'to catch an Archbishopric. This fine device, hath 'thrown me so far into the briars, that without his 'Majesty's great goodness, I shall never get off without a scratched face. And now I will tell your 'Ladyship the bottom of my heart. I have, of a 'long time, I thank God for it, devoted myself to 'the public service, without any regard for myself. 'And to that end, have done the best I could, in the 'best manner I was able. Of late, God hath been 'pleased by very severe ways, but in great goodness 'to me, to wean me perfectly from the love of this 'world (25); so that worldly greatness is now not 'only undesirable, but distasteful to me. And I do 'verily believe, that I shall be able to do as much or 'more good in my present station, than in a higher, 'and shall not have one jot less interest or influence, 'upon any others, to any good purpose; for the people naturally love a man, that will take great pains 'and little preferment. But, on the other hand, if I 'could force my inclination to take this great place, 'I foresee, that I should sink under it, and grow melancholy and good for nothing, and after a little 'while die as a fool dies. But this, Madam, is a great 'deal too much upon one of the worst and best 'subjects in the world, a man's self.' [illegible] Lady Russell,

(23) His Lordship being survived by his father, was never possessed of the Bedford title or estate.

(24) Burnet's Hist. of his own Time, Vol. I. fol. edit.

(25) He means the death of his last surviving child Mrs Chadwick in 1687, and his being seized with a fit of an apoplexy soon after. His Life, p. 125.

succeed to the Bedford title and estate, and likewise one of her grandsons, whose younger brother is the present Duke [O].

Russell, having first asked the Dean's opinion, in another affair, returned the following answer. 'Now a few words to your own concern, that bears so heavy upon your mind, and I have done. I know not if I should use the phrase, *integrity is my idol*; but I am sure I admire and love it hugely, whenever I meet it. I do pity you, Mr Dean, and think you have a hard game upon your hands; which if it should happen you cannot play off your own way, you can do better than a man less mortified to the world could; because if you serve the interest of religion, and the King's, you are doing what you have dedicated yourself to, and therefore can be more regardless of ignorant and wicked censures, for, upon my word, I believe you will incur no other. Your character is above it, if what you fear should come upon you. But as I conceive there are six months yet to deliberate upon this matter, you know the old saying, many things fall out between the cup and the lip. And pray don't fill your head with the fears of a trouble, though never so great, that is at a distance, and may never be. For if you think too much on a matter you dread, it will certainly disturb your quiet, and that will infallibly injure your health: and you cannot but see, Sir, that would be of a bad consequence. The King is willing to hear you; you know your own heart to do good, and you have lived some time, and have had experience. You say well that such a one is the best and worst friend. I think I should have had more tenderness to the will and temper of my friend. And for his justification, one may say, he prefers good to many, before gratifying one single person; and a public good ought to carry a man a great way. But I see your judgment (if your inclination does not biass too far) is heartily against him in this matter, that you think you cannot do as much good then, as now. We must see if you can convince him thereof; and when he is master of that notion, then let him labour to make your way out of those briars, he has done his part to bring you into; though something else would have done it without him, I believe, if I am not mistaken in this, no more than I am, that this letter is much too long.' The King proceeding in October to press the Dean still more urgently on this subject, had prevailed with him so far that he acquainted her Ladyship he did not know how to resist his importunity; to which she returned an answer, in these terms. 'The time seems to be come, that you must put anew in practice that submission you have both so powerfully tried yourself, and instructed others in *, I see no place to escape it. You must take up the cross and bear it. I faithfully believe it has the figure of a very heavy one to you, though not from the cares of it. The King guesses right, you toil more now (26). But this work is of your own chusing (27), and the dignity of the other, is what you have bent your mind against, and the strong desire of your life has been to avoid. Had this even proceeded to a vow, it is, I think, like the virgins of old, to be dissolved by the father of your country.' Though these letters of her Ladyship stand in Dr Tillotson's life (28) to a disadvantage, in contrast with those of so great a master of the epistolary, as well as all other kinds of writing, yet I believe they will be thought not to lose upon the comparison of them. And it may be observed, by the bye, (which was also an additional reason for inserting these extracts from them) that they serve in a great measure to clear Bishop Burnet from a charge reported to his disadvantage, that he had a view himself to the Archbishopric, and that his disappointment therein, was the ground of an incurable resentment against King William, to whom he had been so much obliged. A particular which has escaped notice, under his article in this work.'

* A shrewd hint of the Dean's endeavours to perswade Lord Russell to submit to the doctrine of Passive Obedience.

(26) His Majesty among other motives had used this. 'You talk of trouble; I believe you will have much more ease in it, than in the condition in which you now are.'

(27) He had particularly asked for the Deanery of St Paul's. See his article.

(28) From p. 205 to 209. and from p. 222 to 225, inclusive.

[O] *The present Duke is her grandson*] The genealogy of this noble family, is drawn out at large in the Peerage of England, which being in every body's hands, would be tedious to transcribe here. We chuse rather to employ the present remark in some account of another Lady Russell, who not less than the last mentioned, is the deserved boast of the family. I mean Elizabeth, wife to John, the second son of Francis, the first Earl of Bedford, of this name. She was third daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke, of Giddeshall, in Essex †, where she was probably born, about the year 1529. She was equally happy with her other sisters, in the advantage of a learned and polite education ‖, and in the progress she made in the learned languages, which gained the applause of the most learned men of that age. Her first husband was Sir Thomas Hobby, whom she accompanied in his embassage into France, under Queen Elizabeth. Where he dying in 1566, aged 36, left this his disconsolate Lady big with child, who brought him honourably home, and having erected a chapel on the south side of the chancel of the church of Bisham, in Berkshire, she deposited his and his brother Sir Philip Hobby's remains together in the same tomb, which she adorned with large inscriptions, in Latin and English verse, of her own composing (29). She brought Sir Thomas three children, Edward, Elizabeth, Anne; and had one Thomas, posthumous, who by his extravagance and undutifulness, proved a great trouble to her (x). Lord John Russell was her second husband, who dying before

† One of the learned tutors to King Edw. VI.

‖ She had three sisters, of whom Mildred, the eldest, was married to Sir W. Cecil, afterwards Lord Burlegh. Anne, the second, was wife to Sir Nicolas Bacon, and by her, father of Lord Verulam. And Catharine, the fourth, married to Henry Killigrew, Esq; of Cornwall. Camden, Fuller, Lloyd, Strype, Dugdale, Fulman, in notes to the History of the Reformation.

(29) Ashmole's Berkshire, Vol. II. p. 465, 466 to 469.

(x) As the letter she wrote on that subject is a conspicuous proof that she was a lady of spirit and sense, and moreover an excellent œconomist, which are essential parts of her character, it must not be omitted. It is addressed to her brother-in-law Lord Treasurer Burlegh, in these terms:

'My good Lord,

'Thinking it my duty to present my humble duty to her Majesty, and to send to the Coorte, to understand how her Majesty, in this troublesome tyme doth beare this unnaturall conspiracy ag^{t} her self and theyre cuntry: I thought good also to give your self most humble and harty thanks for your L.'s letters, and to let your L. know, that in my harte I kiss the hand that tooke so much payne with penn. Agayne I found my chyld in Sheppey, and he is now here. The cause of his departure to be, bicause he shoold this next tearme by my appoyntm^{t} have been placed in Innes of Coorte for his better instruction: where I had taken order, he sh^{d} have been placed at Michaelmas last was a twelvemonth, as Mr Farmer can witness for me; but that in respect of his littleness, Mr Farmer intreated me both in respect of his own credit and the howse, I wold forbeare, till he were bigger: for that he shoold be reputed as a chyld. The boy sayth that by no means he can form himselfe to lyke, or to take that coorse to his owne good and my comfort. On the other syde for travell. The sequell of his brother's travell, and example of Anthony Bacon * doth make me resolute in no wise to consent to his going over-sea. The dawnger most great. I have but two soones. The profit uncertyne, fryvolous; the languages to be learned, without syte of countryes, here at home by bookes, with less dawnger than in these days by journey. The certayne fruites dayley fownd of yong men's travelling now a dayes, nothing but pryde, charge, and vanity, in demming better of theyr own conceytes, than wisdom woold. And thogh I will never be fownd unnaturall, yet will I not, while I live, beggar my selfe for my cradell, if I may prevent it. Now, my Lord, sins he will not applye himselfe to law, which I greatly desired, the next coorse is to dedicate him to your service, the onlie man, and subject, my selfe doth soe much honowre, and love as to affoord my sonne to serve and weare lyvery. Yf it please your L. to vouchsafe to accepte him, he shall during your lyking of him, to the honowre of your L. service, cost me yearly an hundreth pounds; if he apply himself thorowghly and diligently to please your L. If it please not your L. to accept him, nor to trouble your self with him, assuredly such hath his unnaturall bad nature and insolency ben in suspecting me, with disdayne to serve me, and envying my love to his poore wronged sisters, being infants, joyned with refusal to take that coorse of law which m^{t} have in end bredd my comfort and his own good; so with reverence be it spoken to your self only, I am resolute, let him gad to my L. of Leicester, or who living, except my Lord Treasurer's service, he shall never cost me more, than the forty pounds yerly already assured to him; procured first of mine own inclination with^{t} the perswasion of any living or ded: sins I have so smal thanks for that, I am tawght for more. Neather shal eny living, I except none, perswade me during mine 'owne

* Lord Verulam's elder brother, by our authoress's sister Anne. See his article in this Work; in which, however, the circumstance of his travels here mentioned is omitted.

'owne naturall life, to assure eny more to him, sins he had the face to say to myself, that if that had ben of 'my doing, it sh^l not have ben so assured to him. My Lord, thogh I be not so bad a bird as to defyle mine 'own nest, yet I know my children as well as the wisest shall in tyme, and have not a desire to understand w... 'is further from me to be ignorant of them, that are so nere; and that my naturall inclination hath been by 'love and reason to procure my children to love and fear me; yet I have not deserved thereby contempt, nor 'showd my self simple in being ignorant of my due and valew of my desart. My Lord, I beseech yow think 'me not passionate, I abhor that humour; but beleive me, the unnaturall hard nature and insolency of this 'boy hath exceded his brother's. This hath eaten no bread sins his birth, but w^t my purs hath pay'd for. 'Neather hath he grote but w^t my money hath payd for, neather can he live with more, but by me; or your 'selfe, that for my sake will do more than wee both can desearve. What his owne infirmities and insufficiency 'by want of stature, learning, and otherwise be, I know; w^t of mere love with^t the perswasions of any I have 'done and endured for him, in not yeilding his brothers wardship to my Lord Russell, God and my selfe best 'know. Yf I be an honest woman, sins his father's death and his birth seaven thousand pounds have gone owt 'of my purse for things ment to him, besides his own charge of education; neather coold my Lord of B's rage, 'or my La. Warwicke's malice, or my Lord Russell's want, make me carelesse to leave him able to live after 'my death.

'The lease of the parsonages being now two hundred marks by the yere, I have made to him after my death.

'The lease in reversion for 50 yeres being worth 400 markes by the yere; I have made to him.

'Poden being 300 l. *de claro* yerely, I have made the inheritance unto him, w^c cost me 35 hundred pownds.

'The Black Fryers inheritance after my life, I have made unto him, purchas and building cost me above 1000 l.

'The 40 l. from his brother out of Lenchwich cost me five hundred pownds.

'Other stuff and plate, bowght new and ment to him after my death, as himselfe knew before his running 'away, w^c hath cost me and must 14 hundred pownds.

'His brother yet was an Heyr able to live with^t me, had the law of the land to back him, and both most 'undutifull and monstrous. I mean to send him to your L. to hamper, thogh to avoyd the opynion of passion 'my self in choler but coldly have not utter'd a word, whereby my servants m^t discern my warr between mine 'own flesh and blood: but in trewth mine own misfortune doeth sting my very hart with the greatest grief, thogh 'I smother it. Let himself be examined, if ever I were bitter to him, gave him ill speche, understoode the 'lest of mislike or want, before his letter sent after his departure. His brother sweareth and voweth, that he 'knew nothing of his folly; but submitteth himselfe and his service in most dutifull manner. Thus beseeching 'God to bless both your hart, hand, and your whole selfe with great comfort and long lyfe. Farewell good 'Lord and most beloved brother. Written from Dunnington this 25 of August, your Lordship's loving sister,

'ELIZ. RUSSELL.

'Yf your Ldp. here that I mary, think it not straunge, for I live without comfort of eny living; God and 'your self excepted: all other I find more cumbrows and dawngerous than comfortable. But my owld man * is 'sed to be sodaynly ded: I hope it be not so. He was well on Friday after dinner. I receaved a letter written 'in his own hand on Saturday, and yet reported on Tuesday, to my L. of Northumberland, as his steward told 'me, to be ded, and that sodaynly.'

* Mr Nokes of Shottesbrook.

before his father, in 1584, was buried in Westminster-Abbey, where a magnificent monument is erected to his memory, embellished with inscriptions in Greek, Latin, and English, drawn up by this his excellent Lady. She had issue by him one son, who died young, anno 1580, and two daughters, Anne and Elizabeth, the last of whom survived her father but a short time, being said to have bled to death by the prick of a needle, in the fore-finger of her left hand, as seems to be intimated by the figure placed on her monument (30); which is within the same grate with that of her father, and was erected to her memory by her only surviving sister Anne. Lady Russell translated from the French, into English, a tract, called, *A Reconciliation of a good and learned Man, teaching the true Nature and Substance of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Sacrament*; printed in 1605, with a dedication to her only daughter Anne Herbert, wife to the Lord Henry Herbert, son and heir to Edward, Earl of Worcester †; which begins thus.

'Most virtuous, and worthily beloved daughter,

'Even as from your first birth and cradle, I was 'ever most careful, above any worldly thing, to have 'you suck the perfect milk of sincere religion: so willing 'to end as I begun. I have left to you, as my last 'legacy, this book, a most precious jewel, to the 'comfort of your soul. Being the work of a good 'learned man, above fifty years since, in Germany; 'after by travayl a French creature; now naturalized 'by me into English' Then proceeding to give a reason of her publishing this piece, she adds, that 'at first she meant not to set it abroad in print, but 'herself only to have some certainty, to lean unto in 'a matter so full of controversy, and to yield a reason 'of her opinion. But since lending a copy of her 'own hand to a friend, she was bereft thereof by 'name: and fearing least after her death it should be 'printed according to the humours of others, and 'wrong of the dead, who in his life approved the 'translation with his own full witnesse. Therefore 'dreading, she said, wrong to him, above any other 'respect, she had by anticipation prevented the worst.' And then piously and affectionately she concludes, that 'she meant it for a new-year's-gift: and then farewell 'my good Nancy: God bless thee with the conti'nuance of the comfort of the holy Spirit, that it 'may ever work on, and persevere with you, to the 'end, and in the end.' After which, she closes the whole with this tetrastich.

In Annam filiam.

Ut veniens annus tibi plurima commodet annos,
Voce pia mater supplice mente precor.
Ut valeat pariterque tuo cum conjuge proles,
Officiis junctis, vita serena fluat.
Elizabetha Russella, Dowager.

To her daughter Anne,

That each new year, new blessings Anne may bear,
Thy tender mother breathes her pious prayer.
Blest be thy husband, blest thy offspring be,
And all thy days from every ill be free (31).

She lived to the age of sixty-eight years, if not longer (32), and was probably buried by her first husband in the chapel at Bisham, which she had founded; there being a very magnificent monument there erected against the south wall, and fenced with iron spikes. In the middle is a large arch, raised upon four pillars, under which the statue of this Lady appears in a kneeling posture, having a Viscountess's coronet on her head. On the cushion whereon she kneels, is laid before her the figure of a young infant; and behind, only her three daughters. Westwards, but without the arch, are the statues of two men in armour, likewise kneeling. Eastward (but without the arch also) is the statue of a Lady vested in a robe lined with ermine, and a Viscountess's coronet on her head. On a black marble tablet, placed near the foot of the monument, is this inscription.

ΜΗ ΔΑΚΡΥΣΙΝ ΚΟΣΜΕΙ ΜΗ
ΚΛΑΥΘΜΑΣΙΝ ΕΝΤΑΦΙΑΣΣΟΝ
ΠΟΙΕΙ ΕΙΜΙ ΕΑΡΖΩΣΑ ΔΙ' ΑΣΤΡΑ ΘΕΩ.

In another tablet are these translations.

Nemo me lachrymis decoret neque funera fletu,
Faxit, cur, rogas? vado per astra Deo.

Nor tears my friends, nor funeral rites employ,
Ask ye the cause? I soar to heav'nly joy (33).

Sir John Harrington observes, that if Madam Vittoria, an Italian Lady, deserved to have her name celebrated and transmitted to posterity, by Ariosto, for writing some verses in manner of an epitaph, upon her husband after his decease. This learned Lady certainly deserves no less commendation, having done as much, or more, not only for two husbands, but for her son, daughter, brother, sister, and venerable old friend Mr Noke of Shottesbrooke, in the Greek, Latin, and English tongues (34).

(30) On a pedestal of black and white marble, made column-wise in imitation of a Roman altar, is seen the statue of a young lady, seated in a most curiously wrought osier chair of the finest polished alabaster, in a very melancholy posture, inclining her head to the right, and with the fore-finger of her left hand pointing to a death's head under her feet. Crull's Antiquities of Westminster-Abbey.

† At this marriage there was a mask at Black-Friars. Eight lady-maskers chose eight more to dance the measures. Mrs Fitton, who led them, went to the Queen, and wooed her to dance. Her Majesty asked what she was. Affection, she said. Affection, said the Queen; Affection is false. Were not these the murmurs of a heart ill at ease? Yet her Majesty rose and *danced*. She was then 68. Sure it was as natural for her to be in love [with Essex]. And hence appears the reality of that love, against Voltaire; who laughs at it on account of this date of her Majesty's age. Catalogue of Noble Authors, under Essex.

(31) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 469.

(32) By a letter from Sir John Harrington to her, concerning his *Metamorphosis of Ajax*, it appears that she was living in Aug. 1596, tho' in a very weak condition. And in a letter of her's to her nephew Cecil the ensuing year, she concludes thus: 'Your Lordship's owld aunt of complete 68 yeres.' From the original, in the possession of James West, Esq;

(33) See the Latin verses in Ashmole's Berkshire, p. 491. where the word *rogas* is omitted.

(34) Harrington's notes upon Ariosto, p. 314.

P

SACKVILLE

S.

SACKVILLE [THOMAS], the firſt Lord Buckhurſt, and Earl of Dorſet, was born in the year 1536 (*a*), at Buckhurſt in the pariſh of Withiam in Suſſex, the ſeat of that moſt ancient and honourable family (*b*). He had a manly turn of behaviour in his infancy, which being enlivened with an excellent wit (*c*), muſt needs give early hopes of that great man he afterwards proved. From a private tutor at home, where he moſt probably had the firſt part of his education (*d*), he was ſent to Oxford in the latter end of King Edward's reign; and, after ſome ſtay there, he removed to Cambridge, and took the degree of Maſter of Arts (*e*). Early at the univerſities, he got the name of a good poet, by ſeveral performances in that admirable art [*A*], in which he continued to indulge his genius after his removal to the Inner-Temple in London (*f*), where he was ſent in order to acquire a proper knowledge of the Law; and he proceeded ſo far in that ſtudy, as to be called to the Bar (*g*), but without any deſign to practiſe that profeſſion, his birth and family inſpiring other views. Accordingly, we find him in Parliament in the fourth and fifth year of Philip and Mary. About the ſame time, in 1557, he wrote his poetical piece, intituled *The Induction* [*B*], or *Introduction* to the *Myrror of Magiſtrates*,

(*a*) Dr Abbot, in his Funeral Sermon, obſerves, that he lived to the age of 72 years, and he died in 1608.

(*b*) They came into England with the Conqueror, being before poſſeſſed of the town or ſeignory of Sackville in Normandy, whence they took their name.

(*c*) Fuller's Worthies, under this article.

(*d*) See remark [*E*].

(*e*) Wood, in Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 347; who ſuppoſes he was of Hart-hall, becauſe his ſon was ſo. But the Antiquary's expreſſion is too looſe, that he was educated in the univerſity in Queen Mary's reign, if he was married in the 1 of Phil. and Mary, as is ſaid in the inſcription upon his lady's tomb.

(*f*) His father was of that ſociety, and a Bencher from the 1 to 6 Eliz. incluſive. Dugd. Baron. Vol. II. p. 399.

(*g*) Fuller, as before.

[*A*] *He got the name of a good poet, &c.*] We owe this particular to Mr Wood, who tells us, that his Lordſhip wrote ſeveral copies of verſes in Latin as well as Engliſh while he was at Oxford; but theſe are all now either loſt or not known to be his (1).

[*B*] *He wrote his Induction about* 1557.] Mr Spenſe (2), ſpeaking of his Lordſhip as a poet, declares, 'that the dawn of our Engliſh poetry was in Chaucer's time, but that it ſhone out in him too bright all at once to laſt long. The ſucceeding age was dark and overcaſt. There was indeed ſome glimmerings of genius again in Henry the Eighth's time (3); but our poetry had never what could be called a fair ſettled daylight, 'till towards the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign. It was between theſe two periods that Lord Buckhurſt wrote, after the Earl of Surry, and before Spenſer.' 'Lydgate's *Fall of Princes* (4), ſays Mr Warton, gave riſe to the *Mirrour of Magiſtrates*. In 1559, R. Baldwine was requeſted to continue Lydgate's ſeries of the Great unfortunate; but he choſe to confine himſelf rather to our Engliſh ſtory. Accordingly, he began with Robert Treſilian in 1333, and ended with Lord Haſtings in 1483 (5).' 'But the inſtances were taken here and there from our Engliſh hiſtory, without any great order. Afterwards there was a deſign formed of collecting all the examples from the beginning of our hiſtory to their own times. It was then that Lord Buckhurſt wrote his Induction, which was to have been prefixed as a general preface to the whole; but that deſign being dropt, it was inſerted in the body of the work, juſt before one of the ſaid ſtories written by the ſame hand. The plan of the Induction is a deſcent into hell. The poet feigns he deſcended thither in perſon, as Dante had done. Thoſe unhappy men were to have paſſed there in review before him, and each in his turn to have told his own faults, and his misfortunes. This piece is written ſo much in Spenſer's manner, abounding in the ſame ſort of deſcriptions of ſhadowy beings, and is ſo much in the ſame ſtile, that at firſt reading, Mr Spenſe ſeeing the two authors to be of the ſame ſchool (for, ſays he, there are ſchools in poetry as diſtinguiſhable as thoſe in painting), immediately concluded Lord Buckhurſt might be ſet down as a ſcholar of Spenſer's; but, upon comparing dates, he found, that if one formed himſelf by the other, it muſt have been Spenſer that was a ſcholar of Lord Buckhurſt, his Induction being written before Spenſer was ten years of age, and his Lordſhip had left off writing before Spenſer began to write (6).' In the ſame ſentiment, Mr Warton having obſerved, that, in the Mirror of Magiſtrates, there was one piece ſo beautifully drawn, which exhibits a train of imaginary perſonages, that in all probability they contributed to ſtimulate and awaken the imagination of Spenſer, in forming the like deſcriptions. This, however, continues he, may be affirmed from demonſtration, that Sackville's INDUCTION approaches nearer to the FAIRY QUEEN, in allegorical repreſentations, than any other previous or ſucceeding poem *. We ſhall give the reader a taſte of this piece in the two following ſtanzas:

> The wrathful winter haſtning on apace,
> With bluſtring blaſts had all ybar'd the trees;
> And old Saturnus, with his froſty face,
> With chilling cold had peerc'd the tender greene.
> The mantling reſt wherein enwrapped been,
> The gladſome groves that now lay overthrowne,
> The tapet torn, and every tree down blown.
>
> The ſoil that erſt ſo ſeemly was to ſeem,
> Was all deſpoiled of her beauteous hew;
> And thoſe freſh flowers wherewith the ſomer's queen
> Had clad the earth, now Boreas blaſts down blew.
> And ſmall birds, fluſtring in their ſong, did rew
> The wintry months, wherewith each thing defac'd,
> In woeful wiſe bewail'd the ſommer paſt.

After the Induction immediately follows, as the collection now ſtands, his Lordſhip's ſtory of the Duke of Buckingham; which, tho' in Mr Spenſe's opinion, does not affect one ſo much as the former, yet he thinks it may be ſaid to be written in as poetical a manner, and in a purer

(1) Ath. Oxon. ubi ſupra; and he is followed by Mr Spenſe, in the preface to Gorboduc, Lond. 1736, 8vo. p. v.

(2) Ibid. p. iv.

(3) Mr Warton intimates, that even more than ſome glimmerings of this genius appear in the hiſtory of *Graunde Amoure & La Bel Pucel*, by Stephen Hawes, in 1505, 21 Henry VII. Obſervations on the Fairy Queen of Spenſer, p. 233, 234. edit. 1754, 8vo.

(4) This is a ſeries of viſions, founded on Boccace *de Caſibus Illuſtrium Virorum*.

(5) Obſervations on the Fairy Queen, &c.

(6) Preface to Gorboduc, p. v, vi.

* Obſervations, &c. p. 235, 236; and Mr Cibber remarks, that if Sackville did not ſurpaſs Spenſer, it was becauſe he had the diſadvantage of writing firſt. Agreeably to which, Taſſo, on ſeeing Guarini's *Paſtor Fido*, exclaimed thus: If he had not ſeen my Amynta, he had not ſurpaſſed it. Lives of the Poets, Vol. I. p. 57.

purer

Magiſtrates, a ſeries of poems (*b*), which was formed upon a dramatic plan [*C*], and his *Tragedy of Gorboduc* (the firſt ſcenes that ever appeared in verſe), was acted in 1561 [*D*]. Thus having, by theſe productions, eſtabliſhed the reputation of being the beſt poet in his time, he laid down his pen, and quitted that character (*i*). In the firſt Parliament of Queen Elizabeth, he was elected for the county of Suſſex, at the ſame time as his father was choſen for Kent; and in the ſecond Parliament of that reign, when his father was returned for Suſſex, he was choſen member for the county of Bucks. Not long after this, he reſolved, notwithſtanding (he had been married ſeveral years *), to travel into foreign parts. In this reſolution, he made the tour of France and Italy, and was in priſon at Rome (*k*), when the news arrived of his father's death in 1566 [*E*]. Hereupon, he obtained his releaſe, returned

(*b*) An old-faſhioned title to a ſet of poems, which were very much applauded in their time. It conſiſted of examples of eminent bad men, who had come to miſerable ends.

(*i*) Collins's Peerage, under Sackville; and Spenſe, as before.

* See note (*k*).

(*k*) He was detained only 14 days, occaſioned by ſome who hated him for his love to religion, and to his duty to his ſovereign. Funeral Sermon, as before.

purer ſtile, than any other ſtory in the whole collection (7).

(7) Preface to Gorboduc.

[*C*] *The Myrror of Magiſtrates was formed upon a dramatic plan.*] Every perſon is introduced ſpeaking. For inſtance, Richard the Second is thus introduced: 'Suppoſe you ſee the corpſe of this prince all to be 'mangled with blew wounds, lying, pale and wan, 'all naked upon the ſtones in St Paules church, the 'people ſtanding round about him, and making his 'complaynt in manner as follows,' &c. Mr Warton allows the plan is capable of admitting ſome of the moſt affecting pathetical ſtrokes; but theſe, however honoured with the commendation of Sir Philip Sidney, are little better than a biographical detail, except Sackville's piece (8). This collection was firſt printed by W. Baldwyne, in 1559, 4to. in an old Engliſh letter. W. Higgins publiſhed a ſecond edition, with large additions, in 1587, 4to. and a third edition, with ſtill further additions, was printed in 1610, by Richard Nicholls, of Magdalen college in Oxford, who gives this account of our author (9): 'That the 'penmen of the chronicle being many and diverſe, all 'diverſly affected in the method of this their Mirrour, 'he followed the intended ſcope of that moſt honou-'rable perſonage, who, by how much he did ſurpaſs 'the reſt in the eminence of his noble condition, by 'ſo much he hath exceeded them all in the excellency 'of his heroical ſtile; which, with a golden pen, he 'hath limmed out to poſterity, in that worthy object 'of his mind, the tragedy of the Duke of Bucking-'ham, and in his preface, then intituled Maſter Sack-'vil's Induction. This worthy preſident of learning, 'intending to perfect all this ſtory himſelf, from the 'Conqueſt, being called to a more ſerious expence of 'his time, in the great State affairs of his moſt Royal 'Lady and Sovereigne, left the diſpoſe thereof to 'Mr Baldwine, &c.'

(8) Obſervations on Spenſer's Fairy Queen, as before.

(9) In the preface, p. 253. In this edition the title is, A Mirror of Magiſtrates, being a true Chronicle Hiſtory of the untimely falls of ſuch unfortunate princes and men of note, as have happened ſince the firſt entrance of Brute into this iſland, until this our latter age.

[*D*] *Gorboduc was acted in* 1561.] On the 18th of January, by the gentlemen of the Inner Temple, before her Majeſty at Whitehall (10), but it was not then publiſhed. Afterwards, while Lord Buckhurſt was on his travels, and about the time that he was detained priſoner at Rome (11), ſome Bookſeller here took the advantage of his abſence, and publiſhed it in a very incorrect manner in 1565. He obtained his liberty, and returned into England ſoon after, in 1566, to take poſſeſſion of the immenſe eſtate left him by his father; and, when his affairs were thoroughly ſettled, he publiſhed a correct edition of it himſelf in 1570. It afterwards went through other editions (12); notwithſtanding which, for many years paſt it had been ſo ſtrangely loſt, that Mr Dryden and Oldham, in the reign of Charles the Second, had never ſeen it (though they pretended to criticiſe it), both miſtaking the very name of Gorboduc for that of a woman; and that ſo noted an antiquary as Antony à Wood had ſeen as little of it, appears from his telling us it was written in old *Engliſh rhyme* (13). However, he is right in obſerving, that this tragedy was eſteemed, by the wits of that age, to be the beſt of it's time; of which there needs no other teſtimony, than what he produces in Sir Philip Sidney. '*Gorboduc*, ſays that noble author, '*is full of ſtately ſpeeches and well-ſounding phraſes,* '*climbing to the height of Seneca his ſtile, and as full* '*of notable morality, which it doth moſt delightfully* '*teach, and thereby obtains the very end of poetry. Yet* '*in truth 'tis defectuous in the circumſtances, which* '*grieves me, becauſe it might not remain as an exact* '*model of all tragedy* (14).' The defect Sir Philip ſpeaks of is in the unities of time and place, which are both neglected; and, indeed, to theſe rules of Ariſtotle, few authors of any age, and none of that, have conformed. Mr Rymer, after Sir Philip Sidney, is high in his commendation of the fable and characters of this play. 'Gorboduc, ſays he, is a fable, doubt-'leſs better turned than any on this ſide the Alps, in 'that time, and might have been a better direction to 'Shakeſpear and Jonſon, than any guide they have 'had the luck to follow. Here is a King, a Queen, 'and their two ſons; the King divides the realm be-'tween his two ſons; they quarrel; the elder brother 'rules the younger, which provokes the mother to 'kill the elder. Thereupon the King kills the mo-'ther, and then, to make a clear ſtage, the people 'riſe, and diſpatch old Gorboduc (15).' Mr Pope, extracting the ſenſe of both theſe critics, diſpenſes it in the following words: 'The writers of the ſucceeding 'age might have improved as much in other reſpects, 'by copying from him a propriety in the ſentiments, a 'dignity in the ſentences, and an unaffected perſpi-'cuity of ſtile, which are ſo eſſential to tragedy, and 'which all the ſucceeding poets, not excepting Shake-'ſpear himſelf, either little underſtood, or perpetually 'neglected.' To which Mr Spenſe adds, that 'tis no wonder, if the language of kings and ſtateſmen ſhould be leſs happily imitated by a poet than a privy-counſellor (16). The truth is, Mr Pope, it ſeems, took a fancy to retrieve this play from oblivion, and give it a run; in which deſign, Mr Spenſe was employed to ſet it off with all poſſible advantage, and it was printed pompouſly in 1736. But the defects both in the conduct and management of the plot, and particularly in the want of that magic of Shakeſpear's poetry, which faſcinates ſo as one cannot ſee his defects in the unities, hath thrown Gorboduc nearly again into it's former ſtate of neglect. In effectuating which, perhaps, the ſtrongly pointed Antirevolutional principles at the concluſion, have had a ſhare. This principle animates the whole laſt act, particularly the ſpeech of Eubulus, or the good counſellor; who having declared his opinion with the reſt for puniſhing the authors of the rebellion, goes on thus:

(10) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 347. from Miles's Catalogue of Honour. He ſeems to have been at this time detained by the Queen, as a private attendant upon her perſon. See his laſt Will.

(11) Spenſe. But this is ſaid too careleſsly, ſince his impriſonment laſted only fourteen days. See note (*k*), in the text.

(12) Id. apparently from Wood, who ſpeaks of another edition only in 4to. The title at firſt was the tragedy of Ferrex and Porrex.

(13) Col. 348. where the Antiquary tells us, with no better authority, that the three firſt acts were done by Tho. Norton, who turned ſome of David's pſalms into rhyme.

(14) Sidney's Apology for Poeſy. Lond. 1595, 4to.

(15) Mr Rymer, as it ſeems, for the ſake of the climax, deviates in this particular from the fable; according to which, the people are ſuppoſed to kill both their King and Queen.

(16) Preface to Gorboduc, at the end.

And fully with the Duke [*Wenard*] my mind
agrees,
That no cauſe ſerves, whereby the ſubject may
Call to account the doings of his Prince;
Much leſs in blood by ſword to wreak revenge;
No more than may the hand cut off the head.
In act nor ſpeech, no, nor in ſecret thought,
The ſubject may rebel againſt his Lord,
Or judge of him that ſits in Cæſar's ſeat,
With grudging mind to damn thoſe he miſlikes.
Though Kings forget to govern as they ought,
Yet ſubjects muſt obey, as they are bound (17).

(17) Act V. ſcene i. p. 50, 51, 8vo. edition.

We muſt not omit to mention one uſe of Gorboduc, in reſpect to the cuſtom of the dumb ſhew, then in uſe before every act; which is this, that theſe help us to a fuller reliſh of the chemical energy of Shakeſpear's genius, in exalting this clumſy contrivance into an exquiſite entertainment, in his introduction to ſcene vii. Act III. of Hamlet.

[*E*] *In priſon at Rome when he heard of his father's death.*] As the name of Sackville was generally inverted in reproach of Sir Richard's niggardly and penurious temper, which brought upon him the nickname of Fill-Sack (18); it will not be improper, in the view of ſetting that matter in a true light, to give a ſuccinct account of him, as follows: Being firſt put under a ſevere ſchoolmaſter, he contracted a [illegible] to learning at fourteen years of age (19). So that, he was ſent young to Gray's-Inn; where he became ſuch a ſedulous ſtudent in the Law, that he was choſen Lent reader, anno

(18) Naunton's Character of the Court of King James.

(19) Aſcham's Schoolmaſter, in the preface, p. [illegible] edit. 1711, 8vo.

returned home, and entered into the possession of a vast inheritance, and soon after was [illegible]aken into the peerage, by the title of Lord Buckhurst *, having been first knighted by the Duke of Norfolk in the Queen's presence the same day, June 8, 1567, 9 Eliz. He enjoyed this accession of honour and fortune too liberally for a while, which, added to some former expences, occasioned by the same profuseness, brought him under some difficulties: 'till being reclaimed by the Queen [*F*], to whom he was allied (*l*), her Majesty received

* He made good use of his travels, in improving himself both in the languages, history, and State affairs. Ibid.

(*l*) His grandfather married a sister to Sir Tho. Boleyn, afterwards Earl of Wiltshire, and father to Queen Anne Boleyn, mother to Queen Elizabeth. Camdeni Elizabetha, in initio.

anno 20 Hen. VIII. a post conferred only on persons of distinguished great learning and knowledge in the faculty. He was afterwards of the Inner-Temple; for which he had so great a regard, that when at the height of his preferments, he accepted the place of a governor, and continued so from the first year of Queen Elizabeth to his death. In 34 Hen. VIII. he was Escheator of Surry and Sussex, and was constituted Chancellor of the Court of Augmentation, 2 Edw. VI. with a fee of 300 marks per annum, and all profits, &c. and was knighted the same year at Westminster; and, in the ensuing year, he was made Custos Rotulorum of the county of Sussex; and, in the fourth of this reign, was empowered, as Chancellor of the Augmentation office, to grant to any of the King's subjects lands or tenements of the revenues of the Crown, for term of life or years, upon letter or bill from the Privy-Council. In June 1552, he was in commission, with other Privy-Counsellors, for the sale of Chantry lands (20). Upon the accession of Queen Mary, his patent of Chancellor was renewed, and he was also sworn of the Privy-Council. He was elected for Portsmouth in the first Parliament of this reign, and in the fifth succeeded his father, John Sackville, in his estate. When Queen Elizabeth came to the Crown, she chose him of her Privy-Council, tho' not of her religion *, and constituted him Under-Treasurer of the Exchequer, which office he held to his death. In the fifth of Elizabeth, Margaret Countess of Lenox was committed to his custody, being accused of secret practices against the government. He was elected to Parliament for Kent, 1 Eliz. and in all others, whilst he lived, was chosen for Sussex (21); so that he must have been in a good degree of favour with the people, and therefore, probably, not such a niggard as some have represented him, under the characteristic of a man of a *wise foresight*. It is certain he died extremely rich; but it is as certain, he had very great opportunities by his places to amass wealth; so that the large increase which he made to his estate, might be no more than the unavoidable effect of a good œconomy; the nickname owing it's birth more to the low witticism of it, than to any just cause: at least we have one instance of a disposition very far from illeberality, and which shews his purse was not spared upon a proper occasion. I mean the method that he took for the education of his grandson, concerning which we have the following account by the famous Roger Ascham, to whom Sir Richard applied on this occasion. In 1563, the Queen being at Windsor, Ascham dined one day with Secretary Cecil, where, among others, Sir Richard was one of the guests; when the Secretary told the company a piece of news he had heard that morning, that several of the scholars were run away from Eton school for fear of a whipping (22). Upon this there ensued a discourse about the preference of a mild or severe master, wherein all the company gave their opinions except our treasurer, who said nothing at all then; but soon after, following Ascham into the privy-chamber, he took him by the hand, and carrying him to a window, said, 'Mr Ascham, I would not for a good 'deal of money have been this day absent from dinner; where, though I said nothing, yet I gave as 'good ear, and do consider as well the talk that passed, 'as any one did there. Mr Secretary said very wisely 'and most truly, that many good wits be driven to 'hate learning, before they know what learning is. 'I can be good witness myself; for a fond schoolmaster, before I was fully fourteen years old, drove 'me so, for fear of beating, from all love of learning, 'as now, when I know what difference it is to have 'learning and to have little or none at all, I feel it 'my greatest grief, and find it my greatest hurt, that 'ever came to me, that it was my so ill chance to 'light upon so lewd a schoolmaster. But seeing it is 'but in vain to lament things past, and also wisdom [illegible] look to things to come, surely, God willing, if 'God lend me life, I will make this my mishap some 'occasion of good hap to little Robert Sackville (23), 'my son's son; for whose bringing up I would gladly, 'if it so please you, use specially your good advice. 'I hear say you have a son much of his age: we will 'deal thus together: point you out a schoolmaster, 'who by your order shall teach my son and your's, 'and for all the rest I will provide; yea, though they 'three do cost me a couple of hundred pounds by the 'year; and besides, you shall find me as fast a friend 'to you and your's, as, perchance, any you have; '*which promise*, concludes Mr Ascham, *the worthy* '*gentleman surely kept with me until his dying day* (24).' It appears from the sequel of this discourse, that what is said in the *Schoolmaster* concerning the right choice of a good wit in a child for learning, and of the difference between quick and hard wits, of alluring young children by gentleness to love learning, was done at the instance of Sir Richard, as well as the special care that is to be had from licentious living (25). 'But 'expresly, says Mr Ascham, he was most earnest with me to have me say my mind, what I 'thought concerning the fancy that many young gentlemen in England had to travel abroad, and namely 'to lead a long life in Italy. His request, both for 'his authority and good will towards me, was a sufficient commandment unto me, to satisfy his pleasure, 'with uttering plainly my opinion in that matter. 'Sir, quoth I, I take going thither, and living there, 'for a young gentleman that doth not go under the 'keep and guard of such a man, as both by wisdom 'can, and authority dare, rule him, to be marvellous 'dangerous (26).' We have given this discourse in the very words it is delivered, because it serves to shew that Lord Buckhurst's going to Italy was against his father's mind, and probably occasioned by debts contracted through a profuse extravagance, which also might not unlikely be the cause of his imprisonment at Rome; especially, since, upon the news of his father's death, he immediately procured his releasement †. Mr Ascham did not finish this book 'till after Sir Richard's death, and not long before his own death, which happened in 1568, leaving it as a legacy to his children. 'I wish also, says he, with all my heart, that young 'Mr Robert Sackville may take that part of this labour that his worthy grandfather proposed he should 'have done.' He gives this eulogium of Sir Richard. 'In the midst of outward injuries and inward cares, 'to increase them withal, good Sir Richard Sackville 'died; that worthy gentleman; *that earnest favourer* '*and furtherer of God's true religion; that faithful* '*servitor to his prince and country*; *a lover of learning* '*and all learned men*; *wise in all doings*; *courteous to* '*all persons, shewing spite to none, doing good to ma-* '*ny*; *and, as I well found, to me so fast a friend, as* '*I never lost the like before* (27).' By his last Will, dated May 22, 1566, he bequeathed to his son Thomas his greatest chayne of gold, charging him, on his blessing, that he should preserve and leave the same to Robert Sackville his heir. He also bequeaths to Queen Elizabeth these poor tokens (as he expresses it). One great jewel of a table emerawd, with a mallet of diamonds, a great pearl, and one hundred of great pearls, as also a man of dyamonds set in a brooche. Most humbly beseechinge her Highness to accept these, according to his faithful heart, and not according to the virtue of the gift; and that it will please her Majesty to be a good and gracious sovereign lady to his poor wife and children (28). Thus wisely did he secure the royal favour to his family, the fruits of which were presently reaped by his son Lord Buckhurst, as is seen in the text.

[*F*] *'Till he was reclaimed by the Queen.*] This is asserted upon the authority of Sir Robert Naunton, strengthened by the internal evidence or credibility of the thing, on account of the general temper and disposition of the Queen, and her particular affection to his Lordship and his family; and therefore not to be impeached by a small inaccuracy, which, as is remarked by Collins, may,

(20) During this reign, he resided at Derby place, a house of the Earl of Derby near Paul's-wharf, which was afterwards granted to the Heralds at Arms, and is now the place of their residence.

* Camden; who obseves, however, that he conformed soon after.

(21) Peerage of England, under this family.

(22) This seems to be Nic. Udal, whose severity is proclaimed by Tusser, one of his scholars, in these lines:

From Paul's I went,
To Eton sent,
To learn straightways
The Latin phrase;
Where fifty-three
Stripes giv'n to me
At once I had.
For fault but small,
Or none at all,
It came to pass,
That beat I was.
See, Udal, see,
The merc' of thee,
To me poor lad.

(23) The great care of the Treasurer, in the education of his two grandsons, is likewise taken notice of by Lord Clarendon. Hist. of the Rebellion, B. i.

(24) Ascham's preface to his Schoolmaster, &c. p. i, to vii. edit. 1711, 8vo.

(25) From this and the foregoing passage it is conjectured, that his son Lord Buckhurst was educated under a private tutor.

(26) Schoolmaster, p. 68.

† The reader will observe, that this conjecture is very consistent with the account of his imprisonment, mentioned above in note (*k*).

(27) Preface to the Schoolmaster, &c. p. x.

(28) Peerage, ubi supra, from a copy of the original Will in the Prerog. Office, Regist. Dorset.

received him into her particular favour, and sent him Ambassador to Paris in 1570 [G], to congratulate that monarch's marriage, and negotiate a treaty of the same kind between herself and his brother the Duke of Anjou (m). Three years afterwards his name is found among those peers who sat on the tryal of Thomas Howard Duke of Norfolk, for plotting to deliver the Queen of Scots out of prison; and, in 1586, being of the Privy-Council, he was appointed one of the commissioners for the tryal of that Queen; and, when the Parliament had confirmed the sentence of death passed upon her at Fotheringay-castle (m), he was made choice of to carry the news to her Majesty (n), and see it put in execution. In the succeeding year, he was sent Ambassador to the States of the United Provinces, upon their complaints against the Earl of Leicester. This was a trust of a nice and hazardous nature, and he discharged it with an unbiassed integrity; and, correcting what had been

(m) Rapin's Hist. of Eng. p. 437.

(n) Perhaps, as Mr Collins thinks, because being a person of fine accomplishments and a tender disposition, he could manage so delicate a point with more address than any other courtier. See Peerage, as before.

may, perhaps, have slipt that author, when he tells us, that his Lordship spent the best part of the vast patrimony left him by his father in his youth; and after all, the critic seems to have given way to the censure too easily, as it seems from that fond humour which is frequently seen in Biographers, of dressing out some eminent persons, like the heroes of a romance, and considering themselves as retained to pump their wits, for colouring to excuse and extenuate all their faults and foibles incident to human nature, whose characters are in reality more liable to be hurt than helped by such shifts. Mr Collins, in order to confirm his criticism, that Naunton's account is taken on trust, urges, 'That if it be considered that his Lordship 'served in Parliament in the reign of Queen Mary, 'and that when his father died, his son Robert was 'five years of age, as is evident from the inquisition 'taken after his death, he must be then towards thirty ‖; so that 'tis likely his profuseness (if any) was in 'the life time of his father, whereby he was induced 'to travel: and the Queen's promoting him to the 'dignity of peerage, on his accession to the estate, 'and employing him on a splendid embassy, in the 'fourteenth year of her reign, to his great expence, 'makes it hardly credible that her Majesty would send 'him to waste his fortune, had his estate been much 'impaired, when he was also not possessed of a great 'part of it, his mother being then living, and enjoy'ing a large jointure (29).' Thus it is suggested, that Sir Robert's account is full of inconsistencies, and therefore the whole story of his Lordship's profuseness, at any time of his life, is built upon no good foundation. But the criticism upon the word *youth*, made use of by Naunton, seems to be too severe, and, indeed, looks like a drowning person's catching at a twig; since there is no good warrant for limiting the appellation of youth strictly within a certain age, in drawing characters; and 'tis evident Sir Robert, in a courtly manner, extends the term in the present case, to the end of his Lordship's youthful follies, which is no unusual nor improper sense of the word. These are Naunton's words: 'He was a very fine gentleman of 'person, and endowments both of art and nature, but 'without measure magnificent, 'till on the turn of his 'humour, and the allay that his years and good coun'sels had wrought upon those immoderate courses of 'his youth, and that height of spirit inherent in his 'house.' It is not denied, that he run in debt by extravagance before his travels, a scheme that was resolved on some time after his marriage, which therefore had not reclaimed him, so that he spent some part of the estate before he came to it. And the Queen's raising him to the peerage on his accession thereto, and employing him four years afterwards on a splendid and expensive embassy, is consistent enough with his still continuing these immoderate courses, and her Majesty's frequent admonitions to divert the torrent of his profusion; since the embassy could not but be agreeable to his humour, and was such an entrance into business, as would most likely have it's designed effect of turning his thoughts that way *. 'Tis said, however, that his conversion was brought about by other means, and *that calling on an Alderman of London, who had got very considerably by the loan of his money to him, he was obliged to wait his coming down so long, as made such an impression on his generous humour, that thereupon he turned a thrifty improver of his estate* †. Whatever truth there may be in this story, which is only founded upon common report; yet no time being fixed when the incident fell out, 'tis consistent enough with Sir Robert Naunton's account, who, after the last cited passage, proceeds thus: 'And then 'did the Queen, as a most judicious and indulgent 'prince, when she saw the man grow staid and set'tled, give him her assistance, and advanced *him to* 'the Treasurership, where he made amends to his 'house for his mispent time, both in the increasement 'of estate and honour which the Queen conferred on 'him, together with an opportunity to remake him'self, and thereby to shew that this was a child that 'should have a share in her grace and a taste in her 'bounty (30).'

‖ It appears without more ado, from the time of his birth settled above, that he must be 30 when his father died.

(29) Id. ibid.

* He says himself in his last Will, that in his younger years he was, by the Queen's particular choice and liking, selected to a contynewall private attendance upon her own person.

† Fuller's Church History.

[G] *He went on an embassy into France.*] We have the following account of this ambassage by Holinshead. 'This year, about Candlemas, Sir Thomas Sackville, 'Baron of Buckhurst, was sent in ambassage from the 'Queen's Majesty to Charles the Ninth, French King, 'as well to congratulate for his marriage with the 'daughter of the Emperor Maximilian, as for other 'weighty affairs (31); and, as his ambassage was 'great, so was his charge no less, in furnishing him'self and train accordingly, being both in number and 'furniture such in every point, as did appertain unto 'his character; and his receiving and entertainment 'in France, by the King and others, was agreeable 'thereto: for he was received upon the coast by the 'governors of the fortified towns right honourably, 'by order from the King. Among others, the Baron 'of Bournoisel was one, who being very well mounted 'and appointed, left not his Lordship before he came 'to the court, and from thence accompanied back, 'until his department homewards.

In the main countries he was accompanied with the 'governors and nobles of the places about, and in 'the good towns where he passed, he was presented 'by the chief magistrates, wherein their good wills 'were to be thankfully accepted, though his Lord'ship's rewards far overvalued their presents. At his 'approach near to Paris, he was encountered on the 'way, for courtesy-sake, by the two Marquisses of Trans 'and Salsces, this being of the house of Savoy, and 'the other of the worthy family of Foix. These 'wanted not such as accompanied them, and the same 'even of the best sort. At the Lord Ambassador's 'first audience, which was at the castle of Madril, 'otherwise called Bullogne near Paris, where the King 'then lay, the Queen's almain coaches, very bravely 'furnished, were sent to Paris for him, in one of 'which his Lordship, with the Marquis of Trans, 'rode towards the Court, very narrowly escaping from 'a shrewd turn, and great mischance, by reason the 'said coach was overthrown by the Dutch waggoners, 'through negligence, who in a bravery galloping the 'field, made an over-short turn, wherewith the Mar'quis was sore bruised.

'The Lord Ambassador, at his arrival at the place, 'was right honourably received; he was banquetted 'by diverse, and that very sumptuously; which by 'him was not left unrequited to the uttermost, and 'rather with the better; for his liberality unto the 'French was very large, but his reward at the King's 'hands was only a chain, weighing a thousand French 'crowns. At the present, there was a great dearth 'and scarcity of victuals in France; the river Seine, 'that runneth through Paris, was not passable with 'vessels, by reason of the great frosts; and thereby, 'not only all kind of victuals, but also hay and wood '[for firing] hard to come by, and not to be had, but 'at excessive prices, the country thereabouts having 'before been sore hurried and spoiled by the civil tu'mults.' The historian concludes his account with informing us, that his Lordship arrived in England a little before Easter (32).

(30) Naunton, ubi supra.

(31) His Lordship mentions this ambassage in his last Will, as a matter of great trust and importance, concerning a secrette treaty of a marriage betwixt her Majesty and Henry, the third son of Harry the Second of France, begun with her by Katharine de Medicis, then Queen-mother of France.

(32) Holinshead's Chronicle, p. [illegible], 1225.

[H] One

been done amiss there, drew upon himself the displeasure of that favourite; who prevailed with the Queen to call him home, and confine him to his house for nine or ten months (o), when his enemy dying, her Majesty's favour returned to him with stronger rays than before (p), and in April following he was elected, without his knowledge, Knight of the Garter, though he was not installed 'till the 18th of December, 1580; being the same year appointed one of the peers for trying Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel [H]. He was joined in several other important commissions this and the following year [I]. But the Queen gave him a most remarkable proof of her favour, when the Chancellorship of Oxford became vacant by the death of Sir Christopher Hatton, in 1591. The Earl of Essex offered himself a candidate for it, and was opposed by Lord Buckhurst: Parties grew warm, and the election became very doubtful. At last it was determined for Lord Buckhurst, through the influence of a letter wrote by the Queen herself in his favour, even against the Earl of Essex. He was elected on the 17th of December, and in the beginning of January was incorporated Master of Arts, in his lodgings in London, by a special commission appointed for the purpose; and, in September 1592, visiting the university, her Majesty honoured him with her presence, and staid there several days, being agreeably entertained with elegant speeches, plays, and disputations, and received a splendid treat from the Chancellor (q). In 1598, he joined with the Lord-Treasurer Burlegh in negotiating a peace with Spain, which so much alarmed the States of the United Provinces, that, to prevent it, they sent over John Duvenwoord, Admiral of Holland, and others, for renewing their treaty with the Crown of England. Whereupon a new treaty was concluded, and signed by Lord Buckhurst and the said Ambassadors; whereby the Queen was eased of no less than 120,000 pounds per annum, besides other advantages (r). The Treasurer Burlegh lay sick at this time; and upon his death, which happened soon after, Lord Buckhurst succeeded him in that office May 15th this year (s). This was the first post he had in the Establishment, and being not only the most powerful but the most profitable place therein, was given him by the Queen expresly in compensation of the many eminent services which he had done for his country at his own great expence (t). By virtue of this office, he became in a manner Prime Minister, and as such was particularly vigilant both for the publick good and her Majesty's safety; and when scandalous libels were dispersed by the Earl of Essex's faction, insinuating that the Quen and her Council took little care of the government and altogether neglected the state of Ireland, the Treasurer thought himself concerned to vindicate her Majesty, and made sharp reflections on those infamous libels, representing how brave and well regulated an army had been sent into Ireland, compleatly furnished with all manner of provisions; and likewise that her Majesty had expended on that war, in six months time, the sum of 600,000 pounds, which he said the Earl of Essex must own to be true (u). He early suspected this Earl's designs, and observing a greater concourse of people than usual resort to his house, he sent his son [Robert Sackville] to make the Earl a visit, and desire him to be careful of the company he kept; and when that unhappy favourite was brought to his trial, together with the Earl of Southampton, in 1601, Lord Buckhurst sat on that occasion Lord High Steward, and conducted the whole proceeding with eminent dignity, tempered with a just mixture of prudence and humanity (w). He was also in the commission to treat and compound with others concerned in this rebellion, for redemption of their lands, upon paying such fines as should by the commissioners be assessed, and to cause a pardon to be made out for the said treasons (x). The place of Earl Marshal becoming vacant by the death of Essex, the office was put into commission, and his Lordship constituted one of the Lords Commissioners for exercising it (y). The last public commission he received from his royal mistress, was that in 1603, for putting the laws in execution against Jesuits, Seminary Priests, and other Ecclesiastics, ordained according to the order or rites of the Romish Church, and brought up seditiously beyond the seas or elsewhere (z). Upon the decease of the Queen, the administration of the kingdom devolving on him, with other Counsellors, they unanimously proclaimed King James, and signed

(o) He was so obsequious to this command, that in all the time he never would endure, openly or secretly, by day or night, to see either wife or child. Funeral Sermon, by Abbot, printed in 1608, 4to.

(p) He had behaved so warily and discreetly in the Netherlands, that no blame could be fastened on him. Ibid.

(q) Ath. Oxon. col. 346. and Fasti, col. 141, 142.

(r) Stowe's Annals.

(s) Pat. p. 11. from 21 to 42 Eliz.

(t) Besides the costly magnificence in his embassies, the Queen observed, that on his coming to his estate, he bountifully, on diverse occasions, feasted her Highness and her nobles, and foreign ambassadors. At that time, he entertained a band of music of the best hands that could any where be got; his Lordship herein excelled to his dying day. Queen Elizabeth's Character of his Lordship, in his Funeral Sermon, by Abbot, as before.

(u) Gen. Hist. of England. Sir Henry Wotton observes, that he counted up 300000 l. which was received by Essex in gifts, besides the fees of his office, and the dispose of great sums of money in her Majesty's armies. Reliq. Wotton. p. 24.

(w) Gen. Hist. of England.

(x) Pat 43 Eliz. p. 7. m. 43.

(y) Rymer, Vol. XVI. p. 384.

(z) Ibid. p. 446.

[H] *One of the Peers for trying Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel*] This commission was a consequence of the former, upon the trial of Tho. Howard Duke of Norfolk, father to this Earl of Arundel. Notwithstanding the Duke's attainder his eldest son held this title with the appurtenances, in right of his mother, it having been adjudged in Parliament to be a feudal honour, or local dignity, held by inheritance and possession of that castle only, without any creation; so that by this appellation he sat in Parliament, Anno 23 Eliz. in which Parliament he was restored in blood from the attainder of the Duke his father. But being a zealous Roman Catholick, after the strict laws made against the Papists, he endeavoured to go beyond the seas without leave, and being discovered was apprehended and sent to the Tower of London, Anno 1584. In 1586 he was fined 10000 l. in the Star-Chamber for his misdemeanors, and attempt to go beyond sea; and three years afterwards was arraigned, and condemned by his Peers in Westminster-Hall, for diverse practices in relation to his religion, and favouring of the Spaniards; nevertheless he had his pardon for life, but continued prisoner in the Tower 'till his death in 1595, before he had compleated the fortieth year of his age. During his imprisonment, he lived in the severity of his religion a most strict and austere life (33).

[I] *Other commissions this and the following year.*] One for instance, to enquire into the goods of the Spaniards concealed in London, with power to call before them such parties as they think proper, and to make seizure, &c. (34). The affairs of the United Provinces being likewise under his inspection, he was one of the council at Greenwich, 7 April 1590, who signed a letter to the States about the keeping of Ostend (35); and in 1591, being stiled Dominum de Buckhurst *Magnum Pincernum Angliæ*, was one of the commissioners that signed a treaty on the part of her Majesty with Henry IV. of France (36).

(33) Peerage of England, under Howard Duke of Norfolk.

(34) Rymer, Vol. XVI.

(35) MSS. in Bib. Cotton. Caligula.

(36) Rymer, as before.

(aa) Ibid.

(bb) General History of England.

(cc) Chauncy's History of Hertfordshire.

(dd) Pat. 1 Jac. I. p. 12.

signed a letter on the 28th of March, 1604, to the Lord Eure, and the rest of the Commissioners *(aa)* for the treaty of Breme, notifying her Majesty's decease, and the recognition and proclamation of King James of Scotland; so that the renewal of his patent of Lord High Treasurer for life was ordered by that monarch, before his arrival in England, and even before his Lordship waited on his Majesty; for he staid to pay his last respects to the memory of the Queen, by seeing her interred on the 28th of April, when he was one of the supporters to the chief mourner, the Lady Marchioness of Northampton *(bb)*. This last duty to his relation being performed on the 28th of April, 1603, he met her successor on the second of May, at Broxborn in Hertfordshire, where he was very graciously received, and confirmed in his post of Lord Treasurer at the seat of Sir Henry Cock *(cc)*. He waited on his Majesty to Theobalds, then the seat of Sir Robert Cecil, Secretary of State; and was one whom the King principally confided and consulted on the measures proper to be taken, as also the choice of his chief officers, which for the most part were then settled, his Majesty staying there four days. On the 13th of March following, he was created Earl of Dorset *(dd)*. As this was a reign in which honours were dispensed with a much less unsparing hand than the preceding, so this new title would, perhaps, be deemed no fresh proof of his extraordinary worth and merit, did not King James herein appear to be, in a very proper sense of the word, executor to Queen Elizabeth. In which spirit also, we find the commission was renewed to the Earl, for executing the office of Earl Marshal at the same time *(ee)*. He was afterwards the first in commission, with four other Lords of the Privy-Council, for mediating and concluding a peace with Spain, which was signed at London the 18th of August, 1604 *(ff)*. The same year he received an order from the King, to warrant and authorize all customers, comptrollers, &c. to demand the sum of six shillings and eight pence on every pound weight of tobacco, over and above two pence in the pound actually paid *(gg)*. This was a consequence of his Treasurer's place, as was also some other transactions the following years [*K*]. He lived in the highest esteem and reputation, without any extraordinary decay of health, 'till 1607, when he was seized at his house at Horsley in Surry with a disorder that reduced him to such extremity, that his life was dispaired of; which coming to the ears of the King, his Majesty in the beginning of June sent the Lord Haye, one of the Gentlemen of his Bedchamber, with a gold ring enamelled black, set with twenty diamonds, and this message, that *His Majesty wished him a speedy and perfect recovery, with all happy and good success, and that he might live as long as the diamonds of that ring did endure, and in token thereof required him to wear it, and keep it for his sake (hh)*. This was a very comfortable cordial, and raised his spirits, so that he actually recovered this blow; but his constitution was so much broken by it, that he became apprehensive of his approaching end; and under that sense, in August following, he made his last Will maturely and deliberately, declaring occasionally among his friends, that he had settled his soul, and composed it to another world, whensoever God should call for him. Moreover, the last morning of his life he was observed to be longer than usual at his private devotions *(ii)*. But whatever forewarnings he might feel, from any thing amiss within, that he was not far from death; yet the suddenness of the stroke, at the time, was evidently unforeseen and unthought of; for he was attending at Whitehall, as usual, at the Council-table, when he dropt down, and immediately gave out his last breath, surrounded by the first officers of state, the Queen herself being present *(kk)*. This sudden death, which happened on the 19th of April, 1608, was occasioned by a particular kind of dropsy in the brain [*L*]. He was interred with great solemnity in Westminster-abbey *(ll)*, on the 26th of May following; his funeral sermon being preached by his chaplain Dr George Abbot, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, wherein he sets forth his character to the best advantage, as may be seen below [*M*]. We shall here give an extract of what is said

(ee) Rymer, Vol. XVI. p. 608. This office did not return into the family of Howard 'till 19 Jac. when it was conferred upon Tho. Howard Earl of Arundel, the collector of Antiquities, and son to Philip already mentioned. Peerage of England, Vol. I.

(ff) Stowe's Annals.

(gg) Rymer, p. 601.

(hh) See his last Will in the Prerogative office, in Regist. vocat. Dorset.

(ii) His Funeral Sermon, by Dr Abbot, then Dean of Winchester.

(kk) Dugdale calls it an apoplexy, apparently from the suddenness of it. Baron. Vol. II. p. 399. and he is herein followed by Spense, in preface to Gorboduc, p. iii.

(ll) However, his corpse afterwards, as Dugdale assures us, was carried to Withiam, and buried there according to his request in his last Will.

[*K*] *This was a consequence of his Treasurer's place, &c.*] How much the publick good was affected by this extraordinary duty upon Tobacco, laid to hinder the consumption of that herb, has been already observed in the course of this work (37); and all that can be said in behalf of the Treasurer is, that for ought that appears, his part in it was purely ministerial, this duty proceeding wholly from the King's unaccountable aversion to the plant. As to the other transactions mentioned above, it appears by them, that his Lordship shewed a particular concern for the preservation of the records of the kingdom, and the jewels of the crown. For Robert Earl of Salisbury, Principal Secretary of State, delivered to the Treasurer several treaties and writings specified in an indenture the 9th of October, 3 Jac. I. And in 1606 he was a party to the King's indenture, wherein he annexed diverse royal and princely diadems, crowns, coronets and jewels, of great estimation and value, inseparably for ever hereafter to the crown of this realm, which his Majesty signed by his Lordship's perswasion and advice, and the schedule annexed was drawn by his order (38).

[*L*] *His death was occasioned by a particular kind of dropsy in the brain*] J. Baker informs us (39), that upon opening his head there were found in it certain little bags of water *, which, whether by straining of his study the night before, in which he sat up 'till eleven o'clock, or otherwise by their own maturity suddenly breaking, and falling upon his brain, caused his death.

(37) In Sir Walter Ralegh's article; where the detriment done thereby to the revenue was taken notice of; and it must not be denied, that in this instance our Treasurer was more obsequious to his royal master's pleasure, than careful of his country's good.

(38) Rymer, Vol. XVI. p. 641 to 635.

(39) In his Chronicle, p. 56.

* Called Hydatides by the Physicians.

[*M*] *Dr Abbot's character of him, &c.*] Having gone through his eulogium by Queen Elizabeth, as a Scholar, Traveller, Courtier, and a Minister, the Doctor proceeds thus: 'Never was there any Nobleman, who with more humble agnizing, with more 'feeling and affectionate gratefulness, did entertain 'the favours of his Sovereigns.—And for other parts 'of moral virtues, how many rare things were in him: 'who more loving unto his wife, that honourable 'Lady, the mirror of all true virtue, a worthy testimony whereof he hath recorded in his last Will (40). 'Who more kind to his children and grand children; 'who more fast unto his friend? who more moderate

(40) He there leaves her very large legacies, not as any recompence of her infinite merit towards him (which he declares is above all recompence), but as a token of his love, reverence, and esteem, for her virtues of charity, modesty, fidelity, humility, secrecy, wisdom, patience, and a mind replete with all piety and goodness.

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said of him in more moderate terms by Sir Robert Naunton, as follows: ‘ They much commend his elocution, but more the excellency of his pen; he was a scholar, and a person of a quick dispatch, faculties that yet run in the blood; and they say of him, that his secretaries did little for him by way of inditement, wherein they could seldom please him, he was so facete and choice in his phrase and stile: and for his dispatches, and the content he gave to suitors, he had a decorum seldom since put in practice; for he had of his attendants that took into roll the names of all suitors, with the dates of their first addresses, and these in their order of hearing; so that a fresh man could not leap over his head that was of a more ancient edition, except in the urgent affairs of State. I find not, continues this writer, that he was any ways inured in the factions of the Court, which were all his time strong, and in every man's note; the Howards and the Cecils on the one part, my Lord of Essex, &c. on the other part: for he held the staff of the Treasury fast in his hand, which once in the year made them all beholden to him. And the truth is, as he was a wise man and a stout, he had no reason to be a partaker; for he stood sure in blood and in grace, and was wholly intentive to the Queen's services; and such were his abilities, that she received assiduous proofs of his sufficiency; and it has been thought that she might have more cunning instruments, but none of a more strong judgment and confidence in his ways, which are symptoms of magnanimity and fidelity; whereunto methinks his motto hath some kind of reference, *Aut nunquam tentes, aut perfice*; as though he would have charactered in a word, the genius of his house, or expressed somewhat of a higher inclination than lay within his compass *(mm)*.’ To this character of Naunton, we shall subjoin the observation of a late honourable author *(nn)*, that few First Ministers have left so fair a character, and that his family disdained the office of an apology for it, against some little cavils, which

(mm) Naunton's Fragment. Regalia, p. 70.

(nn) Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors of England, p. 162. Vol. I. second edit. 1759, 8vo.

Spreta

to his enemy? who more true of his word (41)? No Nobleman was more given to hospitality, and keeping of a great house, having lived seventy and two years, for so was his age accounted, and being married more than fifty and three years unto one and the self-same lady †, he kept house for forty and two years in an honourable proportion: for thirty years of those his family consisted of little less, in one place or another, than two hundred persons; but for more than twenty years, besides workmen, and other hired servants, his number at the least hath been two hundred and twenty daily, as appeared upon check-roll; a very rare example in this present age of ours, when house-keeping is so decayed. Who more magnificent than his Lordship in solemn entertainments; as besides other particulars, was manifested abundantly to the world not long before his death, when his Majesty, with the Queen and Prince, together with a great part of the nobility spent divers days at Oxford (42). Who was ever more desirous to do wrong unto none? His Lordship bought no land, but he commonly paid more for it than it was worth, yielding this reason, that it would the better prosper, and continue in his name and posterity. In his will, how careful was he that all debts should be paid; yea, that there was no specialty whereby it might be challenged. The like also for wrong done to any one whatsoever,' whereof he protested before the eternal Majesty, that he did did not remember any. Unto these honourable parts I may add a great many more, as his good and charitable disposition towards his tenants, of whom ordinarily he took less fines by a third part than by other lords is usually accustomed; and his farmers held his farms, as is well known to the world, but at reasonable rents: as his relief to the poor, in pinching times of dearth, in the year 1597, which was a time of the greatest scarcity that ever we did know, his Lordship sent into Sussex of his free gift, as much Danish rye bought at Billingsgate as cost 1541. 14s. 7d. And this present year 1608, his Lordship caused weekly certain quarters of wheat to be carried from his own granary at Lewes in Sussex, and to be sold in the market to the poor at a far lower rate than the price which commonly men did take *. And that this his Lordship's bounty might continue after his death, by his last Will and Testament he hath bequeathed a thousand pounds for the erecting of a granary at the place which last I named, for the use and benefit of poor people in those parts; and two thousand pounds as a stock for the storing of that house against times of dearth and scarcity. Unto this he hath also joined a thousand pounds to be bestowed on the building of a chapel at Withiam, where his ancestors do lie, and where his Lordship desired that his body might be interred. These are the fruits of a lively faith, and so must be reputed.

‘ But because a right Belief and Religion towards God is the highest point of all, I may not here omit to say something touching that. There are arguments most evident to demonstrate unto all men, that his Faith was agreeable unto the word of God, and according to the profession of the renowned Church of England. In that famous University of Oxford, where his Lordship for more than sixteen years was our honourable Chancellor, it was his special care to substitute such under him as were most sound for Religion, which the wiser sort did observe, although common men did not mark it. As he kept down with one hand all novelties and humours in opinions, which laboured to set trouble in the Church and Commonwealth; so with the other hand, to the uttermost of his power, he depressed the Priests and Jesuits, which have used too much to that place; not to the University, which, God be praised, is free from all such imputation, but to some few of the city, who embrace their old superstitions. In that place this I can witness, that his Lordship neither openly nor secretly did ever give countenance unto any that was backward in religion. And on the other side, that there was never any thing soberly and wisely proposed, that might forward true piety, which his Lordship did not further, as I could by many particulars make plain to whomsoever. Touching the education of those honourable plants his grandchildren, his Lordship was ever careful that they should be trained up in the truth of religion, far from popery and idolatry. His charge was unto their tutor (as I well knew in his life-time) *that as he would answer him in the day of the last judgment before the face of Christ, that he should train them up in the truth of the religion professed now in England*. How angry would he be, when he was at his country-house, if they came not duly to prayers. He never could endure that they should otherwise be matched, than where there was found religion. Concerning his own soul, when the last year he was sick, besides ordinary prayers, he composed himself to God by receiving at Horseley the holy sacrament of the Lord's Supper, when he looked to depart the world.

‘ But two days before he died, devoutly and religiously he heard a sermon at home, in his Lordship's own chapel at Dorset-house; and how holily and christianly in his last Will and Testament doth he commend his soul unto God: so it may well be supposed that he gave him more than ordinary conjecture, or suspicion, that his death was not far from him, &c. (43).’

(41) In proof of this, the testimony of a nobleman is brought, who in a public assembly declared after his death, that in much conversation and concurrence in many causes of great weight and importance, he never heard him speak, or in earnest affirm, that which he found to be otherwise.

† Or rather fifty-one, as it is in the inscription upon her monument in Buckhurst-chapel.

(42) This was in August 1605, when Prince Henry was also matriculated in the university, as a member of Magdalen-college. Wood's Fasti, col. 172. Vol. I.

* Viz. After 26s. 8d. the quarter, when others ordinarily sold for 40s.

(43) This Sermon was preached May 26th, 1608, and printed the same year. See Archbishop Abbot's article in rem. [Y].

[N] *He*

(oo) Lloyd's Worthies, p.

Spreta exolescunt; si irascare agnita videntur (oo).

Several of his Lordship's letters are printed in the *Cabala*; besides which there is a Latin letter of his to Dr Bartholomew Clerke, prefixed to that author's Latin translation from the Italian of Balthazar Castilio's Courtier; intituled, *De Curiali sive Aulico*, first printed at London about the year 1571. His Lordship was succeeded in honour and estate by his son Robert, and afterwards successively by his two grandsons, Richard [*N*] and Edward, which last is the subject of the ensuing article.

[*N*] *He was succeeded by his son Robert, and his two grandsons Richard, &c.*] Robert was forty-seven years old and upwards at the decease of his father: he had all the advantages of education, attained several languages, and was so deeply learned in Greek and Latin, that they became as familiar to him as his own tongue. He had besides a singular knowledge in many sciences; and in the House of Commons was a leading member, and at the head of several committees (44), having been elected for the Borough of Lewes, in 31 Eliz. and in all other Parliaments, while he continued a commoner, was chosen for the county of Sussex (45). He lived in the dignity of an Earl not a compleat year, departing this life at Dorset-house, near Fleetstreet, London, Feb. 27. 1608-9. and was buried at Withiam, according to his directions, where a noble monument is erected to his memory. He was succeeded in honour and estate by his son Richard, who was born 28 March 1589. in the Charter-house, London (46). He married the lady Anne Clifford, daughter and heir of George Earl of Cumberland, 25 Feb. 1608-9; and upon his father's decease, two days after, became Earl of Dorset. In 1611. he travelled into France on a pre engagement to his grandmother, and other of his friends before his marriage. He returned to his seat at Knowle in Kent, on the 8th of April, 1612. where he lived with great magnificence and hospitality, as he did also at his seat at Bolebrook in Sussex, and Dorset-house in London, where he died on the 28th of March, 1624. and was interred with his ancestors at Withiam. Anne, his countess, was remarkably religious, magnificent, and disposed to letters. She erected a pillar in the county of Westmoreland, on the spot where she took her last leave of her mother; a monument to her tutor, Samuel Daniel, the poetic historian, and another to Spenser. She also founded two hospitals, and repaired seven churches and six castles (47). She enjoyed large possessions of her own family the Cliffords, which she left to her grandson the Earl of Thanet (48). She was remarried June 3. 1630. to Philip Herbert, Earl of Pembroke (49), Lord Chamberlain to King Charles I. who left her again a widow in 1650. She was a lady of an admirable judgment, and has left the occurrences of her own life in manuscript (50), wherein is this account of her first husband, the Earl of Dorset: 'That he was in his own nature of a just 'mind, of a sweet disposition, and very valiant in his 'own person; he had a great advantage in his breed-'ing, by the wisdom and discretion of his grandfather 'Thomas, Earl of Dorset, Lord High-Treasurer of 'England, who was then held one of the wisest men 'of that time; by which means he was so good a scho-'lar in all manner of learning, that in his youth, 'when he lived in the University of Oxford, there 'was none of the young Nobility then students there, 'that excelled him. He was also a good patriot to his 'country, and generally well-beloved in it, much 'esteemed in all the Parliaments that sat in his time; 'and so great a lover of scholars and soldiers, as that 'with an excessive bounty towards them, or indeed 'any of worth that were in distress, he did much di-'minish his estate; as also with excessive prodigality 'in house keeping, and other noble ways at Court, as 'tilting, masking, and the like, Prince Henry being 'then alive, who was much addicted to these noble 'exercises, and of whom he was much beloved.'

She wrote also a letter to Sir Joseph Williamson, Secretary of State to Charles II. who having sent to nominate to her a member for the borrough of Appleby, she returned the following answer: 'I have been bullied by an Usurper, I have been neglected by a Court, but I will not be dictated to by a Subject: Your man sha'n't stand.

Anne Dorset
Pembroke and Montgomery (51).'

Besides the two daughters already mentioned, she brought her Lord three sons, who all dying in their infancy, he left no male issue, so that the estate and honour devolved upon his younger brother Edward (52).

(44) See the Journals of that House.

(45) Willis's Notitia Parlamentaria.

(46) That house was not purchased, 'till after this time, by Sutton. See his article.

(47) Memorials of Select Persons, p. 92, 94.

(48) John Tufton, who had married her eldest daughter Margaret; she also brought the Earl of Dorset another daughter, Isabella, who was married in 1647 to James Compton, Earl of Northampton. Peerage of England.

(49) That simpleton, with whom Butler so much diverts himself in his Hudibras; but she was divorced from him in less than a year after her marriage. Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors, ubi supra.

(50) The MS. contains an account also of her progenitors. Ibid.

(51) A collection of periodical papers called The World, Vol. I. No. XIV.

(52) Peerage of England, under this family, Vol. I.

SACKVILLE [EDWARD] Earl of Dorset, was born in the year 1590. and being educated by a private tutor under the care and direction of his grandfather the Treasurer (*a*), became accomplished by study and travels so as to be early distinguished for his eminent abilities. He had not been long arrived to man's estate when he entered into a marriage with Mary, daughter and heir of Sir George Curson (*b*) of Croxhall in Derbyshire, Knt [*A*], and was at the seat of his father-in-law, in 1613, when he received a challenge from the Lord Bruce, then at Paris, whom he met, according to appointment, and killed in a duel, betwixt Antwerp and Bergenopzoom in Zealand. The affair made a great noise at that time, and several aspersions being laid upon him, he drew up in his own vindication a very particular account of the fight, and sent it to a friend in England, before his return home. This letter, a manuscript of which is part of the choicest treasures of Queen's college library in Oxford, sets our young nobleman's valour, and other accomplishments in so strong a light, that it must not be excluded from a place here, as follows.

'Worthy Sir,

'As I am not ignorant, so I ought to be sensible of the false aspersions some authorless 'tongues have laid upon me, in the reports of the unfortunate passage lately happened 'between the Lord Bruce and myself, which as they are spread here, so I may justly fear 'they reign also where you are. There are but two ways to resolve doubts of this na-'ture, *by Oath*, or *by Sword*. The first is due to Magistrates, and communicable to 'friends;

(*a*) See the preceding article, in the two last remarks.

(*b*) This family of the Cursons were also enriched by the marriages of the heirs of Brabazon, Ferrers, Camville, Clement, Hampton, Rushall, Prestwood, Bradbury, and Rookewood; and are lineally descended from Rob. de Curçun, who came in with Will. the Conqueror. Peerage of England, under Sackville Duke of Dorset, Vol. I.

[*A*] *Mary daughter and heir of Sir George Curzon, &c.*] She had the seat of Croxhall, and a great estate in Derbyshire to her fortune, which the Duke of Dorset now enjoys. She was a lady accomplished with all virtues, and an excellent judgment, being entrusted by King Charles I. with the tuition of the princess his daughter; and her conduct was so remarkable, that when she died both Lords and Commons sitting at Westminster ordered, the 17th of May, 1645. that her funeral should be at the publick expence; and she was buried accordingly with great state and solemnity, Sept. 3. 1645 (1).

(1) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion.

[*B*] *Testified*

'friends; the other to such as maliciously slander, and impudently defend their assertion. 'Your love, not my merit, assure me you hold me your friend, which esteem I am much 'desirous to retain. Do me therefore the right to understand the truth of that, and in 'my behalf inform others, who either are, or may be infected with sinister rumours, much 'prejudicial to that fair opinion I desire to hold amongst all worthy persons. And on the 'faith of a Gentleman, the relation I shall give is neither more or less than the bare truth. 'The inclosed contains the first citation sent me from Paris, by a Scotish gentleman, 'who delivered it me in Derbyshire, at my father-in-law's house: after it follows my 'then answer returned him by the same bearer. The next is my accomplishment of my 'first promise, being a particular assignation of place and weapon, which I sent by a ser-'vant of mine by post from Roterdam, as soon as I landed there. The receipt of which, 'joined with an acknowledgment of my too fair carriage to the deceased Lord, is testified 'by the last, which periods the business [*B*] 'till we met at Tergose in Zealand, it being the 'place allotted for rendezvous; where he, accompanied with one Mr Crawford, an Eng-'lish gentleman, for his second, a Surgeon and a man, arrived with all the speed he 'could. And there having rendered himself, I addressed my second, Sir John Heydon (*c*), 'to let him understand, that now all following should be done by consent, as concerning 'the terms whereon we should fight, as also the place. To our seconds we gave power 'for their appointments, who agreed we should go to Antwerp, from thence to Bergen-'opzoom, where in the midway, a village divides the States territories from the Arch-'duke's: and there was the destined stage, to the end, that having ended, he that could, 'might presently exempt himself from the justice of the country, by retiring into the 'dominion not offended. It was further concluded, that in case any should fall or slip, 'that then the combat should cease, and he whose ill fortune had so subjected him, was to 'acknowledge his life to have been in the other's hands. But in case one party's sword 'should break, because that could only chance by hazard, it was agreed, that the other 'should take no advantage, but either then be made friends, or else upon even terms go to 'it again. Thus these conclusions being by each of them related to his party, was by us 'both approved and assented to. Accordingly we embarked for Antwerp. And by rea-'son, my Lord (as I conceive, because he could not handsomely, without danger of dis-'covery) had not paired the sword, I sent him to Paris, bringing one of the same length but 'twice as broad; my *second* excepted against it, and advised me to match my own, and 'send him the choice, which I obeyed, it being, you know, the challenger's privilege to 'elect his weapon. At the delivery of the swords, which was performed by Sir John 'Heydon, it pleased the Lord Bruce to choose my own, and then past expectation he 'told him, that he found himself so far behind hand, as a little of my blood would not 'serve his turn; and therefore he was now resolved to have me alone, because he knew, '(for I will use his own words) that so worthy a Gentleman, and my friend, could not 'endure to stand by, and see him do that, which he must, to satisfy himself and his ho-'nour. Thereunto Sir John Heydon replied, that such intentions were bloody, and 'butcherly, far unfitting so noble a personage, who should desire to bleed for reputation, 'not for life; withal adding, he thought himself injured, being come thus far, now to 'be prohibited from executing those honourable offices he came for. The Lord Bruce, for 'answer, only reiterated his former resolution. The which, not for matter, but for man-'ner, so moved me, as though to my remembrance I had not of a long while eaten more 'liberally than at dinner, and therefore unfit for such an action (seeing the Surgeons 'hold a wound upon a full stomach much more dangerous than otherwise), I requested 'my *second* to certify him, I would presently decide the difference, and therefore he 'should

(*c*) The same who was afterwards Lieutenant of the Ordnance to King Charles I. at the breaking out of the Civil Wars, and is much commended by Lord Clarendon for his fidelity and diligence in the discharge of that office. History of the Rebellion, &c. Vol. I. p. 264. fol. edit.

[*B*] *Testified by the last, which periods the business.*] Those mentioned above to be inclosed in that of Mr Sackville are as follows:

'A Monsieur, Monsieur Sackville,

I that am in France, hear how much you attribute to yourself in this time, that I have given the world to ring your praises; and for me the truest Almanack to tell you how much I suffer. If you call to memory, when as I gave you my hand last, I told you I reserved the heart for a truer reconciliation (1). Now be that noble Gentleman my love once spoke; and come and do him right, that would recite the trials you owe your birth and country, were I not confident your honour gives you the same courage to do me right, that it did to do me wrong. Be master of your own weapons and time; the place wheresoever, I will wait on you. By doing this you shall shorten revenge, and clear the idle opinion the world hath of both our worths.

Ed. Bruce.'

(1) Do not these expressions suggest his having before declined that satisfaction which he now demanded.

'A Monsieur, Monsieur Baron de Kinloss,

As it shall be far from me to seek a quarrel, so will I also be ready to meet with any that is desirous to make trial of my valour, by so fair a course as you require. A witness whereof yourself shall be, who within a month shall receive a strict account of time, place, and weapon, where you shall find me ready disposed to give honourable satisfaction by him that shall conduct you thither. In the mean time be as secret of the appointment, as it seems you are desirous of it.

E. Sackville.'

'A Monsieur, Monsieur Baron de Kinloss,

I am at Tergose, a town in Zealand, to give what satisfaction your sword can render you, accompanied with a worthy Gentleman for my second, in degree a knight. And for your coming I will not limit you a peremptory day, but desire you to make a definite and speedy repair, for your own honour and fear of prevention, at which time you shall find me there.

E. Sackville.'

Tergose, 10th of August, 1613.

'A Monsieur, Monsieur Sackville,

I have received your letter by your man, and acknowledge you have dealt nobly with me, and I come with all possible haste to meet you.

E. Bruce (2).'

(2) Guardian, Vol. II. No. 129.

'should presently meet me on horseback, only waited on by our Surgeons, they being 'unarmed. Together we rode (but one before the other some twelve score) about two 'English miles; and then passion having so weak an enemy to assail as my direction, 'easily became victor, and using his power, made me obedient to his commands; I be'ing verily mad with anger the Lord Bruce should thirst after my life, with a kind of 'assuredness, seeing I had come so far and needlesly, to give him leave to regain his lost 'reputation (*d*); I bad him alight, which with all willingness he quickly granted, and there 'in a meadow (ancle deep in water at the least) bidding farewel to our doublets, in our 'shirts we began to charge each other, having afore commanded our Surgeons to with'draw themselves a pretty distance from us, conjuring them besides, as they respected our 'favour, or their own safeties, *Not to stir, but suffer us to execute our pleasures*; we being 'fully resolved (God forgive us) to dispatch each other by what means we could. I made 'a thrust at my enemy, but was short, and in drawing back my arm I received a great 'wound thereon, which I interpreted as a reward for my short shooting; but in revenge 'I pressed in to him, though I then missed him also; and then received a wound in my 'right pap, which past level through my body, and almost to my back. And there we 'wrestled for the two greatest and dearest prizes we could ever expect, trial for honour 'and life. In which struggling, my hand, having but an ordinary glove on it, lost one 'of her servants, though the meanest, which hung by a skin, and to sight, yet re'maineth as before; and I am put in hope one day to recover the use of it again. But 'at last breathless, yet keeping our holds, there passed on both sides propositions of quit'ting each other's sword. But when amity was dead, confidence could not live; and '*who should quit first* was the question, which on neither part either would perform; and 'restriving again afresh, with a kick and a wrench together, I freed my long captive wea'pon; which incontinently levying at his throat, being master still of his, I demanded *if he 'would ask his life, or yield his sword?* both which, though in that imminent danger, he 'bravely denied to do. Myself being wounded, and feeling loss of blood, having three 'conduits running on me, began to make me faint, and he couragiously persisting not to 'accord to either of my propositions; remembrance of his former bloody desire, and 'feeling of my present estate, I struck at his heart; but with his avoiding miss'd my aim, 'yet past through the body, and drawing back my sword repast it through again through 'another place, when he cried, *Oh! I am slain*; seconding his speech with all the force 'he had to cast me. But being too weak, after I had defended his assault, I easily be'came master of him, laying him on his back; when being upon him, I redemanded, '*If he would request his life?* But it seems he prized it not at so dear a rate, as to be be'holden to me for it, bravely replying, *he scorn'd it*. Which answer of his was so noble 'and worthy, as I protest I could not find in my heart to offer him any more violence, 'only keeping him down, 'till at length his Surgeon afar off, cried out, *He would imme'diately die, if his wounds were not stopped*. Whereupon I asked, *If he desired his Surgeon 'should come?* which he accepted of; and so being drawn away, I never offered to take 'his sword, accounting it inhuman to rob a dead man, for so I held him to be. This 'thus ended, I retired to my Surgeon, in whose arms, after I had remained a while, for 'want of blood I lost my sight, and withal, as I then thought, my life also. But strong 'water, and his diligence, quickly recovered me; when I escaped a great danger, for 'my Lord's Surgeon, when nobody dreamt of it, came full at me with his Lord's sword, 'and had not mine with my sword interposed himself, I had been slain by those base 'hands; although my Lord Bruce, weltring in his blood, and past all expectation of life, 'conformable to all his former carriage, which was undoubtedly noble, cried out, *Rascal, 'hold thy hand!* So may I prosper, as I have dealt sincerely with you in this relation, 'which I pray you, with the inclosed letter, deliver to my Lord Chamberlain. And 'so, &c.

'Yours, Ed. Sackville (*e*).'

'Lovaine, the 8th of September, 1613.

(*d*) This expression seems to confirm the conjecture in note (1) below, concerning the immediate cause of this duel.

(*e*) Peerage of England, under this article.

Lord Clarendon intimates (*f*), that this was not the only quarrel of the kind into which our young Nobleman was drawn, through the excessive heat and fire of his temper [*C*]. The same author tells us, that having a good support for a younger brother left him by his grandfather the Treasurer, and marrying a wife with a fair fortune, he gave full scope to his constitution without restraint, and indulged to his appetite all the pleasures which that season of his life (the fullest of gaiety and riot of any that preceded, or succeeded) could

(*f*) History of the Rebellion, Vol. I. p. 60.

[*C*] *Lord Clarendon intimates, that this was not the only quarrel he was engaged in,* &c.] The noble Historian having observed that the duel with Lord Bruce was upon a subject very unwarrantable, proceeds thus, ' Nor did this miserable accident, which he always exceedingly lamented, make that thorough impression upon him, but that he indulged still too much to those importunate and insatiate appetites, even of that individual person that had so lately embarked him in that desperate enterprize; being too much tinder not to be inflamed with those sparks (3).' We have given the remark in Lord Clarendon's own words, because they evince, that though he had not been perfectly informed in some circumstances of the duel *, yet he seems to have been no stranger to the cause of it, and it were to be wished, that he had not been restrained, as he apparently was, by some prudential reasons from speaking more explicitely upon that subject; and the rather, as Mr Addison, or whoever it was that supplied the account in the Guardian, expresly declares his ignorance in this particular (4). Nor has Mr Collins been hitherto able to throw any light into it.

(3) History of the Rebellion, Vol. I. p. 60, fol. edition.

* Particularly in saying it was fought under the walls of Antwerp, and our cadet's retiring after it to a monastery near that city; as also that he was then called Sir Edward Sackville.

(4) See the Guardian, Vol. II. No. 131.

[*D*] He

(g) Hist. of the Rebellion, &c. Vol. I. p. 60. fol. edit.

(h) Miles's Catalogue of Nobility, p. 127.

(i) Gen. Hist. of England, Vol. II. p. 6,9.

(k) Ibid. p. 657.

(l) Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria.

(m) Introduction to Sir Francis Bacon's Letters, p. 51.

(n) Memoirs of the family of Clifford. See remark [N] of the preceding article.

could tempt or suggest to him (g). However that be, 'tis certain, that he was in great favour at Court, and at the creation of Charles Prince of Wales (afterwards King Charles I.) on the fourth of November, 1616. he was made one of the Knights of the Bath, to grace that solemnity (h). He was also one of the principal Commanders of those forces sent in 1620, to assist Frederick King of Bohemia, in maintaining his right to that kingdom against the Emperor, at which time was fought the remarkable battle of Prague. He returned with the Earls of Essex, Oxford, and others, the 10th of November the same year (i) [D], and in July 1621. he succeded Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, as Ambassador to the French King, and having discharged that trust with honour and fidelity, King James I called him into his Privy Council (k). In the mean time having been elected one of the Knights for the county of Sussex in the two last Parliaments of this reign (l), he became a leading member in the House of Commons. He was elected chairman of a committee to inspect the abuses of the Courts of Justice, March 12, 1620-1. and spoke very learnedly and eloquently on the 17th in the house, in defence of the Lord Chancellor Bacon, then accused of corruption (m). But above all, his speech in the 21 James I. when a supply was asked for the recovery of the Palatinate, deserves a particular notice [E]. At the decease of his elder brother in 1624, he happened to be at Florence in Italy, but came through France into England the latter end of May following (n), when entering into the possession of the title and estate, he found it so much encumbered, that nothing upon the matter was left to support the dignity (o). But though this exposed him to many difficulties and inconveniencies, yet as Earl Richard was honourably disposed that his just debts should be paid, so this brother readily consented thereto (p). After the accession of King Charles I he was at the head of all national affairs conducive to the interest of his country [F]. And as he had been eminent in the House of Commons, while he sat there, so he shined in the House of Peers, when he came to move in that sphere (q). He

(o) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, &c. ubi supra; where his Lordship tells us, that his elder brother had in a few years, by an excessive expence in all the ways to which money can be applied, entirely consumed almost the whole great fortune that descended to him.

(p) Rymer's Fœdera, Vol. XVIII. p. 722.

(q) Clarendon, as before.

[D] *He returned home the same year.*] This year there happened to be a dispute between the younger sons of Earls, and the Knights of King James's Privy Council, for place and precedence; and the matter coming to be argued with great solemnity before his Majesty, the Earls sons, from a sense of the great abilities of Sir Edward Sackville, and having a knowledge of his learning, judgment, and experience, unanimously deputed him to manage the debate, and speak for them. And by his solid arguments on that occasion, the King declared himself in their favour, and ordered them place and precedence, not only before the Knights Privy-Counsellors, but also before the Knights of the most noble Order of the Garter that were not Barons, or of a higher degree (5).

(5) Peerage of England, from a MS. of Sir Henry St George, Garter King at Arms, in the possession of the present Duke of Dorset.

[E] *His speech on the petition for a supply to recover the Palatinate.*] On this occasion he assured the House, 'that he would not sit silent, if he found himself able 'to say any thing that might tend to unload his country of the heavy burden it then groaned under, by 'reason of the innumerable number of monopolies, 'which like so many incubusses and succubusses exhausted the vital spirits, and so pressed down those parts 'which ought to enjoy free respiration.—That of his 'own knowledge his Majesty had commanded a select 'number of Noblemen and Gentlemen, who had 'been commanders in the wars, to consult together of 'what number of men an army ought to be composed, 'which might be able to recover the Palatinate, and 'protect it from a second invasion. That they had 'met together, had finished their task, advised the 'King of the number of soldiers, and given an estimate of the charge (which he informed them of), 'telling them, that the daughter of their King and 'country, scarce knew where to lay her head; or if 'she did, not where in safety. And therefore advised 'them, as the King called for aid, to give it; which 'would make his Majesty not only in love with Parliaments, but be the way to recall them home from 'exile, and again render them frequent. Concluding, 'that God would be pleased to incline their hearts to 'do that which might be most for his glory, next for 'the King's service, then for his Country's happiness '(6).'

(6) See the speech at length in Rushworth, Vol. I. p. 131.

[F] *He was in all affairs conducive to the interest of his country.*] Besides those mentioned above, his Lordship was in a commission appointed May 30, 1625. to enquire into all new erected buildings within the city and suburbs of London, and prevent them, as they should think proper. The same year he was also in a commission for exercising all spiritual and ecclesiastical jurisdiction in England, Ireland, and the dominion of Wales. Third of Sept. 1626. 6 Car. I. he was in a commission to proceed against all such soldiers and mariners by martial law, as commit murder, robbery, &c. in the county of Sussex, of which he was Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum; and in the 15th of the same month he was made a Commissioner of the Revenues. In January 1626-7. he was of the Committee of Council for the management of affairs in Ireland. The same year he was in another commission to conclude a treaty with the Dutch. In 1629, 5 Car. I. he had conferred upon him the office of High-Steward of the Honour of Grafton. The next year he had a grant of the office of Constable of Beaumaris-Castle in North-Wales, and of the governour of that town for life. The same year, being Lord Chamberlain to the Queen, he was in a commission to order the preparation and state ceremonies at the baptism of Prince Charles, (afterwards King Charles II.) which was solemnized at St James's Sunday 27th of June this year 1630. and on the 6th of July following, he was one of the commissioners for compounding with such persons as did not appear to take the order of knighthood upon them at the King's coronation. And on the 2d of October the same year, he was with some others appointed to survey the records, writings, state-papers, &c. of Sir Robert Cotton. He was also in a commission for executing the office of Lord High Admiral; in another for repairing St Paul's Cathedral in London; and in another for the better planting of Virginia, &c. as also in a fourth to treat and agree for the inheritance of any honours, manors, &c. in Ireland; in a fifth, to exercise all jurisdiction concerning ecclesiastical affairs; and in a sixth, to enquire into the grievances and abuses committed in the several courts of justice, and other inferior courts. In 1634, in the 12th of Car. I. he received a grant of the office of keeper of Grafton-Park for life. Being of counsel to the Queen, he was authorised to put in execution the orders and directions of the King relating to the Queen's courts, the settling of her reveuue, &c. He was also in the commission for managing the office of Ordnance; and in another, to compound with all those who held their estates by defective titles. In another, to see so many ships fitly prepared as the Lords of the council should direct; and to ease such counties as could not furnish the same as by the King's writs were required. In another, to propagate the Christian Religion in the colonies; and in another, to enquire again into what new buildings had been erected within the cities of London and Westminster to the prejudice of the King and his subjects. Lastly, He was one of the Commissioners with the Marquis of Hamilton, the Earls of Arundel, Pembroke, and Holland, for treating with the Lords Brederode Aersen, Heenflart, and Joachimi, about a marriage between the Princess Mary, eldest daughter of King Charles I. and William Prince of Orange, which being concluded on † and consummated, she became mother to King William III (7).

† They were married May 2, 1641. Salm. Chron. Hist.

(7) Peerage of England, where the several authorities are subjoined.

[G] *He*

He was elected Knight of the Garter, May 15, 1625 (r), having the day before been made a Commissioner of Trade, in the view, as was expresly declared by the King, of raising the credit of that important branch of the administration (s). On his Majesty's marriage he was constituted Lord Chamberlain to the Queen, and he bore the first sword part of the Regalia, at the King's Coronation on Candlemas day this year (t). He was continued in the Privy-Council, and shewed himself a true patriot both to his King and country. In which spirit he was in the committee of Council for setting at liberty those gentlemen that had been imprisoned for refusing to pay the loan of ship-money (u). He also joined in other orders for redressing the grievances of the subject. And it is remarkable of him, that he was never present in council when warrants were issued for levying soldiers on ship-money; neither is his name mentioned in such orders as infringed on the liberty of the subject, or were contrary to law (w). In 1640. he was appointed one of the Regents of the kingdom, during his Majesty's absence in Scotland, at which time his Lordship having intelligence of the Irish massacre, acquainted the House of Commons with that bloody design, which was to have been put in execution on the 23d of October, 1641. the commemoration day of Ignatius Loyola, founder of the Jesuit's order. By this means the general massacre was prevented (x); and upon the King's return from Scotland, he sent his Lordship on the 28th of December with a message to the Lords, 'That being sensible of the miseries of Ireland, he would, as he hath offered, raise ten thousand volunteers, if the Commons would undertake to pay them (y).' His Lordship had too discerning an eye to be deceived by any artifices and professions made use of by those, whose designs involved us in the utmost confusion, and had the interest of his country so much at heart, as to oppose all their unwarrantable proceedings. In that spirit, when the bill against the Bishops was depending in the House of Peers, and means had been used to bring down a mob to insult them, he, as Lord Lieutenant of Middlesex having command of the Trained-bands, ordered them to fire, which so frighted the rabble that they left the place. Upon which Lord Clarendon observes, that the House of Commons incensed to see their *friends* so used, much inveighed against the Earl of Dorset, and talked of accusing him of High-Treason, at least of drawing up some impeachment against him, for some judgment he had been party to in the Star-Chamber or Council-table; and so giving these hints of their displeasure, that he might have the more care how he carried himself (z), and their not proceeding in earnest accordingly, will be thought a sufficient proof that no matter of accusation could be grounded against him. However 'tis certain, that being made this year, 1641, President of the Council, and Lord Privy-Seal, he made two speeches, advising his Majesty to a reconciliation with his Parliament [G]. And

(r) Ashmole's Order of the Garter; and by his installation-plate in St George's chapel at Windsor, he appears to be installed Decemb. 13, 1625.

(s) Rymer, p. 82.

(t) Fuller's Church History, p. 122.

(u) Annals of King Charles I. He was also of the committee to adjust the claims of all persons concerning services to be performed at the coronation, p. 230.

(w) Ibid. p. 847.

(x) Rushworth, Vol. II. p. 385, 398, 403. 405. In commemoration of this deliverance, this day is particularly observed in Ireland.

(y) Sanderson's Life of King Charles I. p. 472.

(z) History of the Rebellion, Vol I. p. 335. 8vo. edition.

[G] *He made two speeches advising his Majesty to a reconciliation with the Parliament.*] In the first of these speeches he takes notice, that though he did not succeed to the Privy-Seal, 'till now upon the death of the Earl of Manchester, yet he had long been possessed of the reversion of it. It appears also by this speech, that the Lord Privy-Seal was at this time Judge ex officio of the court of Requests, which, he observes, was the second court of Conscience in England, instituted by the Solomon of our nation (these are his Lordship's words) for the ease and relief of the subject tired with the tedious process of the suits of Chancery. The speech was made at Oxford, where the court then was, the King having left the Parliament and London; so that his Lordship did not succeed to this post, as he here intimates, 'till it became impossible to it put in execution. In proceeding, he complains greatly of the corrupt practice of the Law-court, *No penny*, says he, *no Pater noster*.

Quantumquisque sua nummorum servat in arca,
Tantum habet & legis.——

He observes, that the Egyptians in their hieroglyphicks deciphered Justice under the figure of an Elephant, the nature of that beast, for his strength, being aptest to carry great burthens, intimating thereby, that on the back of Justice all the weight of the commonwealth should be imposed, that being the only support of it's welfare; 'the want of which, I was once in mind, continues he, if it had pleased God, that we who are servants to his Majesty had continued at London, to have made it a motion to the high court of Parliament, for passing a definitive sentence, with his Majesty's consent, against these tedious delays of suits. But the more are the times to be lamented, that this, nor any thing else for the good of the subject, can be enacted by reason of these civil uncivil wars, and differences betwixt his sacred Majesty and his high court of Parliament; were these reconciled by a fair and happy unity, I would with much joy and alacrity of spirit enter upon this honourable office, and manage it so, as I would discharge true conscience to God, the duty of a true subject to my Prince, and the honest integrity of a Judge to those, who have causes depending before me. But I should seem too much my own trumpet, did not yourselves, my Lords, in your candid dispositions believe what I have uttered.'

In the second speech he is more particular in pressing a reconciliation with the Parliament. After acknowledging his Majesty's favour, and expressing his own undoubted and inviolable fidelity, he proceeds thus: 'The councils of kings are in the hands of the Almighty; and those that are of their council ought to regulate their thoughts and actions, so far to the service of their master, as they shall not be esteemed mere politicians, working in the gentleness and suavity of their nature for their own ends, but in perpetuating the common good, which must needs conduce to the good of the Sovereign. Counsellors that are out of this path, are rather to be termed seducers, and such should be punished, being indeed mere Achitophels, crafty and malicious. And I must needs here deplore the present condition of your sacred Majesty, (in my sorrowing for your royal distress, I express my humble gratitude for your bounty) your high court of Parliament, from whom you have departed hither, being of a settled opinion, as appears by their declarations, that all the machines of evil, that like so many furies fly through your Highness's dominions, have taken their original from the persuasion of bad counsellors. If any such there be, or have been, about your sacred Majesty, I shall most humbly pray for their removal, or conversion from such sinister practices; and think myself (mine integrity will gain a remission for my boldness) engaged in duty and conscience to inform your Majesty, that 'till such counsellors be removed from your Grace's ears, there will never be any hopes, that the distractions of your kingdom can be healed, or the wounds, of which it hath so long bled, be embalmed, much less perfectly cured. For how can your Parliament, the grand and supreme council of your kingdom, comply with the desires of your Majesty, when they conjecture, that whatever they shall desire of your Majesty, shall be thrown by and nullified by the intimations of some few private cabinet counsellors; which was the reason, I conjecture, of their late humble addrefs

And in the same spirit, the following year, waiting on the King at York, where his Majesty published a declaration of his peaceable intentions, Lord Dorset was one of those noble Peers who June 15, 1642. subscribed a declaration of their being witnesses of his Majesty's frequent and earnest professions of ' his abhorring all designs to make war upon ' his Parliament; and not seeing any colour of preparations or counsels that might reasonably beget the belief of any such designs, do profess before God, and testify to all the ' world, that they are fully persuaded his Majesty had no such intention; but that all his ' endeavours tend to the firm and constant settlement of the true Protestant Religion, the ' just privileges of Parliament, the liberty of the subject, and the law, peace, and prosperity of this kingdom (*aa*).' And when he found a party in the Houses too strong to be satisfied, he then supplied the King with money, attended him in the field, and at the battle of Edgehill behaved with the greatest bravery, leading on the troops that retook the Royal Standard, which had been taken by the enemy, when Sir Edward Verney was slain (*bb*). The same year the Earl of Essex having deserted the King's interest was displaced, and the Earl of Dorset declared Lord Chamberlain of the Houshold in his room, and waiting on the King at Oxford, he took all occasions to effectuate an accommodation between his Majesty and the Parliament. In which patriot spirit at the Council-table in February this year, 1642-3. he made a remarkable honest speech, in answer to one of the Earl of Bristol, for continuing the war [*H*]. And being afterwards among those Peers assembled in Parliament at Oxford in Jan. 1643, his Lordship had a chief hand in drawing up a letter, and procuring it to be subscribed by them, and directed to the Earl of Essex, ' Inviting him to use his interest for making peace, conjuring him by all the obligations ' that

(*aa*) Ibid. Vol. II. p. 655; 656. The Earl of Essex had before shewn a particular regard for him, in addressing his letter to his Lordship, to acquaint his Majesty, that he had a petition to deliver from the Parliament, and to know when he would receive it. Ibid. p. 30.

(*bb*) History of the Revolutions in England, p. 62.

address for the settling the election of your counsellors in the power of the commonwealth, namely, in the triennial Parliaments (8); that if there have been such counsellors who have formerly incensed your Majesty against your Parliament, by misconceits and glosses, I doubt not now their advices are of no validity in your Grace's judgment. For mine own part, with the tender of my life to your Majesty's service, I prostrate myself in all humility at your Grace's feet for your gracious favours towards me; and crave pardon for my boldness, which I am confident your Majesty will grant, knowing it to be progressive of my integrity and my duty (9).'

(8) The act for triennial parliaments passed in Febr. 1640-41. Salmon.

(9) In the title, these two speeches are intimated to be printed, in order to shew his Lordship's good affection to the Parliament, and the Commonwealth of this kingdom.

[*H*] *His speech in answer to the Earl of Bristol.*] It is in these terms. The Earl of Bristol has delivered his opinion, and my turn being next to speak, I shall with the like integrity give your Lordships an account of my sentiments in this great and important business. I shall not, as young students do in the schools, *argumentandi gratia*, repugn my Lord of Bristol's tenets, but because my conscience tells me they are not orthodox, nor consonant to the disposition of the commonwealth; which languishing with a tedious sickness, must be recovered by gentle and easy medicines in consideration of it's weakness, rather than by violent vomits, or any other kind of compelling physick. Not that I shall absolutely labour to refute my Lord's opinion, but justly deliver my own, which being contrary to his, may appear an express contradiction of it, which indeed it is not; peace, and that a sudden one, being as necessary betwixt his Majesty and his Parliament, as light is requisite for the production of the day, or heat to cherish from above all inferior bodies. This division betwixt his Majesty and his Parliament being as if (by miracle) the sun should be separated from his beams, and divided from his proper essence. I would not, my Lords, be ready to embrace a peace that would be more disadvantageous to us than the present war, which, as the Earl of Bristol says, would destroy our estates and families: the Parliament only declares against delinquents; such as they conjecture have miscounselled his Majesty, and be the authors of these tumults in the commonwealth. But these declarations of theirs, except such crimes can be proved against them, are of no validity. The Parliament will do nothing unjustly, nor condemn the innocent; and certainly innocent men had not need to fear to appear before any judges whatsoever. And he who shall for any cause prefer his own private good before the publick utility, is but an ill son of the commonwealth. For my particular, in these wars I have suffered as much as any; my house hath been searched, my arms taken thence, and my son and heir committed to prison. Yet I shall wave these discourtesies, because I know there was a necessity it should be so. And as the darling business of the kingdom, the honour and prosperity of the King, study to reconcile all these differences betwixt his Majesty and his Parliament, and so to reconcile them, that they shall no way prejudice his royal prerogative; of which I believe the Parliament, being a loyal defender, (knowing the subjects property depends on it, for if sovereigns cannot enjoy their rights, their subjects cannot) will never endeavour to be an infringer: so that if doubts and jealousies were taken away by a fair treaty between his Majesty and the Parliament, no doubt a means might be devised to rectify these differences; the honour of the King, the estates of us his followers and counsellors, the privileges of Parliament, and property of the subject, be infallibly preserved in safety, and neither King stoop in this to his subjects, nor the subjects be deprived of their just liberties by the King. And whereas my lord of Bristol observes, that in Spain very few civil dissensions arise, because the subjects are truly subjects, and their sovereign truly a sovereign; that is, as I understand it, the subjects are scarcely removed a degree from slavery, nor the sovereign from a tyrant; here in England, the subjects have, by long received liberties granted to their ancestors from our Kings, made their freedoms resolve into a second nature; and neither is it safe for our Kings to strive to introduce the Spanish government upon these freeborn nations, nor just for the people to suffer that government to be imposed upon them, which I am certain his Majesty's goodness never intended. And whereas my lord of Bristol intimates the strength and bravery of our army, as an inducement to the continuation of these wars, which he promises himself will produce a fair and happy peace: in this I am utterly repugnant to his opinion. For grant that we have an army of gallant and able men, which indeed cannot be denied, yet have we infinite disadvantages on our side; the Parliament having double our number, and surely (though our enemies) persons of as much bravery, nay, and sure to be daily supplied, when any of their number fails, a benefit which we can't bestow: they having the most popular part of the kingdom at their devotion, all or most of the cities, considerable towns and ports, together with the mainest piller of the Kingdom's safety, the sea at their command, and the navy; and, which is most material of all, an unexhausted Indies of money to pay their soldiers, out of the liberal contributions of coin and plate sent in by people of all conditions, who account the Parliament's cause their cause, and so think themselves engaged to part with the uttermost penny of their estates in their defence, whom they esteem the patriots of their liberties. These strengths of theirs, and the defects of ours considered, I conclude it necessary for all our safeties, and the good of the whole commonwealth, to beseech his Majesty to take some present order for a treaty of peace betwixt himself and his high court of Parliament; who I believe are so loyal and obedient to his sacred Majesty, that they will propound nothing that shall be prejudicial to his royal prerogative, or repugnant to their fidelity and duty (10).

(10) This speech is printed, together with that of the Earl of Bristol, in 4to. under the following title: Two Speeches spoken at the Council-table at Oxford; one by the Earl of Bristol, in favour of the continuation of the present war; the other by Edward Earl of Dorset, for a speedy accommodation betwixt his Majesty and his High Court of Parliament. Printed first at Oxford, and reprinted at London, 1642.

[*I*] *Richard*

'that have power upon honour, conscience, or publick piety, that laying to heart, as they 'did, the inward bleeding condition of their country, and the outward more menacing 'destruction by a foreign nation, upon the very point of invading it, he would co-ope-'rate with them for it's preservation; which address, they declare, they should not have 'made, but that his Majesty's summons, by which they were met, most graciously pro 'claiming pardon to all, without exception, is evidence enough that his mercy and cle-'mency can transcend all former provocations; and that he had not only made them wit-'nesses of his princely intentions, but honoured them also with the name of being secu-'rity for them *(cc)*.' After the treaty at Uxbridge, his Majesty proposing to have a personal treaty with the two houses of Parliament at Westminster, his Lordship was nominated, December 1645, among those to whom the King was willing to commit the trust of the militia, for such time, and with such power as was expressed by his Commissioners at Uxbridge, believing them unexceptionable persons *(dd)*. But no treaties taking effect, and the King having put himself under the power of the Scotish army, the Earl of Dorset, and others of the Council, signed the capitulation for the surrendry of Oxford, 20 June 1646, whereby they had liberty to compound for their lands, and not to be rated at above two years revenue for estates of inheritance *(ee)*. When the King was delivered to the English army, and brought to Hampton-court, his Lordship, with the Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Hertford, the Marquis of Ormond, the Earl of Southampton, and the Lord Seymour, repaired thither in 1647, intending to reside there as his Council; but the army declaring against it they were obliged to leave his Majesty *(ff)*. In the succeeding times there was no room for men of his Lordship's honour and principle; and he took so much to heart the murder of King Charles I. that he never stirred out of his house afterwards *(gg)*; nor did he survive this loss many years. He departed this life on the 17th of July 1652, and was interred among his ancestors at Withiam in Sussex *. Lord Clarendon speaking of the Privy-Counsellors, &c. in the beginning of King Charles's reign, gives the following character of him. 'That in his person he was beautiful, agreeable, and vigorous; 'his wit sparkling and sublime; and his other parts of learning and language of that 'lustre, that he could not miscarry in the world. The vices he had were of the age, 'which he was not stubborn enough to contemn or resist, though the streightness of his 'fortune, occasioned by the extravagance of his elder brother, exposed him to many diffi-'culties and inconveniencies. Yet his known great parts, and the very general reputation 'he had required, notwithstanding his defects, engaged King James to call him to his 'Privy-Council before his death. And if he had not too much cherished his natural con-'stitution and propensity, and been too much wrung by an uneasy and streight fortune, 'he would have been an excellent man of business, for he had a very sharp discerning spirit, 'and was a man of an obliging nature, much honour, and great generosity, and of most 'intire fidelity to the Crown *(hh)*.' His Lordship had issue by his wife already mentioned †, a daughter Mary, who died young; and two sons, Richard his successor [*I*] in the honour and estate, and Edward, who married Bridget, Baroness Norreys, daughter and sole heir to Edward Wray, Esq; by his wife Elizabeth, daughter and heir to Francis Lord Norris Earl of Berkshire. Edward was with his father at Oxford, and was wounded in the battle at Newbury in 1643. And in 1645, being with a party of the King's forces at Kidlington, three miles from Oxford, he was taken prisoner by those of the Parliament, and afterwards barbarously murdered, leaving no issue *(ii)*.

(cc) Annals of King Charles I, p. 873.

(dd) Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 191.

(ee) Upon the sequestration of it, they allowed his son Richard a fifth part. Ibid. p. 215.

(ff) Ibid. p. 275.

(gg) Sir Edward Walker's Account of the Knights of the Garter.

(hh) History of the Rebellion, &c. Vol. I. p. 60.

(ii) Peerage of England.

* Heylin's Help to History, p. 504.

† Viz. in Rem. [*A*]. To which may be added, that she was also Lady-Governess of James Duke of York in 1638. See the dedication of a book intituled, Of the Vanity and Mutation of the World.

[*I*] *Richard his successor.*] His Lordship was born at Dorset-house, Sept. 16. 1622. was elected for the borough of East-Grinstead in the famous Long-Parliament, which met Nov 3. 1640. at Westminster, bearing the title [by courtesy] of Lord Buckhurst (11). His name is in the list of those who were posted up with the title of Straffordians in 1642 (12), and was imprisoned for a while by an order of Parliament (13); when his father's estate was sequestered, he was allowed a fifth part of it for his support (14). Succeeding his father in 1652, he lived retired 'till the Restoration, when he was principally concerned in settling the government *, in the Commission made out October 3. 1660. for the trial of the Regicides of King Charles the First (15), and at the Coronation of King Charles II. he was appointed Sewer of England for that day (16). Nov. 3. the following year, he was admitted, in company of his Royal Highness the Duke of York, into the Society of the Inner Temple (17). Upon the whole, his Lordship appears to have had the same publick spirit, learning, and judgment, with his ancestors, tho' he had no other publick employment than Lord Lieutenant of the county of Sussex, chusing probably to decline all others, though he lived 'till Aug. 1677. In his private capacity he was a tender husband, an indulgent father, and a generous friend. He married Frances, daughter to Lionel Cranfield, Earl of Middlesex, and at length heir to her brother Lionel, Earl of Middlesex. He had by her six daughters, of whom three, Elizabeth, Anne, and Catharine, died young. Lady Mary born Feb. 4. 1646, married to Roger Boyle, Lord Broghill, son and heir of Roger Earl of Orrery, by whom she was mother of Charles, late Earl of Orrery, and Lord Boyle, and grand-mother to the present Earl of Orrery and Cork. Anne born 7 June 1650. married to Alexander Earl of Hume in Scotland. Frances, born Feb. 6. 1665. married to Sir George Lane, Knt. and Baronet, created Lord Viscount Lanesborough; and secondly, to ——— Mustian, Esq; Besides these daughters, his Lordship had seven sons, who all died unmarried (18), except the eldest Charles, the subject of the ensuing article. P

(11) Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria.

(12) Annals of King Charles I. p. 895. and Rushworth, Vol. I.

(13) See the speech, in rem. [*H*].

(14) Whitelocke's Memorials.

* See Journals of the House of Lords, for 1660.

(15) Baker's Chronicle, 7th edit. p. 731.

(16) Ibid. p. 738.

(17) Dugdale's Orig. Jurid. p. 158.

(18) Peerage of England.

SACKVILLE [CHARLES] Earl of Dorset and Middlesex, was born January 24, 1637 (a). He had his education under a private tutor, after which making the tour of Italy, he returned to England a little before the Restoration, and immediately after that memorable happy event, his father being living, was elected member of Parliament for the borough of East-Grinstead in Sussex (b). He made a good figure in the House of Commons, and was courted as a favourite by the King (c), to whom his excellent and exceeding good nature early recommended him. But having at this time no turn to business [A] he declined all publick employ. In this humour, and with these accomplishments, Lord Buckhurst was one of the brightest ornaments of that polite Court, when he went a volunteer under his Royal Highness the Duke of York during the first Dutch war in 1665 [B], and the night before the engagement composed that song (d) which is generally esteemed the happiest of his poetical productions [C]. Soon after this, his Majesty took him into a nearer relation in the post of a gentleman of the bed-chamber; and in regard of his distinguished politeness, sent him upon several short commissions and embassies of compliment into France [D]. Upon the death of his uncle James Cranfield, Earl of Middlesex in 1674 (e), that estate devolved upon him, and he succeeded likewise to the title by creation in 1675 (f). His father dying two years afterwards he came into the possession of his paternal estate, together with the title of Earl of Dorset in August 1677. He also succeeded his father in the post of Lord-Lieutenant of the county of Sussex, having been joined in that commission with him in 1670; and he was also made Custos Rotulorum for the same county on the 20th of February 1684, by King James, soon after his accession to the throne (g). The same year, March 7, he married his second wife (h), the lady Mary, daughter of James Compton, Earl of Northampton [E]. He utterly disliked, and openly discountenanced the violent measures of this

(a) Dugdale's Baronage, p. 401.

(b) Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria.

(c) Burnet's History of his own Time, Vol. I. p. 264.

(d) Which begins thus:
To all ye ladies now at land,
We men at sea indite, &c.

(e) See the preceding article, remark [I].

(f) Peerage of England, from his patent, which bears date April 4, 27 Car. II.

(g) Ibid. where we are also informed, that at the coronation of King James II. and his Queen, his Lordship bore part of the Queen's regalia, the ivory rod with the dove.

(h) His first wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Hervey Bagot, Esq; of Pipe hall in Warwickshire, younger brother of Sir Hervey Bagot, of Blithfield in Staffordshire, and widow of Charles Berkeley, Earl of Falmouth. By this lady, the Earl of Dorset, then Lord Buckhurst, had no issue. Dugdale, ubi sup;

[A] *He had no turn to business.*] On the other hand, he thought of nothing so much as feats of gallantry, which sometimes carried him to inexcusable excesses. For instance, he made one of (1) the triumvirate in that frolick at the Cock Tavern, then a famous house in Bow-street, Covent-garden, when being inflamed in liquor, they all went up to the balcony, where they shewed very indecent postures, and gave great offence to the passengers in the street, by very unmannerly discharges upon them; and Sir Charles Sedley stripped himself naked, and preached to the people in a grossly scandalous language. Hereupon a riot being raised, the mob became very clamorous, and would have forced the door next the street; but being opposed in that attempt, the preacher and his associates were driven from the balcony, and the mob broke the windows of the room into which they retired for shelter. The noise of this frolick was soon spread abroad; and as persons of distinction were the authors, which served to aggravate their fault, they were all upon information summoned to Westminster-hall before Sir Robert Hyde, Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas, where being indicted for a riot they were soundly fined (2). Lord Buckhurst, however, was far from losing the King's favour by this adventure, which perhaps was some years after particularly pointed at by the Lord Rochester, when he said jestingly to King Charles, that *he did not know how it was, but my* Lord Dorset *might do any thing, but was never to blame* (3).

(1) The other two were Sir Tho. Ogle and Sir Charles Sedley. Ather. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1100.

(2) Life of Sir Charles Sedley, in Cibber's Lives of the Poets, Vol. III.

(3) Prior's dedication of his poems to the present Duke of Dorset, in 1719, fol.

[B] *He went a volunteer in the first Dutch war, in 1665.*] As one of the most remarkable victories at sea, which adorn the English annals, was obtained at this time, it will not be improper to insert the following short account of it. In the engagement, which happened June the 3d this year, eighteen of the enemy's capital ships were taken, and fourteen more destroyed. Admiral Opdam, who engaged the Duke of York, was blown up by his side, with all his crew. The English lost only one ship, but several commanders and men of honour were killed in the action: among the rest, the Earls of Falmouth, Portland, and Marlborough, the Lord Muskerry, and Rear-Admiral Sanson; and Admiral Lawson died of his wounds soon after (4).

(4) Gen. History of England, and Salmon's Chronological Historian, under this year.

[C] *The song is one of the happiest of his poetical productions.*] The singular excellence of this jewel, manifestly consists in that easy and genteel vein of gallantry which animates the whole. It is indeed a string of the brightest jewels, which could not be created but in a mind and imagination intirely undisturbed by any apprehensions of the impending danger. Some have even seen in it that noble presence of mind in danger which is characteristic of the hero, while others have censured it as shewing a levity and gaiety of humour very different from such a sedate composure, which in reality is the true temper of heroism, and in truth was very unbecoming of the occasion. To balance this is alledged his Lordship's youth, a season full of gaiety and spirits, which in him flowed from an honest heart, and a natural easiness of temper; besides, being a volunteer, his thoughts would be more disengaged as not being immediately concerned in planning or directing the operations. It may also be observed, that as far as his subsequent conduct can inform us, he was far from any design to push his fame or fortune in this course of life. He had no particular fondness for the profession of a sailor, and went to sea apparently in meer compliance with the then present humour of the court, where in respect to the Duke of York this kind of gallantry was the general taste, and seeing the commanders put on an extraordinary chearful countenance to encourage the soldiers, his Lordship might be fired by that example. In this view, a heedlesnesse of danger, tho' perhaps in itself not strictly defensible, may be as useful, if not more so, than the most sober fearless intrepidity. We must not omit the light in which this part of his Lordship's life is set by Mr Prior, who speaking of it observes, that 'when the honour and safety of his country demanded his assistance, he readily entered into the most active parts of life; and underwent the dangers attending it, with a constancy of mind, which shews he had not only read the rules of philosophy, but understood the practice of them.' To conclude, something must be allowed to the taste of the times, when, as Mr Pope expresses it,

The soldiers ap'd the gallantries of France,
And every flow'ry courtier wrote romance (5).

(5) Poetical Works of Alexander Pope, Esq;

[D] *Sent upon several short commissions into France.*] Among others, he was sent in 1669, to the French King on his arrival at Dunkirk, in return of that Monarch's compliment by the Duchess of Orleans, when she brought to England Madame de Querouille, afterwards created by King Charles II. Duchess of Portsmouth. By this specimen we may know, what sort of business was most agreeable to Lord Buckhurst at this time, as also how capable he was deemed by his Majesty to do honour to the English court, in any thing that was truly polite (6).

(6) Burnet's History of his own Time, ubi supra.

[E] *He married Mary, daughter of the Earl of Northampton.*] This lady was much celebrated for the beauty of her person, and the admirable endowments of her mind. She was, after her marriage, appointed one of the ladies of the bed-chamber to Queen Mary, and left his Lordship again a widower the 6th of Aug. 1691. having brought him a daughter, lady Mary, who was married to Henry Somerset Duke of Beaufort, and dying in child-bed left no issue (7); and an only son, Lionel Cranfield Sackville, who was created a Duke in 1720, and is still living, an honour to this noble family, and has several children of both sexes.

(7) Peerage of England.

[F] He

this reign [*F*], and engaging early in the intereft of the Prince of Orange, he carried on his part of that enterprize in London, under the eye of the Court, with the fame courage and refolution as his friend the Duke of Devonfhire did in open arms at Nottingham. He was pitched upon to conduct the Princefs (afterwards Queen) Anne, out of the reach of any danger from her father's difpleafure [*G*]. The fhare he had in the new fettlement of the crown recommended him warmly to the favour of King William [*H*], who the next day gave him the poft of Lord Chamberlain of the Houfhold, and took him into his Privy-Council, he was alfo again conftituted Lord-Lieutenant and Cuftos Rotulorum of the county of Suffex, having been put out of that commiffion in 1687. In 1689, he had the honour of ftanding, with his Majefty, Godfather * to Prince William, fon of the Princefs of Denmark, and afterwards created Duke of Gloucefter (*i*). The Earl of Dorfet was elected Knight of the Garter on the fecond of February 1691. And attending the King to the congrefs at the Hague the following year, he had his fhare in the remarkable hardfhips of that paffage, the effects of which he felt for fome time without complaining [*I*]. He continued in bufinefs as long as his health would permit (*k*), enjoying the peculiar felicity of being the darling both of prince and people: but about the year 1698, his health fenfibly declining, and no imminent danger threatning the publick affairs (*l*), he retired; only appearing fometimes at the Council-board, to fhew his refpect to the commiffion which he bore, giving as much leifure as he could to the relief of thofe pains with which it pleafed God to afflict him; and indulging the reflections of a mind, that had looked through the world with too piercing an eye, and was grown weary of the profpect: fo that it may juftly be faid of this great man, with regard to the publick, that through the whole courfe of his life he acted like an able pilot in a long voyage, contented to fit quiet in the cabbin when the winds were allayed, and the waters fmooth, but vigilant when the ftorm arofe, and the fea grew tumultuous (*m*). Indeed he accepted from Queen Anne the renewal of his poft of Lord-Lieutenant and Cuftos Rotulorum for the county of Suffex, which by a long feries of appointments thereto was in a manner become hereditary to the family (*n*). At length being advifed to go to Bath he ended his life there, January 19, 1705-6. and on the 17th of February following was interred with his anceftors at Withiam (*o*). He was a great patron of men of letters, who have not been ungrateful, through any defect, in tranfmitting his name with luftre to pofterity (*p*), and thereby have done the fame for their own, efpecially Mr Prior [*K*], whofe exquifitely wrought character of this patron gives new pleafure every

* Viz. Proxy for the King of Denmark.

(*i*) This moft hopeful prince was born July 24th, 1689; and, to the univerfal regret of the kingdom, died July 30, 1700. Boyer's Hiftory of Queen Anne, under that year.

(*k*) He was appointed four times one of the Regents of the kingdom in his Majefty's abfence. Collins.

(*l*) The peace of Ryfwick had been concluded the preceding year. General Hiftory of England.

(*m*) Prior's dedication of his poems to his fon, the prefent Duke of Dorfet.

(*n*) See the two preceding articles.

(*o*) Peerage of England, as before.

(*p*) See the articles Prior, Dryden, Sprat, Congreve, Addifon, and Charles Montague Earl of Hallifax.

[*F*] *He utterly difavowed the violent meafures of this reign.*] Among other inftances of this it is juftly given as one, that he appeared in court at the trial of the feven Bifhops, accompanied by other Noblemen, which, 'tis faid, had a good effect upon the jury, and brought the Judges to a better temper than they had ufually fhewn *.

[*G*] *He conveyed the Princefs Anne out of the reach of her father.*] This province fell to his fhare by his marriage with a neice of Hen. Compton, Bifhop of London, who contrived the whole method of this efcape, and pitched upon his nephew as a perfon whom he could fafely truft with the conduct of it, and was able to provide a neceffary guard to fecure it; which his Lordfhip readily furnifhed, and attending the Princefs as far as Northampton, he brought a body of horfe thither to ferve her as a guard, by which fhe was conveyed to Nottingham Caftle (8).

[*H*] *The fhare he had in the Revolution recommended him to King William*] Among other things, he was one of thofe Peers who fat every day in the Council-chamber, and took upon them the government of the realm after King James's defertion. In Parliament his Lordfhip voted for the vacancy of the throne, and that the Prince of Orange fhould be joined with the Princefs in the fovereignty (9).

[*I*] *He felt the effects of that paffage for fome time, &c*] They went on board Jan. 10, 'twas a very fevere feafon; and when they were two or three leagues off Goree, having by bad weather been four days at fea, the King was fo impatient to go on fhore, that he took boat, when a thick fog arifing foon after, they were fo clofely furrounded with ice, as not to be able either to make to fhore, or to get back to the fhip. In this condition they remained twenty-two hours, almoft defpairing of life; and the cold was fo bitter, that they could hardly ftand or fpeak at their landing. His Lordfhip contracted a lamenefs which held him fome time, and put him to a confiderable expence (10.)

[*K*] *Prior tranfmitted his name with luftre to pofterity*] The elegant panegyric mentioned above, is to this day efteemed a mafter-piece in that way; and that he was bound by the ftrongeft ties of gratitude, to exert the whole force of his fkill and genius upon the fubject, is ftrongly and beautifully marked at fetting out; where he acknowledges, that he fcarce knew what life was, fooner than he found himfelf obliged to the Earl of Dorfet's favours; nor had reafon to feel any forrow fo fenfibly as that of his death. He then proceeds to enumerate the valuable qualities of his patron, in which he indulges his talent at panegyric, fo as to keep within the bounds of candid truth without violating it; efpecially in refpect to his Lordfhip's moral character. He has fhewn the picture in various lights, and has not fpared to hint his Lordfhip's errors as well as his graces and virtues. Among his errors was that family one, moft incident to good nature when joined to a quick fenfibility and apprehenfion, of giving way to paffion. This foible carried him into tranfports of which he was often afhamed, 'and during thefe little exceffes, fays Mr Prior, I have known his fervants purpofely get into his way, that they might make a merit of it immediately after; for he who had the good fortune to be chid, was fure of being rewarded for it.'— Befides the other elogiums mentioned above, where the writers may be thought to gratify their genius to fome little excefs, we fee others without any fuch ties no lefs fond to expatiate in his Lordfhip's praifes. Among thefe the following elogium by Mr Pope is well worth a place here, as it contains a full and juft, tho' fhort, character of him, in which view it is a remarkable fpecimen of that poet's peculiar talent, celebrated by his friend Dean Swift, who obferves, that he had the art of faying the moft in the feweft words of any man in the age (11).

Dorfet! the grace of courts, the Mufes pride,
Patron of arts, and judge of nature dy'd.
The fcourge of pride, though fanctify'd or great,
Of fops in learning, and of knaves in ftate.
Yet foft his nature, though fevere his lay,
His anger moral, and his wifdom gay.
Bleft fatyrift! who touch'd the mean fo true,
As fhewed, vice had his hate and pity too.
Bleft courtier! who could King and country pleafe,
Yet facred keep his friendfhip, and his eafe.
Bleft Peer! his great forefathers every grace
Reflecting, and reflected in his race.

Where

* Burnet's Hiftory of his own Times.

(8) General Hiftory of England.

(9) Ibid.

(10) Burnet.

(11) Letters to and from Dr Swift.

every time it is read, *millies repetita placebit*. We shall therefore, *pour faire la bonne bouche*, to make up the reader's mouth, conclude with the following desert extracted from it. 'The brightness of his parts, the solidity of his judgment, and the candour and generosity of his temper, distinguished him in an age of great politeness, and at a court abounding with men of the finest sense and learning. The most eminent masters in their several ways appealed to his determination: *Waller* thought it an honour to consult him in the softness and harmony of his verse; and Dr *Sprat* in the delicacy and turn of his prose: *Dryden* determines by him, under the character of *Eugenius*, as to the laws of dramatic poetry. *Butler* owed it to him, that the court tasted his *Hudibras*; *Wycherley*, that the town liked his *Plain Dealer*; and the late *Duke of Buckingham* deferred to publish his *Rehearsal*, 'till he was sure, as he expressed it, that my Lord Dorset would not rehearse upon him again. If we wanted foreign testimony, *La Fontaine* and *St Euvremont* have acknowledged, that he was a perfect master in the beauty and fineness of their language, and of all they call *les belles lettres*. Nor was this nicety of his judgment confined only to books and literature; he was the same in statuary, painting, and other parts of art. Bernini would have taken his opinion upon the beauty and attitude of a figure; and King Charles did not agree with Lely, that my Lady Cleveland's picture was finished, 'till it had the approbation of my Lord Buckhurst (*q*).' His Lordship's poetical pieces were published among the works of the minor poets, in 1749, 8vo. [*L*].

(*q*) Prior's dedication, ubi supra.

Where other Buckhursts, other Dorsets shine,
And patriots steer, and poets deck the line (12).

(12) Pope's Poetical Works.

In the same sentiment Mr Walpole, speaking of his great ancestor, the first Lord Buckhurst, and Earl of Dorset, observes, that it is almost needless to say, that he was the patriarch of a race of genius and wit (13). Mr Spense also, in a succinct account of the Treasurer, addressed to the present Earl of Middlesex, writes thus, 'I ought perhaps to ask pardon for a custom, which I fall into of naming him, usually by his inferior title: but were one to speak of an extraordinary genius by the name of the Earl of Dorset; every body is so prepossest at present, that they would be perpetually mistaking it for another ancestor of your Lordship's nearer to our own times (14).'

(13) Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors, under Thomas Earl of Dorset.

(14) Preface to Gorboduc, p. 2. edit. 1737, 8vo.

[*L*] *His poetical pieces, &c.*] Besides the song mentioned above, these consist of several others of his composing; (2.) *A poem to Mr* Edward Howard, *on his incomprehensible poem called* the British Princes. In this piece his Lordship is very satirical upon that author. (3.) *Verses to Sir* Thomas St Serfe, *on his printing his play called* Terugo's wiles, acted 1668. (4.) *Verses addressed to the Countess of* Dorchester, *Sir* Cha. Sedley's daughter, mistress to King James II. and mother to Katherine, late Duchess of Buckinghamshire. (5.) *An epilogue to Moliere's Tartuff.* (6) Another on *the revival of Ben. Johnson's play, call'd,* Every man in his humour. (7) A satirical piece, intituled, *A faithful catalogue of our most eminent Ninnies*; written in the year 1683.

The Spectator speaking of Mr Edward Howard's piece, called, *the British Prince*, observes, that it is an epic poem, which is full of incongruities; or, in other words, abounds with nonsense; and as a specimen of this he quotes the two following lines.

A coat of mail Prince Vortigern had on,
Which from a naked Pict his grandsire won.

Who does not see, says that critic, the absurdity of winning a coat from a naked man. To which we shall add, who does not see, that this smart criticism derives it's existence from the Earl of Dorset's poem on the same incomparable, incomprehensible, piece, where his Lordship addresses that author in these lines.

Come on, ye critics, find one fault who dare,
For read it backward like a witch's prayer.
'Twill do as well, throw not away your jests,
In solid nonsense that abides all tests.
Wit like tearse claret when't begins to pall,
Neglected lies, and's of no use at all:
But in it's full perfection of decay,
Turns vinegar, and comes again in play.
Thou hast a brain, such as it is, indeed;
On what else should thy worm of fancy feed.
Yet in a filbeard I have often known,
Maggots survive when all the kernel's gone.
This simile shall stand in thy defence,
'Gainst such dull rogues as now and then write sense.
Thy stile's the same, whatever be thy theme;
As some digestions turn all meats to phlegm.
He lies, dear Ned, who says, thy brain is barren,
Where deep conceits like vermin breed in carrion.
Thy stumbling founder'd jade can trot as high,
As any other Pegasus can fly.
So the dull eel moves nimbler in the mud,
Than all the swift-finn'd racers of the flood.
As skilful divers to the bottom fall,
Sooner than those that cannot swim at all;
So in the way of writing without thinking,
Thou hast a strange alacrity in sinking.
Thou writ'st below ev'n thy own natural parts,
And with acquired dulness, and new arts
Of studied nonsense, tak'st kind readers hearts.
Therefore, dear Ned, at my advice forbear,
Such loud complaints 'gainst critics to prefer,
Since thou art turn'd an errant libeller.
Thou sett'st thy name to what thy self dost write;
Did ever libel yet so sharply bite.

Whoever reads this piece, especially the four lines printed here in Italics, and remembers the plan of the *Dunciad*, and the *Art of Sinking in Poetry*, will be apt to think that Mr Pope had some reason, on the score of gratitude, for writing the just cited character of Lord Dorset. P

SAINT-JOHN [Henry], Lord Viscount Bolingbroke, was born in 1672 (*a*), at Battersea in Surry, the seat of that noble family [*A*]. During his infancy, his education

(*a*) Memoirs of the Life, &c. of Lord Viscount Bolingbroke, p. 21. compared with p. 346, 347.

[*A*] *His family.*] The family is conspicuous for it's antiquity, dignity, splendor of merit and fortune, and large possessions. It derives it's original, by certain authority, as high as Adam de Port, Baron of Basing in Hampshire, before the Conquest; whose chief heir-male, William, assumed the sirname of St John, and was Quarter-master general of the army of William Duke of Normandy, at the battle of Hastings, where that Duke

tion was chiefly directed by the Dissenters [*B*]; but, as soon as it became proper to take him out of the hands of the women, he was sent to Eton school, and removed thence to Christ-Church-college in Oxford. His genius and understanding were seen and admired by his contemporaries in both these places; but the love of pleasure had so much the ascendancy, as to hinder him from exerting his talents for literature in any particular performance. His friends designed him for publick business, and when he left the university, he was considered as one who had the fairest opportunity of making a shining figure in that way of an active life. With the graces of a handsome person, in whose aspect dignity was happily tempered with sweetness, he had a manner and address that was irresistibly engaging; a sparkling vivacity, a quick apprehension, a piercing wit, were united to a prodigious strength of memory, a peculiar subtlety of thinking and reasoning, and a masterly elocution; but for some years, all these extraordinary endowments were employed in

Duke obtained a signal victory, which put him in possession of the English Crown. The descendant of the Quarter-master, after many generations, Sir Oliver St John, in the reign of Henry the Sixth, obtained the lordship of Bletsho, with the manor of Ledyard-Tregoze, by the marriage of Margaret, sister and sole heiress of Sir John Beauchamp, of the family of the old Earl of Warwick. The families of Bletsho and Tregoze were founded by the children of this match; the latter of which, being from a second son, gave rise to that of the subject of the present article. This second son, Oliver St John, Esq; having the manor of Ledyard-Tregoze given him by his mother, who by a second match had issue the Lady Margaret, Countess of Richmond, mother to Henry the Seventh. That Lady founding the two colleges of Christ and St John in Cambridge, appointed Sir John St John, son of the aforementioned Oliver St John, one of her executors, who performed the trust with remarkable honour, firmness, and integrity. His grandson, Oliver, became a student in one of the inns of court; but upon a quarrel with one Best, Captain of the Guard to Queen Elizabeth,, having killed him in a duel, he was obliged to leave the kingdom, served in the wars of the Low Countries under Sir Francis and Sir Horace Vere, received the honour of knighthood, and was then sent with his regiment into Ireland; where he became President of Munster, Vice-President of Connaught, and Master of the Ordnance; and April 3, 1616, was appointed Lord Deputy of that kingdom, which exposed him to much envy; but after his conduct, at his own request, had been strictly examined, his royal master, King James the First, pronounced his reputation to be without blemish, and created him some years afterwards Baron St John of Tregoze in England, and Viscount Grandison in Ireland; but dying without issue, the barony became extinct (1), and he left his estates at Battersea and Wandsworth to his nephew by his elder brother, who thereby became the first Sir John St John of Lediard-Tregoze and Battersea, being created a Baronet May 22, 1611, at the first institution of that order; and marrying Anne, daughter to Sir Tho. Leighton in the county of Worcester, she brought him one daughter, Anne, who was married first to Sir Francis-Henry Lea, from which match descended the Earl of Lichfield; and a second time to Henry Wilmot, Earl of Rochester. Besides this daughter, Sir John St John had by her seven sons, three of whom engaging in the civil wars on the King's side, were killed in that service; viz. his second son, William, under Prince Rupert, at the taking of Cirencester in Gloucestershire; Edward, his third son, in the battle of Newbury; and John, his fifth, under the command of the Marquis of Newcastle in the North: The name of the sixth son was Walter, and of the youngest Henry: Oliver, the eldest, married Catharine, daughter and coheiress of Horatio Vere, Baron of Tilbury; but dying in the life time of his father, the title and estate descended to his only son, who was the second Sir John St John of Lediard-Tregoze and Battersea, Bart. but he dying before he was of age, unmarried, his uncle became heir to the honour and estate. This was Sir Walter St John, Bart. who marrying one of the daughters of the Lord Chief-Justice St John, his Lordship gave him a beneficial office in the Law, which he enjoyed 'till his death. He was grandfather to our author, whose father was Sir Henry St John, and his mother Lady Mary, second daughter and coheiress to Robert Rich Earl of Warwick, by whom he had only this son, Henry (2).

(1) But the title of Viscount Grandison being limited to the issue of Sir Edw. Villiers, Knt. by Barbara St John, niece to Oliver, Lord Viscount Grandison, that honour still remains in the family of Villiers. Life of Lord Bolingbroke, as above, p. 9.

(2) Idem, p. 5, to p. 18.

The reason of deducing his genealogy in so particular a manner will be seen in the course of this memoir At present we shall observe from it, that though our author descended from the Chief-Justice St John, yet it was not in the sense that was imputed to him by his enemies in 1714.

[*B*] *His education was chiefly directed by the Dissenters.*] At his first entrance into the House of Commons, he expressed himself warmly against the Dissenters, and sided with the Church party. His opponents, therefore, in the four last years of Queen Anne's reign, raised a clamour (by a remark idle enough in itself, but not therefore of less weight among the populace) from the inconsistency of this conduct with his education; having been, as they alledged, bred up from his infancy in dissenting principles (3), and well tutored by his grandmother, and her confessor Daniel Burgess (4), in the Presbyterian way. This latter part of the story is, indeed, probable enough, since both his grandparents were inclined to think well of the piety and sanctity of that sect, and both lived many years after he came into publick business. We have also a hint of it from his own pen, by which we may see at the same time, how little relish he had for it even in those years. He is ridiculing the large commentaries upon St Matthew and St John by Chrysostom, 'which, says 'he, puts me in mind of a puritannical parson, Dr Manton, who, if I mistake not, for I have not looked 'into the folio since I was a boy, and condemned 'sometimes to read in it, made 119 sermons on the '119th Psalm (5).' But that he was ever tinctured with dissenting principles in respect of the Established Church, cannot fairly be inferred from thence, since, though both Sir Walter and his lady were remarkable for sincere piety, yet they were no such bigots to Puritanism as were represented. Dr Simon Patrick, afterwards Bishop of Ely, who was long chaplain, and lived many years in the family, always spoke of them with the highest reverence as well as gratitude. The parish records at Battersea will shew, that Sir Walter was a good though a moderate Churchman, by almost every kind of testimony. He repaired that fabric more than once; erected, in virtue of a faculty from the Bishop, an entire new gallery, and built and endowed a charity-school, all at his own expence. To this last his lady was likewise a contributor, as well as a great patroness to Dr Patrick. And as to her father, the Chief-Justice St John, whatever were his principles concerning religion, he was no bigot; for he preserved the cathedral church of Peterborough, when no body else would have preserved it, and when the Parliament were importuned for a grant of it by Cromwell, in consideration of his services. As to Daniel Burgess, though a Dissenter, yet he was undeniably a man of wit and good parts; so that though it should be allowed that our Statesman was lectured sometimes by him, yet he could receive no sourness to the Established Church by those lectures (6). The truth is, that had the tutor been never so sour a religionist, it would not have been in his power to have instilled any part of it into his pupil, whose nature was far from being susceptible of such leaven, of which the following is a proof more than sufficient. His Lordship remarking the usefulness of that little genius, that literal critics and Dictionary-makers are blessed with, expresses himself in these terms: 'I approve, therefore, very much of the devotion of a studious man at Christ-Church [college in Oxford], who was overheard in his oratory entering into a detail with God, as devout persons are apt to do, and, amongst other particular thanksgivings, acknowledging the divine goodness, in furnishing the world with makers of Dictionaries (7).'

(3) Even at this day we see Mr Tindal, in the same view, asserting, that he was bred among the schismatics. Continuation of Rapin, Vol. IX.

(4) His famous meeting house was pulled down by the mob in Dr Sacheverell's trial, but was soon rebuilt. It stands in New-court, Cary-street.

(5) Letter to Mr Pope, p. 526. edit. 1753.

(6) Life of Viscount Bolingbroke, p. 23. See a sample of this Dissenter's wit in the article of Dr Yalden.

(7) Letter the first, of the Study of History, p. 5.

[C] A

* He was particularly much addicted to women, and apt to indulge himself in late hours, with all those excesses that usually attend them. Idem, p. 33.

in nothing so much as finishing the character of a complete rake * of the first genius [C]. In the entrance upon the XVIIIth century, he was married to the daughter and co-heiress of Sir Henry Winchescomb, of Bucklebury in Berkshire, Bart. This settlement was in all respects suitable to his birth and expectations [D], and the same year, 1700 (b), he entered into the House of Commons, being elected for the borough of Wotton-Basset in Wiltshire by a family interest, his father having served several times for the same place: so that Mr St John, who was now about twenty-six years of age, took his seat in the English senate, with advantages scarcely inferior to those of any member that sat there [E]. He

(b) It met Febr. 10, 1700; and the session ended June 24, 1701. General Hist. of England.

[C] *A complete rake of the first genius.*] This character is very consistent with seasons of cool reflections and lucid intervals; nay, these are essential ingredients in such a composition: without these, the character sinks into an ordinary and despicable debauchee. The like difficulties and disasters are run into by both, but have not the like effect upon each: the latter, in these circumstances, sinks into an inactive and lumpish stupidity; the former, incapable of standing still, when thus checked in the indulgence of his lower, immediately exerts his nobler faculties. Thus his Lordship assures us, that 'The love of study and desire of 'knowledge, were what he had felt all his life; and 'though his genius, unlike the dæmon of Socrates, 'whispered so softly, that very often he heard him 'not, in the hurry of those passions with which he 'was transported; yet, continues he, some calmer 'hours there were; in them I hearkned to him (8).' Some of these lucid intervals were employed in versifying. We have the following copy prefixed to Mr Dryden's Virgil, in 1697.

(8) Of the true Use of Retirement and Study, p. 206. edit. 1752.

No undisputed monarch govern'd yet,
With universal sway the realms of wit.
Nature could never such expence afford,
Each several province own'd a several lord!
A poet then had his poetic wife,
One Muse embrac'd, and married for his life.
By the stale thing his poetry was cloy'd,
His fancy lessen'd, and his fire destroy'd.
But Nature, grown extravagantly kind,
With all her fairest gifts adorn'd his mind;
The different powers were then united found,
And you the universal monarch crown'd.
Your mighty sway her great deserts secures,
And every Muse and every Grace is your's.
To none confin'd, by turns you all enjoy;
Sated with these, you to another fly.
So, Sultan like, in your seraglio stand,
While wishing misses wait for your command.
Thus no decay, no want of figure find;
Such is your fancy, boundless as your mind.
Not all the blasts of time can do you wrong,
Young spite of age, in spite of weakness strong.
Time, like Alcides, strikes you to the ground;
You, like Antæus, from each fall rebound (9).'

(9) His Lordship's coat of arms is prefixed to one of the books of that translation, as a particular encourager of the work.

Mr Pope observed very justly, that his Lordship was the patron, the friend, and the protector, of that great poet in the decline of his age, though not of his parts; for the very last poems of Dryden are his best (10).

(10) Pope's Epistle to Dr Arbuthnot. See Pope's article. Our author also wrote the prologue to a tragedy called Altemira, composed by Roger Boyle, Earl of Orrey. See his article, in Vol. II. remark [R], p. 912.

I hope what has been said here will not be made use of as an encouragement to rakery; a sprightly poem, a flashing *bon mot*, or a glittering reply, may be admired, whilst the general conduct of life is condemned; and it is lesson enough, that Lord Bolingbroke lived to tell us so.

[D] *Settled in a marriage suitable to his birth.*] Sir Henry Winchescombe had a very handsome fortune, that descended to him from a person famous in our old story, by the familiar name of Jack of Newbury. This person, whose name was John Winchescomb, was a Clothier of that town in the reign of Henry the Eighth; it is said, that in those days he kept a hundred looms at work, and that to shew his duty to his king, and his love to his country, he marched with a hundred of his workmen, well cloathed at his own expence, to Fludden field, against the Scots; and that being satisfied with having a share in the glory of that victory, which cost the King of Scots his life, he returned with his little army to his native town, and resumed his former station. He was also a benefactor to the church; and, as the people of Newbury formerly shewed his house, so they still point to the pulpit and the tower, which were of his erecting. Mr St John, upon this marriage, had the family estates both of the father and grandfather, in Wiltshire, Surry, and Middlesex, settled upon him, the good effect of which he felt in his old age, though a great part of what his lady brought him was taken away by his attainder (11).

(11) His Life, p. 36, 37.

[E] *Advantages scarcely inferior to any other member.*] Besides the connections of his family, his grandfather, Sir Walter St John, was still alive, who had represented the county of Wilts in two parliaments in the reign of King Charles the Second, and had the same honour in the second parliament of King William. His father likewise had represented that county, and did not think of producing his son upon the stage of publick life, 'till every method had been tried to reclaim him from libertinism, and the dissipation of thought occasioned by it; and not 'till a competent time had been allowed to wear them in some measure at least away, and the more unruly gusts were blown over ‡. But after all, the chief advantages he had were seated in himself, and arose from the excellence of his superior abilities. It is true, he continued still to make frequent escapes from morals and good sense, which were a discredit to him; however, by this means he was thrown into an unconfined choice of company, and that was of use to him, for every thing was so that he saw or heard; if it was not so for the present, yet it dwelt upon his memory, 'till some fit occasion called it out; and then, at whatever distance of time, he could produce it with all it's circumstances, as if it happened but the day before. He was for this reason more improved by the good, and less hurt by the bad company, he kept. He sifted in his hours of leisure, expressions, accidents, events; and what escaped others without thinking, was to him very frequently matter of thought, from which he extracted much more than ever occurred to themselves. Indeed he did not read much, or at least not many books; for which he sometimes gave the same reason, that Menage did for not reading Moreri's Dictionary, that he was unwilling to fill his head with what did not deserve a place there, since, when it was once in, he knew not how to get it out again; since whatever he read he retained, and that in a very singular manner, for he made it entirely his own; and whether he was to speak or to write upon any subject, all that ever he had read in his favourite authors occurred to him just as he had read it; so that he delivered this in conversation, or threw it upon paper, as if he had the book in his hand; a circumstance, without the knowledge whereof we shall be apt to mistake for studied affectation, what was to him, and perhaps only to him, perfectly natural. By an uncommon quickness of penetration, he could happily distinguish the real from the apparent view of Polemical writers, and had a sprightliness and perspicuity in delivering his own opinions, which was sure to entertain even those whom it did not convince. These were qualities, which did not, indeed, only adorn his juvenile years, but grew up with him, and kept him company through all stations, and under all circumstances; to which may be in some measure attributed his being always well received, and quickly gaining an ascendancy wherever he came. As the seasons for reflection returned oftener than formerly, upon account of the occasions that produced them returning oftener; so, whenever he did reflect, there was nothing that escaped him. He saw the *fort*, and he saw the *foible* of whatever he was to maintain or refute, and he had an inconceivable dexterity in dis-

‡ His father knew the force of passion by a sad experience in his youth, being tried and convicted for the murder of Sir Will. Eastcourt, Bart. in 1684. Bishop Barlow's Cases of Conscience, Lond. 1692, 8vo. in the preface.

He presently chose his party, and joined himself to Robert Harley, Esq; who in this Parliament was chosen for the first time Speaker; and he made himself considerable before the end of this first session [*F*]. Persevering steadily in the same connection [*G*], he gained such

playing or concealing whatever he was resolved to make apparent or to hide. The great Earl of Strafford is said to have made use of the works of a celebrated Popish author to help him, in making distinctions.' Mr St John wanted no such help; he possessed it in that faculty of reflecting, and after a little thought was able to treat any subject in so new and singular a way, that it seemed to be perfectly changed by his method of managing it, so as to become susceptible of new arguments in it's favour, and to be no longer liable to those objections with which it had been formerly opposed. His peculiarity of thinking had not that imperfection with which peculiarity of thinking is commonly attended; it did not at all affect his manner of speaking, which was easy, natural, and flowing. And in this too he very much resembled the Earl of Strafford; for, however strong his thoughts, however nice and refined his distinctions, his language was always perfectly intelligible; and though, upon recollection, his words appeared to be very artfully chosen, yet, in the course of his delivery, they seemed to be such as offered themselves, and the first that rose in his mind. He had, as was observed before, pauses of reflection; but when once his thoughts came to be cloathed in words, there was no hesitation, but the discourse rolled like a stream from a perennial spring, full, strong, clear, and filling equally the ear and mind; the sound was so exact an echo to the sense, that you never discovered trivial sentiments veiled in elegant expressions, or were able to discern that the sublimity of his conceptions, through any want of elocution in their conveyance He had an excellency at improving hints, that for a time gave the highest pleasure, but in the end no less pain to a certain great man [Harley], who loved obscurity too much, and could not bear at his elbow one who was not only able to explain his thoughts when that was what he wished, but to penetrate what he took the greatest pains to conceal (12).

(12) Life of Viscount Bolingbroke, Lett. 2.

[*F*] *He made himself considerable before the end of that session.*] No doubt can be made that he chose the party of Mr Harley, from the esteem he had for him; he suggests it himself; and the choice was evidently made against the inclinations of his family. Both his father and grandfather were what was then called Whigs. He gave his vote for the impeachment of Portland, Somers, and Hallifax, for the hand they had in the partition treaties: however, he did not spare afterwards to condemn his conduct at this time. 'I have sometimes, says he, considered, in reflecting on those passages, what I should have done, if I had sat in parliament at that time, and have been forced to own, That I should have voted for disbanding the army [in 1698] as I voted in the following parliament for censuring the treaties. I am forced to own this, because I remember how imperfect my notions were of the situation of Europe in that extraordinary crisis, and how much I saw the true interest of my own country in a half light. But, my Lord, I own it with some shame, because nothing in truth could be more absurd than the conduct we held. What! because we had not reduced the power of France by the war, nor excluded the house of Bourbon from the Spanish succession, nor compounded with her upon it by the peace [of Ryswick]; and because the house of Austria had not helped herself, nor put it into our power to help her with more advantage, and better prospect of success; were we to leave that whole succession open to the invasions of France, and to suffer even the contingency to subsist of seeing those monarchies united? What, because it was become extravagant, after the trials so lately made, to think ourselves any longer engaged by treaty, or obliged in good policy, to put the house of Austria in possession of the whole Spanish monarchy, and to defend her in this possession by force of arms; were we to leave the whole at the mercy of France?' A little after he declares, 'he thought the second partition treaty was a step in no wise eligible of itself, but rather unavoidable at that unhappy crisis. I cannot see, says he, what K. William could do in such circumstances as he found himself in, after three years struggle, except what he did: neither can I see how he could do what he did, especially after the resentment expressed by the Spaniard, and the pressing memorial presented by *Canales* on the conclusion of the first treaty of partition, without apprehending that the consequence would be a *Will* in favour of France*. He was in the worst of all political circumstances, in that wherein no one good measure remains to be taken, and out of which he left the two nations, at the head of whom he had been so long, to fight, and negotiate themselves and their confederates as well as they could.' (13).

* The [illegible] the whole monarchy undivided to France, was made in October following.

(13) On the Study of History, Letter 8. Vol. II. p. 18.

[*G*] *Persevering steadily in the same connections*] In the last parliament of K. William, which met Dec. 30, 1701, and which was also the first parliament of Q. Anne, Mr St John was again member for Wotton-Basset (14), and Mr Harley again Speaker (15) Our statesman was charged several years afterwards with voting this year against the Hanover succession (16), which being again urged in 1731 as a thing notorious and undeniable, he published a small tract that year, where he calls it a false and impudent assertion. He observes, that the bill for settling the protestant succession passed before the death of K. William, and therefore in 1701, and not in 1702, as was alledged. He likewise observes further, that the same year a bill was brought into parliament by Sir Charles Hedges and himself, intituled, *A bill for the further security of his majesty's person, and the succession of the crown in the protestant line, and extinguishing the hopes of the pretended Prince of Wales, and all other pretenders, and their open and secret abettors*; which was passed, without any division, after some debates about particular clauses and amendments only. He then takes notice that the division referred to, of 117 to 118, happened upon a clause added by the Lords to *A bill for enlarging the time for taking the oath of abjuration*, which clause regarded only such persons as had neglected to take the abjuration oath in time; and provided, that if such persons had forfeited any office, benefice, &c. to which any other person had been presented, the former should not be restored by taking the advantage of this act (17). To this answer, at first sight so seemingly full and clear, it was said, it was in reality no answer at all. 'Twas affirmed, that the bill, as it went from the Commons, was framed by the Tories, and calculated to give such as could not hither-to digest the abjuration oath, a year's respite; and the reason he gave for it was, that since the Queen's accession, many were inclined to come in, and take that oath, who declined it before. The Lords added to this bill three clauses: First, That no person who had already lost his post for want of taking that oath, should be restored in virtue of this act, in case his post was possessed by another. The second clause made it high treason for any person whatever, or his or their abettors or assistants, to endeavour to deprive or hinder any person next in succession to the crown for the time being, according to the limitation in the two acts for regulating the succession. The third clause extended the abjuration act to Ireland. The House of Commons divided upon the first of these amendments, when it was carried to agree with the Lords by a single vote as above, that though the main stress of the debates lay upon the second, yet, according to the practice of the House, they divided upon the three amendments in the order they came from the Lords. Therefore, though this famous division actually happened upon the first, yet the Tories only divided upon it, to try their strength; and having lost it, though by the smallest of majorities, were afraid to divide against the rest. To prove this to be fact, there are brought these two circumstances: first, that after the division was over, Mr Granville [a Tory] thus saluted Sir Matthew Dudley [a Whig] *How fare ye, Mynheer Dudley?* To which Sir Matthew replied, *Fort bien, Monsieur* Granville. Secondly, Mr Dyer, in his News-Letter, gave his sentiments of the matter in these words: The Prince of Wales ‡ lost it in the House only by one vote. To this it has been said, that the reply does not fix the charge upon our statesman; since, in such debates, it is highly probable different persons are governed

(14) Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria.

(15) Salmon's Chronological Historian, under this year.

(16) In 1710 were published two papers, one called The Test, offered to the Electors of G. Britain. The other, A List of the Members of the Hon. House of C——, that voted for and against the clause for the Hanover Succession in 1702. This produced a Vindication, upon the principles here mentioned. In reply to which there came out a letter from a member, who then sat in parliament, said to be written by A. Mainwaring, Esq; and is inserted by Oldmixon, in his History of the Stuarts, p. 355. and in the same spirit is the account penned, which we find in Burnet's History of his own Time, p. 142. Vol. II.

(17) See our author's Political Tracts.

‡ Meaning the Pretender, whose father, King James, was then living.

ſuch an authority and influence in the Houſe, that it was thought proper to diſtinguiſh his merit; and April 10, 1704, he was appointed Secretary at War, and of the Marines (c). As this poſt created a conſtant correſpondence with the Duke of Marlborough, he became perfectly acquainted with the worth of that great General, and zealouſly promoted his honour and intereſt [H]. But when Mr Harley was removed from the Seals in 1707, Mr St John choſe to follow his fortune, and the next day reſigned his employments in the adminiſtration *: he alſo followed his friend's example, and behaved, during the whole ſeſſion of Parliament, with great temper, ſteadineſs, and decency [I]. He was not returned

(c) Mr Harley had been made Secretary of State a little before. Boyer's Hiſt. of Queen Anne.

* Salmon's Chron. Hiſt. during thoſe years.

governed by different motives, when they vote on the ſame ſide. Some who might think the ſucceſſion not deeply intereſted in this affair, might be againſt the ſecond amendment, for two reaſons; firſt, that it was unuſual and improper to introduce a clauſe of the higheſt importance, enacting a new ſpecies of treaſon, in a bill regarding a matter of far leſs weight. Secondly, that whether theſe clauſes ſtood part of the bill or not, the ſucceſſion of the Houſe of Hanover would ſtill have remained fixed and eſtabliſhed by law: in reſpect to which Mr St John had been undeniably inſtrumental in drawing up and bringing in the bill that fixed it; whereas, in this caſe, his oppoſition was but conſtructive at the moſt. Neither will it appear abſurd to a man of candour as well as capacity, if we ſuggeſt, that very poſſibly Mr St John, from his conduct in the former point, thought himſelf the more at liberty to act as his reaſon dictated in the latter. Upon the whole, I preſume it is evident enough, that the great ſtruggle to carry this bill through the Houſe, was far from being the ſecurity of the Hanover ſucceſſion, about which both parties were agreed; but who ſhould bear away the credit of promoting it moſt. As to Mr St John in particular, 'tis certain, the fame of his abilities in the ſenate began now to work in raiſing his fortune at court; a ſure ſign that at this time his behaviour ſtood in no ſuch terrible light, as was afterwards endeavoured to be thrown upon it. In the ſecond parliament of Queen Anne, called to meet Aug. 20, 1702, he was choſen a third time for Wotton-Baſſet, and in the end of that month, attending the Queen from Windſor to Bath, by the way of Oxford, he had the degree of Doctor of Law conferred upon him, among ſeveral perſons of the higheſt diſtinction. In the parliament which met October 20, and choſe Mr Harley a third time Speaker, our ſtateſman voted with the majority againſt perpetuating the penſion payable out of the revenues of the Poſt Office upon the title of Duke of Marlborough. And in the conferences between the two Houſes upon the Occaſional Conformity bill, which was one of the moſt remarkable diſputes during this reign, and were managed by the ableſt men on both ſides, he had his ſhare in that, on the 10th of January, which was maintained on the part of the Commons by Mr Bromley, Mr St John, Mr Finch, Sir Simon Harcourt, and Sir Thomas Powys; and on that of the Lords by the Duke of Devonſhire, the Earl of Peterborough, the Biſhop of Saliſbury, Lord Somers, and Lord Hallifax. However, the next ſeſſion of this parliament, when a motion was made to tack the bill againſt Occaſional Conformity, now paſſed by the Commons a ſecond time, to a money bill, he oppoſed and voted againſt it *; which ſhews, that though he had hitherto gone with the ſame party, yet he was determined not to go the utmoſt lengths, or to perplex the public buſineſs of the nation. Theſe facts are here mentioned for two reaſons; firſt, becauſe they have been induſtriouſly thrown into ſhade by his enemies; and ſecondly, becauſe by theſe it appears, that he was never held up by the chin, thro' the intereſt or affection of this or that great man, but made his way by his own merit, and by a diſplay of thoſe talents, which are the moſt eſſential and the moſt valuable in an Engliſh gentleman.

* Memoirs of the Life of Lord Bolingbroke.

[H] *He promoted the Duke of Marlborough's honour and intereſt.*] It is remarkable, that the greateſt events of the war, ſuch as the battles of Blenheim and Ramelies, and ſeveral glorious attempts made by the Duke to ſhorten the war by ſome deciſive action, fell out while Mr St John was Secretary at War. This gave him occaſion more than once to ſet his Grace's conduct in a true light. For inſtance, in carrying through the Houſe the act for ſettling upon him the honour and manor of Woodſtock, with the penſion charged upon the Poſt-Office; and demonſtrating, that beſides all the great things he did, he would certainly have attempted, and in all probability performed, ſtill greater, if he had not been reſtrained by the Dutch Deputies: whence there is good grounds to believe, that no body underſtood the Duke's behaviour better, or was inclined to do more juſtice to his intentions, as well as his actions, than this gentleman. Yet in that diſpoſition, a ſpirit of independency appears in ſetting Mr Philips to write the poem called *Blenheim*, in emulation to the *Campaign* of Mr Addiſon, who was recommended to that undertaking by Lord Hallifax. He was, 'tis evident, a ſincere admirer of that great General: he diſtinguiſhed himſelf as ſuch on the preſent, and avowed it upon all occaſions, even to the laſt moment of his life. He has told us ſo himſelf, and in ſo inimitable a manner, that we muſt not with-hold it from the reader. 'By his [K. William's] death, the Duke of Marlborough, ſays he, was raiſed to the head of the army, and indeed of the Confederacy; where he, a new, a private man, and a ſubject, acquired by merit and by management a more deciding influence than high birth, confirmed authority, and even the crown of Great Britain, had given to K. William. Not only all the parts of that vaſt machine were kept more compact and intire, but a more rapid and vigorous motion was given to the whole; and inſtead of languiſhing or diſaſtrous campaigns, we had every ſcene of the war full of action. All thoſe wherein he appeared, and many others wherein he was not then an actor, but an abettor however of their action, were crowned with the moſt triumphant ſucceſs. I take with pleaſure this opportunity of doing juſtice to that great man, whoſe faults I know, whoſe virtues I admired, and whoſe memory as the greateſt General, and the greateſt Miniſter that our country, or perhaps any other, hath produced, I honour (18).' But though he was a ſincere admirer of the Duke's merit, yet nothing can be more ridiculous than the charge of his being a ſervile creature of that great man. This he diſavowed when the Duke was in the zenith of his power, nor was he then charged, or ever afterwards, by the Duke or Ducheſs of Marlborough, with ingratitude or breach of engagements to them. In ſucceeding times ſuch charges were brought, repeated, and averred, but without any proofs attending them, and his whole conduct makes them utterly incredible. It has been ſaid likewiſe, that the night before he withdrew himſelf, in 1715, he had a private conference with the Duke, and that he took that ſtep in purſuance to the Duke's advice. In anſwer to this he obſerves, that he knew the Duke too well to govern himſelf by his directions (19). He was likewiſe accuſed of betraying the councils, while he was engaged with the Pretender, to the Duke, by the canal of his nephew the Duke of Berwick; but he gave ſuch an anſwer to all thoſe accuſations then brought againſt him as has ſhamed his accuſers (20). Upon the whole, it is evident that his nature was not capable of following any man with implicit obſequiouſneſs. On the contrary, his fault was a too precipitate forwardneſs to take the lead himſelf.

(18) Of the Uſe of Hiſtory.

(19) Letter to Sir W. Wyndham, p. 91.

(20) See his anſwer to the impeachments by the Pretender; as alſo the laſt cited letter.

[I] *He behaved with temper.*] He had given a remarkable inſtance of this moderation in the Parliament which met in 1705, when the Tories viz the Duke of Bucks, the Earls of Nottingham, Rocheſter, and Angleſea, propoſed with great warmth the ſcheme of bringing the Princeſs Sophia into England. A motion for that purpoſe being made in the Houſe of Commons, he inſiſted upon firſt reading the bill for a Regency that came from the Lords, and by that dextrous management defeated the firſt motion, without a diviſion or a debate. This method was highly pleaſing to the then Lord Treaſurer Godolphin; ſince it did the buſineſs, and ſaved wrangling. In this conduct, however, he voted in conjunction with the Secretary of State, Mr Harley; hence the imputation of his running into violent meaſures ſeems to be groundleſs, ſince it is evident, from the circumſtances of theſe times, that if either

returned in the Parliament which was elected in 1708; but upon the dissolution of it in 1710, Mr Harley being made Chancellor and Under-Treasurer of the Exchequer, the important post of Secretary of State was given to Mr St John; and about the same time he wrote the famous letter to the Examiner [*K*]. Upon the calling of a new parliament on

either of them had been inclined to fish in troubled waters, they had opportunities enough. And as in doing thus, their parts were notoriously applied, as well as their diligence, in preventing things from running into heats, we ought not to give any hasty credit to accusations unattended with evidence. The General and the Treasurer had at this time no such suspicions; and this is a better argument that they had no cause for them, than any that has hitherto been produced on either side (21). Let us hear Bishop Burnet's opinion with respect to such as at this time were intrusted with power. 'It bred, says he, a just indignation in all who had a true love to their country, to see some using all possible methods to shake the administration, which, notwithstanding the difficulties at home and abroad, was much the best that had been in the memory of man; and was certainly not only easy to the subjects in general, but gentle even towards those who were endeavouring to undermine it (22).'

(21) Memoirs of Lord Viscount Bolingbroke.

(22) Burnet's History of his own Time, Vol. II.

[*K*] *His famous letter to the Examiner.*] This periodical paper was set up very soon after the dissolution of the former Parliament, and the calling of a new one this year 1710. The first twelve papers came out before the new Parliament met*. These were supposed to be written by Mr Secretary St John, Dr Atterbury, Mr Prior, and other Persons of distinction, who were equally conspicuous for their great capacities, and their thorough knowledge of the then state of things, which established the reputation of that performance, and enabled it to operate powerfully upon elections: among these appeared a Letter to the Examiner, which was so generally ascribed to the Secretary, that it was commonly called *Mr St John's Letter to the Examiner*, which shone with superior lustre.

* The former Parliament was dissolved September 21, a new one called on the 26th, to meet Novemb. 25. Salmon's Chron. Hist. under this year; and the first paper of the Examiner is dated Aug. 3d the same year.

——— *micat inter omnes*
Julium sidus, velut inter ignes
Luna minores.

It is indeed an exquisite proof of his keen abilities as a Writer; for in this single short paper are comprehended the outlines of that design, upon which so great an author as Dean Swift employed himself for near a twelvemonth, did his party infinite service, and gave inexpressible disquiet to the friends of the old ministry, who employed Mr Addison first in the Whig-Examiner, and then Mr Manwayring in the Medley ||, to write against the Examiner to little purpose. It is not easy to name any subject that can be more interesting to a young statesman, than the discussion of this ministerial revolution. There never happened any change more remarkable in this country, or which furnishes either more instruction or better entertainment. Here we see what methods were pursued, to dissolve an administration composed of persons eminent for their abilities, possessed of large fortunes, most of them thoroughly acquainted with business, and knowing how to draw from the posts they enjoyed, all the helps an extensive influence could give towards preserving them. An administration confided in by the Allies, befriended by what was stiled the moneyed interest, high in reputation from foreign, and, if we may be allowed the expression, from domestic victories, and secure of the Parliament then sitting. These were difficulties, that men must have very great courage to entertain so much as hopes of overcoming; very great capacities to frame a scheme that had even a probability of succeeding; and very great coolness and presence of mind, not to lose or bewilder themselves in the execution: the very attempting it, was a boldness bordering on temerity; the proceeding hazardous in every respect; and the miscarriage big with so many fatal consequences, that the sole apprehension of them, might very easily have produced a dizziness capable of disconcerting the best adjusted project, since human wisdom can contrive nothing out of the reach of a multitude of unforeseen accidents. This is but a faint picture of the circumstances those men were in, who undertook to bring about this change: from whence it may be understood, how exalted a complement they make to the memory of Mr Harley, afterwards Earl of Oxford, who affirm that he alone contrived and conducted it in the first digestion, and that others were no more than his instruments. The first point was absolutely to secure the Queen; that is, to fix her in a steady and determined resolution to pursue the measures suggested to her, notwithstanding all the arguments and applications of every kind, that it might and must be foreseen, would be offered to discourage, dispirit, or divert her. Some have supposed that the whole scheme was not opened to her at once, but that she was gradually drawn from one step to another. But the very contrary of this seems infinitely more probable, for, if she had not been promised a total deliverance, it is not to be conceived what could be propounded to balance the hazards she ran in a partial removing of those who were grown disagreeable to her. In order to effect this, she was continually put in mind of the victory gained over her in the affair of Mr Hill's regiment, when by the Duke of Marlborough's going out of town, and the menaces of an address from the House of Commons to remove Mrs Masham, she was constrained by a letter under her own hand, to let his Grace know that she gave up the dispute, and that he might dispose of the regiment as he thought fit She was put in mind of her being *carried to school* every day, for that was the phrase given to her attendance on *Sacheverell's* trial, to hear things that, considering the family from which she sprung, and the sentiments in which she was bred, must be extremely disagreeable to her; and the putting her in mind of these and many other instances of that strict discipline under which she was kept, brought that Princess to recollect many offensive and mortifying passages, to which even these private friends were strangers †. The next thing was to secure the people, and for this purpose the most effectual measures were taken, both by discourse and writing. In the latter, some of the greatest men among those, who aimed at an alteration in the ministry, condescended to employ their pains and their pens, which distinguished them from other performances. And in reference to the former, the bulk of the clergy throughout the kingdom served them with great industry and zeal, from the alarm taken at the affair of Dr *Sacheverell*. As soon as their success in both these points was thoroughly known to themselves, it was judged for their interest, that it should be no longer a secret to the world. They knew that the reputation of power is power; they knew, that the Parliament as it then stood was against them; and therefore to ballance this, they thought it necessary to shew that they had the people. To do that effectually and with eclat, they procured addresses penned in the fashionable stile of the preceding reigns of the Queen's father and uncle: and under pretence of taking possession of a living, the late *Criminal*, now looked on as a kind of *Confessor*, made a progress from *Oxford* to *Wales*, and was received and caressed wherever he came, in a manner that fed his own vanity, and answered their purpose. Such were the previous steps to this revolution, which were so dexterously managed, that they seemed to rise naturally from events, and consequently were asserted to be the spontaneous sense of the nation, manifested in the fulness of their hearts, and without any management at all, which was denied and disclaimed with the very same warmth with which it was executed. Lord Dartmouth and Mr St John were made Secretaries of State in the room of Lord Sunderland and Mr Boyle; Lord Godolphin removed from the Treasurer's office, which was put into commission, including Mr Harley, who was also made Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Earl of Rochester made President of the Council, in the room of Lord Somers; Sir Simon Harcourt, Attorney-General instead of Sir James Montague, and the Great Seal taken from Lord Cowper, and put for some time into commission. The Parliament rose April 5. 1710, ten days after which the Marquis of Kent's White Staff, of Lord Chamberlain, was given to the Duke of Shrewsbury; yet at the same time the Marquis was created a Duke. This in those days was looked on as an ambiguous measure; but those who were in the secret knew that it was the signal;

|| See Mr Manwayring's article.

† See the Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough.

on the 25th of November, he was chosen Knight of the Shire for the county of Berks, and also Burgess for Wotton-Basset, and made his election for the former. This large accession of power put him into a sphere of action that called forth all his abilities: the English annals produce not a more trying juncture, and Mr St John appeared equal to every occasion of trial. He sustained almost the whole weight of the difficulties in negotiating the peace of Utrecht [L]; and, in July 1712, he was created Baron St John of Lediard-

signal; accordingly the other projected alterations followed in due time; and the whole was completed by the dissolution of the Parliament, and calling a new one to meet in November. All possible methods had been tried to shake the Queen's resolution: the Governor and some of the Directors of the Bank acquainted her with their apprehensions as to public credit; the ministers of the Emperor, and of the States-General, suggested the uneasinesses these changes must infallibly give to her Allies; and without doubt these made some impression, though not so great as was expected. On the other hand, great pains were taken to persuade the nation, that these hints to a crowned head were very high indignities, as they had a tendency to take from the Queen the free choice of her own servants. It is worth while to see this described in the Letter to the Examiner. 'Notwithstanding all the pains which have 'been taken, says our Secretary, to lessen her character in the world by the wits of the Kit-Kat, and the 'sages of the Cellar †, mankind is convinced that a 'Queen, possessed of all the virtues requisite to bless 'a nation or to make a private family happy, sits on 'the throne. By an excess of goodness she delighted 'to raise some of her servants to the highest degrees 'of riches, of power, and of honours, and in this 'only instance can be said to have grieved any of 'her subjects. The rules she had prescribed to these 'persons as the measure of their conduct, was soon 'departed from; but so unable were they to associate 'with men of honester principles than themselves, that 'the sovereign authority was prostituted to support 'a faction, and made the purchase of indemnity for an 'offending Minister. Instead of the mild influences of 'a gracious Queen governing by law, we soon felt the 'miserable consequences of subjection to the will of an 'arbitrary junto, and to the caprice of an insolent woman ‡. Unhappy nation! Which expecting to be 'governed by the best, fell under the tyranny of the 'worst of her sex. But now, thanks be to God, the 'fury, which broke loose to execute the vengeance of 'heaven on a sinful nation, is restrained, and the royal 'hand is already reached out to chain up the plague.'

† Two famous clubs, consisting of the ablest men in the old Ministry, and their friends. See Boyer's History of Queen Anne.

‡ The Duchess of Marlborough

Invisum numen terras cœlumque levabit.

[L] *The difficulties of negotiating the Treaty of Utrecht.*] It is not within the designed compass of these memoirs to discuss the conduct of our Secretary, during the long course of those perplexed negotiations; but we shall exhibit some of the most striking particulars, by which a judgment may be formed of the whole. In the session of Parliament which began Dec. 11, 1711, the Queen acquainted the Houses, that notwithstanding the arts of such as delighted in war, both time and place were appointed for the opening of a treaty. This was too much the language of party; and the Lords, in opposition to it, represented in their Address, that, in their opinion, no peace could be safe or honourable to Great Britain or Europe, if Spain and the West Indies were to be allotted to any branch of the House of Bourbon: upon which the Lords Compton and Bruce were called up to the House of Lords, and ten new Peers created before the end of the month. In the House of Commons, the Commissioners of Accounts charged the Duke of Marlborough with taking a considerable sum annually from those who made the bread contracts, and two and a half per cent. out of the pay of the foreign troops, which sums amounted in the whole, during his command, to upwards of half a million: notwithstanding the defence, that the first was a perquisite never denied to the commander in chief, and that the latter was a free gift from the foreign troops, intended and employed for intelligence, and less than was granted for that purpose during K. William's war, yet it was voted to be public money, and to be accounted for: accordingly a prosecution was directed, and under that colour the Duke dismissed from all his employments. The great trust of managing the affairs of the administration in Parliament was committed to our Secretary, who, to influence the nation in their discontents at the long continuance of the war and to excite the most earnest desire of peace, employed himself in drawing up accurate computations of the numbers of our own men, that of foreigners, and the sums paid by way of subsidies during the course of the war; which was observed to be such a piece of dextrous and efficacious management, as had perhaps at no time 'till then been attempted in Parliament; being a double edged weapon that cut both ways. After much debate, and the most mature deliberation, the House of Commons attended her Majesty with a Representation, shewing the hardships the Allies had put upon England in carrying on this war, and, in consequence, how necessary it was to come in time at some relief. They set forth, first, 'That the expence of England, in the beginning of the war, amounted only to about three 'millions, but was now increased to nine millions or 'upwards, chiefly by being obliged to supply the deficiencies of her Allies; so that the States-General 'were frequently deficient two thirds of their quota 'of shipping, which not only increased the charge of 'the English, but was the occasion of great damage 'to the royal navy, and the destruction of the merchants ships for want of convoys, the English men 'of war being employed in other services; and that 'the Dutch had also been deficient in the Netherlands above twenty thousand men of their quota of 'troops. That almost the whole burthen of the war 'in Spain and Portugal had of late been thrown upon 'the English, the Dutch having every year lessened 'their troops on that side, and the Emperor, who 'was most nearly concerned, had no troops at all in 'pay there 'till the last years of the war, and then but 'one single regiment: that, on the contrary, the English did not only maintain sixty thousand men in the 'Spanish war, but the charges of the shipping alone 'employed in that service amounted to above eight 'millions sterling: and, in short, that England had 'expended in the war beyond it's quota above nineteen millions of money. All which the late ministry 'had not only connived at, but in many instances 'contrived and encouraged upon private views. That 'the greater our success had been, the heavier had 'been the burden on the part of England, and that 'new dominions were daily conquered for the Allies, 'while they abated their share of the expence; and 'it could not be expected they should ever be weary 'of enlarging their territories at the charge of England, especially when even the revenues of the conquered countries were not applied to carrying on 'the war. That though Great Britain had borne as 'great a share of the war as the whole Confederacy, 'no advantages had been stipulated to her; but, on 'the contrary, the late Barrier Treaty with the Dutch 'was destructive to our trade, and the putting Newport and other places into their hands, made the 'trade of the English to the Spanish Netherlands precarious; and the strength of that country, which 'Britain had so largely contributed to reduce, might 'hereafter be employed against Britain itself (23).' The primary design of this Representation was to justify the new resolutions which had been taken, of obliging the States to compleat their *quota* of men and ships, by declaring that, otherwise, the Queen would lessen her own forces in a just proportion. Besides, it was calculated to persuade the nation, that the close connexion between the friends of the old Ministry and the Allies, was founded on their reciprocal interests, to which that of Great Britain was sacrificed. It served likewise to justify the new manner in which they pretended to carry on the war, in case the Allies insisted upon carrying it on at all events, by Great Britain's fulfilling her engagements without going beyond them, and exacting from the rest of the Allies, that they should also perform theirs. This scheme being very plausible in itself, and coming to the Queen and

(23) Boyer's History of Queen Anne.

Lediard-Tregoze in Wiltshire, and Viscount Bolingbroke [*M*]. He was also the same year appointed Lord-Lieutenant of the county of Essex *. But these honours not answering his expectations, he formed a design of taking the Lead in publick affairs from his old friend Mr Harley, then Earl of Oxford [*N*]; which proved in the issue unfortunate to them

* Memoirs of his Life, &c ubi sup.

and her subjects, backed with so high an authority as the Representation of the House of Commons, gave great countenance and credit to their proceedings, as they carried the air of instructions to those by whom in reality they were dictated. It was some time before this long Representation could reach the hands of the States, and it required some space to consider and frame an answer to it; during which the declarations were made, and the measures taken that were advised therein, and the negotiations between Great Britain and France were carried so far, that the Queen, in a speech to both Houses, communicated the plan upon which a general peace might be made, at the very time this answer from the States-General arrived. It was certainly drawn up with much clearness and candour, and in terms which demonstrated to impartial people, that the States, considered as trustees for their own nation, were very little to blame: yet Mr Secretary St John drew up a short reply to it, with such spirit and address, as intirely enervated it's force. The States had alledged, that by the Alliance, both powers had engaged to exert their *utmost* force; and that, therefore, they had fully complied with their engagements, in doing all that they could. They enlarged on the great superiority of Britain, in point of wealth and power, which made it reasonable for her to outdo her Allies. They disputed the truth, or rather the method, of some calculations, insisting that the ships they employed in the North Sea ought to be considered as a part of their *quota*. They asserted that Great Britain had often exceeded, more especially in the Mediterranean service, in the course of a campaign, the proportions settled at the beginning of a campaign, but that this ought to throw no blame upon them, if their quota was agreeable to the original stipulations; and they insisted, that the revenue arising from the country in which their barrier lay, was very much below what it had been represented. The Secretary extracted from this Answer, such principles as fell in with those of the Representation, as it is visible many of them do, and concluded from thence, that if their High Mightinesses had acted with great prudence and frugality during the course of the war, it was high time for Great Britain to imitate their conduct at the close of it; and dwelt very strongly upon their pathetic remarks as to the weight of that burden which they had sustained, inferring that it was high time for the Maritime Powers, upon whom the whole expence of the war now lay, to think of getting out of it as soon as they could, by a safe and advantageous peace. This may serve for a specimen of the Secretary's conduct, upon whom, at this juncture, the great weight of the business lay; and though it is allowed on all hands, that even at this time he gave a great loose to his pleasures, and availed himself very little of those helps to business that arise from method; yet his very enemies then allowed, and events will prove the truth of it to posterity, that he managed with singular dexterity, and executed the several high employments in which he then acted, with singular facility and capacity. As a Statesman and a Minister, he had prodigious difficulties to struggle with. Most of the foreign courts with which we had any transactions, and of consequence their Ministers, were continually prying into and taking exceptions to his measures, and that with a certain fierceness which sometimes drove him to extremities. The business of Count Gallas, the Imperial Minister, who printed without ceremony whatever papers were communicated to him, and was continually complaining if papers were printed by any body else, made a great noise, and he was at length forbid the Court. The Hanoverian Minister, Baron Bothmar's Memorial, made still more noise, and put the Secretary under greater inconveniences. The letter of the States-General to the Queen, in support of their answer to the Representation of the House of Commons, out-did both these, and was likewise published from the press. With all these embarrasments, the weight of a most intricate and important negotiation lay upon his shoulders; and while his whole time might have been taken up in repelling those attacks upon his conduct at home, he was obliged to furnish instructions for the Queen's Ministers abroad, who could, and who would, do nothing, but in pursuance of his directions. As an orator in the Senate, he exerted every different kind of eloquence; he stated all the great points that were brought before the Houses; he persuaded, he illustrated, he supported, the resolutions that were taken upon them; he answered the objections that were made and maintained by the acutest men in the kingdom; and who, to their great abilities in speaking, joined a perfect acquaintance with business, which affords an almost inexpressible weight to an opposition. As a Courtier too, he had many and very nice affairs upon his hands, and was obliged to enter into, and manage private intrigues, of a very nice and delicate nature, in the midst of his application to public business: so that if you take into your view the whole circle of concerns that occupied his thoughts at this juncture, and remember at the same time that he was not without his foibles and his vices, you cannot but conceive of him a very high and extraordinary opinion; and instead of being surprized at those irregularities and eccentricities, that, upon a very critical search, were discovered in his conduct, you will rather stand amazed at the success which attended his endeavours, and that in spite of those imperfections, which even his friends must acknowledge in his character, he was able to do what he did, and to support himself and his party against such a spirit of opposing, such a weight of influence, and such a torrent of abuse, as at this juncture both they and he sustained. He was, if you please, a Leader of a faction; but he was a very able leader. He was a man of pleasure and indiscretion, but he was, notwithstanding, a man of abilities. He was, in short, after all that the severest critics could suggest, and after all that envy and malice could invent, a very extraordinary genius, whom, whilst we blame, we must admire, and whom, if any respect be due to parts, to application, and to the power of atchieving great things by dint of these, we must commend. His Lordship himself we find, a few years after, declaring that he never looked back on this great event [the peace of Utrecht] passed as it was, without a secret emotion of mind, when he compared the vastness of the undertaking, and the importance of the success, with the means employed to bring it about, and with those which were employed to traverse it (24).

(24) Letter to Sir W. Wyndham, p. 36, 37. edit. 1753, 8vo.

[*M*] *Viscount Bolingbroke.*] The honours of both the families of St John were united in these titles, that of his own branch in the Barony of Tregoze; and in Bolingbroke that of the elder branch, in the great-grandson of Sir Oliver St John (mentioned in the reign of Henry VI.) whose eldest son, being Oliver St John, Esq; was created Baron St John of Bletsho in the 17 of Eliz. and his grandson whose name was likewise Oliver, was in the 22d James I. created Earl of Bolingbroke. 'Tis remarkable, that as the younger branch sided with the King in the civil wars, so the elder joined with the Parliament. The Earl of Bolingbroke was very warm in that cause, and so was his son the Lord St John of Bletsho, whom the King had called by writ into the House of Peers, to whom the Parliament gave a commission to raise a troop of Horse, at the head of which he was present in the army of the Earl of Essex at the battle of Edge-hill, and was the only person of distinction killed on that side. 'Tis well known also, how great a share the Chief Justice St John, who was of this branch, had in contriving and executing the political schemes that brought on the civil war. It is true, he was grandfather by the mother's side to the subject of this memoir; but he was not descended from him in the same sense that was objected to his Lordship idly enough about this time (18).

(18) Memoirs of Lord Bolingbroke.

[*N*] *But not satisfied, he intrigued to wrest the Lead from the Earl of Oxford.*] It must be observed that Paulet St John, the last Earl of Bolingbroke, died the 5th of October, preceding this creation. That by his decease, though the Barony of Bletsho devolved upon Sir Andrew St John, Bart, yet the Earldom became,

them both. Presently after the accession of King George the First to the Throne, in 1714, the Seals were taken from the Secretary, and all the papers in his office secured [O]. However,

became extinct, and the honour was promised to our author; but his presence in the House of Common being so necessary at that time, the Lord Treasurer prevailed upon him to remain there during that session, upon a promise that his rank should be preserved to him; but when he expected the old title should have been renewed in his favour, which, considering his services particularly in that session, seemed reasonable enough, he was put off with this of Viscount; this he resented as an affront, and looked on it as so intended by the Treasurer, who had got an Earldom for himself (19). It is not a little entertaining to see how his Lordship expresses it: 'I continued,' says he, 'in the House of Commons during that important session which preceded the peace, and, which by the spirit shewn through the whole course of it, and by the resolutions taken in it, rendered the conclusion of the treaties practicable. After this, I was dragged into the House of Lords in such a manner as to make my promotion a punishment, not a reward, and was there left to defend the treaties alone. It would not have been hard, continues he, to have forced the Earl of Oxford to use me better. His good intentions began to be very much doubted of; the truth is, no opinion of his sincerity had ever taken root in the party; and, which was worse perhaps for a man in his station, the opinion of his capacity began to fall apace. He was so hard pushed in the House of Lords in the beginning of 1712, that he had been forced, in the middle of the session, to persuade the Queen to make a promotion of twelve Peers at once; which was an unprecedented and invidious measure, to be excused by nothing but the necessity, and hardly by that. In the House of Commons his credit was low, and my reputation very high. You know the nature of that assembly; they grow like hounds, fond of the man who shews them game, and by whose halloo they are used to be encouraged. The thread of the negotiations, which could not stand still a moment, without going back, was in my hands: and before another man could have made himself master of the business, much time would have been lost, and great inconveniences would have followed. Some who opposed the court soon after, began to waver then: and if I had not wanted the inclination, I should have wanted no help, to do mischief. I knew the way of quitting my employments, and of retiring from court when the service of my party required it; but I could not bring myself up to that resolution, when the consequence of it must have been the breaking my party, and the distress of the publick affairs. I thought my mistress treated me ill, but the sense of that duty which I owed her, came in aid of other considerations, and prevailed over my resentment. These sentiments, indeed, are so much out of fashion, that a man who avows them is in danger of passing for a bubble in the world: yet they were, in the conjuncture I speak of, the true motives of my conduct; and you saw me go on as chearfully in the troublesome and dangerous work assigned me, as if I had been under the utmost satisfaction. I began, indeed, in my heart to renounce the friendship, which 'till that time I had preserved inviolable for Oxford. I was not aware of all his treachery, nor of the base and little means which he employed then, and continued to employ afterwards, to ruin me in the opinion of the Queen, and every where else. I saw, however, that he had no friendship for any body, and that with respect to me, instead of having the ability to render that merit, which I endeavoured to acquire, an addition of strength to himself, it became the object of his jealousy, and a reason for undermining me (20).' We must not omit to observe, that when this letter of Bolingbroke to Sir W. Wyndam was wrote, Lord Oxford had not made his defence against the articles of his impeachment, in which he absolutely disculpates himself in regard to the promotion of the twelve Lords, nor did Bolingbroke at that time in any of his writings ever bring it as a charge against him, though he does not spare his character upon all occasions. And though Bolingbroke here declares, that he had 'till the time of this affront preserved his friendship for Oxford inviolable, yet Oxford in his letter to the Queen, of June 8, 1714, asserts, that in the beginning of February 1710, there commenced a division among those called Tories in the House of Commons, and that St John thought fit to be listing a separate party for himself, that this spirit was raised in him on the opening of that Parliament in November preceding, when he complained much that Oxford had not acquainted him with the secret of raising money for the current service of the year, and particularly with the scheme for liquidating nine millions of the national debt, alledging, that in so large a sum, the small one of a hundred thousand pounds would not have been missed, and might have been shared among his friends. Whoever reads in Bolingbroke's posthumous and latter pieces (21), how much he claims the merit of having always stuck to the Tories against Oxford's scheme of the coalition, will not be disinclined to believe the first of these imputations. But the second must rest upon the Treasurer's authority, being indeed not so credible in itself, since Bolingbroke's foible, 'tis well known, was not the love of money but of power; nor did he in a political view give that sufficient attention to the former, which was necessary in some degree to support and maintain the latter. The author of the Continuation of Rapin's history, gives us the general opinion at that time. 'The conduct of foreign affairs, says he, lay in the Lord Bolingbroke, who, as he was less reserved in the prosecution of bold measures than the Treasurer, had therefore the largest share of the public odium, without any other advantage than the perquisites of his office, most of which he lavished away in riotous pleasures. Being a man impatient of dependency he had frequent warm expostulations with the Treasurer, who disregarded his complaints; by which the Secretary was still more enraged (22). In the above-mentioned paper of Lord Oxford, addressed to her Majesty, he charges our Secretary with projecting the expedition to Canada, chiefly in the view of cheating the nation of twenty thousand pounds; and at the same time he takes to himself the merit of preventing this from falling, in the next session, under the inspection of the House of Commons; but when this assertion of his was converted into an Article of Impeachment against him, and himself charged with impeding justice by such a concealment, he alledged in his own defence, that the reason he hindered it from coming before the Parliament, was, that upon a close examination the proof was not clear, and he judged *that* a very improper season for commencing such an enquiry when it could not be fully made out. He further adds, that the papers upon which he grounded his opinion, had been long in the hands of the House of Commons, which impeached them both, and he had not heard that they thought them sufficient foundation for such a charge (23): A circumstance which rather proves his own mistake than the misbehaviour of his competitor. There was another transaction which passed not long after Lord Bolingbroke's being raised to the Peerage, and which helped to increase his animosity to the Minister. In a few weeks after his return from France, her Majesty was pleased to bestow the vacant Ribbons of the Order of the Garter upon the Dukes Hamilton, Beaufort, and Kent, and the Earls Paulet, *Oxford*, and Strafford. The new Viscount thought himself here again ill used, having an ambition (as the Minister well knew) to receive, as well as to deserve, such an instance as this was of his mistress's grace and favour. Upon the whole therefore 'tis no wonder, that when the Treasurer's staff was taken from this old friend, he expressed his joy by entertaining that very day, July 7, 1714 at dinner, the Generals Stanhope, Cadogan, and Palmer, with Sir Will. Wyndam, Mr Craggs, and some other gentlemen. Oxford said upon his going out, that some of them would smart for it; and Bolingbroke was far from being insensible of the danger to which he stood exposed, but was not without hopes still of securing himself by making his court to the Whigs (24); and 'tis certain, that a little before this, he had proposed to bring in a bill to the House of Lords to make it high treason to inlist soldiers for the Pretender, which was passed into an act.

[O] *The Seals were taken from him.*] Before his removal, he received a still higher mortification from the Regency, who having made choice

(19) Ibid.

(20) Letter to Sir W. Wyndham, p. 31, & seqq.

(21) See particularly his last cited letter, p. 20, 21, 22.

(22) Rapin's History of England, Vol. XXV. 8vo. edition.

(23) See the articles of impeachment against him and his defence, in State Trials, Vol. the last.

(24) Memoirs of his Lordship, ubi supra; and Rapin's Continuation.

However, during the short session of parliament at this juncture, he applied himself with his usual industry and vigour, to keep up the spirit of the friends to the late administration, without omitting any proper occasion of testifying his respect and duty to his Majesty; in which spirit he assisted in settling the Civil List, and other necessary points. But, soon after the meeting of the new parliament, he withdrew, and crossed the water privately to France, in the latter end of March, 1715 [*P*]. Upon his arrival at Paris, he

choice of Joseph Addison, Esq; for their Secretary, gave direction at the same time to the Post Master-General, to send all letters, and packets directed to the Secretary of State to the Secretary of the Regency. So that his Lordship was in fact removed from his office, that is, from the execution of it, in two days after the Queen's death; and the chagrin which this must needs occasion, was continually heightned by the daily humiliation of waiting at the door of the apartment where the Regency sat, with a bag in his hand, and being all the time, as it were on purpose, exposed to the insolence of those who were tempted by their own intemperance, or thought they might make their court to others by an abuse of him (25). Upon this sudden turn of fortune, when the Seals were taken from him, he went, as we learn from himself, into the country (26), where, after the arrival of King George I. he received a message to come and be present when the Seals were taken off the door of his Secretary's office; but he excused himself, observing that might be as well done by one of his Under-secretaries; but that if he could be so happy as to have the honour to kiss the King's hand, he would fly to throw himself at his Majesty's feet (27). His Lordship several years afterwards takes notice, that the Queen's servants did the duty of their offices, whilst they were continued in them by her successor, in such a manner as to merit his approbation. This, continues he, was signified to some of them, to the Secretaries in particular, in the strongest terms, and according to his Majesty's express order, before the whole Council of State (28); which made some amends for the indignity of the Regency, or that of the same Council, 'who, he declares, acted like a Council of the Holy Office. Whoever, says he, looked on the face of the nation saw every thing quiet, not one of those symptoms appearing, which must have shewn themselves more or less, at that moment, if in reality there had been any measures taken during the former reign to defeat the Protestant Succession. His Majesty ascended the throne with as little contradiction, and as little trouble, as ever a son succeeded a father in the possession of a private patrimony But, continues this Lord, he who had the opportunity, which I had 'till my dismission, of seeing a great part of what passed in that Council, would have thought that there had been an opposition actually formed, that the new establishment was attacked openly from without, and betrayed from within (29).' However the former declaration explains his meaning, where he says, 'that at first many of the Tories had been made to entertain some faint hopes, that they would be permitted to live in quiet. I have been assured, says he, that the King left Hanover in that resolution (30).'

(25) Ibid.

(26) Letter to Wyndham, p. 82.

(27) Memoirs of his Life.

(28) Dissertation on Parties, p. 247.

(29) Letter to Wyndham, p. 87, 88.

(30) Ibid. p. 79.

[*P*] *He withdrew to France.*] The new Parliament met March 17. The King's speech was read the 21st, and the next day the Committee appointed by the House of Lords, reported it as usual, upon which a warm debate arose, chiefly in respect to the following expressions, *And recover the reputation of this kingdom in foreign parts, the loss of which we hope to convince the world by our actions, is by no means to be imputed to the nation in general.* In this debate, among others, his Lordship made a long speech, wherein he expressed the heartiest and deepest concern for the memory of the late Queen, his most excellent mistress, which he said he would do all in his power to vindicate, that he had the honour to be one of her servants; and if he had done any thing amiss, he would be contented to be punished for it; but that he thought it hard to be censured and condemned without being heard. His Lordship took this occasion to say a great deal in praise of the King, that his Majesty had several times expressed a great respect and tenderness for the late Queen's memory, and was a Prince of so great wisdom, equity, and justice, that he was sure his Majesty would not condemn any man without hearing what he had to say for himself, and that so august an assembly ought to imitate so great a pattern. In conclusion, his Lordship moved that the words *recover*, &c. might be changed into those of *maintain* the reputation of this kingdom, and that the rest of the paragraph might be omitted To which Lord Cowper replied, that they did not condemn any particular person, but only the peace in general, because they felt the ill consequences of it. That they who advised, and made such a peace, deserved indeed to be censured, but that the words in the Address being general, no private person was affected by them; and that the alteration of the word *recover* into that of *maintain*, would signify no more toward the justification of the guilty, than the word *recover* towards the condemnation of the innocent. The question being put, whether the Address should be recommitted, it was carried in the negative by 66 against 33 †. Any one might see from the nature and issue of this debate, that a resolution was also taken at the same time to carry things to extremity, and in such a case that Lord Bolingbroke would be more particularly in danger. Various reports were spread, one was that a certain noble Person [the Duke of Shrewsbury] who was for pursuing milder measures, and finding himself over-ruled, intimated it to some friends, by whom it came to Lord Bolingbroke's ears: Another report was, that the Duke of Marlborough, to whom he had been for some time reconciled, hinted to him, that of all the Queen's ministers he was like to meet with the least favour (31). But it is worth while to see his own account of this matter. Having declaimed against the proceedings of the Regency under the title of a political Inquisition, he goes on thus: 'In the King's first speech from the throne, all the inflaming hints were given, all the methods of violence were chalked out to the two Houses. The first steps in both were perfectly answerable, and to the shame of the Peerage be it spoken, I saw at that time several Lords concur to condemn in one general vote, all that they had approved of in a former Parliament by many particular resolutions. Among several bloody resolutions proposed and agitated at this time, the resolution of impeaching me of high treason was taken: and I took that of leaving England, not in a panic terror improved by the artifices of the Duke of Marlborough, whom I knew even at that time too well to act by his advice or information in any case, but on such grounds, as the proceedings which soon followed sufficiently justified, and such as I have never repented, building upon. Those who blamed it in the first heat, were soon after obliged to change their language. For, what other resolution could I take? the method of prosecution designed against me, would have put me immediately out of condition to act for myself, or to serve those who were less exposed than me, but who were however in danger. On the other hand, how few were there on whose assistence I could depend, or to whom I would even in those circumstances be obliged. The ferment in the nation was wrought up to a considerable height, but there was at that time no reason to expect, that it could influence the proceedings in Parliament in favour of those who should be accused. Left to it's own movement, it was much more proper to quicken than slacken the prosecutions: and who was there to guide its motions? The Tories who had been true to one another to the last, were a handful, and no great vigour could be expected from them. The whimsicals disappointed of the figure which they hoped to make, began indeed to join their old friends; one of the Principal amongst them * was so very good as to confess to me, that if the court had called the servants of the late Queen to account, and stopped there, he must have considered himself as a Judge, and have acted according to his conscience on what should have appeared to him: But that war had been declared to the whole Tory party, and that now the state of things were altered. This discourse needed no commentary, and proved to me, that I had never erred in the judgment I made of this set of men. Could I then resolve to be obliged to them, or to suffer with OXFORD? As much as

† Journals of the House of Lords.

(31) Continuation of Rapin, ubi supra.

* The Earl of Anglesea. I told, says his Lordship, the fact to the Bishop of Rochester, that night, or the next day.

he received an invitation from the Pretender, then at Barr, to engage in his service; which he absolutely refused, and made the best application that his present circumstances would admit, to prevent the extremity of his prosecution in England [Q]. After a short stay at Paris, he retired into Dauphiné (*d*), where he continued 'till the beginning of July; when, upon receiving a message from some of his party in England, he complied with

(*d*) Letter to Sir W. Wyndham, p. 99. edit. 1753, 8vo.

' as I still was heated by the disputes in which I had ' been all my life engaged against the Whigs, I would ' sooner have chose to owe my security to their indulgence, than to the assistance of the Whimsicals: But ' I thought banishment with all her train of evils preferable to either. I abhorred OXFORD to that degree, that I could not bear to be joined with him in ' any case. Nothing perhaps contributed so much to ' determine me as this sentiment A sense of honour ' would not have permitted me to distinguish between ' his case and mine own; and it was worse than death ' to lie under the necessity of making them the same, ' and of taking measures in concert with him (32)' The panic here denied by his Lordship is thus described by Tindal: ' Lord B---'s heart says, that historian, began to fail him, as soon as he heard that Prior was landed at Dover, and had promised to reveal all he knew. Accordingly that evening his Lordship, who had the night before appeared at the play-house in Drury-Lane, and bespoke another play for the next night, and subscribed to a new opera that was to be acted some time after, went off to Dover in disguise as a servant to *Le Vigne*, one of the French King's messengers, and there William Morgan, who had been a captain in general Hill's regiment of marines, hired a vessel and carried him over to Calais, where the Governor attended him in a coach, and carried him to his house †.' The next day after it was publickly known that he was gone to France, the following letter, said to have been written to the late Lord Landsdowne, was handed about in print; which being very consistent with his Lordship's conduct and sentiments ‡, is probably genuine; at least it was neither disowned then, nor denied since.

(32) Letter to Sir W. Wyndham, p. 89 to 95.

† See Morgan's examination before the Secret Committee.

‡ See his letter to Sir W. Wyndham, p. 74, & seqq.

Dover, March 27, 1715.

' My Lord,

' I left the town so abruptly, that I had no time ' to take leave of you, or any of my friends. You ' will excuse me, when you know, that I had certain ' and repeated informations from some who are in the ' secret of affairs, that a resolution was taken by those ' who have power to execute it, to pursue me to the ' scaffold. My blood was to have been the cement of ' a new alliance; nor could my innocence be any security, after it had been once demanded from abroad, ' and resolved on at home, that it was necessary to cut ' me off. Had there been the least reason to hope for ' a fair and open trial, after having been already prejudged unheard by two Houses of Parliament, I ' should not have declined the strictest examination. I ' challenge the most inveterate of my enemies to produce any one instance of a criminal correspondence, ' or the least corruption in any part of the administration where I was concerned. If my zeal for the honour and dignity of my royal mistress, and the true ' interest of my country, has any where transported ' me to let slip a warm or unguarded expression, I ' hope the most favourable interpretation will be put ' upon it. It is a comfort that will remain with me ' in all my misfortunes, that I served her Majesty faithfully and dutifully, in that especially, which she had ' most at heart, relieving her people from a bloody and ' expensive war; and that I have also been too much ' an Englishman to sacrifice the interest of my country ' to any foreign ally, and it is for this crime only that ' I am now driven from thence *. You shall hear more ' at large from me shortly.

' Yours, &c. (33)

* He afterwards very appositely applied to his own case the words of Tacitus, in excuse of his father-in-law Julius Agricola, *honestius putabam offendere, quam odisse*. Ibid. p. 75.

(33) Continuation of Rapin.

[Q] *He applied to prevent the extremity of his prosecution.*] ' In the uncertainty, says he, of what would ' happen, whether the prosecutions would be pushed, ' which was most probable, in the manner intended ' against me, and against others, for all of whom except the Earl of Oxford, I had as much concern as ' for myself; or whether the Whigs would relent, drop ' some, and soften the fate of others; I resolved to ' conduct myself so, as to create no appearance, ' which might be strained into a pretence for hard ' usage, and which might be retorted on my friends, ' when they debated for me, or when they defended ' themselves. I saw the Earl of Stair. I promised him, ' that I would not enter into Jacobite engagements, ' and I kept my word with him. I writ a letter to ' Mr Secretary Stanhope, which might take off any ' imputation of neglect of the government; and I retired into Dauphiné to remove the objection of residence near the court of France (34).' But notwithstanding these colourable pretences to his old friends, it seems, this conduct was differently construed by them, as well as the Whigs also, who were no strangers to the motive of his refusing the Pretender's invitation, which, as he himself assures us, was only because he had no commission from his friends in England, who alone could determine him, if any could, to take such a step; that is, as he before explains it, that the little hopes of the Pretender's succeeding would have impeached him of weakness in joining it These are his words: ' When I arrived in France, the affairs of England ' were represented to me in another light, than I had ' seen them in, when I looked upon them with my ' own eyes very few weeks before. I found the persons who were detached to speak with me, prepared to ' think that I came over to negotiate for the Pretender: And when they perceived that I was more ignorant than they imagined, I was assured by them, ' that there would be suddenly an universal rising in ' England and Scotland. The leaders were named to ' me, their engagements specified, and many gentlemen, yourself among others, were reckoned upon ' for particular services, though I was certain, you had ' never been treated with. From whence I concluded, ' and the event has justified my opinion, that these assurances had been given on the general characters of ' men, by such of our friends as had embarked sooner, ' and gone further than the rest (35).' But, that to avoid the imputation of acting a silly part, was the true motive of his taking this step, is still plain from the tenor of his defence. ' This retreat from Paris, ' says he, was censured in England, and stiled a desertion of my friends, and of their cause, with what ' foundation let any reasonable man determine. Had ' I engaged with the Pretender before the party acted ' for him, or required of me, that I should do so, I ' had taken the air of being his man, whereas I looked ' on myself as theirs. I had gone about to bring ' them into his measures; whereas I never intended, ' even since that time, to do any thing more, than to ' make him as far as possible act conformably to their ' views.' So far on one side, he then proceeds to the other, as follows: ' During the short time I continued ' on the banks of the Rhone, the prosecutions were ' carried on at Westminster with the utmost violence, ' and the ferment among the people was risen to such ' a degree, that it could end in nothing better, it ' might have ended in something worse, than it did. ' The measures which I observed at Paris, had turned ' to no account. On the contrary, the letter which I ' wrote to Mr Secretary Stanhope, was quoted as a ' base and fawning submission, and what I intended as ' a mark of respect to the government, and a service ' to my friends, was perverted to ruin me in the opinion of the latter (36)' It is observable, that his Lordship at this juncture took his measures from the same rule of political prudence, for which he so often and so loudly complains of the Earl of Oxford, as far as their different circumstances would bear. Oxford had some private intrigues for himself at Hanover, so he had at Bar. He was the bubble of one in the end. The Pretender was so of the other; but his whole management in the mean time was contrived to keep up a kind of general indetermination about the succession. Bolingbroke had a private intrigue for himself at the Hanoverian court when removed to England; so he had at Bar. He was the bubble of both at present, and in the end never could recover that by an ill-favoured submission to the former, which Oxford preserved himself from losing by a noble and unanswerable defence (37).

(34) Letter to Sir W. Wyndham, p. 100, 101.

(35) Ibid. p. 97, 98.

(36) Ibid. p. 101, 102, 103. When his impeachment was moved for by Mr Rob. Walpole, who challenged any person to appear in his behalf, General Ross stood up, and said he wondered no body appeared in his behalf, but yet reserved what he had to say to another opportunity. Continuation of Rapin.

(37) State of Parties, p. 243.

[R] *Engaged*

with a second invitation from the Pretender [R]; and taking the Seals of the Secretary's office under him at Commercy [S], he set out with them for Paris; in which

[R] *Engaged with the Pretender.*] We are assured from his own pen, that he had waited for this opportunity of determining himself from the time of his first retirement to Dauphiné, having found it in vain to think of making his peace at home So that though the correspondence with him was neither frequent nor safe, though he heard seldom, and darkly, from his Jacobite friends in England during this interval, and was entirely ignorant of the measures they took, and of the use they intended to make of him; yet he saw well enough which way the current ran, and therefore was not wanting on his part, to let them all know, that they had but to command him, and he was ready to venture in their service the little which remained, as frankly as he had exposed all which was gone. At length, when these commands came, he executed them in the following manner: 'The person, says he, who was sent to me, arrived in the beginning of July 1715, at the place where I was. He spoke in the name of all the friends whose authority could influence me, and he brought me word that Scotland was not only ready to take arms, but under some sort of dissatisfaction to be withheld from beginning; that in England the people were exasperated against the government to such a degree, that far from wanting to be encouraged, they could not be restrained from insulting it on every occasion; that the whole Tory party was become avowedly Jacobites; that many officers of the army, and the majority of the soldiers were well affected to the cause; that the city of London was ready to rise; and that the enterprizes for seizing of several places, were ripe for execution; in a word, that most of the principal Tories were in a concert with the Duke of Ormond, for I had pressed particularly to be informed whether his Grace acted alone, or, if not, who were his council, and that the others were so disposed, that there remained no doubt of their joining as soon as the first blow should be struck. He added, that my friends were a little surprized to observe that I lay neuter in such a conjuncture. He represented to me the danger I ran of being prevented by people of all sides, from having the merit of engaging early in this enterprize; and how unaccountable it would be for a man impeached and attainted under the present government, to take no share in bringing about a revolution so near at hand, and so certain. He intreated that I would defer no longer to join the Chevalier; to advise and assist in carrying on his affairs; and to sollicit and negotiate at the Court of France, where my friends imagined, that I should not fail to meet with a favourable reception, and from whence they made no doubt of receiving assistance in a situation of affairs so critical, so unexpected, and so promising. He concluded by giving me a letter from the Pretender, whom he had seen in his way to me, in which I was pressed to repair without loss of time to Commercy: and this instance was grounded on the message, which the bearer of the letter had brought me from my friends in England. Since he was sent to me, it would have been more proper to have come directly where I was: but he was in haste to make his own court, and to deliver the assurances which were intrusted to him. Perhaps too he imagined that he should tie the knot faster on me, by acquainting me that my friends had actually engaged for themselves and me, than by barely telling me that they desired I would engage for myself and them. In the progress of the conversation he related a multitude of facts, which satisfied me as to the general disposition of the people; but he gave me little satisfaction as to the measures taken for improving this disposition, for driving the business on with vigour if it tended to a revolution, or for supporting it to advantage if it spun into a war. When I questioned him concerning several persons whose disinclination to the government admitted no doubt, and whose names, quality, and experience, were very essential to the success of the undertaking; he owned to me, that they kept a great reserve, and did at most but encourage others to act, by general and dark expressions. I received this account, and this summons, ill in my bed: yet important as the matter was, a few minutes served to determine me. The circumstances wanting to form a reasonable inducement to engage, did not escape me. But the smart of a bill of attainder tingled in every vein: and I looked on my party to be under oppression, and to call for my assistance. Besides which, I considered first that I should certainly be informed, when I conferred with the Chevalier of many particulars unknown to this gentleman; for I did not imagine, that you could be so near to take arms, as he represented you to be, on no other foundation, than that which he exposed: and secondly that I was obliged in honour to declare, without waiting for a more particular information of what might be expected from England; since my friends had taken their resolution to declare, without any previous assurance of what might be expected from France. This second motive weighed extremely with me at that time: there is however more found than sense in it, and it contains the original error, to which all your subsequent errors, and the thread of misfortunes which followed, are to be ascribed.—My resolution thus taken, I lost no time in repairing to Commercy (38).' His Lordship here ascribes his declaration chiefly to the bill of attainder, in consequence of his impeachment, which he just before (39) says had passed into an Act, during his short continuance on the banks of the Rhone [in Dauphiné]; but this is a slip of his pen, as appears by comparing dates. The message, he says, came to him in the beginning of July, and the act of his attainder did not pass 'till August; nor were the Articles of Impeachment sent up to the Lords till the 6th of that month (40). His Lordship no doubt here intends the vote for his impeachment in the House of Commons which passed in the beginning of June, and from the little or no opposition it met with, the act might well be thought unavoidable, and deemed to have passed in the resolutions of the several members, tho' not actually in the House.

(38) Letter to Sir W. Wyndham, p. 104 to 112.

(39) Ibid. p. 102, 103.

(40) Journals of the House of Commons.

[S] *He took the Seals at Commercy*] We have hinted already the pique that was taken by his Lordship in not being set at the head of his party in this new engagement; and it will be seen hereafter how it worked within his breast, and gave a biass to all his reasonings, while he continued thus engaged. He declares that the very first conversations he had with the Chevalier, answered in no degree his expectations, and that he began, even then, if not to repent, yet to be fully convinced, not only of his own rashness, but of that of his friends. 'He [the Chevalier] talked to me, says he, like a man who expected every moment to set out for England, or Scotland, but who did not very well know for which; and when he entered into the particulars of his affairs, I found that, concerning the former [England] he had nothing more circumstantial nor positive to go upon, than what I had already heard'— But, continues he afterwards: 'The Duke of Ormond had been for some time, I cannot say how long, engaged with the Chevalier. He had taken the direction of this whole affair, as far as it related to England, upon himself, and had received a commission for this purpose, which contained the most ample powers that could be given. After this one would be apt to imagine, that the principles on which the Pretender should proceed, and the Tories engage in this service, had been laid down; that a regular and certain method of correspondence had been established; that the necessary assistances had been specified, and that positive assurances had been given of them Nothing less. In a matter as serious as this, all was loose and abandoned to the disposition of fortune.— 'The Duke had asked a small body of regular forces, a sum of money, and a quantity of arms and ammunition. He had been told in answer by the court of France, that he must absolutely despair of any number of troops whatever; but he had been made in general to hope for some money, some arms, and some ammunition: a little sum had, I think, been advanced to him. In a case so plain as this, it is hard to conceive how any man could err. In such an uncertainty it was evident, that the Tories ought to have lain still, they might have helped the ferment against the government, but should have avoided with the utmost care the giving any alarm, or even suspicion of their true design, and have resumed or not resumed it, as the Chevalier was able or not able to provide the troops, the arms, the money, &c.—Instead of which those who were at the head of this undertaking, suffered the business to jog on merrily. They knew in general how little dependance was to be placed on foreign succour, but acted as if they had been sure of it.

While

which city he arrived in the latter end of the same month, in order to procure from that court the necessary succours for his new master's intended invasion of England. The vote for impeaching him of high-treason had passed in the House of Commons on the tenth of June preceding, and six articles [*T*] were sent up by them to the Lords on the sixth of August following: in consequence of which he stood attainted of high-treason, September 10th the same year (*e*). It is remarkable, that his new engagements had the same issue [*U*], as far as could be effected in the different circumstances of the two Courts, and that the

(*e*) Annals of King George I. under this year.

While the party were rendered sanguine by their passions, and made no doubt of subverting a government, they were angry with, both the one and the other, made as much bustle, and gave as great alarm, as would have been imprudent at the eve of a general insurrection. This appeared to me to be the state of things with respect to England, when I arrived at Commercy. The Scots, indeed, he observes, were zealous but wanted power, and with all their zeal, and all their valour, could bring no revolution about unless in concurrence with the English. And I thought, therefore, continues he, that the Pretender's friends in the North should be kept from rising, 'till those in the South had put themselves into a condition to act, and that in the mean while the utmost endeavours ought to be used with the King of France to prevail with him to espouse the cause; and that a plan of the design, with a more particular specification of the succours desired, as well as of the time when, and the place to which, they should be conveyed, ought to be writ for [to England], all which I was told by the Marshal of Berwick, who had the principal direction at that time of these affairs in France, and I dare say very truly, had been often asked but never sent. I looked on this enterprise to be of the nature of those which can hardly be undertaken more than once. I judged that the success of it would depend on timing, as near as possible, together, the insurrection of both parts of the island, and the succours from hence. The Pretender approved this opinion of mine; he instructed me accordingly.—Having thus got the direction, as he thought, to himself, he accepted the Seals, which he tells us, however, was much against his inclination, and not without making this condition, that he should be at liberty to quit a station, which his honour, and many other considerations, made him think himself very unfit for, whenever the occasion upon which he engaged, was over one way or other (41).

(41) Letter to Sir W. Wyndham, p. 112 to 121.

[*T*] *His impeachment consisted of six articles.*] They were brought into the House, and read by Mr Walpole August 4, 1715, and were in substance as follows: Art. 1. That whereas he had assured the ministers of the States-General, by order from her Majesty in 1711, that she would make no peace but in concert with them; yet he sent Mr Prior to France that same year, with proposals for a treaty of peace with that monarch, without the consent of the Allies. Art. 2. That he advised and promoted the making of a separate treaty, or convention, with France, which was signed in September. Art. 3. That he disclosed to Mr Mesnager, the French minister at London, this Convention, which was the preliminary instructions to her Majesty's Plenipotentiaries at Utrecht in October. Art. 4. That her Majesty's final instructions to her said Plenipotentiaries were disclosed by him to the Abbot Gualtier, an Emissary of France. Art. 5. That he disclosed to the French the manner how Tournay in Flanders might be gained by them. Art. 6. That he advised and promoted the yielding up of Spain and the West Indies to the Duke of Anjou, then an enemy to her Majesty *. It must not be concealed, that Sir Joseph Jekyl, a gentleman of the most unbiassed integrity, and great knowledge in the Law, and a member of the Secret Committee, observed, that there was matter more than enough to prove the charge against Lord Bolingbroke, at the same time that he declared his opinion, that they had nothing sufficient to support the charge against the Earl of Oxford. His Lordship, 'tis true, though he allows that they could have hold on no man so much as on himself; the instructions, the orders, the memorials for the peace, having been drawn by him; the correspondence relating to it, in France and every where else, carried on by him; in a word, his hand appeared to almost every paper which had been writ in the whole course of the negotiation. Yet, speaking of the attainder, which, in consequence of this impeachment, had passed against him, for crimes, as he observes, of the blackest dye; he takes notice, that, among other inducements to pass it, his having been engaged in the Pretender's interest was one. How well founded this article was, has already appeared; I was just as guilty, says he, of the rest †.

* Journals of the House of Commons, for the year 1715.

† Letter to Sir W. Wyndham, p. 103.

[*U*] *This new engagement had the same issue with the former.*] His Lordship accounts for this in the following manner. That at his first arrival at Paris, he found a multitude of people at work, and every one doing what seemed good in his own eyes; no subordination, no order, no concert; which run to such a degree, that though he was assured this was always the case on these occasions, yet he could not believe it; that the Jacobites had wrought one another up to look upon the success of the present designs as infallible. Every meeting-house which the populace demolished, every little drunken riot which happened, served to confirm them in these sanguine expectations, and there was hardly one among them who would lose the air of contributing by his intrigues to the restoration, which he took it for granted, would be brought about without him in a very few weeks. Care and hope sat on every busy Irish face. Those who could write and read, had letters to shew; and those who had not arrived to this pitch of erudition, had their secrets to whisper. No sex was excluded from this ministry; *Fanny Oglethorpe* kept her corner in it, and *Olive Trant* * was, says he, the great wheel of our machine. The ridiculous correspondence was carried on with England by people of the like importance, and who were busy in founding the alarm in the ears of an enemy, whom it was their interest to surprize. That by this means the government of England was put on it's guard, so that before he came to Paris, what was doing had been discovered. The little armament made at the Havre, which furnished the only means the Chevalier had for his transportation into Britain, and which had exhausted the treasury of St Germains, and contained all the arms and ammunition that could be depended upon for the whole undertaking, though they were hardly sufficient to begin the work even in Scotland, was talked of publickly. So that a minister less alert, and less capable than the Earl of Stair, would have been at the bottom of the secret, for so it was called, when the particulars of messages received and sent, the names of the persons from whom they came, and to whom they were carried, were whispered about at tea-tables and in coffee-houses. In short, continues he, what by the indiscretion of people here, what by the rebound which came often back from London, what by the private interests, and ambitious views of persons in the French court, and what by other causes unnecessary now to be examined, the most private transactions came to light, and they who imagined that they trusted their heads to the keeping of one or two friends, were in reality at the mercy of numbers. *Into such company was I fallen for my sins!* That however he still went on steering in the wide ocean without a compass, when the Earl of Mar's memorial came to his hands by the Duke of Ormond. That by this memorial it was expresly declared, the English would not act without the succours already mentioned from France, and in concert with Scotland. He therefore grounded himself upon this memorial, and procured a French translation of as much of it as was proper to be shewn to the French court, to be laid before that King; from whom he obtained some succours; for instance, the very ship in which the Pretender was to transport himself, was fitted out by Depine d' Anicant at the King of France's expence. But the whole scheme became impracticable by two events, the death of Lewis XIV. and by the coming of the Duke of Ormond some time before to Paris. By the first our Secretary lost all his interest in the French court, and by the Duke of Ormond's carrying on the negotiations there by such tools as were unequal to the work, and becoming thereby the Regent's bubble. That notwithstanding he [Bolingbroke] dispatched several packets and messages for directions

* She had been preparing herself to turn Carmelite, when about the death of Queen Anne, she went into England from the Pretender. There she made an acquaintance with the Duke of Ormond. On her return to France, she brought a handsome English woman with her, whom she presented to the Duke of Orleans, and by that means made her court to him; and was afterwards married to the Duke of Bouillon's brother.

the year 1715 was ſcarcely expired, when the ſeals and papers of his new Secretary's office were demanded and given up [W], which was ſoon followed by an accuſation branched

directions to England, he received no clear anſwers. That in anſwer, for inſtance, to the memorial of Lord Mar, he had drawn up a paper at Chaville in concert with the Duke of Ormond, Marſhal Berwick, and De Torcy, which was ſent to England juſt before the death of the King of France, repreſenting that France could not anſwer the demands of that memorial, and praying directions what to do; a reply to which came to him through the French Secretary of State, wherein they declared themſelves unable to ſay any thing 'till they ſaw what turn affairs would take on the death of the King, which had reached their ears. That a meſſage came from Scotland to preſs the Chevalier to order their riſing, which otherwiſe would be too late. That upon this he diſpatched a meſſage to London to the Earl of Mar, to tell him, that he underſtood it to be his ſenſe, as well as the ſenſe of all their friends, that Scotland could do nothing effectually without the concurrence of England. That England would not ſtir without aſſiſtance from abroad, and that he might aſſure himſelf that no ſuch aſſiſtance could be depended on; begging him to make the inference. The meſſenger, on his arrival at London, found the Earl of Mar was already ſet out to draw the Highlanders into arms †. Upon which he obſerves, that it was his opinion ſuch meaſures would not be purſued by any reaſonable man in the moſt common affairs of life. That after this, in concert with the Duke of Ormond, he diſpatched Ezekiel Hamilton, who got all the papers by heart for fear of a miſcarriage, to their friends in England, to inform them, that though the Chevalier was deſtitute of ſuccour, and all reaſonable hopes of it; yet he would land as they pleaſed, in England or Scotland at a moment's warning, and therefore they might riſe immediately after they had ſent diſpatches to him. That Mr Hamilton returned very ſoon with an anſwer given by Lord Lanſdowne, in the name of all the perſons privy to the ſecret; that ſince affairs grew daily worſe, and would not mend by delay, our friends in England had reſolved to declare immediately, and that they would be ready to join the Chevalier on his landing; that his perſon would be as ſafe there as in Scotland, and that in every other reſpect it was better he ſhould land in England; that they had uſed their utmoſt endeavours, and hoped the weſtern counties were in a good poſture to receive him, and that he ſhould land as near as poſſible to Plymouth; that in purſuance to this the Duke of Ormond was ſent thither, while the Chevalier waited at St Malo's for notice of his landing; perſons were ſent to the North, and others to London, to give notice that they were both on the way; and two proper perſons diſpatched before to the people of Devonſhire and Somerſetſhire, who were concluded to be in arms, to apprize them of the ſignals which were to be made from the ſhips, that they might be ready to receive the Duke. He embarked, though he heard before of the ſeizure of ſeveral of their principal friends, and the diſperſion of the reſt, which was followed by an univerſal conſternation, ſo that upon his arrival near Plymouth, finding nothing ready for him, he returned to Britany. The Duke made a ſecond attempt but was put back by a ſtorm. In theſe circumſtances the Chevalier ſent to have a veſſel got ready for him at Dunkirk, in which he went to Scotland, leaving Bolingbroke all this while at Paris, to try if by any means ſome aſſiſtance might at leaſt be procured; without which he obſerves, it was evident, even to thoſe that flattered themſelves the moſt, that the game was up. That upon the Duke of Ormond's firſt leaving Paris, in order to go upon the juſt mentioned expedition to England, Mrs Trant had ſent for Bolingbroke to a little houſe in the Bois de Boulogne, where ſhe lived with Madamoiſelle Chauſſery, an old ſuperannuated waiting-woman known to the Duke of Orleans *, and acquainted him with the meaſures they had taken for the Duke of Ormond, who had never communicated this ſecret to Bolingbroke, tho' they lodged together in a houſe lent to this laſt by one of his friends. That however finding theſe female miniſters had been truſted, he tried to carry on the negotiations with the Duke of Orleans by the ſame tools, but perceiving them preſently unequal to the work, he procured a meſſage by means of the Duke of Berwick from Orleans not to engage with them, which afterwards this Duke confirmed in a converſation to him-ſelf. And yet the Duke of Ormond, upon his return from the coaſt informed him, that the keeping the negotiation a ſecret from him, was done at the expreſs deſire of the Regent. Our author aſcribes this part of the Regent's conduct to a deſign he had of drawing him from the Pretender's ſervice. In confirmation whereof he obſerves, that during this ſecret treaty, two perſons of the firſt rank and greateſt credit in that court ‡, when he made the moſt preſſing inſtances to them in favour of the Chevalier, threw out in converſation to him, that he ſhould attach himſelf to the Duke of Orleans, that in his circumſtances he might want the Duke, and the Duke might have occaſion for him. Something continues our author, was hinted of penſions and eſtabliſhments, and of making my peace at home, 25000 l. being offered by d' Effiat, I would not underſtand this language, becauſe I would not break with the people who held it, and when they ſaw that I would not take the hints, they ceaſed to give them (42).

† The meſſage was communicated to Mr Lewis, Steward to the Earl of Oxford, whom his Lordſhip [Bolingbroke] calls a perſon of confidence, and that he undertook to ſend it after Lord Mar.

* She had been maid of honour to Madame, and had contracted a ſpirit of intrigue, which accompanied her in her retreat. Mrs Trant had been placed with her by the Regent.

‡ Marſhal d' Huxelles, and the Marquiſs d'Effiat.

(42) Letter to Sir W. Wyndham, p. 123 to 190.

[W] *The ſeals were taken from him*] We have an account of this whole proceeding painted by that inimitable pencil, which diſtinguiſhes all his political writings, and which ſtrikes us with a freſh admiration every time we view them. As ſoon as the Chevalier had ſet ſail from Dunkirk for Scotland, Bolingbroke aſſures his friend that he neglected no means, forgot no argument, which his underſtanding could ſuggeſt, in applying to the court of France. We have ſeen already what the Duke of Ormond reſted upon (43) in this point, and I doubt very much, ſays he, whether Lord Mar, if he had been in my place, would have been able to employ more effectual meaſures than thoſe I made uſe of. 'I may 'without any imputation of arrogance, compare myſelf on this occaſion with his Lordſhip, ſince there 'was nothing in the management of this affair above 'my degree of capacity, nothing equal either in extent or difficulty to the buſineſs which he was a ſpectator of, and which I carried on, when we were Secretaries of State together under the late Queen.' He then enters into the detail of theſe ſervices as follows. 'The King of France not able to furniſh the Pretender with money himſelf, had writ, ſome time before his death, to his grandſon, and had obtained a promiſe of 40000 Crowns from the King of Spain. A ſmall part of this ſum had been received by the Queen's Treaſurer at St Germains, and had been ſent to Scotland, or employed to defray the expences which were daily making on the coaſt. I preſſed the Spaniſh Ambaſſador at Paris, I ſollicited by Lawleſs and Alberoni at Madrid, and I found another more private and more promiſing way of applying to him (44). I took care to have a number of officers picked out of the Iriſh troops which ſerve in that country, their routs were given them, and I ſent a ſhip to receive and tranſport them. The money came in ſo ſlowly, and in ſuch trifling ſums, that it turned to little account, and the officers were on their way when the Chevalier returned from Scotland. The reaſons for which the King of Sweden in the ſummer preceding excuſed himſelf from tranſporting any troops to Scotland, being removed chiefly by the Elector of Hanover's having declared war againſt him, Bolingbroke took up this negotiation again. The *Regent* appeared to come into it, he ſpoke fair to the *Baron de Spar*, who preſſed him on his ſide, and promiſed, beſides the arrears of the ſubſidy due to the Swedes, an immediate advance of 50000 crowns for the enterprize on Britain. He kept the officer who was to be diſpatched I know not how long booted; ſometimes on pretence that in the low ſtate of his credit, he could not find bills of exchange for the ſum, and ſometimes on other pretences, and by theſe delays he evaded his promiſe. The French frankly declared they could give us no money, and that they would give us no troops; arms, ammunition, and connivance they made us hope for. The latter in ſome degree we might have had, perhaps, but to what purpoſe was connivance, when by a multitude of little tricks, they avoided furniſhing the former, and when they knew we were utterly unable to furniſh them ourſelves? I had formed the deſign of engaging French privateers in the Pretender's ſervice. They were to have carried whatever we ſhould have had to ſend to any part of Britain

(43) In remark [U].

(44) Viz. by the Marquis of Monti.

branched into ſeven articles, wherein he was impeached of treachery, incapacity, and neglect [X]. Thus diſcarded abroad, he reſolved to make his peace, if poſſible, at home

Britain in their firſt voyage, and after that to have cruiſed under his commiſſion. I had actually agreed for ſome, and had it in my power to have made the ſame bargain with others. Sweden on one ſide, and Scotland on the other, could have afforded them retreats; and if the war had been kept up in any part of the mountains, I conceive the execution of this deſign would have been to the greateſt advantage to the cauſe; it failed, becauſe no other part went on. The Chevalier was not above ſix weeks in his Scotch expedition, and theſe were the things, ſays his Lordſhip, I endeavoured to bring to bear in his abſence. I had no great opinion of my ſucceſs before he went, but when he had made the laſt ſtep which it was in his power to make, I reſolved to ſuffer neither him nor the Scotch to be any longer bubbles of their own credulity, and of the ſcandalous artifice of this Court. In a converſation I had with Marſhal D' Huxelles I took occaſion to declare, that I would not be the inſtrument of amuſing the Scotch, and that ſince I was able to do them no other ſervice, I would at leaſt inform them that they muſt flatter themſelves no longer with hopes of ſuccour from France. I added, that I would ſend them veſſels, which with thoſe already on the coaſt of Scotland, might ſerve to bring off the Pretender, the Earl of Mar, and as many others as poſſible. The Marſhal approved my reſolution, and adviſed me to execute it as the only thing which was left to do, and yet in this very point of time the promiſe of an order was obtained for delivering thoſe ſtores of arms, and ammunition of the Chevalier's, which had been put into the French magazines, when Sir George Byng came to *Havre*. The project was to deliver them to *Caſtel Blanco* a Spaniard, who had married a daughter of Lord Melfort (45), and that he ſhould enter into a recognizance to carry them to Spain, and thence to the Weſt-Indies, that he ſhould appear to hire or buy a veſſel prepared for the purpoſe by Bolingbroke; and that when ſhe was at ſea ſhe ſhould ſteer directly for Scotland. His Lordſhip concurred in this meaſure, and in a fortnight the ſhip was ready to ſail, and no ſuſpicion of her deſign tranſpired. However, being convinced of the inability of this ſtep (46), he made no alteration in the diſpatches which he prepared and ſent to Scotland. In theſe he explained to the Pretender what might be hoped for in time, if he could maintain himſelf in the mountains without French ſuccours, of which it was in vain to expect the leaſt part. He put the Chevalier and his council in a condition to judge what meaſures to take. But theſe diſpatches never came to his hands: he was ſailed from Scotland juſt before the meſſenger arrived on that coaſt (47). He landed at Graveline about Feb. 22, and gave orders to ſtop all veſſels bound on his account to Scotland, and I ſaw him, continues his Lordſhip, in the morning after his arrival at St Germains, and he received me with open arms. I had been as ſoon as I heard of his return, to acquaint the French court with it. When the Marſhal D' Huxelles told me, that the Pretender ought to proceed to Bar with all poſſible diligence. This Bolingbroke concurred with as feaſible, and better than to go immediately to Avignon, as was by ſome propoſed. But the Chevalier was in no ſuch haſte; he had a mind to ſtay ſome time at St Germains, and in the neighbourhood of Paris, and to have a private meeting with the Regent. He ſent our Secretary back to ſollicit this meeting, who wrote and ſpoke to Marſhal D'Huxelles. He did his beſt to ſerve him in his own way. The Marſhal anſwered him by word of mouth, and by letters, refuſing him by both; and aſſuring him, that the Regent ſaid the things which were aſked were puerilities, and ſwore he would not ſee him. The Secretary, no ways diſpleaſed with his ill ſucceſs, returned with this anſwer to his maſter, who acquieſced in the determination, and declared he would inſtantly ſet out for Lorrain. His trunks were packed, his chaiſe ordered to be at the door by five o'clock, and the Secretary ſent to Paris at three, to acquaint D' Huxelles that he was gone. He aſked me, ſays Bolingbroke, how ſoon I ſhould be able to follow him, gave me commiſſions for ſome things which he deſired I ſhould bring after him; and, in a word, no Italian ever embraced the man he was going to ſtab with greater ſhew of affection and confidence. Inſtead of taking poſt for Lorrain, he went to the little houſe in the Bois de Boulogne, where his female miniſters reſided. There he continued for ſeveral days, ſaw the Spaniſh and Swediſh miniſters, and even the Duke of Orleans himſelf. On Thurſday following the Duke of Ormond came to ſee the ſecretary, and having firſt prepared him for the ſurprize, put into my hands, ſays he, a note to himſelf, and a little ſcrip of paper directed to me, and drawn in the ſtile of a Juſtice of Peace's warrant. They were both in the Chevalier's hand-writing, and dated on the Tueſday, in order to make me believe they were writ on the road, and ſent back to the Duke, who in the converſation dropped, with great dexterity, all the inſinuations proper to confirm me in this opinion. I knew at this time his maſter was not gone. So that he gave me two very riſible ſcenes, which are frequently to be met with, when ſome people meddle in buſineſs: I mean that of ſeeing a man labour with a great deal of awkward artifice to make a ſecret of nothing; and that of ſeeing yourſelf taken for a bubble, when you know as much of the matter as he who thinks he impoſes on you. In one of theſe papers the Pretender declared he had no further occaſion for the Secretary's ſervice, and the other was an order to give up the papers in his office; all which he obſerves might have been contained in a letter-caſe of a moderate ſize. He gave the Duke the Seals, and ſome papers which he could readily come at, and ſent the reſt to the Chevalier. Several of whoſe letters, continues he, I took care to convey to him by a ſafe hand, ſince it would have been very improper the Duke ſhould have ſeen them. It depended on me to have ſhewn his General what an opinion the Chevalier had of his capacity. I ſcorned the trick, and would not appear piqued, when I was far from being angry. As he gave up without ſcruple all the papers which remained in his hands, becauſe he was determined never to make uſe of them: ſo he declares he took a ſort of pride in never aſking for thoſe of his own, which were in the Pretender's hands; contenting himſelf with making the Duke underſtand, how little need there was to get rid of a man in this manner, who had made the bargain which he had done at his engagement, and with taking the firſt opportunity to declare, that he would never more have to do with the Pretender or his cauſe (48).

(45) The ſame, probably, who was Ambaſſador at the Court of Rome from King James II. after the Revolution in England. See the article of Robert Nelſon.

(46) See the 4th article of the charge againſt our Secretary, in the next remark, and his firſt letter in anſwer to it, in Tindal's Continuation of Rapin.

(47) See the charge, art. 7th.

(48) Letter to Sir W. Wyndham, p. 197 to p. 219.

[X] *Articles of impeachment.*] Theſe were, (1.) Lord Bolingbroke was never to be found by thoſe who came to him about buſineſs; and if by chance or ſtratagem they got hold of him, he affected being in a hurry, and by putting them off 'till another time ſtill avoided giving them any anſwer. (2) The Earl of Mar by ſix different meſſengers, at different times, before the * came from Dunkirk, of his being in want of arms and ammunition, and pray'd a ſpeedy relief; and though the things demanded were in my Lord's power, there was not ſo much as one pound of powder in any of the ſhips, which by his Lordſhip's directions parted from France. (3.) The Pretender himſelf, after his arrival, ſent General Hamilton to inform him, that his want of arms and ammunition was ſuch, that he ſhould be obliged to leave Scotland unleſs he received ſpeedy relief. Yet Lord Bolingbroke amuſed Mr Hamilton twelve days together, and did not introduce him to any of the French miniſters, though he was referred to them for a particular account of affairs, or ſo much as communicated his letters to the Queen, or any body elſe. Alſo, (4.) The Count de Caſtel Blanco had for ſeveral months at Havre a conſiderable quantity of arms and ammunition, and did daily aſk for his Lordſhip's orders how to diſpoſe of them, but never got any to the hour the * landed in France. (5.) The * friends at the French court had for ſome time paſt no very good opinion of his Lordſhip's integrity, and a very bad one of his diſcretion. (6.) For at a time when many merchants in France would have carried privately any quantity of arms and ammunition into Scotland, my Lord deſired a publick order for the embarkation, which being a thing not to be granted, is ſaid to have been done in order to urge a denial (7) The * wrote to his Lordſhip by every occaſion after his arrival in Scotland, and though there were many opportunities of writing in return, yet from the time he landed there, to the day he left it, he never

home [Y]. He set himself immediately in earnest to this work, and in a short time, by that activity which was characteristic of his nature, and with which he constantly prosecuted all

ver received any letter from his Lordship. These being sent from London by the agents of the Pretender on the 16th of March, 1716, his Lordship wrote a defence of himself in April, which was answered by Mr James Murray, afterwards made Earl of Dunbar by the Pretender (49). His Lordship refers to this defence in his letter to Sir W. Wyndham, where he adds some other particulars. It was given out, that he had taken to his own use a very great sum of the Chevalier's money; when it was notorious that he had spent a great sum of his own in that service, and never would be obliged to him for a farthing, *in* which case, says he, I believe I was single. He also gave out, that whilst he was in Scotland he never once heard of his Secretary, though he addressed five expresses to him during that expedition, which was over in six weeks. 'These lies, says Bolingbroke, (and many others of the same sort) founded on particular facts, were disproved by particular facts. The Queen's Secretary at St Germains disproved the first, and the persons to whom the dispatches had been sent cleared up the last.' However, the Jacobites still affirming, that the indirect assistance which they desired might have been obtained, he confesses himself inexcusable if that fact be true. 'To prove it, says he, they appeal to the little Politicians at the Bois de Boulogne; I affirm on the contrary, that nothing could be obtained either to support the Scotch, or encourage the English. To prove the assertion, I appeal to the ministers with whom I negotiated, and to the Regent himself, who, whatever language he may hold in private to other people, dares not controvert with me the truth of what I advance. He excluded me formerly, that he might the more easily avoid doing any thing, and perhaps he has blamed me since, that he might excuse his doing nothing. All this may be true, and yet it will remain true, that he never could have been prevailed upon to act directly against his interest in the only point in view which he has, I mean the Crown of France, and against the unanimous voice of all *his* ministers. Suppose that in the time of the late Queen, when she had the peace in view, a party in France had implored her assistance, and applied to *Margery Fielding*, to *Israel*, to my Lady *Oglethorpe*, to Dr *Battle*, and Lieutenant-General *Stuart*, what success, do you imagine, such applications would have had? The Queen would have spoke them fair, she would speak otherwise to nobody: but do you imagine she would have made one step in their favour? Olive Trant, Magny, Mademoiselle Chaussery, a dirty Abbé Brigault, and Mr Dillon, are characters very apposite to these, and what I suppose to have passed in England, is not a whit more ridiculous than what passed here. I say nothing of the ships which the Jacobites pretend they sent into Scotland, three weeks or a month after the Pretender was returned, I believe they might have had my Lord *Stair*'s connivance then as well as the Regent's. I say nothing of the order which they pretend to have obtained, and which I never saw, for the stores that were seized at *Havre*, to be delivered to *Castel Blanco*. You cannot fail to observe, that this signal favour was never obtained by these people, 'till the *Marshal d'Huxelles* had owned to me, that nothing was to be expected from France, and that the only thing I could do was to bring the Pretender, &c. off.' He concludes this head with observing, that the people of consideration at the court of France, after what he had said at first in his own defence, beat down the clamour against him, and the court of St Germains was so ashamed of it, that the Queen thought fit to purge herself of having had any share in encouraging the discourses which were held against him, or having been so much as let into the measure which preceded them (50). Upon the whole it is evident, that the same ambition of being at the head of the management, which prompted him to undermine the Earl of Oxford at the Court of Queen Anne, still pushed him to oppose the junto in that of the Pretender, and 'tis certain that the issue in both cases was the same. However, I cannot agree with those, who charge him with betraying the last master while he was engaged in his service. All the proofs offered in support of that imputation, derive their whole strength of probability to the part which his ambition carried him to take; and since all the steps may be fairly accounted for by that ambition which he indisputably assumed, surely it is doing an injury to his memory, to ascribe them to the most odious cause. But this will appear more groundless from the next remark.

(49) Continuation of Rapin, Vol. XI. p. 290, & seqq.

(50) Letter to Sir W. Wyndham, p. 226 to 237.

[Y] *He made his peace at home.*] It has been already observed, that, upon his arrival in France, he refused the first invitation to engage with the Pretender; that he applied to the Earl of Stair, and Mr Secretary Stanhope, in order to soften his prosecution, and to heal the breach at home; that, in accepting the Seals of the Secretary's office from the Pretender, he made it a condition to be at liberty to quit the post, if the intended invasion did not succeed; that event had now happened, in consequence whereof he was prevented from a voluntary resignation, by a timely discharge from the Secretary's office. This last proceeding furnished him with a new plea for entirely quitting the service, and resuming his first design, and that which he had always most at heart, of making his peace at home. The point was arduous in the highest degree; he knew it to be so, and therefore exerted the whole force of his political genius to compass it. 'I was discharged, says he, in the most provoking manner, and with all the most provoking circumstances; but though the provocation was great, yet I resolved to act without passion. I saw the advantage the Pretender and his Council, who disposed of things better for me than I could have done for myself, had given me: but I saw likewise, that I must improve this advantage, with the utmost caution; I had resolved, on his return from Scotland, to follow him, 'till his residence should be fixed somewhere; after which, having served the Tories in this, which I looked upon as their last struggle for power, and having continued to act in the Pretender's affairs 'till the end of the term for which I embarked with him, I should have esteemed myself to be at liberty, and should, in the civilest manner I was able, have taken my leave of him. Had we parted thus, I should have remained in a very strange situation during the rest of my life: but I had examined myself thoroughly, I was determined, I was prepared. On one side He would have thought, that He had a right, on any future occasion, to call me out of my retreat; the Tories would probably have thought the same thing; my resolution was taken to refuse them both, and I foresaw that both would condemn me. On the other side, the consideration of His having kept measures with me, joined to that of having once openly declared for Him, would have created a point of honour, by which I should have been tied down, not only from ever engaging against Him, but also from making my peace at home. The Chevalier cut this Gordian knot asunder at one blow; he broke the links of that chain, which former engagements had fastened on me, and gave me a right to esteem myself as free from all obligations of keeping measures with him, as I should have continued, if I had never engaged in his interest. I took, therefore, from that moment, the resolution of making my peace at home, and of employing all the unfortunate experience I had acquired abroad, to undeceive my friends, and to promote the union and the quiet of my country. The Earl of Stair had received a full power to treat with me, whilst I was engaged with the Pretender, as I have been since informed. He had done me the justice to believe me incapable to hearken, in such circumstances, to any proposals of that kind; and as much friendship as he had for me, as much as I had for him, we entertained not the least even indirect correspondence during that whole time. Soon afterwards, he employed a person * to communicate to me, the disposition of his Majesty to grant me my pardon, and his own desire to give me, on this occasion, all the proofs he could of his inclination in my favour. I embraced the offer as it became me to do, with all possible sense of the King's goodness, and of his Lordship's friendship. We met, we talked together, and he wrote to the Court on that subject †. The turn which the ministers gave to this matter was, to enter into a treaty to reverse my attainder, and to stipulate the conditions on which this act of Grace should be granted me. The notion of a treaty shocked me. I resolved never to

* Saladin of Geneva, then at Paris.

† This letter is subjoined to that of our author to Sir W. Wyndham.

all his designs, he procured, through the mediation of the Earl of Stair, then the British Ambassador at the French Court, a promise of pardon, upon certain conditions, from his Majesty King George I. who, on the second of July, 1716, created his father Baron of Battersea in the county of Surry, and Viscount St John (f). Such an extraordinary variety of distressful events had thrown him into a state of reflection, and this produced, by way of relief, a *Consolatio Philosophica*, which he wrote the same year, under the title of *Reflections upon Exile* [Z]. He had also this year wrote several letters in answer to the charge laid upon him by the Pretender and his adherents (g); and the following year he drew up a vindication of his whole conduct with respect to the Tories, in the form of a letter to Sir William Wyndham (h). He also took a more substantial method of supporting his spirits: His first lady being dead, he espoused about this time (i) a lady of great merit, who was niece to the famous Madam de Maintenon, and widow of the Marquis de Villette; with whom he had a very large fortune, which was, however, encumbered with a long and troublesome law-suit. In the company and conversation of this lady, he passed his time in France, sometimes in the country, and sometimes at the capital, 'till 1723; in which year, after the breaking up of the Parliament (k), his Majesty was pleased to grant him a full and free pardon. Upon the first notice of this favour, the expectation of which had been the governing principle of his political conduct for several years, he returned to his native country [AA]. And two years afterwards, having obtained an act of Parliament to restore him to his family inheritance *, and enabling him likewise to possess any purchase he should make of any other real or personal estates in the kingdom; he pitched upon a seat of Lord Tankerville's, at Dawley near Uxbridge in Middlesex, where he settled with his lady, and indulged the pleasure of gratifying the politeness of his taste, by improving it into a most elegant villa, finely picturesque of the present state of his fortune, and there amused himself with rural employments [BB]. Thus the tree was replanted,

(f) Salmon's Chronological Historian, under the year 1716.

(g) They were printed at London in 1735, 8vo. together with answers to them by Mr James Murray, afterwards made Earl of Dunbar by the Pretender; but being then immediately suppressed, are reprinted in the Continuation of Rapin's History of England, Vol. XI. p. 244, & seqq. in note (i).

(h) Printed in 1753, 8vo.

(i) Memoirs of Lord Bolingbroke. In a letter to Dr Swift, in 1723, his Lordship takes notice, that he had been married many years to this lady. Letters to and from Dr Swift.

(k) Viz. May 26th, the day after the Parliament broke up. Continuation of Rapin, under that year.

* By his attainder he had lost, besides his honours, an estate of about 2500 l. a year. Memoirs of Lord Boling broke, &c.

to be restored, rather than go that way to work; and I opened myself, without any reserve, to Lord Stair. I told him, that I looked upon myself to be obliged, in honour and in conscience, to undeceive my friends in England, both as to the state of foreign affairs, as to the management of the Jacobite interest abroad, and as to the characters of persons; in every one of which points I knew them to be most grossly and most dangerously deluded: that the treatment I had received from the Pretender and his adherents, would justify me to the world in doing this: that if I remained in exile all my life, he might be assured, that I would never more have to do with the Jacobite cause; and that if I was restored, I would give it an effectual blow, in making that apology, which the Pretender has put me under a necessity of making: that in doing this, I flattered myself, that I should contribute something to the establishment of the King's government, and to the union of his subjects; but that this was all the merit which I could promise to have: that if the Court believed these professions to be sincere, a treaty with me was unnecessary for them; and that if they did not believe them so, a treaty with them was dangerous for me: that I was determined in this whole transaction, to make no one step which I would not own in the face of the world; that, in other circumstances, it might be sufficient to act honestly; but that, in a case as extraordinary as mine, it was necessary to act clearly, and to leave no room for the least doubtful construction ‡. The Earl of Stair, as well as Mr Craggs, who arrived soon after in France, came into my sense; I have reason to believe, that the King has approved it likewise upon their representations, since he has been pleased to give me the most gracious assurances of his favour.' We see here what were his Lordship's engagements which procured this promise; and the rest of his letter to Sir W. Wyndham, in which the bigotry of the Pretender is so amply exposed, will abundantly satisfy any body, how well qualified he was to perform them.

‡ At the close of this relation, there is subjoined an original letter from the Earl of Stair to Mr Craggs, giving a full account of this transaction, which perfectly agrees with this of our author.

(51) Letter to Sir W. Wyndham, p. 243 to 252.

[Z] *Reflections upon Exile.*] These are printed at the end of his Letters on the Study and Use of History, but said to be written in 1716. In this piece he has drawn the picture of his own exile, which being represented as a violence, proceeding solely from the malice of his prosecutors, to one who had, by serving his country with integrity and ability, deserved a much contrary fate, is, by this Philosopher's stone, converted not only into a tolerable, but what appears to be an honourable, station (52).

(52) See p. 270, 271. of this treatise.

[AA] *He returned to England*] It is observable, that Bishop Atterbury, who was banished at this very juncture, happening, on his being set ashore at Calais, to hear that Lord Bolingbroke was there, on his return to England, made this remark: *Then I am exchanged.* There was undoubtedly appearance enough of such a thing from the circumstances: Bolingbroke's leave to return was granted, immediately after the act for banishing Atterbury had received the royal assent; and this leave was obtained at the pressing instance of Lord Harcourt, who had shewed great warmth in prosecuting the Bishop. We are told also, that Sir Robert Walpole, who was observed not to be particularly engaged against the latter, opposed the return of Bolingbroke very warmly, in a speech at the Council-Board, when the motion for it was made by Harcourt (53). Perhaps Mr Pope alludes to this exchange, in a letter to Dean Swift, where he writes thus: 'The 'Lord Bolingbroke is now returned, as I hope, to 'take me, with all his other *hereditary rights*. It is 'sure my ill fate, that all those whom I most loved, 'and with whom I most lived, must be banished. 'After both of you left England, my constant host 'was the Bishop of Rochester. Sure this is a nation, 'which is cursedly afraid of being over-run with too 'much politeness; and we cannot regain one great 'genius, but at the expence of another (54).'

(53) Tindal's History of England, under this year.

(54) Letters to and from Dr Swift, the letter dated Jan. 12, 1723.

[BB] *He purchased Dawley, and amused himself in rural employments.*] We have a sketch of his Lordship's way of life at this retreat, in a letter to Dr Swift by Mr Pope, who omits no opportunity of representing his Lordship in the most amiable colours. This letter is dated at Dawley June 8, 1728, and begins thus: 'I now hold the pen for my Lord Bolingbroke, who 'is reading your letter between two hay-cocks; but 'his attention is somewhat diverted, by casting his 'eyes on the clouds, not in admiration of what you 'say, but for fear of a shower. He is pleased with 'your placing him in the triumvirate between yourself and me; though he says, that he doubts he shall 'fare like Lepidus: while one of us runs away with 'all the power, like Augustus; and another with all 'the pleasure, like Anthony. It is upon a foresight of 'this, that he has fitted up his farm; and you will 'agree, that this scheme of retreat is not founded upon weak appearances. Upon his return from Bath, 'he finds all peccant humours are purged out of him; 'and his great temperance and œconomy are so signal, 'that the first is fit for my constitution, and the latter 'would enable you to lay up so much money, as to 'buy a bishoprick in England. As to the return of 'his health and vigour, were you here you might enquire of his haymakers: but as to his temperance I 'can answer, that for one whole day we have had nothing for dinner, but mutton broth, beans and bacon, and a barn-door fowl (55).—Now his Lordship 'is run after his cart, I have a moment left to myself 'to tell you, that I overheard him yesterday agree 'with a Painter, for 200 pounds, to paint his country 'hall with rakes, spades, prongs, &c. and other ornaments,

(55) Dr Swift frequently taxes him with luxurious living at this juncture. 'I never knew him live, says he, so expensively, as since his return from exile.' Idem, Letter 33. dated July 16, 1728.

replanted, took root, and flourished. But still it bore not the fruit that was most desired, and for want of which the owner looked upon it as little better then a barren trunk; he was, in effect, yet no more than a meer titular Lord, and still stood excluded from a seat in the House of Peers. Inflamed with this taint that yet remained in his blood, he entered again, in 1726, upon the publick stage; and disavowing all obligations to the Minister [CC], he embarked in the opposition; and taking that share in it for which he was best suited by his circumstances, he soon distinguished himself by a multitude of pieces, wrote during the short remainder of that reign, and likewise for several years under the present, with great freedom and boldness, against the measures that were then pursued (*l*). In the height of these political disputes, he found some spare hours for the meditations of Philosophy, and drew up several essays upon the subject of Metaphysics [DD]. Having carried on his part of the siege against the Minister, with inimitable spirit, for ten years; he laid

(*l*) Besides his papers in the Craftsman, he published several separate pamphlets, which were afterwards reprinted in the second edition of his Political Tracts, and the Collection of his Works.

'naments, merely to countenance his calling this place 'a *Farm*.' So far Mr Pope; to which I will take leave to add, from ocular testimony, that it was painted accordingly; and, what still makes it more striking, the whole is executed in black crayons only: so that one cannot avoid calling to mind, on viewing it, the figures so often seen scratched with charcoal upon the kitchen-walls of farm-houses. And, to heighten the same taste, we read over the door, at the entrance into it, this motto: *Satis beatus ruris honoribus.* In the same humour, likewise, his Lordship writes to Dr Swift. 'I am in my farm, and here I shoot strong 'and tenacious roots; I have caught hold of the 'earth, to use a Gardener's phrase, and neither my 'enemies nor my friends will find it an easy matter to 'transplant me again (56).'

(56) Letter 28.

[CC] *Disowning all obligations to the minister.*] His Lordship's petition was offered to the House April 20, 1725, by Lord Finch; and Mr Walpole, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, acquainted the House by his Majesty's command, that the Petitioner had, seven years ago, made his humble application and submission to his Majesty, with assurances of duty, allegiance, and fidelity, which his Majesty so far accepted, as to give him encouragement to hope for some future marks of his Majesty's grace and goodness; and that his Majesty is satisfied that the Petitioner's behaviour has convinced his Majesty, that he is an object of his Majesty's mercy; and he consents that this petition be presented to the House. After which the petition was read, setting forth, that the Petitioner had made his submission to, and given the strongest assurances of, his fidelity and zeal for his Majesty's service, and the support of the present happy establishment, which his Majesty had been pleased to accept. Then the Commons were sent for to attend his Majesty in the House of Lords; and returning, Lord Finch moved, that a Bill might be prepared, agreeable to the Petitioner's prayer, which was seconded by Mr Walpole, who, to what he had said before, added, that he was fully satisfied that the Petitioner had sufficiently attoned for his past offences, and therefore deserved the favour of that house, so far as to enable him to enjoy the family inheritance. In the debates, which were warm, Lord William Paulet moved for adding, a clause to disable the Petitioner to sit in either House of Parliament, or to enjoy any place of trust or profit under his Majesty; but this was rejected, being opposed by Mr Walpole. From this circumstance it was supposed, that he had settled that point with his Majesty. In 1731 it was said in the Craftsman, that the mercy of the late King was extended to him unask'd and unearn'd. In answer to this there came out some remarks, the author of which allowing the probability of the latter, maintained, that to say it was *unasked*, was a downright falsehood. That the journals of the House of Commons shewed, he had made his humble application and submission, which his Majesty so far accepted, as to give him encouragement to hope for future marks of his Majesty's favour (57). To this his Lordship made the following reply, 'That it was unearned, the Remarker thinks 'probable, and in thinking so gives the lie to all his 'fellow-scriblers, who so often affirmed the contrary; 'that it was unask'd, he says, is downright falsehood, '&c. In this, continues his Lordship, he exults; but 'here again the effrontery and falsehood which he 'charges on others, will recoil on himself. Who drew 'this ministerial message I know not, nor how far 'the style of it may be necessary, according to the 'forms usual on such occasions. But the Remarker 'might have known, if he had consulted even his patrons, that his Majesty's mercy had been extended 'to this gentleman two years before the seven there 'mentioned; and that this mercy did not consist in 'encouragement to hope for some future mark of his 'Majesty's favour and goodness, but in a gracious and 'absolute promise of his favour, in the full extent 'which the circumstances of that gentleman required. 'I may be the more bold in affirming this fact, be'cause the noble Lord who delivered the message I 'quote, is still alive, as some other persons are, to 'whom his late Majesty was pleased to own, that this 'message had been delivered by his order, and to express 'his gracious intention conformably to it (58).' In another place, after acknowledging with respect and humility, the late King's mercy and goodness, he ascribes all the effects he had met with from it solely to the King, affirming at the same time, that he had reason, if ever man had reason, to disclaim all obligations to the minister, to whom, he says, it was owing, that he did not receive all the effects of royal mercy that were intended him. He does not expresly mention what his expectations were (59), but he has given sufficient intimations to that purpose in several places. Thus in his letter to Pope upon the subject of Philosophy he writes as follows. 'In leading me to discourse, 'as you have done often; and in pressing me to write, 'as you do now, on certain subjects, you may propose 'to draw me back to those trains of thought which are 'above all others worthy to employ the human mind: 'and I thank you for it *. They have been often in'terrupted by the business and dissipations of the 'world, but they were never so, more grievously to 'me, nor less usefully to the publick, than since royal 'seduction prevailed on me to abandon the quiet and 'leisure of the retreat I had chosen abroad, and to 'neglect the example of Rutilius, for I might have 'imitated him in this at least, who fled further from 'his country, when he was invited home (60).' In the same temper we shall see him presently (61) complaining, that he was disarmed, gagged, and bound. Who does not see that the principal injury, as he calls it, under which he loudly groans, was the continuance of his attainder by the Act of Parliament, which was never reversed by another act, so that he could never re-assume his seat in the House of Peers, and in consequence of that was utterly excluded from all place and power.

(57) Remarks upon the Craftsman of May 31, 1731.

(58) A Final Answer to the Remarks on the Craftsman's Vindications.

(59) Memoirs of his Life. p. 328.

* He makes the like compliment to M. de Pouilly, the letters to whom are upon the subjects of the existence of a Deity, and Natural Religion.

(60) Letter to Pope, printed together with that to Sir William Wyndham; and Reflections on the peculiar State of the Nation, &c. Lond. 1753, 8vo. p. 426.

(61) In remark [EE].

[DD] *His essay upon Metaphysics.*] These are frequently mentioned in the letters to and from Dr Swift, in one of which his Lordship expresses a fondness for them, as having there started a thought, which must, if it is pushed, as successfully as he thought it was, render all your metaphysical Theology both ridiculous and abominable (62). In another letter to Dr Swift he says, 'I know how little regard you pay to writings 'of this kind; but I imagine, that if you can like 'any, it must be those that strip metaphysics of all 'their bombast, keep within the sight of every well 'constituted eye, and never bewilder themselves whilst 'they pretend to guide the reason of others. In the 'same letter he had said, he [Pope] talks very pom'pously of my metaphysics. 'Tis true, I have writ 'six letters and a half to him on subjects of that kind; 'and I propose a letter and a half more, which would 'swell the work up to a considerable volume (63).' Some of these he finished afterwards, and the first was published in 1753 (64). By the beginning of which we find, this was undertaken at the request of Pope, and Dean Swift speaking of it, says, he never knew his Lordship fail in any thing which he had the sole management of himself (65).

(62) Letter 48. which appears to be wrote in the spring of the year 1731.

(63) Letter 71. dated Septemb. 15, 1734.

(64) See note (60).

(65) Letter dated Nov. 1, 1734, from Swift to Pope.

[EE] *Disagreement*

laid down his pen, upon a disagreement with his principal coadjutors [*EE*]: and, in 1735, he retired to France (*m*), in a full resolution never more to engage in publick business (*n*) [*FF*]. He had now seen through the sixtieth year of his age, and had passed through

(*m*) His first letter to Lord Cornbury is dated from Chantillon in Touraine, Nov. 6, 1735.

(*n*) He declared himself so resolved, in every one of his pieces wrote after this, that have been since published. State of Parties, p. 230.

[*EE*] *Disagreement with his principal coadjutors.*] It has been observed, that in the prosecution of this controversy, our statesman found himself obliged from the beginning to recommend the Earl of Oxford's old scheme under the coalition of parties *: the Tories being at this time out of any condition to aim at places and power, except as auxiliaries. And it may be added, that he joined with a person who had shewn the same conduct with regard to Sir Robert Walpole (66), as he had done to the Earl of Oxford. However his Lordship was resolved to push it as far as possible, and when some suspicions began to arise in him of the fidelity of his new friends, Mr Pope says he gave him a hint of it in the first lines of his Essay on Man,

* Called then the Broad-Bottom scheme.

(66) 'Tis something remarkable, that the very day when Bolingbroke's petition was read to the House of Commons, Poulteney spoke about the increase of the Civil-List debt to 500000 l. against Sir Rob. Walpole; and opposed the motion to make good the deficiencies. Tindal's History of England, for the year 1725.

Awake, my St John, leave all meaner things
To low ambition, and the pride of kings (67).

(67) Letter to Swift, dated Decemb. 19, 1734.

But this had not the desired effect. In answer to that friend's suggestions he writes thus. 'The strange 'situation I am in, and the melancholy situation of 'publick affairs, take up much of my time, divide or 'even dissipate my thoughts, or, which is worse, drag 'the mind down by perpetual interruptions from a 'philosophical tone or temper to the drudgery of private 'and publick business. The last lies nearest my heart. 'And since I am once more engaged in the service of 'my country, disarm'd, gagg'd, and almost bound as I 'am, I will not abandon it as long as the integrity 'and perseverance of those who are under none of 'these disadvantages, and with whom I now co-ope-'rate, make it reasonable for me to act the same part '(68).' Accordingly he read such lectures as still kept people together, and to his credit it cannot be denied as a political writer, that he managed the whole affair with the utmost dexterity, and very happily threw out a system of policy so curiously contrived, that a man might enter into and pursue the publick business of the nation: (if with any propriety a controversy carried on for the sake of power by a set of men in any place whatever may be so called) without deserting, in his own opinion at least, his private notions in government. But when he saw the threads which he had wove together begin actually to untwist, and was satisfied his new friends would shew their party-principles as soon as the line of opposition was cut, then he declared that no shadow of duty obliged him to go further. Plato, he observes, ceased to act for the commonwealth, when he ceased to perswade. And Solon laid down his arms before the publick magazine, when Pisistratus grew too strong to be opposed any longer with hopes of success (69). His Lordship followed these examples; but not without collecting his utmost force to give a parting-blow to the minister, which in reality, of all his masterly pieces, is generally esteemed the best (70). After this he retired to France, where, the following year, he wrote his opinion of these new friends, 'I 'expect little, says he, from the principal actors that 'tread the stage at present. They are divided not so 'much as it seemed, and as they would have it believed, about measures. The true division is about their 'different ends. Whilst the minister was not hard 'pushed, nor the prospect of succeeding to him near, 'they appeared to have but one end, the reformation of 'the government. The destruction of the minister was 'pursued only as a preliminary, but of essential and in-'disputable necessity to that end. But when his de-'struction seemed to approach, the object of his suc-'cession interposed to the sight of many, and the re-'formation of the government was no longer their 'point of view. They divided the skin at least in 'their thoughts, before they had taken the beast. The 'common fear of hastening his downfall for others, 'made them all faint in the chace. It was this, and 'this alone, that has saved him, or has put off his 'evil day. Corruption so much, and so justly com-'plained of, could not have done it alone (71).' His Lordship at this time, not only fell out with Poulteney, [now Earl of Bath] for his selfish views, but with the Tories too, for abandoning the cause as desperate; averring, that the faint and unsteady exercise of parts on one side, was a crime but one degree inferior to the iniquitous misapplication of them on the other. A little after he gives us the particular incident whence this dissention took it's birth. 'It is but a few years 'ago, says he, that not only the merchants, but the 'whole nation, took fire at the project of new excises. 'The project was opposed, not on mercantile conside-'rations and interests alone, but on the true principles 'of liberty. In Parliament the opposition was strenu-'ously enough supported for a time, but there was so 'little disposition to guide and improve the spirit, that 'the chief concern of those who took the lead, seemed 'applied to keep it down, and yet your Lordship re-'members how high it continued against the projector, ''till it was calmed just before the elections of the pre-'sent parliament, by the remarkable indolence and 'inactivity of the last session of the last (72).' But though he had too much sense to be deceived, he had too high a spirit to despair. He only varied his direction, and sought in a new way what could not be reached by the old; and turning his eyes from the generation that was going off, to that which was coming on the stage, in the expectation of good from them he addresses himself to them as follows. 'Let me 'therefore conclude, by repeating, that division has 'caused all the mischief that we lament; that union can 'alone retrieve us; that a great advance towards this 'union was a coalition of parties, so happily begun, 'so successfully carried on, and of late so unaccount-'ably neglected; to say no worse. But let me add, 'that this union can never be compleat, 'till it be-'come an union of the head with the members, as 'well as of the members with one another; and that 'such an union can never be expected, 'till patriotism 'fills the Throne, and faction be banished from the 'administration (73).' In the same spirit we find him a number of years afterwards, at the conclusion of the last shameful war, first representing the miserable state of the nation in 1749, and then taking courage from the prospect. 'Bad as our condition is, let us not despair. Not to despair of the commonwealth, whatever her condition be, is the principle of a true patriot; that is, of a faithful servant to his Prince and Country;' to which purpose he enlarges upon the example of the Duke of Sully, as set forth in his Memoirs (74).

(68) Letter to Pope, ubi supra, p. 439.

(69) Id. p. 440.

(70) This inimitable piece is intituled, *A Dissertation on Parties*, published in 1735, 8vo.

(71) First Letter to Lord Cornbury.

(72) Ibid.

(73) Of the Spirit of Patriotism, p. 25, 26, 27.

(74) Reflections on the State of the Nation, p. 363, & seqq.

[*FF*] *He retired to France.*] As this retreat was evidently the effect of disdain, vexation, and disappointment, Dean Swift, in the great simplicity of his heart, when the bruit of this motion reach'd his ears, having a thorough knowledge of his Lordship's high passions, and considering particularly, that his attainder (the tingling of which in his veins had once thrown him into the arms of the Pretender) still continued unreversed; concluded him certainly gone once more to that Prince, as was given out by his enemies. For this the Dean is reprehended by Mr Pope in very high terms; such indeed as, perhaps, shew more, than any other instance of it, the boundless veneration he had for his Lordship. 'You and 'Lord Bolingbroke, says he, are the only men to 'whom I write; you are the only men that can 'write; others are meer mortals. Whatever fail-'ings such men may have, a respect is due to them 'as luminaries, whose exaltation renders their motion 'a little irregular, or rather causes it to seem so to 'others. I am afraid to censure any thing I hear of 'Dean Swift, because I hear it only from mortals, 'dull and blind; and you should be cautious of censu-'ring any action or motion of Lord Bolingbroke, be-'cause you hear it only from shallow, envious, and 'malicious reporters. What you writ to me about 'him, I find, to my great scandal, repeated in one of 'yours to ——— Whatever you might hint to me, 'was this for the prophane? the thing, if true, should 'be conceal'd; but it is, I assure you, absolutely un-'true in every circumstance. He has fixed in a very 'agreeable retirement near Fountainbleau, and makes 'it his whole business, *vacare literis* (75).' The truth of this last assertion appears from the piece his Lordship wrote during this retirement; and my Lord himself expresly acknowledges, that Mr Pope had contributed very much to this resolution of retiring (76).

(75) Letters to and from Dr Swift, No. 82. Aug. 17, 1736.

(76) Letter of Retirement and Study, at the end.

[*GG*] *Letters*

through as great a variety of scenes, both of pleasure and business, in active life, as any of his contemporaries. He had gone as far towards reinstating himself in the full possession of his former honours, as the meer dint of parts and application could go, and was at length experimentally convinced, that the decree was absolutely irreversible, and the door finally shut against him (*o*). If in the decline of his life he became less conspicuous, he became more amiable, and he was far from suffering the hours to slide away unusefully. He had not been long at his retreat near Fountainbleau, when he began a course of *Letters on the Study and Use of History*, for the use of a young nobleman of distinguished worth and capacity [*GG*]. In the mean time it was evident, that a person of so active an ambition as he was tempered with, must lie greatly open to ridicule, in assuming a resigned philosophical air of study and contemplation. He saw it, and to obviate the censure he addressed a letter to Lord Bathurst, upon the *True Use of Retirement and Study* [*HH*]; where we see he had no intention, by shifting the scene, to drop the opposition to the minister, but only to change a little the method of attack [*II*]. This he carried on in several

(*o*) Of the True Use of Retirement and Study, p. 206.

[*GG*] *Letters concerning History.*] The great use he makes of History in these letters is a signal instance of his having a true genius for politicks. Those are meer pedants or scholars of a lower form, who endeavour to illustrate general maxims from historical facts, to which they cannot be said so properly to bring as to bend them. Our noble author takes quite another road, and extracts his maxims from history (77), chiefly from our own. In this he follows Machiavel, who did the same in the Roman History; but our author censures him for building general maxims often upon single facts. His Lordship here corrects Lord Clarendon for giving such a character of the first Duke of Buckingham, as is incompatible with his actions; and perhaps he may be found himself warping our history for his own convenience; less sollicitous to represent past events truly, than under colour of relating them to point out the secret of some far more modern transactions. A reader therefore ought to take care not to be the dupe of such insinuations, he must keep his eyes open, and his attention awake, remembring always, that whether he adopts or differs from his notions, he is sure of being improved by the perusal. Without such an independent spirit nothing is more dangerous than books of this sort. There is no kind of servitude so despicable as the slavery of the understanding. The same caution is to be observed in reading his Lordship's little stories, visions, and allegories, where, without a due circumspection, you may miss his true meaning; and where you reach that, may not be always in possession of truth. In these letters he takes in ecclesiastical history. Upon which he ventures to give his opinion freely upon the subject of the divine original of the sacred books. Here he sinks among the rabble of authors, and abundantly justifies the truth of his friend Pope's remark made long before. 'Lord Bolingbroke, 'says that friend, is above trifling, when he writes of 'any thing in this world he is more than mortal. If 'ever he trifles, it must be when he turns divine '(78.)'

(77) He carries this method of reasoning into Philosopby after Mr Locke, and builds his metaphysical system upon the same foundation.

(78) Letter to Swift, dated Decemb. 10, 1725.

[*HH*] *Letters of the use of retirement and study.*] See what he says in his defence to avoid the ridicule. To set about acquiring the habits of meditation and study, late in life, is like getting into a go-cart with a grey-beard, and learning to walk when we have lost the use of our legs. In general, the foundation of a happy old age must be laid in youth; and in particular, he who has not cultivated his reason young, will be utterly unable to improve it old. *Manent ingenia senibus, modo permaneant studium & industria.* Not only a love of study, and a desire of knowledge must have grown up with us, but such an industrious application likewise, as requires the whole vigour of the mind to be exerted in the pursuit of truth through long trains of ideas, and all those dark recesses, wherein man, not God, has hid it. This love, and this desire, I have felt all my life; and I am not quite a stranger to this industry and application. There has been something always ready to whisper in my ear, whilst I ran the course of pleasure and business. *Solve senescentem mature sanus equum* But my genius, unlike the dæmon of Socrates, whispered so softly, that very often I heard him not in the hurry of those passions by which I was transported, some calmer hours there were, in them I hearkened to him: reflexion had often it's turn; and the love of study, and the desire of knowledge, have never quite abandoned me. I am not therefore intirely unprepared for the life I will lead. And it is not without reason that I promise myself more satisfaction in the latter part of it, than I ever knew in the former (79).

[*II*] *He changed the method of attack*] What was this new method we have from his own mouth. In answer to the objection, that such a renunciation of all publick business as he pretended to make, was inconsistent with his duty to his country, he writes thus to Lord Cornbury, 'No man has higher notions of this 'duty than I have. I think that not any age or circumstance can discharge us intirely from it; no, 'not my own. But as we are apt to take the impulse 'of our own passions for a call to the performance of 'this duty, so when these passions impel us no longer, 'the call that puts us upon action must be real and 'loud too. Add to this, that there are different 'methods proportioned to different circumstances 'and situations of performing the same duty. In 'the midst of retreat, I may contribute to defend 'and preserve the British constitution of government; and you, my Lord, may depend upon 'me, that whenever I can I will. Should any one 'ask in this case, from whom I expect my reward? 'answer him by declaring, to whom I pay the service 'i. e. to the immortal God, whose will it is, not 'only that I should receive these blessings from my ancestors, but that I should deliver them to posterity. '*Deo immortali, qui me non accipere modo hæc a 'majoribus voluit, sed etiam posteris prodere* (80).' As this last passage is far from being the language of resignation, so the following, which was wrote afterwards, is still farther. 'I speak as if I could take 'my share in these glorious attempts, neither shall I 'recal my words. Stript of the rights of a British subject, of all except the meanest of them, that of inheriting; I remember that I am a Briton still; I apply to myself what I have read in *Seneca*. *Officia si 'civis amiserit, homines exerceat.* Has a citizen lost his 'offices in the State, let him instruct his fellow-citizens. 'I have renounced the world, not in shew, but in reality, 'and more by my way of thinking than by my way of 'living, as retired as that may seem. But I have not 'renounced my country nor my friends; and by my 'friends I mean all those, and those alone, who are 'such to their country, by whatever name they may 'have been or may be still distinguished; and though 'in that number there should be men, of whose past ingratitude, injustice, or malice, I might complain on 'my own account with the greatest reason; these I 'will never renounce. In their prosperity they shall 'never hear of me. In their distress always. In that 'retreat wherein the remainder of my days shall be 'spent, I may be of some use to them, since even from 'thence I may advise, exhort, and warn them. *Nec 'enim is solum Reipublicæ prodest, qui candidates extrahit, & tuetur reos, & de pace belloque censet; sed qui 'juventutem exhortatur, qui in tanta bonorum præceptorum inopia virtute instruit animos, qui ad pecuniam 'luxuriamque cursu ruentes prensat ac retrahit, &, si 'nihil aliud, certe moratur, in privato publicum negotium gerit.*' For not only he is a useful member of the republick, who sets up and assists candidates for publick places, and defends the unjustly accused, and determines upon the important points of peace and war; but that man, also who in so great a scarcity of good teachers, exhorts and inspires youth with the principles of virtue, who seizes and pulls back such as are rushing to riches and luxury, and if he does no more, is sure to retard their courses; this man, I say, transacts the

(79) Letter of the Use of Retirement and Study, p. 205.

(80) Letter on Retirement, &c. p. 201.

several pieces, executed with a spirit no ways unequal to that of his former productions. Upon the death of his father in 1724 *(p)*, he settled at Battersea, the ancient seat of the family, where he passed the remainder of his life in such a dignity, as was the natural result of the elevation of his genius, perfected by long experience, many disappointments, and much reflection [*KK*]; resolving, since he could not obtain his seat again in the House of Peers, never more to meddle in publick affairs. After the conclusion of the last inauspicious war in 1747, the measures taken in the administration seem not to be repugnant to his notions of political prudence for that juncture; and what these were is seen in part, in some reflections written by him in 1749, *On the Present State of the Nation, principally with regard to her Taxes and Debts, and on the Causes and Consequences of them* [*LL*]. This undertaking was left unfinished, nor did he survive it long. He had often wished to fetch his last breath at Battersea *(q)*, a circumstance which happened to him on the 15th of November, 1751, on the verge of fourscore years of age. His corpse was interred with those of his ancestors, in that church [*MM*]. He survived all his brothers *(r)*, so that the estate and honour descended to his nephew, the present Lord Viscount Bolingbroke *(s)* and St John, whom he constituted likewise his testamentary heir. And, as his lady died many years before him [*NN*], so the disputes in law about her fortune happening to be finally

(p) He died in April that year, being 90 years old. Memoir of Bolingbroke.

(q) Idem, p. 346.

(r) They were only half-blood to his Lordship; whose father, after the decease of his first lady, married a French woman. Peerage of England, Vol. IV. edit. 1756.

(s) He was introduced into the House of Peers by this title, Feb. 12, 1754. Idem.

the business of the publick in a private station (81). These instances shew, that his Lordship did not intend to retire as a hermit into a corner to form conclusions, *de contemptu mundi & fuga seculi*, upon the vanity of the world, and the wisdom of fleeing from all secular affairs, but like a *miles emeritus*, who from his experience and abilities was able and watchful to advise those who remained in the field of action, and not to engage himself again, except upon very extraordinary occasions, when the imminent danger of his country rendered it indispensible. Upon the whole, it is very evident, that philosophy was not his nature, but a dernier resort.

(81) Introduction to the Idea of a Patriot King, at the end.

[*KK*] *He passed the rest of his life with great dignity.*] This is described by a very able pen in the following words; having observed that his Lordship had studied the procedure and limits of the human understanding, as exactly as Swift had considered the singularities of the passions in different characters, the author proceeds thus, 'Lord Bolingbroke had early made himself master of books and men: but in his first career of life, being immersed at once in business and pleasure, he ran through a variety of scenes in a surprizing and excentric manner. When his passions subsided by years and disappointments, when he improved his rational faculties by more grave studies and reflection, he shone out in his retirement with a lustre peculiar to himself, though not seen by vulgar eyes. The gay Statesman was changed into a Philosopher, equal to any of the sages of antiquity. The wisdom of *Socrates*, the dignity and ease of *Pliny*, and the wit of *Horace*, appeared in all his writings and conversation. The same author speaking of the English language, gives him the first place in the triumvirate to whom we owe that elegance and propriety unknown to our forefathers (82).' He likewise observes, that the letters from Lord Bolingbroke, which are inserted in the seventh volume of Swift's works, are written with an elegance and politeness that distinguishes them from the rest; 'We see, says he, they were not 'intended for the press, but how valuable are the 'most careless strokes of such a pen (83).' This value is finely painted by Lord Bolingbroke himself in one of these letters, which, as it begins with some kind of censure upon those of Pliny, so it is no wonder that Lord Orrery passed it over in silence, or rather studiously omitted so fair an occasion of mentioning it. *Pliny*, says Bolingbroke, writ his letters for the publick, so did *Seneca*, and *Balzac*, *Voiture*, and others. *Tully* did not; and therefore these give us more pleasure than any that have come down to us from antiquity. When we read them, we pry into a secret which was intended to be kept from us. That is a pleasure. We see Cato and Brutus, and Pompey, and others, such as they really were, and not such as the gaping multitude of their own age took them to be; or as Historians and Poets have represented them to us. 'I remember to 'have seen a procession at *Aix la Chapelle*, wherein 'an image of Charlemaigne is carried on the shoulders 'of a man, who is hid by the long robe of the imperial saint. Follow him into the vestry, you see the 'bearer slip from under the robe, and the gigantick 'figure dwindles into an image of the ordinary size, 'and is set by among other lumber (84).'

(82) Lord Orrery's Letters concerning Dean Swift, Lett. ix.

(83) The noble author exhibits the writers of these letters, as forming a groupe of such friends, as have not appeared since the Augustan age, and sets Lord Bolingbroke at their head.

(84) Letters to and from Swift, Letter 43, dated April 14, 1730.

[*LL*] *Reflections on the Present State of the Nation, &c.*] In a letter so early as 1730, he writes thus to Dr Swift. 'I have sometimes thought, that if preachers, hangmen, and moral writers, keep vice at a stand, or so much as retard the progress of it, they do as much as human nature admits. A real reformation is not to be brought about by ordinary means; it requires those extraordinary means which become punishments as well as lessons. National corruption must be purged by national calamities (85).' In 1738, upon the eve of the war with Spain, he repeats the same remark; 'It seems to me, that to redeem or save a nation under such circumstances [as beforementioned] from perdition, nothing less is necessary than some great, some extraordinary, conjuncture of ill fortune, or of good, which may purge, yet so as by fire. Distress from abroad, bankruptcy at home, and other circumstances of like nature and tendency, may beget universal confusion. Out of confusion order may arise: but then, adds he, it may be the order of a wicked tyranny instead of the order of a just monarchy. We may be saved by very different means; but this way of salvation will not be opened to us without the concurrence and influence of a patriot King (86).' This last he ventured to publish in 1749 *, when there was so near an approach of this which he calls the most uncommon of all phænomena in the physical or moral world, that he durst openly in print animate his pupil to exert all his talents to wrest the power of the government out of hands, that he declares had employed it weakly and wickedly, ever since it was thrown into them by a silly bargain made in one reign, and a corrupt bargain made in another (87). In the same year, 1749, he began this treatise *upon the State of the Nation, &c.* (88).

(85) Letter 46, in Letters to and from Dr Swift.

(86) Idea of a Patriot King, &c. p. 72, 73.

* See an account of that publication in Mr Pope's article.

(87) Spirit of Patriotism, p. 44.

(88) See the N. B. at the end of it. In it he urges the lessening of the national debt, as absolutely necessary to save the nation from ruin.

[*MM*] *Interred in that church.*] Where there is a marble monument erected to his memory, with the following inscription:

Here lies
Henry St John;
In the reign of Queen Anne
Secretary of War, Secretary of State,
And Viscount Bolingbroke.
In the days of King George I.
And King George II.
Something more and better.
His attachment to Queen Anne
Exposed him to a long and severe persecution.
He bore it with firmness of mind.
The enemy of no national party,
The friend of no faction.
Distinguished under the cloud of a proscription,
Which had not been entirely taken off †,
By zeal to maintain the liberty
And to restore the ancient prosperity
Of Great Britain.

† He was restored in blood May 28, 1723, but never to his seat in the House of Peers.

[*NN*] *His second lady died several years before him.*] His Lordship speaks of this lady frequently in his letters to Dr Swift, in which we see she had very ill health after his return to England; and by the following passage, in a letter wrote in 1731, 'tis probable she did not long survive it. 'I leave Pope, says 'he,

finally determined about the time of his deceafe, by that lucky event the nephew reaped the whole benefit of his uncle's kindnefs immediately *. His Lordfhip left the care and advantage of his manufcripts to Mr Mallet (t), who publifhed three tracts in one volume, 8vo. in 1753, and four volumes more the following year; in which the truftee, it feems, confulted his own profit more than his noble benefactor's fame, as appears from a prefentment of the Grand Jury of Weftminfter, made on the 16th of October the fame year, 1754, of thefe Pofthumous Works in four volumes, 'as tending, in the general fcope of 'feveral pieces therein contained, as well as many particular expreffions which had been 'laid before them, to the fubverfion of religion, government, and morality, and being 'againft his Majefty's peace (u)' Indeed it is almoft needlefs to tell the world now, that, in refpect to his religion, he was undoubtedly what is fometimes underftood by the denomination of a Theift [OO]. But however this part of his conduct may be cenfured, yet with all his paffions, and with all his faults, he will, perhaps, as the writer of his life obferves, be acknowledged by pofterity in general, as I think he is by the majority of the prefent age, to have been in many refpects one of the moft extraordinary perfons who adorned it. In his exterior, he was wonderfully agreeable. He had a dignity mixed with fweetnefs in his looks, and a manner that would have captivated the heart, if his perfon had been ever fo indifferent. He was remarkable for his vivacity, and had a prodigious memory. He was a ftatefman, an orator, a leader of a party; was brought into bufinefs early, purfued it through the moft vigorous part of his life; enjoyed the fmiles, endured the frowns, of fortune, and was befides a man of learning, reflection, and wit. With all thefe qualities, and I think his enemies will allow that he had them all, he could fcarce write any thing that did not deferve to be read and to be ftudied. When this is faid, we muft confine ourfelves to the fubjects to which thefe characters belong; for he fometimes, as we fee, made excurfions into others, of which he neither was nor could be expected to be a perfect mafter, and upon them he wrote like other men. In reality, there is not much danger of being mifled by him in thefe matters; the fame wifdom that directs us not to take our politicks from Priefts, exclaims againft receiving our religion from a Politician; it is in that character that he excels. We generally, and indeed juftly, prefer fuch writers as have an opportunity of being practically as well as fpeculatively acquainted with the fubjects on which they write. *Demofthenes* and *Cicero* were Statefmen as well as Orators. *Cæfar* was confpicuous for his learning, as well as his abilities, in the camp and in the cabinet: his Commentaries are a proof of it, and the critic fpoke truly who faid, that he wrote with the fame fpirit with which he fought. *Machiavel* was alike verfed in bufinefs and in books; and that is the true reafon, why his merit is confeffed even by thofe who abhor his maxims. In our own country, the writings of Sir Walter Ralegh, and the Noble Hiftorian, are juftly efteemed at a higher rate, than thofe of men who had not the like opportunities of penetrating to the very bottom of the fprings and caufes of thofe tranfactions which they undertook to examine, and to criticize as well as to record. From the very fame motives, the works of this ingenious writer have merited, and in all probability will continue to merit, attention and applaufe. He lived to fee the opening of that glorious profpect which he fpeaks of, at the winding up of his *Idea of a Patriot King*, in thefe rapturous terms: 'Thofe who live to fee fuch happy days, and to act in fo glorious 'a fcene,

* Monthly Magazine. Mr Voltaire obferves, that fhe had little fortune befides expectation. Hift. of Lewis XIV.

(t) A Scotch gentleman, and a poet; author of the Memoirs of Chancellor Bacon, and other things.

(u) Magazines for that month and year.

'he, to fpeak for himfelf, but I muft tell you, how 'much my wife is obliged to you; fhe fays, fhe would 'have ftrength enough to nurfe you, if you was here, 'and yet, God knows, fhe is extreamly weak. The 'flow fever works and mines the conftitution; we 'keep it off fometimes, but ftill it returns, and makes 'new breaches, before nature can repair the old ones. 'I am not afhamed to fay to you, that I admire her 'more every hour of my life. Death is not to her 'the king of terrors; fhe beholds him without the 'leaft. When fhe fuffers much, fhe wifhes for him as 'a deliverer from pain. When life is tolerable fhe 'looks on him with diflike, becaufe he is to feparate 'her from thofe friends to whom fhe is more attached 'than to life itfelf (89).' Her remains were interred in the fame vault with thofe of his Lordfhip, and her epitaph is infcribed upon the fame monument, which is alfo adorned with both their bufts. She was particularly diftinguifhed by an amiable dignity and grace in her behaviour (90).

[OO] *He was a Theift.*] By this character we underftand not a determined Deift, or abfolute difbeliever of Revealed Religion, nor even fo much as a fceptical Doubter, but one, whofe ftate of mind comes neareft to that of the ancient academy, efpecially in refpect to the immortality of the Soul; which they held to be probable indeed, but fo faintly probable, that any little diforder, nay even a cloudy day, would often make them doubt of it. Such a low degree of belief could never become a firm principle of action. That this was his Lordfhip's character, and his way of thinking in regard to Revelation, may, without injuring his memory, be inferred, as from others, fo particularly from that remarkable paffage in one of his letters to Dean Swift, wherein he has in a manner tranflated Tully's famous *Ecphonema* concerning the immortality of the Soul, *Quod fi in hoc erro. &c.* (91) and adopts it for his own. 'Whilft my mind, fays he, daily grows more independent of the world, and feels 'lefs need of leaning on external objects, the ideas 'of friendfhip return oftner; they bufy, they warm 'me more. Is it that we grow more tender, as the 'moment of our great feparation approaches? Or is 'it that they who are to live together in another ftate '(for, *vera amicitia non nifi inter bonos*) begin to feel 'more ftrongly that divine fympathy, which is to be 'the great band of their future fociety. There is no 'one thought which fooths my mind like this. I en'courage my imagination to purfue it, and am heartily afflicted, when another faculty of the intel'lect comes on me boifteroufly, and wakes me 'from fo pleafing a dream; if it be a dream (92).' The fame turn of mind too is difcoverable in his writings, as we fee in thofe of Cicero. Like that Orator and Philofopher, he delighted to the laft in regarding diftant profpects, and fhut out the idea of diffolution, by contemplating the effects of his political doctrines, in ages beyond his own. In the fame way Epicurus comforted himfelf under a fit of the ftone. What his Lordfhip's thoughts were, with regard to the Chriftian Revelation in particular, is no where, perhaps, feen in a better light, than in his fifth letter on the ftudy of Hiftory. The true ftate of the Theift's mind, at leaft, is there precifely and favourably reprefented, as entertaining a candid, but not implicit doubt; willing to be informed, but curious to examine.

[OO] Mr

(89) Letter 46, dated Jan. 30, 1730-31. See alfo Letter 45 and 40. by the laft of which it appears, that he had attended her to Aix la Chapelle in 1729.

(90) Voltaire affures us, that fhe had an uncommon underftanding. Hift. of Lewis XIV. And her aunt, Madam de Maintenon, fays, fhe was the moft fenfible perfon among her female relations. Maintenon's Letters. Lond. 1758, 8vo.

(91) In his tract De Amicitia, Of Friendfhip.

(92) Letter 41, dated Nov. 19, 1729, in Letters to and from Dr Swift.

'a scene, will, perhaps, call to mind, with some tenderness of sentiment, when he is no 'more, a man who contributed his mite to carry on so good a work, and who desired 'life for nothing so much, as to see a King of *Great Britain* the most popular man in his 'country, and a Patriot King at the head of an united people (*w*).' What he meant, perhaps, as a compliment, is become a kind of prophecy, fulfilled in the amplest manner. It may serve as a monumental inscription. If it had been more extended, it would have been a sort of funeral oration of himself upon himself. It seems he delighted to the last in regarding distant prospects, and shut out the idea of dissolution, by contemplating the effects of his political doctrines in ages beyond his own. And it cannot be denied, that while either faction or freedom remains among us, his writings on that subject will have their merit and use. This they always had: but my meaning is, that they will have it now in an advanced and extraordinary degree; Death, in removing him out of the reach of envy, and the rage of jealousy, has extended the utility, and fixed the immortality, of his writings. Their reputation will now rest upon their own merit, without suffering any diminution from the failings of their author: failings he had, and who has them not? Were the ministers he opposed without failings? But these did not infect his writings. Those were products of his cooler hours, and shew us the noble efforts of a great genius, when conducted and supported by experience. They open to us all the secret springs and hidden mechanism, not of our constitution, for that is nobly plain and gracefully simple, but of the executive powers, and the administration of government; how these may be disordered, spoiled, and broken; how they may be discerned from the motions of the MACHINE; and how these errors may be repaired or prevented. While he lived, his testimony was ever impeached, by a suggestion that his aim was to have the direction of the PENDULUM: *That* can be said no more. All his skill, all his acuteness, all his sagacity, are now useless to the ARTIST: but we are consoled for this, by the consideration, that they may be so much the more useful to us and our country. Such is the elogium given of him by the writer of the Memoirs of his Life (*x*); who having cast them into the form of Letters to a Young Gentleman, closes the whole in the following words: 'My pen has been employed in shewing you this is no panegyric, but a just tribute to merit; and the rest of the world will gradually learn this 'from the writings themselves, which will be now read with less prejudice and more 'respect. His writings are the MONUMENTS which he consecrated to posterity; and, 'though he is now no more, THESE will last FOR EVER (*y*).' His Lordship was esteemed, almost to a degree of adoration, by the first poet of our age, who has blazoned his character in the brightest colours that wit could invent or fondness bestow [*PP*]. The reader will find a list of his writings in remark [*QQ*].

(*w*) Letters on the Spirit of Patriotism, on the Idea of a Patriot King, and on the State of Parties. Lond. 1749, 8vo. concerning which see Mr Pope's article.

(*x*) In p. 25, 330, 331, 332, 342, 343, 344.

(*y*) Id. p. 345.

[*PP*] *Mr Pope has drawn his character to great advantage.*] That excellent bard, in his Essay on Man, has immortaliz'd both his own fame, and that of his noble friend, by whose persuasion and assistance this incomparable didactic poem was begun and executed.

Come on, my friend, my genius come along,
Oh, master of the Poet and the song!
And while the Muse now stoops, or now ascends,
To man's low passions, and their glorious ends,
Teach me, like thee, in various nature wise,
To fall with dignity, with temper rise.
Form'd by thy converse happily to steer,
From gay to grave, from lively to severe;
Correct with spirit, elegant with ease,
Intent to reason, or polite to please.
Oh! while along the stream of time, thy name,
Expanded flies, and gathers all it's fame;
Say, shall my little bark attend the sail,
Pursue the triumph, and partake the gale.
When statesmen, heroes, kings, in dust repose,
Whose sons will blush their fathers were thy foes,
Shall this thy verse to future age pretend,
Thou wer't my guide, Philosopher, and friend.
That urg'd by thee, I turn'd the tuneful art,
From sound to things, from fancy to the heart.
For wit's false mirror hold up nature's light,
Shew erring Man whatever is, is right.
That reason, passions, answer one great aim;
That true self-love and social are the same.
That virtue only makes our bliss below;
And all our knowledge is ourselves to know.

[*QQ*] *A List of his Works*] Mr Mallet, to whom he left the care of his papers, published a collection of his Works in 1754, in five volumes, 4to. the contents of which are as follow. Vol. I. *A Letter to Sir W. Wyndham*; *Reflections upon Exile*; *The Occasional Paper*, No. 1, 2, 3; *The First Visions of Camilick*; *An Answer to the London Journal of December* 21, 1728. This Journal was supposed to be wrote by Bishop Hoadley. *An Answer to the Defence of the Enquiry into the Reasons of the Conduct of* Great Britain; *Remarks upon the History of England*; *A Final Answer to the Remarks on the Craftsman's Vindication, &c.* Vol. II. *A Dissertation on Parties*; *Letters on the Study and Use of History*; *A Plan for writing a General History of Europe*; *On Retirement and Study*. Vol. III. *Letters on the Spirit of Patriotism, and the Idea of a Patriot King*; *State of Parties at the Accession of King* George I; *Some Reflections on the Present State of the Nation, principally with regard to her Taxes and Debts*; *and on the Causes and Consequences of them.* N.B This was written in 1749, and left unfinished. *The Substance of some Letters written originally in French about 1720, to M. de Pouilly* (93); *Letter occasioned by one of Archbishop* Tillotson's *Sermons*; *Letters or Essays addressed to* Alexander Pope, Esq; on Religion and Philosophy; first and part of the second. Vol. IV. The remainder of the second, and two more of the like Essays. Vol. V. Fragments or minutes of the like Essays. N. B. It was principally these Essays, addressed to Mr Pope, that occasioned the presentment by the Grand-Jury of Westminster, mentioned above, and several animadversions were made upon them, particularly by the present Dean of Bristol, besides others. There was published in A Collection of Political Tracts, the second edition of which came out in 1748, 8vo. some other pieces, not inserted in this edition of his Lordship's Works, the titles of which are: *On Luxury*; *Remarks on a pamphlet intituled,* Observations on the Conduct of Great-Britain; *Of Good and Bad Ministers*; *Of the Policy of the Athenians*; *On the Power of the Prince, and the Freedom of the People*; *The Case of Dunkirk considered.* P

(93) These letters are written upon the proof of the being of a God, and Natural Religion.

SANCROFT [William], Archbiſhop of Canterbury in the laſt century, a pious and exemplary Prelate, was born at Freſingfield in Suffolk, January 30, 1616 (a). He had his education in the grammar-ſchool of St Edmondſbury (b); and, while a youth, was obſerved to be addicted to a great ſenſe of piety and goodneſs, and outſtript the care and inſtructions of his maſters, by the remarkable progreſs he daily made in learning and religion (c). When arrived to the 18th year of his age, he was ſent to Emmanuel-college in Cambridge, and matriculated in the univerſity July 3, 1634 (d). He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in the year 1637; that of Maſter in 1641; and in 1642 was admitted Fellow of his college (e). His accompliſhments in all human literature became ſurprizing; for he was not only maſter of the whole circle of the Sciences [A], but alſo an excellent Critic, and perfectly well verſed in Poetry and Hiſtory: all which knowledge was free from vanity and oſtentation: a qualification ſeldom found among the learned (f)! In 1648, he took the degree of Bachelor in Divinity (g). It is ſuppoſed that he never took the Covenant, and yet continued unmoleſted in his Fellowſhip 'till the Engagement was preſſed upon him in 1649; and then he refuſing to take it, was ejected from his Fellowſhip. Upon that he went and travelled beyond-ſea, where he proſecuted however his ſtudies [B] with indefatigable diligence, and became intimately acquainted with the moſt conſiderable of the Engliſh loyaliſt exiles (h). About the Reſtoration of King Charles II. he returned to England [C]. May 8, 1660, he was choſen one of the Univerſity Preachers (i). Soon after, Dr John Coſin, who had known him abroad, being promoted to the Biſhopric of Durham, took him for one of his Chaplains: and collated him to the Rectory of Houghton in the Spring, and to the ninth Prebend in the cathedral church of Durham, which he was inſtalled into March 11, 1661 (k). In 1661, he aſſiſted in reviewing the Liturgy, particularly in rectifying the Kalendar and Rubrick (l). By virtue of his Majeſty's commendatory letters to the univerſity of Cambridge, dated March 15, 1661-2, he was created Doctor in Divinity (m). The 14th of Auguſt following, he was elected Maſter of Emmanuel-college; which he governed with great prudence, and the moſt obliging deportment towards every one of its members (n). In the beginning of the year 1663-4, he was promoted to the Deanery of York [D]. He held it but a few months, in which time he expended, in building and other charges, two hundred pounds more than he received: and brought the accounts of that church in excellent order (o). But, upon the death of Dr John Barwick in 1664, he was removed, in his room, to the Deanery of St Paul's [E]. Soon after which he reſigned his rectory of Houghton (p), and the maſterſhip of Emmanuel-college (q). At his coming to St Paul's, he ſet himſelf with unwearied diligence to repair that cathedral [F], 'till the dreadful Fire in 1666 employed his thoughts on the more noble undertaking of rebuilding it: towards which he gave 1400 pounds, beſides what he procured by his intereſt and aſſiduous ſolicitations and endeavours [G]. He alſo rebuilt the Deanery, and improv'd the revenues belonging thereto (r) [H]. On the 7th of October, 1668, he was admitted Archdeacon of Canterbury on

(a) Life, prefixed to his Letters to Mr North.

(b) Somner's Antiquities of Canterbury, with Battely's Additions. Lond. 1703, fol. part 2. p. 160.

(c) Continuation of Supplement to Collier's Dictionary.

(d) Lives of the Proteſtant Biſhops, &c. by J. Le Neve, Vol. I. Part i. p. 197.

(e) From the Univerſity Regiſters, and College-books.

(f) Some Remarks of Archbiſhop Sancroft's Life and Converſation, prefixed to his Sermons, edit. 1703, 8vo. p. 12, &c.

(g) From the Univerſity-Regiſters.

(h) Walker's Attempt towards recovering the Numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy, edit Lond. 1714, fol. Part 2. p. 144.

(i) From the Univerſity regiſters.

(k) Continuation, as above; and Dr Willis's Survey of the Cathedrals, &c. Vol. I. p. 271.

(l) Biſhop Kennet's Regiſter, &c. p. 574, 633.

(m) Id. p. 647.

(n) Remarks on his Life, &c. as above, p. xx.

(o) Le Neve. Lives, &c. p. 199.

(p) See Walker, as above.

(q) See Le Neve's Faſti, &c. p. 438.

(r) Walker, as above.

[A] *For he was not only maſter of the whole circle of the Sciences, &c.*] The Author of the Remarks of his Life and Converſation (1) informs us, That 'within a very little while after his being at the Univerſity, he became maſter of the whole circle of human Literature: which upon all occaſions in public as well as in private, ſhewed itſelf very remarkably. In this he had a peculiar talent, being an admirable *critic* in all the antient and Claſſic knowledge, both among the Greeks and Romans. He had throughly digeſted all their learning in *Poetry* and *Hiſtory*, and this without the leaſt affectation of Vanity, or oſtentation of learning. He attained to that perfection in it, that as it was his diverſion, ſo he made it an advancement to his other ſtudies. He made it ſubſervient to the carrying on his unwearied labours in *Theology*. In this he ſpent the greateſt part of his time, and cultivated the ſoyl, in which it was planted, to ſo great a height, that it became exceeding fruitful.'

(1) P. xii, xiii.

[B] *Where he proſecuted however his ſtudies.*] And 'he was courted and beloved by every one, for the ſingular Modeſty and Affability of his mind and temper, and for his great attainments in all manner of knowledge, that could render him not only an honour to his country and profeſſion, but highly acceptable to all learned and ingenious perſons (2).'

(2) Ibid. p. xviii.

[C] *About the Reſtoration of K Charles II. he returned to England*] The Author juſt now mention'd, (3) ſays, that 'ſome time before the Reſtauration, he returned to his native ſoyl, and lived in that privacy and retirement, which was ſo ſuitable to his temper, 'till the place of his Education in the Univerſity became the ſcene of his government.' —— But Mr le Neve (4) acquaints us, from a MS. of the late learned Mr Henry Wharton, 'that in the beginning of the year 1660, Mr Sancroft was at Rome, when K. Charles the Second returned into England.'

(3) P. xix.

(4) Ubi ſupra, p. 198.

[D] *In the beginning of the year 1663-4, he was promoted to the Deanery of York*] He was nominated to that Deanery January 3, elected the 23d of that month, and inſtall'd by proxy Febr. 26. following. This Dignity he held but ten months. (5)

(5) Le Neve, ubi ſupra.

[E] *But, upon the death of Dr John Barwick, he was remov'd in his room to the Deanery of St Paul's.*] He was nominated to it in October, elected November 11, accepted the election Decemb. 1. was inſtituted to the Prebend of Oxgate Decemb. 2 elected Reſidentiary Decemb. 9. and inſtalled Dean the next day. (6)

(6) Idem. and Newcourt's Repertorium, Vol. I. p. 53, 192.

[F] *At his coming to St Paul's, he ſet himſelf with unwearied diligence to repair that cathedral*] It had greatly ſuffered from the frentick zeal of thoſe brutiſh Reformers, in the laſt century, who overturn'd all decency and order, during the heat of the civil war: The body of it being turn'd into a horſe guard, ſawpits digged in other parts of it, &c. (7) It was neceſſary ſo charitable a perſon ſhould be fix'd in that poſt, in order to contrive ways for the repairing of her breaches, and the decays ſhe then lay under. In order to which, he huſbanded her revenues with a moſt frugal, and yet decent oeconomy.

(7) See Dugdale's Hiſt. of St Paul's, and Stow's Survey of London, with Strype's Additions, Vol. I. b. 3. p. 152.

[G] *Beſides what he procured by his intereſt and aſſiduous ſolicitations.*] We are aſſured, that it was he who obtained, by his unwearied induſtry and ſolicitation, the Act which laid a duty upon Coals for the rebuilding of St Paul's. (8)

(8) Le Neve's Lives, &c. as above, p. 220.

[H] *And improv'd the revenues belonging thereto.*] He improved alſo ſome of the Livings that were in his gift as Dean of St Paul's: particularly the Vicarage of Sandon in Hertfordſhire; which he augmented with a fee-farm rent of 8 l. a year, iſſuing out of the church of Lichfield; and a rent-charge of 20 l. a year, out of the parſonage and tithes of Sandon. (9)

(9) Sir Henry Chauncey's Antiquities of Hertfordſhire, p. 83.

[I] King

(s) Le Neve's Fasti, p. 13.

on the King's presentation; which dignity he resigned in 1670 (s). He was also Prolocutor of the lower House of Convocation: And in that station he was, when K. Charles II. advanced him to the Archiepiscopal See of Canterbury, [I] unexpectedly, and without the least inclination of his own. He behaved with singular prudence and integrity in the difficult and critical times that ensued. And it was reckoned very happy for the Church of England, that in the furious attacks made upon her, in the latter years of K. Charles, and the whole reign of K. James II, she had so steady a pilot at the helm. His large revenues he did not profusely waste in luxury and extravagance, but decently bestowed them in hospitality and charity: and also disposed of his preferments with great discretion (t) [K]. On the 23d of August 1678. he published good Directions, concerning letters Testimonial to Candidates for holy orders (u). He attended K. Charles II. when he was upon his death-bed, and made a very weighty exhortation to him; in which he used a good degree of freedom, which he said was necessary, since his Majesty was going to be judged by one who was no respecter of persons (w). In 1686, he was named the first in K. James the Second's commission for Ecclesiastical Affairs: but he refused to act in it (x) [L]. About that time, he suspended Tho. Wood Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, for residing out of, and neglecting, his diocese (y). As one of the Governors of the Charter-house, he refused to admit pensioner into that hospital one Andrew Popham, a Papist, who came with a nomination from the Court (z). In June 1688, he joined with six of his brethren the Bishops [M], in a petition to K. James II. wherein they set forth their reasons, why they could not cause his Declaration for Liberty of Conscience to be read in Churches (a). For this petition, which the Court called a libel, they were committed to the Tower, and being tried for a misdemeanor, the 29th of June, were acquitted, to the great joy of the Nation (b). This year the Archbishop projected a Comprehension with the Dissenting Protestants, of which some account is given below [N]. On the 3d of October, accompanied with eight of his brethren the Bishops,

(t) Some Remarks of his Life, &c. p. xxiv, &c. and Antiquities of Canterbury, as above, p. 85.

(u) See the Complete History of England, Vol. III. edit. 1719, fol. p. 359.

(w) Burnet's Hist. of his own Time, edit. 1753, 8vo. Vol. II. p. 281.

(x) See Complete History, as above, Vol. III. p. 452, 455.

(y) Wood Ath. Vol. II. col. 1176.

(z) N. Salmon's Lives of the English Bishops, Lond. 1731. 8vo. p. 105.

(a) That petition is in Complete Hist. Vol. III. p. 511. The petition, and Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, are also in the Bishops Tryal.

(b) See their Tryal, printed in 1689, fol. and inserted afterwards in the State-Tryals.

[I] *K. Charles II. advanced him to the Archiepiscopal See of Canterbury.*] He was consecrated in Westminster-abbey, Janu. 27. 1677-8. (10) We are told, that he was recommended by James Duke of York, or promoted by his *endeavours*. (11) But N. Salmon says, (12) there seems little probability in that piece of secret history.

[K] *And also disposed of his perferments with great discretion.*] He was, saith the author of some Remarks of his life, (13) 'generally known to be a 'hearty and faithful friend to all that had any merit 'to expect his favour, or desire it. He carefully 'sought out such persons for the service of the church, 'in those *Preferments* that fell within his gift, as were 'of approved abilities, of great learning, and of exemplary lives and coversations. He had a heart enlarged to the greatest *Hospitality* that could be, and his '*Charity* was diffusive to all manner of objects relating 'thereunto. He was a constant friend to Learning, 'to Religion, and to our established Church, and designed to wear away the remains of his life, his 'estate, and his interest, for the encouragement and 'preservation of them.' ——— Bishop Burnet, on the contrary, who always gives an odious character of those Divines which had not the same notions as himself; says, (14) that the reason of Dr Sancroft's promotion, was, because he was one 'whom the Court 'could trust.' And he proceeds to give this unfriendly description of him. 'He was a man of solemn deportment, had a sullen gravity in his looks, and was 'considerably learned. He had put on a monastick 'strictness, and lived abstracted from company. These 'things, together with his living unmarried, and his 'being fixed in the old maxims of high loyalty, and a 'superstitious valuing of little things, made the Court 'conclude, that he was a man, who might be entirely 'gained to serve all their ends; or, at least, that he 'would be an unactive speculative man, and give 'them little opposition in any thing that they might 'attempt, (15) when they had more promising opportunities. He was a dry, cold man, reserved and 'peevish; so that none loved him, and few esteemed 'him: Yet the high-church party were well pleased 'with his promotion.' ——— Had he not been afterwards a Nonjuror, he would have met with better quarter from our historical Prelate.

[L] *But he refused to act in it.*] Bishop Burnet blames him even for his behaviour in that affair. 'Sancroft, says he, lay silent at Lambeth. He seemed zealous against Popery in private discourse. But he was of such a timorous temper, and so set on the enriching his nephew, that he shewed no sort of courage. He would not go to this court, when it was first opened, and declare against it, and give his reasons why he could not sit and act in it, judging it to be against law: But he contented himself with his not going to it (16).'

[M] *In June 1688, he joined with six of his brethren the Bishops, &c.*] They were, William Lloyd bishop of St Asaph, Francis Turner bishop of Ely, John Lake bishop of Chichester, Thomas Ken bishop of Bath and Wells, Thomas White bishop of Peterborough, and Sir Jonathan Trelawny bishop of Bristol.— Bishop Burnet cannot help applauding our Prelate's conduct in this instance. (17) 'The Archbishop of Canterbury, Sancroft, resolved upon this occasion to act 'suitably to his post and character. He wrote round 'his province, and desired that such of the Bishops as 'were able would come up, and consult together in a 'matter of this great concern: And he asked the opinion of those whom their age and infirmities disabled 'from taking the journey. He found, that eighteen 'of the Bishops, and the main body of the Clergy 'concurred in the resolution against reading the declaration. So he, with six of the Bishops that came up 'to London, resolved in a petition to the King, to 'lay before him the reasons that determined them not 'to obey the order of Council that had been sent 'them. ——— The Archbishop was then in an 'ill state of health. So he sent over the six bishops 'with the petition to the King, signed by himself and 'the rest.'

[N] *This year the Archbishop projected a Comprehension with the Dissenting Protestants.*] The best account of this design is given by the late Bishop Wake, in one of his speeches at the Tryal of Dr Sacheverell. (18) 'The person, saith he, who first concerted this 'design was the late most Reverend Dr Sancroft then 'Archbishop of Canterbury. The time, was towards 'the end of that unhappy reign of King James the 'Second. Then, when we were in the height of our 'labours, defending the Church of England against 'the assaults of Popery, and thought of nothing else; 'that wise Prelate foreseeing some such Revolution as 'soon after was happily brought about, began to consider, how utterly unprepared they had been at the 'Restoration of K. Charles II, to settle many things 'to the advantage of the Church, and what a happy 'opportunity had been lost for want of such a previous 'care, as he was therefore desirous should be now taken, for the better, and more perfect establishment 'of it. It was visible to all the Nation, that the 'more moderate Dissenters were generally so well satisfied with that stand which our Divines had made 'against Popery, and the many unanswerable Treatises 'they had published in confutation of it, as to express 'an

(10) Le Neve's Fasti, p. 9.

(11) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721. Vol. II. col. 1164.

(12) Lives of the English Bishops, &c. Lond. 1731, 8vo. p. 62.

(13) As above, p. xxvi.

(14) History of his own Time, edit. 1753, 8vo. Vol. I. p. 553, 554.

(15) See the article TENNISON [THOMAS] promoted for the same reason.

(16) Burnet, Vol. II. p. 371.

(17) In the same volume, p. 459.

(18) March 17, 1710. at the opening of the second article of the impeachment against Dr Sacheverell.

Bishops, he waited upon the King, who had desired the Assistance of their counsels; and delivered to him very serious and important advice: Among the rest, to annul the Ecclesiastical Commission, to desist from the exercise of a Dispensing Power, to supersede all further prosecution of *Quo Warranto's*, and to call a free and regular Parliament (*c*). A few days after, though very earnestly pressed by his Majesty, he refused to sign a Declaration of Abhorrence of the Prince of Orange's invasion (*d*). The 11th of December, on K. James's withdrawing himself, he sign'd, and concurr'd with the Lords spiritual and temporal, assembled at Guild-hall, in a Declaration to the Prince of Orange, for a free Parliament, security of our Laws, Liberties, and Properties, and of the Church of England in particular, with a due Liberty to Protestant Dissenters (*e*). But when that Prince came to St James's, the Archbishop neither came to wait on him, though he had once agreed to it, nor did he send any message, importing that the state of affairs was changed, and that he had thereupon changed his mind. He absented himself likewise from the Convention (*f*) [*O*]. After King William and Queen Mary were settled on the throne; he, and seven of his suffragans, refused to own the established government, from a conscientious regard to the allegiance they had sworn to K. James (*g*). Refusing likewise to take the oaths, appointed by an Act of Parliament made April 24, 1689, he and they were, by virtue of that Act, suspended August the first, and deprived the first of February following (*h*). The Archbishop continued to live at Lambeth 'till August 1, 1690, when he dismissed most of his servants [*P*], and broke off the publick hospitality. After the nomination of his successor, he received an order from Queen Mary, May 20, 1691, to leave Lambeth-house within ten days; but resolving not to stir 'till ejected by Law, he was cited to appear before the Barons of the Exchequer, upon the first day of Trinity-Term, viz. June 12, 1691, to answer a writ of intrusion. He appeared by his attorney several times, but avoiding to put in any plea, judgment passed, upon refusal to join issue, June the 23d. The same evening he took boat at Lambeth-bridge, and went to a private house in the Temple (*i*), from whence he retired, August 5, to Fresingfield, his native place (*k*); where he spent the remainder of his days in a chearful and peaceable retirement [*Q*]. On the 25th or 26th of August, 1693, being seized with an intermitting

(*c*) Complete Hist. as above, Vol. III. p. 520. He joined in another petition for a free Parliament, Nov. 17. Ibid. p. 529.

(*d*) Ibid. p. 526, &c.

(*e*) Ibid. p. 533. Burnet's Hist. of his own Time, Vol. II. p. 542.

(*f*) Burnet, Vol. II. p. 549, 560. and his Vindication, or Reflections upon a pamphlet, &c. Lond. 1696, 8vo. p. 96.

(*g*) Complete Hist. Vol. III. p. 552.

(*h*) Le Neve's Lives, &c. p. 212.

(*i*) The Palsgrave-head near Temple-bar, says Wood, Ath. Vol. II. col. 872.

(*k*) Le Neve, p. 213, 214.

'an unusual readiness to come in to us. And it was 'therefore thought worth the while, when they were 'deliberating about those other matters, to consider 'at the same time what might be done to gain them 'without doing any prejudice to ourselves. The 'scheme was laid out, and the several parts of it were 'committed, not only with the approbation, but by 'the direction of that great Prelate, to such of our 'Divines as were thought the most proper to be en'trusted with it. His Grace took one part to him'self; Another was committed to —— *Dr S. Patrick.* '(19) The reviewing of the daily Service of our Li'turgy, and the Communion book, was referr'd to a 'select number of excellent persons, two of which 'were ——' Dr *J. Sharp*, afterwards Archbishop of York, and Dr *J. Moore*, Bishop of Ely. —— The design was, in short, this; To improve, 'and if pos'sible, to inforce our Discipline; to review, and en'large our Liturgy; by correcting of some things; 'by adding of others; and, if it should be thought 'adviseable by authority, when this matter should 'come to be legally considered, first in Convocation, 'then in Parliament; by leaving some few Ceremo'nies, confess'd to be indifferent in their natures, as 'indifferent in their usage, so as not to be necessarily 'observ'd by those who made a scruple of them; 'till 'they should be able to overcome either their weak'nesses, or prejudices, and be willing to comply with 'them.' —— Archbishop Sancroft expressed also his generous Tenderness towards the conscientious Dissenters, upon another occasion. And that was in a Letter to his Clergy, (20) wherein he exhorts them, 'To 'have a very tender regard to our Brethren the Pro'testant Dissenters; when occasion offer'd, to visit them 'at their houses, and to receive them kindly at their 'own. ——— In the last place, warmly and most 'affectionately to exhort them to join with us in daily 'fervent prayer to the God of Peace for an universal 'blessed Union of all Reformed Churches, both at 'home and abroad, against our common Enemies.' —

(19) See above the article PATRICK [SIMON.]

(20) Dated July 16, 1688. See Calamy's Abridgment of R. Baxter's Life, Vol. I. p. 385.

[*O*] *He absented himself likewise from the Convention*] For this cautious behaviour he is severely abused by Bishop Burnet; (21) who calls him, 'a poor 'spirited and fearful man; that acted a very mean 'part in all this great transaction.' —— 'He resol'ved (says he) neither to act for, nor against the 'King's interest; which, considering his high post, 'was thought very unbecoming. For if he thought, 'as by his behaviour afterwards it seems he did, that 'the Nation was running into treason, rebellion, and 'perjury, it was a strange thing to see one, who was 'at the head of the Church, sit silent all the while 'that this was in debate; and not once so much as 'declare his opinion, by speaking, voting, or protest'ing, not to mention the other Ecclesiastical methods 'that certainly became his character.' —— But he thought it best and most prudent, quietly to wait for so critical an event as a Revolution; and not to engage too deep in it, considering his great age.

(21) Hist. of his own Time, Vol. II. p. 560. See also his Vindication, &c. p. 96, &c.

[*P*] *When he dismissed most of his servants*] One Sunday evening, he thus accosted both his Chaplains (who were the Reverend Mr Henry Wharton, and Mr Needham) 'Sirs; you have hitherto served me to my 'very great satisfaction; but, I think, the time is 'now come in which we must part.' Upon being asked, why he was pleased to express himself in this manner? his Grace replied; 'Why, there is another 'come into my place; and it will now be dangerous 'to continue with me any longer.' Upon which both the Chaplains agreed to tender him their services afresh, in regard to their personal obligations, though they had happened to differ from him with respect to the publick: Whereupon, with an air of satisfaction, he made them this quick and short return: 'Say you 'so? Then go on in the name of God.' And they did so; continuing to officiate as his Chaplains, after his retirement from Lambeth, 'till near the time of his removal into Suffolk. (22)

(22) Dr N. Marshall's Defence of our Constitution, &c. Lond. 1717, 8vo. p. 163.

[*Q*] *Where he spent the remainder of his days in a chearful and peaceable retirement.*] 'He suffered his 'remove from his possessions and preferments, with 'greater Satisfaction and Chearfulness than any man 'could take them. It was a smart answer that he 'gave to a person, speaking to him, concerning the 'Revolution, and what were like to be the Effects of 'it; *Well!* (saith he smiling) *I can live upon Fifty pounds a year*, meaning his paternal inheritance; and 'thereby intimating how little the loss of all the rest 'would affect him, and what an inconsiderable in'ducement the highest Station of the Church was to 'mislead him, and to pervert his Conscience. 'He 'had no Pride, Ambition, Covetousness, or Luxury 'to maintain, and consequently was secure against all 'assaults, that could come from those quarters. When 'a man hath once brought himself to that pass, that 'he cannot live under So much by the year; when'ever such a posture of affairs happens, that he can'not honestly keep his integrity and his incomes too, 'he is in great danger of turning to the left hand, of 'distrusting Providence, and starving his Conscience 'for

mitting fever; after thirteen weeks illneſs, he dyed November 24th following [*R*]. The 27th of the ſame month, he was buried, between eight and nine at night, very privately (as he himſelf had ordered) in Freſingfield church-yard, on the ſouth ſide, as near the wall as they could lay him: a place of his own chuſing, ſixteen years before, when, upon his being nominated to the ſee of Canterbury, he went and paid a viſit to his relations in Suffolk (*l*). Soon after a Tomb was erected over his grave, with a modeſt Inſcription compoſed by himſelf [*S*]. An account of his Benefactions [*T*], and of the few things he publiſhed [*U*], are given below in the notes. As for his Character, let it be learned from his

(*l*) A Letter out of Suffolk to a Friend in London, Giving ſome Account of the laſt Sickneſs and Death of Dr William Sancroft, late Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury. Lond. 1694, 4to. and Some Remarks of his Life, &c. as above, p. 32, &c.

'for to keep warm his Back, and his Belly.' (23) —— We are told, (24) that the place of his retirement, as well as of his nativity, 'was the ancient 'Eſtate and Reſidence of his anceſtors for above 300 'years: There he built a *ſmall* Habitation, but large 'enough for his retinue and attendants, which were 'only two or three ſervants.'

(23) Letter out of Suffolk, &c. as above, p. 21. See alſo p. 29.

[*R*] *After thirteen weeks illneſs, he dyed November 24, following.*] The author of the *Letter* above referr'd to, gives the following account of his laſt illneſs. (24) 'His diſeaſe was at firſt an intermitting Fever; 'but the Fits were ſo extream violent that he was very 'near dying in the ſecond, (25) and lay ſpeechleſs 'and bereaved of his ſenſes for ſome hours; but by 'the help of the *Cortex Peruvianus*, [or Bark,] adviſed and directed by his Phyſician, a third fit was prevented: But however the ſtopping of the fits gave 'ſome reſpite, yet it was without any promiſing 'hopes; he had ſome lucid intervals, but recovered 'no ſtrength; he lay under a general weakneſs and 'decay, and ſo continued waſting to the laſt period, ''till his ſpirits and vitals were exhauſted, and his ſoul 'took wing from a dry and emaciated carcaſs. This 'diſtemper from the beginning to the end continued 'juſt thirteen weeks.'

(24) P. 30.

(25) 'Tis ſaid in Some Remarkables of his Life, &c. p. 32. that it was in the *third* fit.

[*S*] *With a modeſt Inſcription compoſed by himſelf.*] It is in theſe words:

On the right ſide of the Tomb.

P. M. S.

Lector, *Wilhelmi*, nuper Archi-Præſulis:
Qui natus in Viciniâ,
Quod Morti cecidit, propter hunc murum jacet,
Atqui reſurget. Tu interim
Semper paratus eſto, nam quâ non putas
Venturus horâ Dominus eſt.

Obiit Nov. 24. An. { Nat. Dom. MDCXCIII.
Ætat. ſuæ LXXVII.

On the left ſide.

P. M. S.

William Sancroft born in this Pariſh, afterward by the Providence of God Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, at laſt deprived of all, which he could not keep with a good Conſcience, return'd hither to end his life; and profeſſeth here at the foot of his tomb, That *as naked he came forth, ſo naked he muſt return*; *The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away* (as the Lord pleaſes ſo come things to paſs) *Bleſſed be the Name of the Lord.*

Over the head of his Effigies.

St Matth. 24. v. 27.

As the Lightning cometh out of the Eaſt, and ſhineth even unto the Weſt, ſo ſhall alſo the coming of the Son of Man be. (26)

(26) Letter out of Suffolk, as above, p. 39.

[*T*] *An account of his Benefactions.*] 1. *He augmented ſeveral ſmall Livings.* For inſtance, He ſettled an Eſtate in fee-farm rents, to the yearly value of 52 l. 17s. 10 d. ½, on the Vicar of Freſingfield and his ſucceſſors: charged nevertheleſs with the payment of 10 l. *per ann.* to the maſter of a School which he founded in the ſaid pariſh; and of 6 l. *per ann.* to the Pariſh-Clerk. His Grace likewiſe purchaſed a cloſe of an acre and a half, for an addition to the Vicar's glebe; and built a Houſe for the Pariſh-Clerks. —— He granted to the Curate of Maidſtone in Kent, all the ſmall Tithes of the boroughs and towns of Week and Stone within that pariſh, and one moiety of all the ſmall Tithes within the town of Maidſtone. —— He obtained an augmentation of 10 l. *per ann.* for the Vicarage of Lynſtead; of 40 l. *per ann.* for the Vicarage of Doddington; and of 20 l. *per ann.* for the Vicarage of Eyneſford. ——— He augmented the Vicarage of Poſtling, from 30 l. to above 60 l. a year. —— Having received a great fine, in 1685, for renewing the leaſe of the Rectories of Whalley, Blackbourne, and Rachdale in Lancaſhire, he gave it to purchaſe lands, and ſettle annual penſions, for the ſtipends of the Curates of the Chapels of eaſe there, before unprovided for. (27) —— 2. *His Benefactions to Emmanuel College.* He gave to that college, the perpetual advowſons of Freſingfield, and Wetherſden, livings, in Suffolk. And ſettled alſo on it for ever, ſome Fee-farm rents in Suffolk, to the value of 23 l. a year, which he had purchaſed of the Crown. He gave likewiſe 600 l. towards building the Chapel there, wainſcotted it afterwards, and erected the rails and altar-piece at his own charge, which coſt 400 l. Having put 1000 l. into the Exchequer, which was loſt at the ſhutting of it up, and K. Charles II. having, by way of recompence, ſettled on him a perpetual annuity of 53 l. to be paid out of the Exchequer for ever; He convey'd that annuity to the Maſter and Fellows of Emmanuel-College, to pay the ſalaries of the maſter and uſher of a ſchool to be founded at Harleſton in Norfolk, whereof they were to be the viſitors and patrons. Finally, he gave to that college his valuable Library; conſiſting of the beſt Books in every Science, particularly Philology, Hiſtory, and Divinity; and all of the beſt editions; which he had been many years collecting, and at firſt deſigned for the Library at Lambeth: Reſerving only ſuch as would make up a Gentleman's Library for his nephew. (28) 3. *His other Benefactions.* He expended 1000 l. in building the Deanery of St Paul's, when Dean: the reſt of that expence was defray'd out of the money brought in by the Coal-act. He gave 1000 l. towards the building of Chelſea-college about the year 1680. He gave 67 l. to the Hoſpital of St Nicholas Harbledown near Canterbury, to pay certain Debts contracted by them. (29) The learned Dr W. Richardſon ſays, (30) that he gave in his life-time, about eighteen thouſand pounds in charitable uſes. ——— Very unjuſt therefore is the Inſinuation made by Biſhop Burnet, (31) when ſpeaking of our Prelate's ſucceſſor, the excellent Archbiſhop Tillotſon; viz. 'He [Archbiſhop Tillotſon] dyed ſo poor, that if the 'King had not forgiven his firſt fruits, his debts could 'not have been all paid: So generous and charitable 'was he in a poſt, out of which Sancroft had raiſed a 'great eſtate, which he left to his family: But Tillotſon was rich in good works.' ——— Whereas their caſes were very different. Archbiſhop Tillotſon was married, and had a family; enjoyed his Archbiſhoprick only three years and a few months; and upon the whole was no great Oeconomiſt. Archbiſhop Sancroft was born to an eſtate: lived and dyed a bachelor; and continued Archbiſhop above thirteen years. No wonder therefore that he ſhould dye richer than Archbiſhop Tillotſon, and yet be, as well as him, *rich in good works.*

(27) Biſhop Kennet's Caſe of Impropriations, &c. Lond. 1704. 8vo. p. 304—308.

(28) Le Neve's Lives, p. 219. Some Remarkables of his Life, p. 27. and N. Salmon, as above, p. 49.

(29) Le Neve's Lives, &c. as above, p. 219, 220.

(30) Continuat. Commentar. Fr. Godwini de Præſulibus. Cantab. 1743. fol. p. 165.

(31) Hiſt. of his own Time, edit. 1753. 8vo. Vol. III. p. 187.

[*U*] *And of the few things he publiſhed.*] The *firſt* was, A Dialogue; compoſed jointly by himſelf, and Geo. Davenport, and another of his friends; (32) between a Preacher and a Thief condemned to the gallows. Wherein the Thief throws all the cauſe and blame of his wickedneſs upon the doctrine of abſolute Reprobation. And, indeed, it is what the maintainers of that abſurd doctrine, if they would ſpeak out, muſt plead in their own defence; as a woman of the Independent perſuaſion once did to a perſon who was blaming her ſon's wicked conduct. 'It was, ſaid ſhe, 'God Almighty's fault; He ſhould have made her 'ſon one of the Elect.' This firſt book of our Author's

(32) See Dr Birch's Life of Archbiſhop Tillotſon, p. 160.

his Actions: for if we go for it to the Writers of opposite Parties, it will appear, in different hands, as different as possible. Such is the iniquity of our party-zealots, who sacrifice Truth to Prejudice, and infamous Distinctions! Even Bishop Burnet can say no harm of him, only that he was timorous and reserved. But the author of Some Remarkables of his Life (m), declares, that 'he had all the virtue and qualification, both of a great and of a good man; that he was a wise Prelate, a most learned Divine, an universal Scholar, a just Man, a faithful Friend, an excellent Counsellor, a kind and tender Master to his Servants, a great Benefactor to others, a thankful Beneficiary where he was obliged, himself a zealous asserter of his Religion, against Popery on the one side, and Fanaticism on the other, and (in short) all the single perfections that make many men eminent, were united in this Primate, and rendered him illustrious.' He certainly gave the strongest instance possible of Sincerity, in sacrificing the highest Dignities, and other the greatest Advantages, to what he thought Truth and Honesty [*W*].

(m) As above, p. 29.

thor's is intituled, *Fur Prædestinatus: sive Dialogismus inter quendam Ordinis Prædicantium Calvinistam & Furem ad laqueum damnatum habitus. In quo ad vivum representantur non tantum quomodo Calvinistarum Dogmata ex seipsis ansam præbent scelera & impietates quasvis patrandi, sed insuper quomodo eadem maximè impediunt quo minùs peccatur ad vitæ emendationem & resipiscentiam reduci possit.* Lond. 1651. 12°. It seems to have alarm'd the admirers of rigid Predestination. For, we find this passage concerning it, even in a book of the learned Tho. Gataker, (33) —— 'And another of less note in a late *Satyrical Libel* (for no other it is) entituled *Fur prædestinatus*, do therein both grosly abuse Calvin, and jeer the *Presbyterian*, or *Genevian Discipline*, as such that any debauched person by an *Hypocritical* disguise *of contrition and dejection for his loose and lewd courses* might easily both delude and elude.' 2. Our Author published three Sermons, viz. 'A Sermon preached in St Peter's Westminster, on the first Sunday in Advent, 1660, at the Consecration of the Right Reverend Fathers in God, John [Cosin] Lord Bishop of Durham, William [Lucy] Lord Bishop of St David's, Benjamin [Laney] Lord Bishop of Peterborough, Hugh [Lloyd] Lord Bishop of Landaff, Richard [Sterne] Lord Bishop of Carlisle, Brian [Walton] Lord Bishop of Chester, and John [Gauden] Lord Bishop of Exeter.' Lond. 1660. 4to. —— '*Lex Ignea*: or the School of Righteousness. A Sermon preach'd before the King, Octob. 10. 1666. at the solemn Fast appointed for the late Fire in London. Published by his Majesties special Command.' Lond. 1666. 4to. —— 'A Sermon preach'd to the House of Peers, November 13th, 1678. being the Fast-day appointed by the King to implore the Mercies of Almighty God in the protection of his Majesties sacred Person, and his Kingdoms.' Lond. 1678. 4to. Reprinted together in 1694, or 1703. 8vo. We are told, that all those 'Discourses were extorted from him, and made public by the *Request* and *Authority* of those before whom he preached, contrary to the inclination of his mind, and singular modesty, which was indeed peculiar to him, having ever affected a great privacy in his thoughts and writings, being resolved never to appear in print, if he cou'd with any decency avoid the *Importunity* or *Commands* of those who requested the publishing of them.' (34) — 3. He published in 1652. 12mo. 'Modern Politicks, taken from Machiavel, Borgia, and other modern Authors, by an Eye-witness.' 4. He published Bishop Andrews's Defence of the vulgar translation of the Bible, with a Preface of his own. 5. He drew up some Offices for January 30. and May 29. (35) 6. Nineteen familiar Letters of his, to Mr North, afterwards Sir Henry North, were published in 1757, 8vo. His Grace left behind him a vast multitude of Papers and Collections in MS; and therein more perhaps wrote with his own hand, than any man, either of this or the last age, ever did write. (36) Upon his decease they came into his nephew's hands; and after the nephew's death, they were sold for eighty guineas, (37) and purchased by the late Bishop Tanner, who gave them, with the rest of his Manuscripts, to the Bodleian Library.

(33) Vindication of the Annotations by him published upon Jer. x. 2. against William Lillie, and John Swan, &c. Lond. 1653. 4to. p. 17.

(34) Some Remarkables of his Life, &c. prefixed to those Sermons, p. 8.

(35) Burnet's Hist. of his own Time, Vol. I. p. 257.

(36) Mr Wharton's Preface to Archbishop Laud's Hist. of his Troubles and Tryal, p. penult.

[*W*] *To what he thought Truth and Honesty*] That he acted all along out of a truly honest principle, appears from the following relation. One of his former Chaplains, Mr Needham, visiting him in September 1693. a few weeks before his death, found him much weakened by sickness, and confined to his bed. He then gave Mr Needham his blessing very affectionately, and after some other talk, his Grace said thus to him: 'You and I have gone different ways in these late affairs; but I trust Heaven gates are wide enough to receive us both: What I have done, I have done in the integrity of my heart.' Upon Mr Needham's modest attempt to give an account of his own conduct, his Grace was pleased to reply; 'I always took you for an honest Man; what I said concerning myself was only to let you know, that what I have done, I have done in the integrity of my heart, indeed in the great Integrity of my heart.' (38) C

(37) N. Salmon, as above, p. 49.

(38) Dr Marshall's Defence of our Constitution, &c. as above, p. 164.

SANDERSON [ROBERT], the learned Casuist, and Bishop of Lincoln, in the XVIIth century, was the second and youngest son of Robert Sanderson [*A*], of Gilthwait-hall in the parish of Rotherham in Yorkshire, Esq; by Elizabeth, one of the daughters of Richard Carr of Buterthwaite-hall, in the parish of Ecclesfied in the same county, Gent. He was born at Rotherham September 19, 1587 [*B*], and educated in the Grammar-school there: at which time he was observed, to use an unwearied diligence in attaining learning; to have a seriousness beyond his years, and withal a more than common modesty; to be of so calm and obliging a behaviour, that he was entirely beloved by his master and school-fellows; and, even then, to dedicate himself and all his studies to piety and virtue (*a*). When he was arrived to the 13th year of his age, his father came up with him towards London, in order to place him a year, for his farther improvement, in one of the more noted schools of Eaton or Westminster, and then to remove him to Oxford. But an old acquaintance, whom he waited upon, having examined into the young man's parts and knowledge, advised the father to shorten his journey, and leave his son at Oxford. Accordingly

(a) The Life of Dr Sanderson late Bishop of Lincoln, by Isaak Walton. Lond. 1678, 8vo. It is not paged. But that prefix'd to his Works is, and therefore the pages set down in this article, refer to this last.

[*A*] *Was the second and youngest son of Robert Sanderson.*] This Robert Sanderson was descended from a numerous, ancient, and honorable family of his own name. And, jointly with Gilbert Earl of Shrewsbury, was Godfather to Gilbert Sheldon, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. (1)

(1) Walton, p. 2.

[*B*] *He was born at Rotherham Septemb. 19. 1587.*] So Mr Walton testifies: But Dr Browne Willis says, (2) he was informed from Sheffield parish Register, that Bishop Sanderson was baptized in that Church September 20. 1587; and, as his authority suggests, born there.

(2) Survey of the Cathedrals, &c. Vol. II. 4to. p. 70.

[*C*] To

Accordingly the father committed him to the care of the learned Dr Kilby [C], then Rector of Lincoln-college; by whom being admitted into that Society about the beginning of the year 1601 (b), he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts January 23, 1604 (c) [D]. On the third of May, 1606, he was chosen Fellow of that college (d); and took the degree of Master of Arts October 20, 1607 (e). He was elected Reader of Logick in his college November 7, 1608; which he performed so well, that he was elected again the year following: and became an eminent tutor (f). In 1611, he was ordained Deacon and Priest by Dr King, Bishop of London (g). In the years 1613, 1614, and 1616, he served the office of Sub-Rector of Lincoln-college. His abilities and behaviour were such in all those employments, that they procured him both love and respect from the whole Society; there being no exception against him, but that he was timorous and bashful: an imperfection, which he could never throughly conquer (h). In the year 1614, he stood candidate for the place of one of the Proctors of the university [E]; which, however, he missed. But having published his Logick in 1615, it procured him so much credit, that on April 10, 1616, he was chosen Senior Proctor without any difficulty (i). On the 19th of May, 1617, he took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity (k). The year following, he was presented by his kinsman Sir Nicolas Sanderson, Lord Viscount Castleton, to the Rectory of Wiberton near Boston in Lincolnshire, a living of very good value. But the situation of it was so low and unhealthy, that he resigned it, after a year's possession. About that time he was presented by Thomas Harrington, Esq; to the Rectory of Boothby-Pannel, in the same county, which he enjoyed above forty years; extremely beloved and esteemed [F]. Upon taking this living, he resigned his Fellowship [G] May 6, 1619; and soon after married Anne, daughter of Henry Nelson, B. D. Rector of Haugham in the county of Lincoln. About which time, he was made Prebendary of the collegiate church of Southwell; and, on the third of September, 1629, was installed into the Prebend of Farendon in the cathedral church of Lincoln (l). In the beginning of King Charles the First's reign, he was chosen one of the Clerks in Convocation for the diocese of Lincoln; as he was also in all the subsequent Convocations during that reign: And the debates that had like to arise in some of them, concerning the obscure doctrine of Predestination, made him throughly consider that point [H]. At the recommendation

(b) Walton, as above, p. 3.

(c) Wood, Fasti, edit. 1721. Vol. I. col. 167.

(d) Walton, p. 4.

(e) Wood, ubi supra, col. 176.

(f) Walton; and Reason and Judgement, or Special Remarques of the Life of the renowned Dr Sanderson, late Lord Bishop of Lincoln, 4to. p. 10.

(g) Walton; and Wood, Ath. Vol. II. col. 318.

(h) Vide Orat. in Schola Theol. 26 Oct. 1646. præfixam Lectuis de Juramenti Obligat.

(i) Walton, p. 5, 6.

(k) Wood, Fasti, Vol. I. col. 206.

(l) Walton; and Willis's Survey of the Cathedrals, &c. Vol. II. p. 185.

[C] *To the care of the learned Dr Kilby.*] This Gentleman was born at Radcliff in Leicestershire, elected Fellow of Lincoln-college January 18. 1577; and in 1590. Rector of the same: As also, some time after made Prebendary of Lincoln. He was a man of so great learning and wisdom, and so excellent a Critick in the Hebrew tongue, that he was made Professor of it in the University of Oxford; and was also so perfect a Grecian, that he was by K. James I. appointed to be one of the Translator's of the Bible. He dyed in 1620. (3)

(3) Wood, Ath. Vol. I. col. 453. and Walton, p. 3, 4.

[D] *He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts.*] At the taking of that degree, Mr Sanderson's tutor told the Rector of the college, 'That his pupil had a metaphysical brain, and a matchless memory: and that he thought he had improv'd, or made the last so by an art of his invention.' And all the future imployments of his life prov'd that his tutor was not mistaken. (4) —— 'While he was in the University, he generally spent eleven hours a day in study: which industry of his dispatched the whole course of Philosophy, and picked out in a manner all that was useful in all Classick Authors that are extant; drawing Indexes for his private use, either in his own paper-book, or at the beginning and end of each book. This assiduity continued to his dying day. He disposed himself and time to perpetual industry and diligence;' not only avoiding, but perfectly hating idleness, and hardly recommending any thing more than this; "Be always furnished with somewhat to do, as the best way to innocence and pleasure." There was not a minute of the day he left vacant from business of necessity, civility or study.' (5)

(4) Walton, p. 4.

(5) Reason and Judgement, &c. as above, p. 11.

[E] *He stood for the place of one of the Proctors of the University.*] His standing for that office, was not to satisfy any ambition of his own, but to comply with the desire of the Rector, and other members of his College; who had not had a Proctor chosen out of their college, for the space of sixty years, namely, from the year 1554. to 1614. For, before the Procuratorial Cycle settled in 1628, by means of Bishop Laud; the Elections of Proctors in the University were generally very irregular, and governed for the most part by the larger Colleges.

[F] *Extremely beloved and esteemed.*] In this parish, "he either found or made his Parishioners peaceable, and complying with him in the decent and regular service of God. And thus his Parish, his patron, and he liv'd together in a religious love, and a contented quietness. He not troubling their thoughts by preaching high and useless notions, but such plain truths as were necessary to be known, believed, and practised, in order to their salvation. And their assent to what he taught was testified by such a conformity to his Doctrine, as declared they believ'd and *lov'd* him. For he would often say, "That without the last, the most evident truths (heard as from an enemy, or an evil liver) either are not, or are at least the less effectual; and do usually rather harden, than convince the hearer." —— And he did not think his duty discharged, by only reading prayers, Preaching, &c. but he practised what his conscience told him was his duty, in reconciling differences, and preventing lawsuits, both in his parish and in the neighbourhood. He also visited often sick and disconsolate families, raising them from dejection by his advice and chearful discourse, and by adding his own alms if there were any so poor as to need it." —— Mr Walton then gives a remarkable instance of his doing good; in prevailing upon a rich landlord to forgive a poor tenant his rent, who had had his crop of hay carried off by a sudden flood. After which he adds, "Thus he went on in an obscure and quiet privacy, doing good daily both by word and deed, as often as any occasion offer'd itself; yet not so obscurely, but that his very great learning, prudence, and piety were much noted and valued by the Bishop of his diocese, and by most of the Nobility and Gentry of that county." (6)

(6) Walton, p. 12, 13.

[G] *Upon taking this living he resigned his Fellowship.*] When 'he left the University, he had compassed with his knowledge the whole circle of the Arts; being exact in propriety and elegancy of Languages; having read ancient and modern Writers; having studied Philosophy, and made himself familiar with all politer Classick Authors, being learned in School-Divinity, and a master in Church Antiquity, ready in the sense of Scripture, Fathers, Councils, and Ecclesiastical History (7).'

(7) Reason and Judgement, as above, p. 19.

[H] *Concerning the obscure doctrine of Predestination, made him throughly consider that point.*] There was some expectation, that the Points controverted between the Arminians and Calvinists, (the only questions almost in agitation at that time) should have been debated by the Clergy, in that Convocation. This occasioned our learned Author (as it did sundry others) to endeavour by study and conference to inform himself, as throughly and exactly in the state of those Controversies, as he could have opportunity. In order whereunto,

mendation of Bishop Laud, he was, in November 1631, appointed Chaplain in ordinary to King Charles I. who expressed a great regard for him (m) [I]. And being thus drawn out of his country privacy, his useful learning, especially as an excellent Casuist, gained him great credit from the Nobility, and greater from the Clergy (n). On the 31st of August, 1636, when the Court was entertained at Oxford, he was, among others, created Doctor in Divinity (o). In 1641, he was employed, with two other members of the Convocation, in drawing up such safe alterations as they thought fit in the Liturgy, and abating some of the ceremonies that were least material, for satisfying the consciences of the Dissenters: but the troubles that ensued rendered this model of Reformation useless. The year following, he was proposed by both Houses of Parliament, to King Charles, who was then at Oxford, to be one of their trustees for the settling of Church-affairs, and allowed of by the King; however, that treaty came to nothing (p). On the 21st of July, 1642, his Majesty appointed him Regius Professor of Divinity in that university; with the Canonry of Christ-Church annexed (q): which place the national calamities hindered him from entering upon 'till October 26, 1646; and he continued undisturbed in it very little more than a year (r). He was, in 1643, nominated one of the Assembly of Divines, but never sat amongst them (s). Neither did he take the Covenant or Engagement; and therefore his Rectory of Boothby-Pannel was sequestered in 1644. But, so great was his reputation for piety and learning, that he was not deprived of it (t). He had the chief hand in drawing up the Judgment of the university of Oxford, June 1, 1647, concerning the Solemn League and Covenant, the Negative Oath, &c. [K] or their Reasons, why they could not take those oaths without violating their consciences (u). When the Parliament had sent Proposals to the King for a Peace in Church and State, his Majesty desired that Dr Sanderson, with the Doctors Hammond, Sheldon, and Morley, should attend him; and give him their advice, how far he might with a good conscience comply with those proposals. That request was then rejected, but it being complied with when his Majesty was at Hampton-court, and in the Isle of Wight, in 1647, and 1648; those Divines attended him there; and Dr Sanderson often preached before him, and had many both publick and private conferences with him, to his Majesty's great satisfaction. Who also desired him, at Hampton-court, since the Parliament had proposed the abolishing of Episcopal government as inconsistent with Monarchy, that he would consider of it, and declare his judgment (w) [L]. On the 14th of June, 1648, he was voted out of his Professorship

(m) Walton, p. 15.

(n) Wood, Ath. ut supra, col. 318.

(o) Idem, Fasti, Vol. I. col. 271.

(p) Walton, p. 16, &c.

(q) Wood, Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. Lib. II. p. 38.

(r) Orat. in Scholâ Theol. ut supra. and Walton, p. 18.

(s) Walton, p. 18.

(t) Bishop Morley's Tracts, 1683, 4to. and J. Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, Part ii. p. 105.

(u) Walton, p. 19. and Wood Ath. Vol. I. col. 2.

(w) Walton, p. 20.

unto, he made it his first business to take a survey of the several different opinions concerning the ordering of God's Decrees, as to the Salvation or Damnation of Men. Which opinions, the better to represent their differences to the eye, for their more easy conveying to the understanding by that means, and the avoiding of confusion and tedious discoursings, he reduced into five Schemes or Tables. Having all these Schemes before his eyes at once, so as he might with ease compare them one with another, and having considered of the conveniences and inconveniences of each, as well as he could, he soon discerned a necessity of quitting the Sublapsarian way of which he had a better liking before, as well as the Supralapsarian which he could never fancy (8). Then undoubtedly it was, that he composed his Treatise intituled *Pax Ecclesiæ*.

(8) This is our author's own account, in a Letter to Dr Hammond, printed in Dr Hammond's Pacifick Discourse of God's Grace and Decrees.

[I] *He was — appointed Chaplain in ordinary to K. Charles I, who expressed a great regard for him.*] When they became known to each other, the King did put many cases of conscience to him, and received from him such deliberate, safe, and clear solutions, as gave him great content in conversing with him: so that at the end of his month's attendance, the King told him, 'He should long for the 'next November; for he resolved to have a more 'inward acquaintance with him, when that month 'and he return'd.' And when they did return, the good King was never absent from his Sermons, and would usually say, 'I carry my ears to hear other 'Preachers, but I carry my conscience to hear Mr 'Sanderson, and to act accordingly (9).'

(9) Walton, p. 15.

[K] *He had the chief hand in drawing up the Judgment of the University of Oxford, &c.*] When the Covenant, Negative Oath, &c. where sent to Oxford, with a strict injunction that they should be taken by all the members of the University; the chief of that learned Body, who could not in conscience submit thereto, appointed twenty Delegates, to meet, consider, and draw up a Manifesto to the Parliament, containing the Reasons of their refusal. The chief of these Delegates, were, Dr Sheldon, Dr Hammond, Dr Sanderson, Dr Morley, and that judicious civilian Dr Zouch: This latter was desired, to draw up the law part, and give it to Dr Sanderson, who was requested to methodize and add what referr'd to reason and conscience, and put it into form. He yielded to their request, and did so. Then after it had been read in a full convocation, and allow'd of, it was printed in Latin; that the Parliament's proceedings, and the University's Sufferings, might be manifested to all nations. Immediately after which, Dr Sanderson published it in English, that the three Kingdoms might the better judge of the loyal Party's Sufferings (10.) The Latin is printed with his Lectures, and the English at the end of his Life by Mr Walton.

(10) Walton, p. 19, 20.

[L] *That he would consider of it, and declare his judgment.*] What he wrote upon that subject was printed, in 1661. and 1673, 8vo. under this title, 'Episcopacy (as established by Law in England) not 'prejudicial to Regal Power: Written in the time of 'the Long Parliament by the special Command of the 'late King.' ———— At Dr Sanderson's taking leave of his Majesty, in this his last attendance on him, the King requested him to 'betake himself to the wri- 'ting Cases of Conscience for the good of posterity.' To which his answer was, 'That he was now grown 'old, and unfit to write Cases of Conscience.' But the King was so bold with him, as to say, 'It was the 'simplest answer he ever heard from Dr Sanderson; 'for no young man was fit to be a judge, or write 'Cases of Conscience.' ——— Upon this occasion, Mr Walton relates the following anecdote; That in one of these conferences the King told Dr Sanderson, or one of them that then waited with him, 'That the 'remembrance of two Errors did much afflict him, 'which were, his assent to the Earl of Strafford's death, 'and the abolishing Episcopacy in Scotland; and that, if 'God ever restored him to be in a peaceable possession 'of his Crown, he would demonstrate his Repentance 'by a publick Confession and a voluntary Penance (I 'think barefoot, says Mr Walton) from the Tower of 'London, or Whitehall, to St Paul's Church, and 'desire the people to intercede with God for his par- 'don.' One of them was still living when Mr Walton wrote Bishop Sanderson's life, and told it him (11). —— His Majesty might have added another Error, of as pernicious a consequence as any he committed in his whole reign, and which proved his ruin in the end. And that was, His assenting to the Bill 'to prevent 'Inconveniences which might happen by the untime- 'ly Adjourning, Proroguing, or Dissolving of the 'Parliament,' in 1641. For that Act rendered in ef- fect

(11) Walton, p. 20, 21.

fefforship and Canonry in Oxford, by the Committee for Reforming the University (x). Thereupon he withdrew to his living of Boothby, where he hoped to have enjoyed himfelf, though in a poor yet in a quiet and defired privacy; but it proved otherwife. For the foldiers not only came into his church, and difturbed him when he was reading Prayers, but alfo forced his Common-prayer-book from him, and tore it to pieces [M]. And fhortly after, he was taken prifoner and carried to Lincoln, on purpofe to be exchanged for one Clarke, Rector of Allington, who had been made prifoner of war by the King's party. He was indeed foon releafed upon articles [N]; one of which was, that the fequeftration of his living fhould be recalled: by which means he enjoyed a mean but contented fubfiftance for himfelf, wife, and children, 'till the Reftoration. But, though the articles for his releafe imported that he fhould live undifturbed, yet he was far from being either quiet or fafe, being feveral times plundered, and once wounded in three places; and yet had no other remedy but patience (y). During this retirement, he was often applied to for Refolution in Cafes of Confcience; fo that his general correfpondencies by letters took up the proportion of a day in each week, and more (z). In 1658, the honourable and moft generous Robert Boyle, Efq; having read his Lectures concerning the Obligation of Oaths, fent him a prefent of fifty pounds: which was a very feafonable gift [O], his circumftances, as moft of the Royalifts at that time, being very low. The Reftoration of King Charles II. made a great alteration in them for the better. And therefore to exprefs his joy and thankfulnefs for that memorable event, he prefented to his Majefty, on the 23d of July, 1660, a congratulary Addrefs from himfelf and his brethren the loyal Clergy of the County of Lincoln (a). The beginning of Auguft following, he was reinftated into his Profefforfhip and Canonry (b). Soon after, at the recommendation of Dr Sheldon, he was nominated to the Bifhopric of Lincoln [P], and confecrated the 28th of October, 1660 (c). As he was then aged upwards of feventy-three [Q], he enjoyed his new dignity but about two years and a quarter; during which time he did all the good in his power, by repairing his palace at Buckden, augmenting fmall Vicarages, &c. [R] In

(x) Walker, as above, p. 105.

(y) Walton, p. 26, *27.

(z) Idem; and Reafon and Judgement, as above, p. 12.

(a) Kennett's Regifter, &c. p. 209.

(b) Wood, Hift. & Antiq. ut fupra, p. 38.

(c) Willis's Survey, &c. Vol. II. p. 70.

fect the Parliament quite independent, and arm'd them with legal Power to do all the Mifchief they did afterwards.

[M] *But alfo forced his Common prayer-book from him, and tore it all to pieces.*] From that time, as long as the Soldiers were quartered in his parifh, he waved the ufe of the Common-prayer, at leaft in the ordinary fervice; not only out of neceffity for want of a book, but for the preventing of farther outrages. Only he read the Confeffion, the Lord's Prayer, all the Verficles, and the Pfalms for the day. Then, after the firft leffon in the forenoon, *Benedicite*, or the hundredth Pfalm; and in the afternoon, Pfalm 98. After the fecond leffon alfo, fometimes the Creed, fometimes the ten Commandments, and fometimes neither, but only fang a Pfalm, and fo to Sermon. After the foldiers departure, he took the liberty to ufe either the whole Liturgy, or but fome part of it, omitting fometimes more, fometimes lefs upon occafion, as he judg'd moft expedient in reference to the auditory; efpecially if any foldiers, or other unknown perfons happened to be prefent. But all this while the fubftance of what he omitted he contrived into his prayer before fermon, the phrafe and order only varied. But fome Minifters of the Prefbyterian gang, as he expreffes it, having made a publick complaint, That he retain'd too much of the Common-prayer; a Parliament-man gave him notice of it, and advifed him to confider well what he had to do, for he muft refolve either to adventure the lofs of his living, or to lay afide the Common-prayer. Whereupon he bethought himfelf of fuch a courfe, as might be believed neither to bring danger to himfelf by the ufe, nor to give fcandal to his brethren by the difufe of the eftablifh'd Liturgy. And that was, by tranfpofing, paraphrafing, and otherwife altering the Common prayers, but ftill retaining the words and expreffions of them as much as poffible. Of which he gives a large and particular account in his *Judgment concerning Submiffion to Ufurpers*, printed at the end of his Life by Mr Walton.

[N] *He was indeed foon releafed upon articles.*] The articles were, That Dr Sanderfon and Mr Clarke being exchanged, fhould live undifturb'd at their own Parifhes; and if either were injur'd by the Soldiers of the contrary party, the other having notice of it, fhould procure him a redrefs, by having fatisfaction made for his lofs, or for any other injury; or if not, he to be us'd in the fame kind by the other party (12).

[O] *Sent him a prefent of 50 l. which was a very feafonable gift.*] Dr Tho. Barlow, bifhop of Lincoln, in a letter to Mr Walton (13), informs him, that he was the inftrument, or means, of obtaining that prefent. —— "Difcourfing, fays he, with —— Robert Boyle, Efq; —— about a cafe of Confcience concerning Oaths and Vows, their nature and obligation; in which (for fome particular reafons) he then defired more fully to be inform'd; I commended to him Dr Sanderfon's book *De Juramento*: which having read with great fatisfaction, he afk'd me, if I thought the Doctor could be induced to write Cafes of Confcience, if he might have an honorary penfion allow'd him, to furnifh him with Books for that purpofe? I told him I believ'd he would: and (in a letter to the Doctor) told him what great fatisfaction that honourable perfon (and many more) had reaped by reading his book *De Juramento*; and afk'd him, whether he would be pleafed (for the benefit of the Church) to write fome Tract of Cafes of Confcience? He replied, That he was glad that any had received any benefit by his Books: and added further, That if any future Tract of his could bring fuch benefit to any, as we feem'd to fay his former had done, he would willingly (though without any penfion) fet about that work. Having receiv'd this anfwer, that honourable perfon (beforemention'd) did by my hands return 50 l. to the good Doctor; —— and he prefently revifed, finifhed, and publifhed that excellent book *De Confcientiâ*."

[P] *He was nominated to the Bifhopric of Lincoln.*] In purfuance of which, he was elected October 17, and confirm'd the 24th (14).

[Q] *As he was then aged upwards of feventy-three.*] Mr Walton affures us (15), 'that he had at that age 'fewer faults to be pardoned by God or man, than 'are apparent in others in thefe days; in which (God 'knows) we fall fo fhort of that vifible fanctity and 'zeal to God's glory, which was apparent in the days 'of primitive Chriftianity.' —— Another author (16) fays, 'He had this advantage of other men, 'that when he enter'd upon that employment which 'lay open to the envy and malice of fo many, his 'Life was fo fpotlefs, his Integrity fo eminent, that 'partiality itfelf could not accufe him; he being a 'man of folid worth, in whom was nothing dubious 'or dark, nothing various or inconftant, nothing formal or affected; nothing as to his publick carriage 'that was fufpected, nothing that needed palliation or 'apology. I never heard (adds that author) of any 'thing faid or done by him, which a wife and good 'man would have wifhed not faid, or undone.'

[R] *During which time he did all the good in his power.*] A friend taking notice of his Bounty, was fo bold as to advife him to remember, 'he was under his 'firft-fruits, and that he was old, and had a wife and 'children yet but meanly provided for, efpecially if

5 his

(12) Walton, p. 27, *28.

(13) Publifhed at the end of his Life of Bifhop Sanderfon.

(14) J. Le Neve's Fafti, &c. fol. p. 142.

(15) P. 36.

(16) Reafon and Judgement, &c. as above, p. 40.

In 1661, he was one of the Commissioners, or rather the Moderator, at the Savoy-Conference [*S*]. And had a great hand in the revisal of the Liturgy [*T*]. The rest of what he wrote and published is set down below in the note [*U*]. He dyed January 29, 1662-3, in

'his dignity were considered.' To whom he made a mild and thankful, answer, saying, 'It would not become a 'Christian Bishop to suffer those houses built by his 'predecessors, to be ruin'd for want of repair; and 'less justifiable to suffer any of those that were call'd 'to so high a calling as *to sacrifice at God's altar*, to 'eat the bread of sorrow constantly, when he had a 'power by a small augmentation to turn it into the 'bread of chearfulness: and wish'd, that as this was, 'so it were also in his power to make all mankind 'happy, for he desired nothing more. And for his 'wife and children, he hop'd to leave them a compe-'tence; and in the hands of a God, that would pro-'vide for all that kept innocence, and trusted his pro-'vidence and protection, which he had always found 'enough to make and keep him happy.' —— Among other instances of his beneficence, he gave Fourscore pounds, towards the repairing and beautifying of the Cathedral and College of Christ's Church in Oxford (17).

(17) Wood, Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. Lib. ii. p. 284.

[*S*] *In* 1661, *he was one of the Commissioners, or rather the Moderator, at the Savoy-Conference*] In the account of that Conference, R. Baxter calls him a very worthy man, and commends his learning, worth, and gravity; but pretends, that injuries, partiality, temperature, and age, had caused great *Peevishness* in him (18): Which he repeats again elsewhere. The Bishop was even with him: For 'tis reported, That Baxter appeared to him to be so bold, so troublesome, and so illogical in the Dispute, as forc'd him to say with an unusual Earnestness, 'that he had never met 'with a man of more pertinacious Confidence, and 'less Abilities in all his Conversation (19).'

(18) Life of R. Baxter, fol. Lib. i. P. ii. p. 340.

(19) Walton, p. 38. and Kennett's Register, &c. p. 551.

[*T*] *And had a great hand in the revisal of the Liturgy.*] Mr Walton says, he cannot tell, 'How many 'of the new Collects were worded by Dr Sanderson; 'but I am sure (says he) the whole Convocation valu-'ed him so much, that he never undertook to speak 'to any point in question, but he was heard with great 'willingness, and attention; and when any point in 'question was determin'd, the Convocation did usual-'ly desire him to word their intentions, and as usually 'approve and thank him.' —— He cannot say, Dr Sanderson did form or word all the three new Offices, for *Janu.* 30. *May* 29. and the *Baptism of such as are of riper years*, 'but doubtless (adds he) more than any 'single man of the Convocation.' The Preface, which begins thus, *It hath been the wisdom*, &c. was drawn by him in particular, at the Convocation's desire; and being approv'd by them, was appointed to be printed at the beginning of the Liturgy (20.)

(20) Walton, p. 38, 39. Kennett's Register, &c. p. 573, 632.

[*U*] *The rest of what he wrote and publish'd is set down below.*] We shall place it under several heads, for the Reader's conveniency. I. His *Philosophical* pieces. *Logicæ Artis Compendium*, Oxon. 1615. 8vo. Reprinted many times since. —— *Physicæ scientiæ Compendium.* Oxon. 1671. 8vo. II. *Sermons.* 1. Two Sermons, on Rom. 14. 3. and on Rom. 3. 8. Printed at London. 1622. 4to. 2. Twenty Sermons. Lond. 1626. fol. among which are the two former. 3. Three Sermons *ad Clerum*, three *ad Magistratum*, and four *ad Populum*. Lond. 1627. 4to. 4. Two Sermons, on 1 Tim. 4. 4. and Genesis 20. 6. Lond. 1628. 4to. 5. Twelve Sermons, viz. three *ad Clerum*, three *ad Magistratum*, and six *ad Populum*. Lond. 1626. and 1632. fol. 6. Two Sermons on 1 Pet. 2. 16. and Rom. 14. 23. Lond. 1635. 4to. Dedicated to Archbishop Laud. The first was preached at St Paul's Cross, London, May 6. 1632. and the latter at a Metropolitical Visitation at Grantham, Lincoln, 22 August, 1634. 7. The above Sermons were reprinted together in 1656. fol. in this order, viz. sixteen *ad Aulam*, three *ad Magistratum*, and one, which he entitles Sermon viii. *ad Populum*; with a large and *bold* Preface, as MrWalton calls it (21); it containing many reflections upon 'the Anabaptists, Familists, Quakers, 'and the whole crue of the modern Sectaries (22).' 'Tis dated Decemb. 31. 1655. The year following he reprinted fourteen Sermons more, viz. four *ad Clerum*, three *ad Magistratum*, and seven *ad Populum*, with a larger and bolder Preface than the foregoing; dated July 13. 1657; wherein he answers the Objections that had been made by the *Anti Ceremonian Brethren* against his Sermons. That was the 4th Edition. In 1660. a 5th Edition came out of them altogether, in folio. —— And in 1670. a single Sermon of his, 'Preached at a Visitation holden at Grantham, Lin-'coln: Octob. 8. 1641. was printed at Oxford, in '4to.' The publication of it was occasioned by a false report, spread by a Presbyterian (Chaplain to Sir George Booth) in 1669. 'That Bishop Sanderson, be-'fore his death, repented of what he had written against 'the Presbyterians; and, on his death-bed would suffer 'no hierarchical Minister to come to pray with him, 'but desir'd, and had only Presbyterians about him.' To confute which report, it was thought proper to publish this Sermon, which was fairly written with his own hand, and the last that he wrote with his own hand. But that report was indeed more fully confuted by the Bishop's last will, wherein he gives an account of his Faith in opposition to Papists and Presbyterians. As also by the testimony of his Houshold Chaplain, Mr Jos. Pullen, of Magdalen-hall, Oxon. who was with him in all his sickness, and at his death; and declared, that the said Bishop, as he lived, so he died, a true Son of the Church of England, that no Presbyterians came near him in all his Sickness, that he had no Prayers (besides his own privately to himself) save those of the Church, nor any but his own Chaplain to read them (23). This Sermon was reprinted in 1681. fol. with the 7th and best Edition of his other Sermons. To which is prefix'd his Life by Is Walton. III. Nine *Cases of Conscience* occasionally determined; viz. two in 1658. 8vo. three more added, Lond. 1667. 8vo. Another, Lond. 1674. and another in 1678. Reprinted together in 1678. and 1685. 8vo. The last, which is *Of the use of Liturgy*, is dated Novemb. 2. 1652. and is the same word for word as what is printed at the end of his life by Mr Walton, under the title of Bishop Sanderson's *Judgment concerning Submission to Usurpers.* IV. His *Lectures read in the Divinity-School at Oxford*, whilst he was Regius Professor; 1646, 1647; being, *Oratio habita in Schola Theologica Oxon. cum publicam Professionem auspicaretur* 26 *Oct.* 1646. *De Juramenti promissorii Obligatione Prælectiones Septem.* First printed at London 1647. 8vo. Reprinted several times since, with, *De Obligatione Conscientiæ Prælectiones Decem.* Which last was first printed at the request of Mr Boyle, as is above related, and dedicated to him. —— The first, namely, *Of the Obligation of Oaths*, was translated into English by King Charles I. during his confinement in the isle of Wight (24); and printed at London in 1655. 8vo. The latter, came out in English, in 1660. 8vo. with this title, 'Several Cases of Consci-'ence discussed in ten Lectures at Oxon.' Lond. VI. 'Censure of Mr Anton. Ascham his Book of the 'Confusions and Revolutions of Government.' Lond. 1649. 8vo. VII. 'Episcopacy (as established by Law 'in England) not prejudicial to the Regal Pow-'er.' Lond. 1661. &c (25). VIII. *Pax Ecclesiæ*; about Predestination, or the Five Points. Printed at the end of his Life by Mr Walton, 8vo. Our learned Author seems at first to have been a strict Calvinist in those points. For in 1632, when his Twelve Sermons were printed together, the reader may observe in the margin some accusation of *Arminius* for false Doctrine (26). But the excellent Dr Hammond having paid him a Visit at Boothby-Pagnel in 1649, convinced him of the Absurdity and Impiety of those Doctrines in the rigid sense. As he did more fully afterwards in some Letters that passed between them, and which are printed among Dr Hammond's works: Especially that intituled, 'A Pacifick Dis-'course of God's Grace and Decrees (27).' See also, Dr Tho. Pierce's 'Impartial Inquiry into the Nature 'of Sin;' in the Appendix (28). And his Letter to Mr Walton, at the end of Mr Walton's Life of Bishop Sanderson. IX. 'Discourse concerning the Church, 'in these particulars. First, Concerning the Visibility 'of the true Church. Secondly, Concerning the 'Church of Rome, &c.' Lond 1688. about five Sheets, 4to. published by Dr W. Atheton, from a MS. copy which he had from Mr Jos. Pullen, domestic Chaplain

(21) P. 29.

(22) See that Preface.

(23) See Bishop Barlow's Genuine Remains. Lond. 1693, 8vo. p. 634, &c.

(24) Walton, p. 21. See the Hon. Mr Walpole's Royal Authors; under Charles I.

(25) See above, Note [*L*].

(26) Walton, p. 29.

(27) See Walton, p. 27, &c.

(28) P. 193—200.

in the 76th year of his age; and was buried the third day after, in the chancel of Bugden-church, with as little noise, pomp, and charge as could be, according to his own direction (*d*). He was moderately tall; of a healthful constitution; chearful and mild; of an even temper, and very temperate [*W*]. His behaviour had in it much of a plain comeliness, and very little of ceremony and courtship. He was endued with great wisdom, integrity, and innocence [*X*]. His memory was firm [*Y*], but sometimes could not be duly exerted by reason of his excessive bashfulness, or modesty [*Z*]. His Learning is universally allowed [*AA*]; and his Writings, for good Sense, clear Reasoning, and a manly

(*d*) Walton, as above, p. 42, 43.

Chaplain to the Bishop. X. He wrote a large Preface to the following Book of Archbishop *Usher*'s, which he published; namely, 'The Power communicated by God to the Prince, and the Obedience required of the Subject. Briefly laid down and confirmed out of the holy Scriptures, testimony of the primitive Church, dictates of right Reason, and opinion of the wisest among the heathen Writers.' Lond 1661. 4to. This book was writ at the special command of King Charles I. XI. He wrote also a Discourse, in defence of Archbishop Usher and his writings: And particularly his notion of the Sign of the Cross in our Office of Baptism. Dated Lond. August 10. 1661. Prefixed to a Collection of several learned Discourses, entituled, '*Clavi Trabales*: or, Nails fastened by some great Masters of Assemblies, confirming the King's Supremacy, the Subjects Duty, and Church government by Bishops.' Being two Speeches of Archbishop Usher's, &c. Mr Hooker's judgment of the King's power in matters of Religion, &c Bishop Andrews of Church government, &c. A letter of Dr Saravia of the like subject, &c. Publish-ed by N. Bernard, D D. Lond. 1661. 4to. XII. A piece of his, being 'Prophecies concerning the return of Popery,' was printed in a book intituled, *Fair Warning: the second part*. Lond 1663. And he left a fragment of 'An Answer to Dr Tho. Bayly's challenge.' —— There is also printed at the end of '*Reason and Judgement: or special Remarques of the Life of the renowned Dr Sanderson*,' &c. and at the end of his Life by Mr Walton, —— 'Bishop Sanderson his Judgment in one View for the Settlement of the Church.' By way of Question of Answer. But A. Wood informs us (28), that 'the Questions were form'd by the Publisher. And the Answers are made up of scraps without any alteration taken out of the Prefaces, and of several places of the Bishop's printed Sermons.' —— We learn further from Mr Wood, that his Lordship had several Treatises lying by him, which were thought most worthy of publication by those who had seen them; but he caused them to be burnt a little before his death. A necessary precaution for all learned Men, whose imperfect Sketches are often published by needy heirs, or covetous booksellers (29), to the great prejudice of the Authors Fame.

(28) Ath. Vol. II. col. 322.

(29) Witness Bishop Beveridge's, Lord Bolingbroke's, &c. &c.

[*W*] *And very temperate.*] 'In his apparel none more plain, in his dyet none more *temperate*; eating (as he would say) rationally, *onely for health and life*; one meal a day sufficed him, with some fruit at night: in his sleep none more sparing, eleven or twelve at night being his usual time of going to rest, and five, and very rarely six, the hour of his rising:' recreations which his judgement allowed, yet his care and self denial forbid him; *ab illicitis semper, quandoque a licitis*, was his rule: he would say, Things unlawful we must never do; nor ever lawful things, but with due respect of our calling, and other concurrent circumstances (30).

(30) Reason and Judgement, &c. p. 16.

[*X*] *And innocence.*] He would often mention with thankfulness, 'That 'till he was threescore years of age, he had never spent five shillings in law, nor (upon himself) so much in Wine: and rejoyc'd much that he had so liv'd, as never to cause an hour's sorrow to his good Father; and that he hop'd he should dye without an enemy (31).'

(31) Walton, p. 43.

[*Y*] *His memory was firm*] So that when he was alone, or to a friend, he could repeat all the Odes of Horace, all Tully's Offices; and much of Juvenal and Persius without book; and would say, 'The repetition of one of the Odes of Horace to himself, (which he did often) was to him such Musick, as a lesson on the Viol was to others, when they play'd it voluntarily to themselves or friends (32).'

(32) Walton, p. 33.

[*Z*] *But sometimes could not be duly exerted by reason of his excessive bashfulness, or modesty.*] Mr Walton gives a remarkable instance of it (33). Whilst Dr Hammond was paying him a visit at Boothby Pagnel, he prevailed upon him to trust his excellent Memory, and not read, but try to speak a Sermon as he had writ it. —— At his going into the pulpit, he gave his Sermon (which was a very short one) into the hand of Dr Hammond, intending to preach it as 'twas writ; but before he had preach'd a third part, Dr Hammond, looking on his Sermon as written, observ'd him to be out, and so lost as to the matter, especially the method, that he also became afraid for him; for 'twas discernable to many of his plain auditory: But when he had ended this short Sermon, as they two walk'd homeward, Dr Sanderson said with much earnestness, 'Good Doctor give me my Sermon, and know, that neither you, nor any man living, shall ever perswade me to preach again without my books.' To which the reply was, 'Good Doctor be not angry; for if I ever perswade you to preach again without book, I will give you leave to burn all the books I am master of.' —— And, once in conversation with Mr Walton, he express'd himself thus; 'O that I had gone Chaplain to that excellently accomplish'd Gentleman, your friend, Sir Henry Wotton! which was once intended, when he first went Ambassador to the State of Venice, for by that employment I had been forc'd into a necessity of conversing, not with him only, but with several men of several Nations, and might thereby have kept myself from my *unmanly Bashfulness*, which has prov'd very troublesome, and not less inconvenient to me; and which I now fear is become so habitual as never to leave me: and by that means I might also have known, or at least have had the satisfaction of seeing, one of the late miracles of general learning, prudence, and modesty, Sir Henry Wootton's dear friend, Padre *Paulo*, who, the Author of his life says, *was born with a bashfulness as invincible, as I have found my own to be*: A man whose fame must never dye, 'till vertue and learning shall become so useless as not to be regarded (34).'

(33) P. 27, 28.

(34) Walton, p. 32.

[*AA*] *His learning is universally allowed.*] Being asked by a friend, what Books he studied most, when he laid the foundation of his great and clear *Learning*, his answer was, That he declin'd reading many Books; but what he did read, were well chosen, and read so often that he became very familiar with them; and told him, they were chiefly three, *Aristotle*'s *Rhetorick*, *Aquinas*'s *Secunda secundæ*, and *Tully*, but chiefly his *Offices*, which he had not read over less than twenty times, and could even in his old age repeat without book. He told him also, the learned civilian Dr Zouch had writ *Elementa Jurisprudentiæ*, which he thought he could also say without book; and that no wise man could read it too often, or love, or commend it too much; and he told him the study of these had been his toyl (35). —— A person of quality having likewise privately enquir'd of him, what course a young Divine should take in his studies to enable him to be a *good Casuist*? His Answer was, That a convenient understanding of the learned Languages, (at least of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin) and a sufficient knowledge of Arts presuppos'd; there were two things in human literature, a comprehension of which would be of very great use, to inable a man to be a rational and able Casuist, which otherwise was very difficult, if not impossible. 1. A convenient knowledge of Moral Philosophy; especially that part of it which treats of the nature of human Actions: To know what is a human Action (voluntary, involuntary, or mixt, &c). How the variety of circumstances varies the goodness or evil of human Actions? How far knowledge or ignorance may aggravate or excuse, increase or diminish, the goodness or evil of our Actions? For every Case of Conscience being only this —— *Is this Action good or bad? May I do it, or may I not?* He who (in these) knows

(35) Walton, p. 41.

manly and lasting Style, have, and always will be, esteemed. Besides his great knowledge in the Fathers, Schoolmen, and casuistical and controversial Divinity, he was exactly versed in the Histories of our Nation, whether ancient or modern; was a most curious Antiquary, an indefatigable searcher into Records; as also a compleat herald and genealogist (*e*) [*BB*]. The worthiest and learnedest of his contemporaries speak of him in the most respectful terms [*CC*].

(*e*) Wood, Ath. col. 319.

knows not how or whence human Actions become morally good or evil, never can (*in hypothesi*) rationally and certainly determine, whether this or that particular Action be so. 2. The second thing which (he said) would be a great help and advantage to a Casuist, was a convenient Knowledge of the Nature and Obligation of Laws in general: To know what a Law is; what a natural and a positive Law is; what's required to the *Latio, dispensatio, derogatio, vel abrogatio legis*; what promulgation is antecedently required to the Obligation of any positive Law; what Ignorance takes off the Obligation of a Law, or does excuse, diminish, or aggravate the transgression: For every case of Conscience being only this ——— *Is this lawful for me, or is it not?* and the Law the only Rule and Measure, by which I must judge of the lawfulness or unlawfulness of any Action: It evidently follows, that he, who (in these) knows not the Nature and Obligation of Laws, never can be a good Casuist, or rationally assure himself, or others, of the lawfulness or unlawfulness of Actions in particular (36). ——— By such methods it was, that our learned Bishop arrived at his great Knowledge. ——— And as to his *Sermons*, and *Manner of Preaching*, they were very good, considering the Time he liv'd in. 'There was in his Sermons no improper Rhetorick, nor such perplex'd divisions, as were then too common.' *In his* there was no want of useful matter, nor waste of words; and yet such clear distinctions as dispell'd all confus'd notions, and made his hearers depart both wiser, and more confirm'd in vertuous resolutions. He lamented, that by means of the irregular and indiscreet *Preaching* in his Days, the generality of the Nation were possess'd with such dangerous mistakes, as to think, 'They might be religious first, and then just and merciful; that they might sell their Consciences, and yet have something left that was worth keeping; that they might be sure they were elected, though their Lives were visibly scandalous; that to be cunning was to be wise; that to be rich was to be happy, though 'tis evidently false; that to speak evil of Government, and to be busy in things they understood not, was no sin (37).'

(36) Bishop Barlow's Letter, at the end of Mr Walton's Life, p. 53.

(37) Walton, p. 31, 33.

[*B B*] *Was a most curious Antiquary, an indefatigable searcher into Records; as also a compleat herald and genealogist.*] He had always a natural love for Records, Genealogies, and Heraldry. To these he used to turn, as a pleasant Recreation, when his thoughts were wearied and harrass'd with any perplext studies. And his very recreation had made him so perfect in them, that he could in a very short time give an account of the Descent, Arms, and Antiquity of any Family of the Nobility or Gentry of this Nation (38). He left about Twenty MS. Volumes in those Sciences, as Mr Henry Symmons, some time his Secretary, informed Mr Wood: who tells us, he had seen and perused one of these Volumes, a large thick folio, all in Dr Sanderson's own hand-writing, containing Collections from Registers, leiger-books, rolls, evidences in the hands of private Gentlemen, or belonging to Cathedral and other Churches, &c. It was endorsed *Cartæ*, X (39). One of his labours in this kind, was transcribing the *Epitaphs*, and monumental Inscriptions *in the Cathedral Church of Lincoln*, (163 in number,) as they were extant September 10 1641. wherein he seems to have been assisted by Mr William (afterwards Sir William) Dugdale. From his MS. they have been published by Browne Willis, Esq; (40), and since that by Mr Francis Peck, in his *Desiderata Curiosa* (41).

(38) Walton, p. 34, 40.

(39) Wood, Ath. col. 319.

(40) Survey of the Cathedrals, Vol. II. p. 5, 8, &c.

(41) Vol. II. book 8. p. 1, &c.

[*C C*] *The worthiest and learnedest of his contemporaries speak of him in the most respectful terms.*] Bishop Prideaux calls him, 'that *clear* and *solid* man Mr Sanderson: None states a question more punctually, resolves it more satisfactorily, answers all objections more fully.' ——— Archbishop Usher styles him the *judicious* Dr Sanderson; and that in a case he had proposed to him, he returned a happy Answer, that satisfied all his scruples, and cleared up all his doubts.——— 'That *staid* and *well weighed man* Dr Sanderson (says Dr Hammond) conceives all things deliberately, dwells upon them discreetly, discerns things that differ exactly, passeth his judgment rationally, and expresses it aptly, clearly and honestly.' ——— Mr R. Baxter professes he honoured him for his *Learning, Judgment, Moderation, and Piety.* ——— Bishop Hall styles him 'the most *exact and faithful Casuist* living.' ——— And Dr T. Fuller, 'a no less plain and profitable than able and profound Casuist.' C

SANDYS, SANDS, or SANDES [Edwin], successively Bishop of Worcester and London, and Archbishop of York, in the XVIth century; and ancestor of the present Lord Sandys; was the fourth son of William Sandys, Esq; [*A*] by Margaret his wife, daughter and heir of William Rawlinson of the county of York, Esq; (*a*) [*B*] He was born at Hawkshead, within the liberty of Fournes-fells, or Estwaite, in Lancashire [*C*], in the year 1519 [*D*]. His university education was at St John's-college in Cambridge; where

(*a*) Peerage by Ar. Collins, Esq; edit. 1756. Vol. V. p. 432.

[*A*] *Was the fourth son of William Sandys, Esq;*] This Gentleman was a Justice of Peace, and the King's Receiver for the county of Lancaster (1). He was a Protestant; and, dying in 1548, was buried in the parish-church of Hawkshead in Lancashire; where there is a monument to his memory. ——— According to some Authors, our Prelate was the second son of George Sandys, by Margaret, Daughter of ——— Dixon, of London (2). ——— The Family was originally from St Bees in Cumberland, where they lived in good fashion and repute; and the collateral branches spread into the Counties of Derby, Lancaster, Bucks, Worcester and Kent. Of this family was William Sandes, Kt. first Lord Sandes of the Vine, in 1523, and Chamberlain, of the Houshold to King Henry VIII (3).

(1) Wood, Athenæ, edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 694.

(2) Strype's Ann. Vol. III. p. 552.

(3) See Strype's Annals, Vol. I. p. 388, 399. and Vol. III. p. 552.

[*B*] *By Margaret his wife, daughter and heir of William Rawlinson, &c.*] For this we have the authority of Arthur Collins, Esq; who grounds himself upon the collections of Gregory King, Lancaster herald. He calls her 'Margaret, daughter and heir of William *Rawson*, of the county of York, and cousin and heir to Rawlinson, Abbot of Furnes (4).' But, surely, instead of *Rawson*, he means Rawlinson. ——— Antony Wood says, Margaret his wife was 'daughter of John Dixon of London (5).' And William Dixon, and Miles Dixon, being named by Mr William Sandys, two of the supervisors of his will; That seems to countenance Wood's relation. However, we are forced to leave it doubtful, and undecided.

(4) Collins, as above, p. 432.

(5) Athenæ, as above. See also Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 552.

[*C*] *He was born at Hawkeshead, &c*] The place of his birth is as uncertain as his Mother's name. That he was born at Hawkshead, is positively asserted by the learned antiquary Mr Dodsworth: who alledges, that in token thereof, he built a free-school there, and endowed it with 30l. per annum, for a master and usher (6). But T. Fuller says (7), he was born at Conisby in Yorkshire. And others at London (8). ——— The father writes himself, in his will, of Estwaite-Furnese (9).

(6) Collect. R. Thoresby de Leeds.

(7) Worthies, in Lancashire, p. 110.

(8) Collins, as above, p. 435.

(9) Id. p. 432.

[*D*] *In the year* 1519.] At the time of his death, which was July 10. 1588, we learn from his Epitaph, that he was sixty-nine years of age ——— *vitæ autem* LXIX. ——— And that fixes the time of his birth to the year 1519.

[*E*] *He*

where he took his degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1539, and that of Master in 1541; but was never Fellow of that, or any other college (b). In 1542, he was junior Proctor of the university. And, on, or about, the year 1547, proceeded Bachelor in Divinity; and was elected Master of Catharine-hall (c). At the time of his father's decease, in 1548, he was Vicar of Haversham (d); and the year following, on December 12, was presented to a Prebend in the cathedral church of Peterburgh (e). The same year, he also commenced Doctor in Divinity (f). In 1552, King Edward VI. granted him a Prebend in the church of Carlisle (g). At the time of that good King's decease, in 1553, Dr Sandys was Vice-chancellor of Cambridge (h). Having early embraced the Protestant Religion, he zealously joined with those who were for setting the Lady Jane Gray on the throne. John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, coming to Cambridge, in his march against the Princess Mary, required the Doctor, to set forth the Lady Jane's title, in a Sermon the next day before the university. He obeyed [E]; and preached in so pathetick a manner as drew many tears from the audience. And he gave a copy of his sermon to be printed. But he expressed himself with so much prudence and moderation, as abundantly satisfied the Duke; and yet did not violently exasperate the opposite party. The unsteady Duke sent for him, about two days after, to proclaim Queen Mary: which he refused. Whereupon he was deprived of his office of Vice-chancellor, and preferments [F]; and conveyed prisoner to the Tower of London (i). Having remained there twenty-nine weeks, he was sent to the Marshalsea, on Wyat's insurrection; who, at his coming to Southwark, invited the Doctor to come and give him his company and advice; but he prudently excused himself. After he had been nine weeks prisoner in the Marshalsea, he was set at liberty, by the mediation of Sir Thomas Holcroft, the Knight-marshal. But some whisperers suggesting to Bishop Gardiner, that he was the greatest heretic in England, and one, who, of all others, had most corrupted the university of Cambridge; Gardiner ordered strict search to be made for him. He was however so happy as to escape out of England, and in May 1554 arrived at Antwerp. But he had not been there many hours, when receiving information, that King Philip had ordered search to be made for him, he hasted away to Augsburg: and after staying there fourteen days, he went to Strasburg, where he fixed his abode (k). His wife came there to him, but he had the misfortune to lose her, and one child. Towards the end of the year 1558, he took a journey to Zurich, and lodged five weeks in Peter Martyr's house. Receiving there the agreeable news of bloody Queen Mary's death, he went back to Strasburg, and thence to England, where he arrived January 13, 1558 (l). In March following, he was appointed, by Queen Elizabeth and her Council, one of the nine Protestant Divines [G], who were to hold

(b) Lives of the Protestant Bishops, &c. by J. Le Neve, Part ii, p. 21. edit. 1720, 8vo.

(c) Ibid. and Fasti, p. 394, 430.

(d) See his father's Will, in Collins, as above, p. 433.

(e) Dr Br. Willis's Survey of the Cathedrals, Vol. II. p. 518.

(f) Le Neve, Lives, &c. as above.

(g) Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, Vol. II. p. 531.

(h) T. Fuller's Hist. of Cambridge, p. 130.

(i) July 25. Memorials, &c. by J. Strype, Vol. III. p. 15. and Annals, Vol. I. p. 392, &c.

(k) See Discourse of the Troubles at Frankford, &c. edit. 1575, 4to. p. 23, 99, 101, 103, 161, 174.

(l) J. Foxe's Ecclesiastical History, &c. Vol. II. edit. 1610. p. 1891, &c.

[E] *He obey'd.*] The warning was short for such an auditory, yet he did not refuse, but went into his chamber, and so to bed. He rose at three of the clock the next morning, took his bible in his hand, and earnestly prayed to God, that it might fall open where a most fit text should be for him to treat of. The bible fell open upon the first chapter of Joshua, where he found a text for that time the most convenient he could have chosen, viz. ver. 16, 17, 18. ——— The Duke, with the rest of the nobility, required Dr Sandys to put his Sermon in writing, and appointed Mr Leaver to go to London, and get it printed. Dr Sandys required one day and a half for writing it, and at the day appointed Mr Leaver came ready booted to receive it of him. As he was delivering it, one of the Beadles came weeping, and prayed him to shift for himself, the Duke being retired, and Queen Mary proclaimed. Dr Sandys shewed no concern at what was said, but delivered the Sermon written. The Duke of Northumberland that night sent for Dr Sandys, to proclaim Queen Mary in the Market-place at Cambridge, and told him she was a merciful woman, and that he had sent to know her pleasure, and looked for a general pardon. The Dr replied, 'My life is not dear unto 'me, neither have I said or done any thing that urgeth 'my conscience; for what I have spoken of the state, 'I have instructions warranted by the subscriptions of 'sixteen counsellors; neither yet have I spoke further 'than the word of God and the laws of the realm do 'warrant me; come of me what God will; but be 'you assured, you shall never escape death, for if 'she should save you, they that now rule will kill 'you (10).'

(10) J. Foxe, as above.

[F] *Whereupon he was deprived of his office, &c.*] Mr Thomas Mildmay, being one of those who came to tell him that he was to be carried prisoner to the Tower of London, said to him, He marvelled that a learned man would speak so unadvisedly against a good princess, and wilfully run into such danger. To which Dr Sandys replied, 'I shall not be ashamed of bonds, but 'if I could do as Mr Mildmay can, I need not to fear 'bonds: for you came down against Queen Mary, 'and armed in the field, and now return for Queen 'Mary; before, a traytor, and now, a great friend. 'I cannot, with one mouth, blow hot and cold after 'this sort (11).'

(11) Ibid.

[G] *One of the nine Protestant Divines.*] At his first return to England he appears to have been a very zealous Protestant, and to have been averse, or at least indifferent, to the use of the Habits: and entirely against retaining any kind of Images in Churches. For, in a letter to Archbishop Parker, he has these words (12). 'I hope we shall not be forced to use the '*Vestments*, but that the meaning of the law is, that 'others in the mean time shall not take them away, 'but that they shall remain for the Queen.' ——— And as for Images, he was for burning them all, as the law ordained. Queen Elizabeth was for keeping a Crucifix, with Mary and John, in the most conspicuous part of every church. But Bishop Sandys was so vehement against it, that he was very near losing the Queen's favour, and his bishopric. This we learn from the following passage in a letter of his to Peter Martyr. ——— 'De Imaginibus, jampridem non-'nihil erat controversiæ. R. Majestas non alienum esse 'a Verbo Dei, immo in commodum Ecclesiæ fore 'putabat, si Imago Christi crucifixi, una cum Maria '& Johanne, ut tales, in *celebriori Ecclesiæ loco* pone-'retur, ubi ab omni populo facile conspiceretur. Qui-'dam ex nobis longè aliter judicabant, præsertim cum 'omnes omnis generis Imagines, in proxima nostra vi-'sitatione, idque publica authoritate, non solum sub-'latæ, verumetiam combustæ erant: Cumque huic 'Idolo, præ cæteris, ab ignara & superstitiosa plebe 'adoratio solet adhiberi. Ego, quia vehementior eram 'in ista re, nec ullo modo consentire poteram, ut lap-'sûs occasio Ecclesiæ Christi daretur; non multum 'aberat, quin & ab officio amoverer, & Principis in-'dignationem incurrerem. At Deus, in cujus manu 'corda sunt Regum, pro tempestate tranquillitatem 'dedit, & Ecclesiam Anglicanam ab hujusmodi offen-'diculis liberavit: tantum manent in Ecclesia nostra 'Vestimenta illa Papistica, Capas intellige, quas diu 'non duraturas speramus.' ——— Bishop Burnet, who

(12) Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, Vol. I. edit. 1732, 8vo. p. 194.

hold a disputation against so many of the Romish perswasion, before both houses of Parliament at Westminster (m). Also, he was one of the Commissioners for preparing a form of Prayer, or Liturgy, to be laid before the Parliament, and for deliberating on other matters for the Reformation of the Church (n). And being looked upon as one of the most eminent Protestant Divines, who were fittest to fill up the sees vacant by the deprivation of the Popish prelates, he was nominated to the see of Carlisle, which he refused; but accepted of the Bishopric of Worcester (o) [H], vacant by the deprivation of Richard Pates. We are told, that he alienated good part of the revenues of this see (p); and he had a long controversy with Sir John Bourn of Worcester [I]; which grew to such a highth, that Bishop Sandys was forced to vindicate his own life and innocency, unhandsomely traduced by Sir John, in an Information, or Declaration, of his to the Privy-Council (q). Moreover, we are told, that he would not suffer Papists to remain in his diocese: and herein he was so earnest, that he would not be persuaded to give them a toleration, by any prayers or intercessions made to him in their behalf (r). He appears indeed to have been of a severe disposition; for, in some of his first visitations, he deprived clergymen, which occasioned warm and expostulating letters between him and Archbishop Parker (s). Being a man well skilled in the original languages, as well as an excellent preacher, he was, about the year 1565, one of the Bishops appointed to make a new Translation of the Bible: and the portions thereof which fell to his share, were the first and second books of Kings, and the first and second of Chronicles (t). Upon the translation of Dr Edmund Grindal from the see of London to the Archbishopric of York, in 1570, Bishop Sandys was pitched upon by the Queen to succeed him at London. He earnestly excused himself a while, but accepted of it at last [K]. In 1571, he was ordered by

(m) Holinshed's Chronicle, edit. 1587. p. 1182, 1183.

(n) Strype's Annals, Vol. I. edit. 1725. p. 81. and Life of Archbishop Grindal.

(o) Epistola ad P. Martyrem; in Collection of Records, Vol. III. of Bishop Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, edit. 1753. p. 639.

(p) Br. Willis's Survey, as above, Vol. I. p. 646.

(q) Archbishop Grindal's Life, by Strype, p. 2. and Life of Archbishop Parker, p. 78. and Annals, Vol. I. edit. 1725. p. 386—404.

(r) Life of Archbishop Parker, by J. Strype, p. 65.

(s) Idem, p. 78, 79. and Appendix. p. 25.

(t) Life of Archbishop Parker, p. 2 8, 403. and Lewis's History of the Translations of the Bible, 8vo. edit. 1739. p. 236.

who hath published this letter, in the Collection of Records at the end of the Third Part of his History of the Reformation (13), hath mistaken the meaning of it. For he translates it (14), as if the Queen was for having the Crucifix, with Mary and John, still *in her Chapel* only. Whereas it plainly means, that she was for having them in the most conspicuous part of every Church —— *in celebriori Ecclesiæ loco.* ——— We must add, that it is very incorrectly printed, especially in the edition of 1753, now before us. For instead of, *De Imaginibus*, it is printed, *Deo Imaginibus*; and five lines lower, *Quidem ex nobis*, instead of, *Quidam*, &c. ——— The rest of the Protestant Divines concerned in the Disputation, were, Dr Scory bishop of Chichester, Dr Cox, Mr Whitehead, Mr Grindall, Mr Horne, Mr Gest, Mr Elmer, Mr Jewell (15).

[H] *But accepted of the Bishopric of Worcester.*] His Congé d'eslire bore date Novemb. 12. 1559. He was elected the 25th of the same month; confirm'd on the 20th of December; and consecrated the next day. And had restitution of the temporalities March 23 following (16).

[I] *And had a long controversy with Sir John Bourn of Worcester.*] This Sir John had been Secretary to the late Queen Mary. And the first occasion of the difference between them is said to be this: In one of his visitations, the Bishop was informed, that an Altar-stone was left standing in the Church belonging to the parish where Sir John lived. The Bishop commanded it to be pulled down and defaced, according to the Queen's injunctions. But Sir John commanded the contrary, and that it should not be broken and defac'd, but preserved; and, in contempt of the Bishop, caused it to be carried out of the church to his own house, where it remained. In some difference afterwards between them, the Bishop complained of it to the Queen's Council. And Sir John falsely alledged in his own defence, That the stone was taken down a year before the Bishop came to the Church, and was reserved and laid aside towards the pavement of one of the isles; but that it was never brought to his house, nor carried out of the Church (17). ——— However, long before this Sir John had been an enemy to Dr Sandys, of which take this account in the Bishop's own words. — 'I being prisoner in the Tower, suit was made to 'Queen Mary and the privy-council for my enlargement: and it was reported unto me, the bill of my 'Delivery was allowed by the privy council, and sent 'up in the docket to be assigned by the Queen. When 'it came thereunto, Sir John Bourne hindered that 'bill, by reporting, what my father was; what my 'brother was; and how that I was the greatest Heretick in Cambridge, and a corrupter of the university. 'And so I was stayed until it pleased God to deliver 'me. ——— This displeasure long since I had cast 'out of my mind, and freely forgiven; whereof 'God will bear me witness (18).' ——— The chief Imputations Sir John brought against the Bishop, were, That he had partly pulled down, and suffered to go to ruin, his Manor-houses at Grimley, and Northwike: That he had granted leases of the best of his parsonages in behalf of his children: And had granted reversions of farms and leases to others, after forty years and more to come: sold the woods, and timber, belonging to his see, &c (19). ——— But, at length, Sir John was, by order of the council, committed to the Marshalsey, where he remained six or seven weeks: and was forced to make his submission in writing to the Bishop, in the year 1563. Notwithstanding which he continued to take all opportunities of vexing the Bishop, as appears from the following clause of a letter of his to Secretary Cecil, in 1569. —— 'But I have at 'hand a constant and cruel enemy, who desires nothing more than my destruction. He daily molesteth 'me, and maketh me weary of mine office. He will, 'if he can, work my woe. None love him for himself, but for his Religion (20) many like him (21).'

[K] *He earnestly excused himself a while.*] Being conscious, as he said, of his own inability for so great a charge, and not caring, perhaps, to be placed so much in the view of the Court, and the whole realm; pleading withal his want of health, and bodily infirmity. He sent up therefore his Chancellor, to lay before Secretary Cecil his unwillingness on those accounts to remove from Worcester. But the Chancellor did his message in such a manner, as if the Bishop was not in earnest, and required only some further solicitation to accept of that see: which caused a gentle reprimand of him from Cecil. The Bishop, in his Answer, writes thus. 'I shall humbly pray you not to be offended, 'that thus often with my Letters I molest your Honour. My former and whole suit was simple, my 'meaning plain; saying of myself as I thought of myself. If my Chancellor hath otherwise insinuated, 'he did it without commission or knowledge of me. 'The wants in mind, and the infirmities in body, 'were the chief causes of my refusal. Yet hearing by 'my Chancellor, that you were offended with me, and 'understanding that the Queen's Majesty misliked to 'alter her Highness determination; and being sundry 'ways advertised of the Clamour of London against 'me for my refusal, and how that with universal joyfulness the people desired me; this touched my conscience very near, and made me write to your honour in such sort as I did —— Sir, if the Queen's 'Majesty and the privy Council be not otherwise resolved, if you bid me come up, I will, and take 'that office upon me, whatsoever become of me; and 'stand to your favour and courtesy —— (22).' ——— Accepting therefore, at last, as I say, of the See of London, he was elected June 2; had the royal assent July 1. the temporalities restored the 13th, and was inthronized the 20th of the same month (23).

(13) P. 639, 640, 641.

(14) Page 291.

(15) Holinshed, as above, p. 1183.

(16) J. Le Neve's Fasti, &c. p. 299. Acta Publica, publish'd by T. Rymer, Vol. XV. p. 550, 553. and Bishop Godwin's Catalog. of Bishops, among the Bishops of Worcester.

(17) Strype's Life of Archbishop Parker, as above, p. 78. and Annals, Vol. I. p. 388, &c.

(18) Annals, Vol. I. p. 389, 390.

(19) Ibid. p. 401, 402.

(20) Popery.

(21) Ibid. p. 401, 403, 404.

(22) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 27, 28. and Life of Archbishop Parker, p. 296.

(23) J. Le Neve's Fasti, p. 180. and Rymer, Vol. XV p. 683, 684.

by the Queen to assist the Archbishop of Canterbury in the ecclesiastical Commission both against Papists and Puritans [*L*]. He proceeded against them with vigor and severity, and advised that a national Council should be held to suppress them (*u*). All which exposed him to their censures and invectives; and in their libels occasioned him to be much aspersed, to the blotting of his good name, and the endangering of his credit and reputation in his ministry. He complained of it therefore to the Queen's chief officers, and desired, that those slanderers might be brought before the temporal magistrate, the council, or the star-chamber (*w*). We find also, that he claimed to be super-intendent of the Dutch church in London, as his predecessor Bishop Grindal was; which occasioned some uneasiness between him and that congregation (*x*). In 1576, he was translated to the Archbishopric of York [*M*]. And, no sooner was he possessed of it, but he had like to lose his manor and palace of Bishop's-thorp; under pretence, that it was fit for the use of the President of the Council in the North. But the Archbishop stood resolute, and would not part with it upon any account (*y*). His successor in the see of London, Bishop Ælmer, gave him also some trouble about the rents of that bishopric, and dilapidations (*z*). He visited his province in 1577, but was refused admittance in the church of Durham by William Wittingham the Dean, who had no regular Orders, as having received them at Geneva; and some of the Prebendaries; the see being then void: and so high did the contest grow, that the Bishop proceeded to excommunication. This affair lasted 'till the year 1578 (*a*) [*N*]. With his own Dean at York, Dr Matthew Hutton, he likewise had great and uneasy disputes (*b*). He made it a rule, not to grant the advowson, or promise of any preferment in his gift, before it actually became void, nor ever to take a resignation (*c*). Not only in his own diocese, but even in the university of Cambridge, he was very diligent and active in finding out Papists, and defeating their pernicious designs (*d*). In May 1582 [*O*], as he was visiting his diocese, the most audacious attempt that malice and revenge could possibly suggest, was made, to ruin at once his reputation; namely, by an inn-keeper's wife at Doncaster getting into bed to him; through the contrivance of Sir Robert Stapleton, and other wicked persons (*e*). A particular account of that infamous conspiracy [*P*] is given in the note, from authentic vouchers The

(*u*) Strype's Life of Archbishop Parker, p. 329, 330, 433, 434, 437.

(*w*) Ibid. p. 421, 422, 438, 439.

(*x*) Ibid. p. 331.

(*y*) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 424, 425, 426.

(*z*) Ibid. p. 426, 427. 570—576. and Life of Bishop Aylmer, p. 25—29. 74—77.

(*a*) Annals, as above, Vol. II. p. 481, 482. 518—525. and Appendix, p. 116.

(*b*) Idem, Vol. II p. 574—578. and Vol. III. p. 320—326.

(*c*) Ibid. p. 577, 578.

(*d*) Ibid. p. 632—634.

(*e*) Sir John Harrington's Briefe View of the State of the Church of England, &c. Lond. 1653. p. 172, &c. J. Le Neve's Lives, &c. Par. ii. p. 36—57. Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 98, 108.

[*L*] *Both against Papists and Puritans.*] What their sentiments concerning those sorts of men were, is manifest from the following letter subscribed by the Archbishop, and Bishop Sandys. 'These times are 'troublesome. The Church is sore assaulted; but not 'so much of open enemies, who can less hurt, as of 'pretended favourers, and false Brethren, who, un-'der the colour of Reformation, seek the ruin and 'subversion both of Learning and Religion. Neither 'do they only cut down the ecclesiastical state, but al-'so give a great push at the civil policy. Their co-'lour is sincerity under the countenance of simplicity; 'but in very truth, they are ambitious spirits, and can 'abide no superiority. Their fancies are favoured of 'some of great calling, who seek to gain by other 'mens losses. And most plausible are these new devi-'ces, to a great number of the people, who labour to 'live in all Liberty (24)' ——— To restrain them therefore as much as possible, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners sent a letter to all Churchwardens, wherein they straitly charged and commanded them, 'That in no wise they suffer any person or Minister to minister any Sacrament, or say any publick Prayers, in any of their Churches, Chapels, or other places appointed for common Prayers, in any other order, maner or sort, than only according to the prescription in the book of Common Prayer, and the Queen's Majesties law published in that behalf. And that in no wise they suffer any person publicly or privately to teach, read, or preach, in any the said Churches, parishes, Chapels, private Houses, or other places, unless such be licenced to preach, read, or teach, by the Queen's highness authority, the Archbishop of Canterbury his licence, or by the licence of the Bishop of the Dioces, &c (25).'

[*M*] *He was translated to the Archbishopric of York.*] The congé d'eslire was issued out January 19, 1576. He was elected the 25th of the same month: confirmed the 8th of March: and had restitution of the temporalities on the 16th (26).

[*N*] *This affair lasted 'till the year* 1578.] The 14th of May, in that year, a commission was directed to the Archbishop, with Henry Earl of Huntington President in the North, Richard Barnes bishop of Durham, and others, to visit the church of Durham, which had undergone great damages, by the insolency, neglect, and injuries, done by the Dean, Canons, and other officers of the said church; and they were impowered to enquire into the management of the revenues thereunto belonging (27).

(24) Strype's Life of Archbishop Parker, p. 433.

(25) Ibid. Appendix, p. 101.

(26) Rymer's Acta Publica, Vol. XV. p. 768, 771. and Le Neve's Fasti, p. 311.

(27) Rymer's Acta Publica, Vol. XV. p. 785.

[*O*] *In May* 1582.] Mr Strype says, it was in May 1581 (28). But the decree for the punishment of the Conspirators in that wicked affair, was made the eighth of May, 25 Elizab. [1583] And it is therein said, that the affair happened *the tenth of May last*, or before, viz. 1582 (29).

[*P*] *A particular account of that infamous conspiracy is given here.*] Sir John Harrington, who was a contemporary author, hath thus related the affair. —— 'There was great kindnesse, and had long continued 'between Archbishop Sands and Sir Robert Stapleton 'a Knight of Yorkeshire, who in those dayes for a man 'well spoken, properly seen in languages, a comely and 'goodly personage, had scant an equall, and (except 'Sir Philip Sidney) no superiour in England: for 'which reasons the Archbishop of all his neighbours 'and countreymen, did make a speciall account of him. 'About the year 1583. also he was high-sheriffe of 'Yorkshire, and met the Judges with sevenscore men 'in sutable liveries, and being at this time likewise a 'widdower, he wooed and won, and wedded soon af-'ter, one of the best reputed widdows in the West of 'England. In this felicity he sailed with ful sails, 'but somewhat too high, and no lesse the Archbishop 'in like prosperity of wealth, and friends and children, 'yet seeming, above all, to joy in the friendship of 'this Knight, who answered in all good correspon-'dence, not onely of outward complement, but in-'ward comfort. ——These two so friendly neighbours 'and consorts swimming in this calm of content, at 'last hapned to fall foul one on another by this occa-'sion. The Knight in his great good fortunes, hav-'ing as great designs; among other things, had laid 'the foundation of a fair house, or rather Palace, the 'model whereof he had brought out of Italy, which 'house he intended to name *Stapletons stay*; and for 'that cause invited the Archbishop in good kindness to 'see it, and requested him, for the more credit, and 'as it were blessing to the house, that his grace would 'give it the aforesaid name. But when the Archbi-'shop had fully beheld it, and in his judgment found 'it fitter for a Lord Treasurer of England, then for a 'Knight of Yorkshire; He said to him, would you 'have me call this intended house *Stapletons stay*. 'Nay rather let me say to you, *stay Stapleton*; for if 'you go forward to set up this house, it will pull you 'down. How often a man loses a friend with a jest, 'and how grievous it is for a mans vanity to be crost 'in the humour! This speech of my Lords that I 'should think, intended friendly, uttered faithfully, 'and

(28) Annals, Vol. III. p. 98.

(29) See J. Le Neve's Lives, as above, Part ii. p. 40, 43, 57.

The ground and reason of it, was, that Sir Robert wanted to compel the Archbishop, to grant

'and applyed even fatherly unto him, he took in so 'deep disdain and despite, that howsoever he smother-'ed it for the present, from that time forward he 'sought a mean to revenge it. And wanting neither 'wit to devise, nor courage to execute his design, he 'found out, or at least he supposed he had found a 'stratagem, not onely to wreak this scorn on the good 'Bishop that mistrusted nothing, but also to make the 'old mans purse pay for the finishing of the new 'house. He acquaints him [self] with an officer in 'my Lords house, some malecontent that had been de-'nyed a lease. These two devise, that when my 'Lord should lie next at Doncaster, where the hostess 'of the house having been (formerly I suppose) Mistress 'Sands maid, was bold sometimes to bring his Lord-'ship a cawdle to his beds side (for in charity I may 'surmise no worse) Sir Robert should also by chance 'come and host at the same house. This bad wife 'and her good man are made partakers and parties 'of this stratagem, her part was but a naked part, viz. 'to slip into my Lords bed in her smock, mine hoast 'must sodainly be jealous, and swear that he holds his 'reputation, though he be but a poor man, more dear 'then that he can indure such an indignity, and there-'upon calls Sir Robert Stapleton, brings him to the 'Bishop's chamber in his night-gown, takes them in 'bed together with no small exclamation. The 'Knight that acted his part with most art, and least 'suspition, takes great pains to pacifie the hoast, con-'jures all that were admitted to secresie and silence, 'and sending all to their lodgings without tumult, 'asketh of my Lord how this came to passe. The Bi-'shop tells him with a great protestation, that he was 'betrayed by his man and his hoast, little suspecting 'the Knight to be of the *Quorum*. The Knight sooths 'him in all he said, condoles the great mischance, is 'sorrowful for the danger, and careful for the honour 'of the Bishop, and specially the Church. The di-'stressed Archbishop distrusting no fraud in him, asketh 'his advice in this disaster, and following his counsel 'from time to time, gives the Hoast a peece of money, 'the false officer a farm, and the Knight for his tra-'vail in this matter many friendly recompences. But 'when he found after all this smoothing and soothing, 'that he grew so bold at last to presse him beyond all 'good manner, for the good Mannour of Soothwell, 'then he found that in sooth all was not well, and was 'even compell'd too late, to that he might much bet-'ter have done much sooner, viz. To complain to the 'Lords of the Councel, and to his ancient and dear 'friend, the Earl of Leicester (for whose father he had 'almost lost his life) by whose help, he got them call'd 'to the Star-Chamber, *Ore tenus*, where they were 'for this conspiracy convicted, fined and imprisoned.'

But a fuller account of this affair having been pub-lish'd by Mr Le Neve (30), from an exemplification of the Decree made in the Star Chamber 8 May 25 Eliz. (preserved in the Harleian Library) we shall give the following extracts of it. That Decree gives a very particular account of the contrivers of this villainy, and sets forth. 'That Sir Robert Stapleton having conceived some secret displeasure and malice against the most reverend Father in God Edwin Archbishop of York, and yet outwardly bearing a dissembling shew and countenance of friendship toward him; Barnard Mawd who had lately served the said Archbishop, and upon sundry great misbehaviours and abuses by him committed, was put out of his service; in respect whereof he was become a malicious enemy against the said Archbishop; William Sysson an inn-keeper, a man of poor and base condition, fallen from some wealth which was left him by his parents into great need and poverty, through his own wastefull and disordered life; Anne Sysson wife of the said William, a woman of a very dishonest and infamous life and conversation, trained in service before her marriage in the house of the said Robert Stapleton, and Alexander Farbis a poor lewd runagate Scot servant to the said Sysson, and chamberlain in his house; with certain other their confederates, namely John Mallorey Gent. and Roger Thornely servant to the said Sir Robert Stapleton; enter'd into a most malicious and wicked conspiracy against the Archbishop of York, the second Prelate of this realm: Who was in May last occupyed in visitation of his diocese, and returning towards York by Doncaster was there lodged the 10th of that month. ——The conspiracy was,—that the said Anne Sysson should at midnight, when the said Archbishop was in his bed on sleep, find means to come into his chamber, for performance whereof she had before layd sundry ways, and there step into his bed; at what time they also agreed they would be all ready to enter the chamber and take them together, not doubting, but that, being many to one, they might, if they were so enforced, easily bear the world in hand, that the lewd woman had been longer with him before their coming, and was taken with him in adultery; or if the Archbishop, for fear to call his name in question should yield to any mean that the matter might be concealed, that then every of them had thereby opportunity offered to work for their advantage—what every of their occasions required, whether it were for slander of religion, gain of money, credit in the countrey by the Archbishop's countenance, or some other benefit; and that this device, though long before resolved, as Sisson and his wife confessed, was not to be put in execution but when Sir Robert Stapleton might be present. According to which agreement, the Archbishop being in bed asleep at midnight, was awaked with the sudden terror of William Sysson; who, falsely pretending that he had taken his wife in bed, offered his dagger drawn to the Archbishop's breast, and made shew that he purposed in revenge of his surmised injury to have offered him great violence: and that immediately, upon this occasion, Sir Robert Stapleton, pretending not to have been any way acquainted beforehand with the matter, but that he came thither upon sending for by Sysson, and as called from his chamber by the said Alexander by Sysson's appointment; and putting on the countenance of a singular friend to the Archbishop, whereof he made shew, as well by sending away Sysson and his wife out of the Archbishop's chamber, as by many solemn protestations of his earnest love of the Archbishop, and singular care of his credit and ministry; induced the Archbishop, contrary to his earnest desire, which he then declared, of having this vile and slanderous injury offered to him by Sysson and his wife immediately discovered and revenged, to stay until the morning: laying before him many perils and dangers to his name and the credit of Religion that might ensue, if, being one against so many, he would attempt to make any stir in that cause; persuading him, that notwithstanding his innocency, which the Archbishop earnestly protested, and he then acknowledg'd, it were better to stop the mouths of needy persons, than to bring his name into a doubtful question, whereunto he promised his faithful assistance and secresy. And Sir Robert having, under colour of grave counsel proceeding from a special affection to the Archbishop and his credit, procured the Archbishop to omit the present opportunity to discover that treachery; and from that time forward, by other instances of deep dissimulation, made him believe he was a sure friend unto whom he might give trust: but also by devising from time to time, by the space of seven or eight months, sundry practises and policies, to minister to the Archbishop occasion of fear that his name should come in question by treachery wrought against him at Doncaster, drew from the said Archbishop sundry sums of money, and gave other attempts to have inriched himself with the spoil of the Bishoprick. At length, the Archbishop discovering Sir Robert's malice and treacherous dissimulation, and detesting such horrible treachery cloaked with the holy countenance of Religion and Friendship, he adventured, in confidence of his own innocency, to be the first means himself to bring the whole cause to examination before the Council. When Sir Robert, and his confederates, understood that the matter was to come to a publick hearing, they entered, both at York and at London, into a second conspiracy, binding themselves by oath each to other, that they would never acknowledge they were privy beforehand to any practise or purpose, that Sisson's wife should go to the Archbishop's chamber at Doncaster, but that they were on sudden called thereunto and found them together, not doubting any such matter when they were called. And, after their commitments to several prisons, intelligence and instructions passed from the one to the other, as well by letters as messages, whereby direction and notice was given from the one to the other, what had

(30) Lives, &c. as above, p. 42, &c.

grant him an advantageous leafe of his manors of Southwell and Scrooby [Q]. And he even procured the Queen to follicit him to do it; but all in vain (f). The fame attempt was repeated in 1587, in the Earl of Leicefter's behalf; and likewife without fuccefs (g). Endeavours alfo were ufed, in 1588, to get from him his Archiepifcopal houfe in London: which, however, he would not be prevailed upon to part with (h). In his time, ufury was fo exorbitant, that it amounted to cent. per cent. He endeavoured to reftrain it, by preaching, and by bringing the offenders into the ecclefiaftical commiffion, but met with great oppofition (i). After a life full of troubles and contention, owing principally to the iniquity of the times, our learned Primate left this world on the 10th of July, 1588, in the 69th year of his age: and was buried in the collegiate church of Southwell, where a monument is erected to his memory (k). His character is given below [R]: as alfo an account of his writings [S]. He was twice married; firft, to a daughter of Mr Sandes

(f) J. Le Neve's Lives, &c. as above, p. 58, &c.

(g) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 461.

(h) Ibid. p. 550, 551.

(i) Ibid. p. 320, &c.

(k) J. Le Neve, Lives, &c. as above, Part 2. p. 65, and Epitaph.

had been confeffed, what concealed, and what was to be uttered. When they came to be particularly examined upon oath, Sir Robert, and Mawd perfifted in their former falfe-devifed and counterfeited tales. But William Siffon with great tears confeffed his offence, and both opened his treacherous handling of the Archbifhop in his houfe, which he declared to have been a matter concerted amongft themfelves, without any defert or fhew of guiltinefs on the Archbifhop's part, for ought that he could ever hear or fee: And alfo fhewed, that their falfe tales which they had before declared to the Lords, tending to the Archbifhop's defamation, were things of their own heads forged and confpired at York, whereunto they had tyed themfelves each to other by oath without any matter of truth. Sir Robert and Mawd hearing that Siffon had difcovered the whole affair, confeffed their own treachery; but Alexander Farbis perfifted in his former ftubbornefs. ——In the end, the Archbifhop was found and declared entirely innocent of the wicked flanders and imputations raifed againft him. And Sir Robert Stapleton, Bern. Mawd, William Syffon, and Farbis, were ordered to be committed to the Fleet, there to remain prifoners three years, and further during the Queen's pleafure:——Sir Robert, at the next affifes at York, publickly to acknowledge the Archbifhop's innocency, fubmit to him, afk him forgivenefs upon his knees; pay to her Majefty's ufe 3000 l. and ftand at her mercy and pleafure to be degraded of his knighthood.—— Mawd, Syffon, and Farbis to ftand in the pillory at Weftminfter, and at the next affifes in York; and Farbis to have one of his ears cut off upon the pillory, at each place: They three to pay the following fines to the Queen, Syffon 500 l. Mawd 300 l. Farbis 100 l. and alfo publickly acknowledge their own offence and the Archbifhop's innocency, and afk his forgivenefs. ——Alfo, that before the faid Sir Robert, Mawd, Syffon, and Alexander, were delivered of their imprifonment, they fhould make fatisfaction and reftitution to the Archbifhop, of the fum of 703 l. which they had injurioufly extorted and gotten from him. Laftly, that Alexander Farbis fhould be banifhed the realm for ever.' Sir John Harrington obferves (31), 'that this iniquitous bufinefs was the ruin of Sir Robert 'Stapleton. For, though he lived to have part of 'his fine releaft by his Majefties clemency; yet he toft 'up and down all his life without any great content'ment, from Wiltfhire into Wales, and thence to the 'ifle of Man, a while to Chelfey, but little to York'fhire where his Stay fhould have been.'

(31) As above, p. 180.

[Q] *Of his manors of Southwell and Scroby.*] He writ upon that occafion a letter to the Queen, wherein he excufes himfelf from parting with thofe two manors, and gives the following account of the value of them. 'There pertain to thefe two mannors as members 'thereof 32 towns, and as it is thought 1000 tenants, 'poor copyholders for the moft part, which have en'joy'd great liberties and cuftomes: All thefe by this 'leafe may be racked, and, as the prophet faith, the 'fkin pulled off their backs; the cry whereof would 'found in your Majefties eares to your great difcontent. 'The mannor of Southwell hath belonging unto it 'three parks well furnifhed with deer; by virtue of 'this leafe they may all be difparked, and turned to 'greater gain. In this leafe be all R. granted, which 'thing within the fpace of 20 years and lefs will make 'the annual rent of thefe two mannors above 1000 l 'by year, if the land be racked, as now a-days 'amongft men is commonly ufed. The woods now 'growing are efteem'd worth 5000 l. fo that the great 'abatement of the annual rent before-mentioned, the 'want of the houfes, the cutting down of all the 'woods, the great liberties and royalties pertaining to 'thefe two mannors, the great benefit of thefe R —— 'with perquifits in courts, felons, and deodans goods, 'with all other commodities belonging to thefe two 'mannors and their members, would within the com'pafs of this leafe, if it fhould be granted, be a lofs 'unto the fee of York feventy thoufand pounds at the 'leaft.'——A little after he adds,—'And that it 'may appear to your Majefty that I feeke not myfelfe, 'but the good of the Church, I fhall moft gladly give 'all the fubftance that I have as it fhall pleafe you to 'appoint; as alfo to refign up the whole intereft that 'I have in this Bifhoprick to your Majefties hands to 'difpofe of, or elfe what thing foever lieth in me to 'doe, which with a good confcience towards God I 'may, that fhall be ever moft ready to your Majefties 'command'—It was dated 24 Novemb. 1582 (32).

(32) J. Le Neve, as above, p. 61, &c.

[R] *His character, &c.*] It is thus reprefented in his epitaph.——'Homo hominum a malitia & vin'dicta innocentiffimus, magnanimus, apertus, & tan'tum nefcius adulari, fummè liberalis atque mifericors, 'hofpitaliffimus, optimus, facilis, & in fola vitia fu'perbus: fcilicet, haud minora quam locutus eft vixit, '& fuit. In Evangelii prædicandi laboribus ad extre'mum ufque halitum mirabiliter affiduus. A fermoni'bus ejus nunquam non melior difcederes. Facundus 'volebat effe, & videbatur. Ignavos, fedulitatis fuæ 'confcius, oderat. Bonas literas auxit pro facultati'bus Ecclefiæ patrimonium, velut rem Deo facra'tam decuit, intactum defendit. Gratia qua floruit 'apud illuftriffimam mortalium Elizabetham effecit, ne 'hanc in qua jacet Ecclefiam, tu jacentem cerneres.' ——The fubftance of which is——He was quite innocent againft the malice and revenge of the world; couragious, open-hearted, not knowing how to flatter, extremely liberal and merciful, very hofpitable and good, eafy of accefs, and harfh only againft vice: in a word he lived up to his profeffion. Affiduous in preaching, to his laft breath: You could not help coming away better from his fermons. He endeavoured to be eloquent, and he appeared fo. Confcious of his own induftry, he hated idlenefs. He encouraged learning to the utmoft of his power. The patrimony of the Church he not only left untouched, but alfo defended, as a thing confecrated to God. Through his credit with Queen Elizabeth, he faved this church wherein he lieth, from being entirely deftroyed.

[S] *As alfo an account of his writings*] Several of his Letters, and other papers, are inferted in Strype's Annals (33); in his Life of Arp. Parker (34); and in his Life of Arp. Whitgift (35); Likewife in Bp. Burnet's Hiftory of the Reformation (36): and in other places.——In 1616, two and twenty of his Sermons were collected together, and printed at London, in a fmall 4to with this title. 'Sermons of the moft Re'verend Father in God, Edwin Archbifhop of Yorke, 'Primat and Metropolitane of England. Some 'whereof were preached in the parts beyond the feas, 'in the time of his exile, in the raigne of Queene 'Marie. The refidue, in fuch places of preferment 'as he enjoyed under her late Majeftie, Queene Eliza'beth, of famous memorie: viz He was in Anno D. '1559. firft confecrated Bifhop of Worcefter; and 'thence tranflated to London in Anno D. 1570, 'and then removed to York in Anno D. 1576. 'With a Preface to the Chriftian Readers of their vfe 'and benefit; by a moft reuerend Father now living.' Two of them were preached at Strafburg; four before the Queen; one before the Parliament; five at York; and moft of the reft at Paul's crofs. His ftyle is good, much

(33) Vol. I. p. 386, &c. Appendix, p. 80, 86.

(34) Appendix, p. 25.

(35) Appendix, p. 19.

(36) Part II. Collect. of Records, p 332. and Part III. Coll. of Rec. p. 639.

Mr Sandes of Essex, a gentlewoman beautiful both in body and mind, which dyed at Strasburg of a consumption (*l*): secondly to Cicely, sister to Sir Thomas Wilford, of Hartridge in Kent, by whom he had seven sons [*T*], and two daughters. She lived 'till the year 1610 (*m*). From Sir Samuel, the eldest son, is descended the present Lord Sandys.

(*l*) J. Foxe, edit. as above, p. 1893, col. 1.

(*m*) Ar. Collins, as above, p. 452—455. Fr. Godwin de Præsulibus, ex edit. Clar. Richardsoni, p. 711. note p. She was not the wife that went with him to Germany, as is there said.

much superior to the generality of the writers of those times.

[*T*] *By whom he had seven sons.*] Namely Samuel, Edwin, Miles, William, Thomas, Henry, and George. His second son, Sir *Edwin*, was a learned man; and wrote, '*Europæ Speculum*, or, a view or survey of the 'State of Religion in the Westerne parts of the world. 'Wherein the Romane Religion, and the pregnant 'Policies of the Church of Rome to support the same, 'are notably displayed.' At his death, in 1629, he bequeathed 1500l. to the university of Oxford, for the endowment of a metaphysic lecture.—— *George*, the youngest, was an excellent Poet, as appears by his translation of Ovid's Metamorphoses, his Paraphrase of the Psalms, and other Poems.

He also publish'd 'A Relation of a Journey begun 'An. Dom. 1610,' or his Travels to the Holy Land, and other places; adorned with cuts, taken mostly from the Devotissimo Viagio di Zuallardo Roma 1587. 4to.—He had also two daughters, Marguet, and Anne (37). C

(37) Collins's Peerage, as above, p. 454. and Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 552.

SAVILE [Sir Henry], a person of great learning, in part of the XVIth and XVIIth centuries, was the second son of Henry Savile [*A*], by Elizabeth his wife, daughter of Robert Ramsden, Gent. and born at Over-Bradley near Halifax in Yorkshire, November 30, 1549. In the beginning of the year 1561, he was admitted into Merton-college in Oxford (*a*) [*B*]; and January 14, 1565, took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (*b*), performing his exercises to the admiration of his auditors: from that time he was esteemed an excellent Philosopher. Soon after he was elected Fellow of his college, in which, as well as in the rest of the university, there were then but very few good scholars. That imputation he quickly removed, by rendering himself eminent in every branch of literature (*c*). On the 30th of April, 1570, he proceeded Master of Arts (*d*); reading for that degree on the Almagest of Ptolemy, which procured him the reputation of a man wonderfully skilled in the Greek language and the Mathematics. In this last, he voluntarily read a publick Lecture in the University for some time. And having now very great interest, he was elected Proctor for two years together, namely, for 1575 and 1576, an honour not very common (*e*) [*C*]. He travelled soon after into France, and other countries; where diligently improving himself in all useful Learning, in Languages, and the knowledge of the world, he became a most accomplished gentleman. At his return, he was made Tutor for the Greek tongue to Queen Elizabeth, who liked both his parts and person. And, about that time, he obliged the world with a Translation of part of C. Tacitus [*D*]. In 1585, he was constituted Warden of Merton-college (*f*), which he governed six and thirty years with great diligence and integrity; making it his chief care, both night and day, to improve it with riches, and all kinds of good literature. For which purpose, he always made choice of the best Scholars at the usual elections of Bachelor-Fellows (*g*). In 1596, he published a Collection of the best ancient Writers of our English History [*E*]. The same year, Queen Elizabeth made him Provost of

(*a*) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721. Vol. I. col. 465.

(*b*) Idem Fasti, Vol. I. col. 95.

(*c*) Wood, Ath. ut supra.

(*d*) Idem, Fasti, col. 104.

(*e*) Ath. ut supr. & Fasti, col. 111.

(*f*) Wood Hist. & Ant. Univ. Oxon. Lib. ii. p. 86.

(*g*) Idem, Ath.

[*A*] *Was the second Son of Henry Savile.*] This Henry was second Son of John Savile of New-hall in Yorkshire, Esq; (1).

[*B*] *He was admitted into Merton-college in Oxford.*] According to the custom then prevailing, he had a Tutor assign'd him to teach him Grammar, and another Dialectic or Logic; or else one and the same person did both (2).

[*C*] *An honour not very common.*] At that time the Proctors were chosen out of the whole body of the University, by the Doctors and Masters; and consequently none but men of learning, parts, and considerable interest durst aspire to that honour. But after the Elections were restrained to particular Colleges by the Caroline cycle, in 1629, as they have been quieter, so have they been less considered.

[*D*] *And about that time he obliged the world with a Translation of part of C. Tacitus.*] It was an English translation of the Four first Books of that admired Author's History, and of his Life of Agricola. To which be prefixed an elegant and concise account of the End of Nero, and the beginning of Galba. Printed at London in 1581. fol. This translation was highly extolled, as 'the work of a very great Master 'indeed, both in our Tongue and that story (3).' For if we consider, adds Mr Wood (4), the difficulty of the original, and the age wherein the Translator lived, it is, both for the exactness of the version, and the chastity of the language, one of the most accurate and perfect translations that ever were made into English. ——— He accompanied his Version with excellent *Notes*, that were translated into Latin by Isaac Gruter, and published at Amsterdam in 1649. 12mo. And to them Mr Gruter subjoined a Treatise of our author, *De Militiâ Romana*, published in 1598. fol. under this title, 'A View of certain Military Matters, 'or Commentaries concerning Roman Warfare.' Which Treatise soon after its first appearance, had been translated into Latin by Marquh. Freherus, and printed at Heidelberg in 1601. 8vo. but was now grown extremely scarce. ——— Mr Savile dedicated his translation to his Mistress Queen Elizabeth; and 'the cause why he published it under her Majesty's 'name and protection (beside the testification of *his* 'bounden duty) was [as he tells her] the great ac'count her Highness most worthily *held* this Historie 'in. ——— But, adds he, the principal cause was 'to incite your Majesty by this as by a foil to commu'nicate to the world, if not those admirable Composi'tions of your own, yet at the least those most rare 'and excellent Translations of Histories, if I may call 'them Translations, which have so infinitely exceeded 'the originals.' ———

[*E*] *In 1596. he published a collection of the best ancient writers of our English History.*] This collection he intituled, *Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores post* Bedam *præcipui, ex vetustissimis Codicibus manuscriptis nunc primum in lucem editi.* And it contains, 1 *William*, Monk of *Malmsbury*'s, History of the Kings of England, in seven books. The lives of the English Bishops, by the same, in four books. 2. The histories of *Henry* Archdeacon of *Huntindon*, in eight books. 3. The Annals of *Roger* de *Hoveden*. 4. The Chronicle of *Ethelwerd*, in four books. 5. The history of *Ingulph*, Abbot of Croyland. ——— He added Chronological Tables at the end, or, *Fasti Regum & Episcoporum Angliæ, usque ad Willielmum Seniorem*; from Julius Cæsar to the coming in of William the Conqueror. But

(1) Wood, Ath. ut supra.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Edm. Bolton's Hypercritica, &c. publish'd by A. Hall.

(4) Ath. col. 466.

of Eaton-college, which Society he made it his business to replenish with the learnedst and most considerable men; as will appear by barely mentioning some of them, namely, Tho. Allen, the ever-memorable John Hales, Thomas Savile, &c. K. James I, at his accession to the crown of England, express'd a particular regard for our Author and his learning, and would have advanced him to a higher place either in Church or State, but he refused it, and only accepted of the honor of Knighthood from his Majesty at Windsor, 21 September 1604. About that time, Sir Henry losing his only son, and having no hopes left of perpetuating his name by a family, he thenceforth devoted his time and fortune to the service and interests of Learning (*b*). Particularly, he undertook the fine edition of St Chrysostom's Works, of which an account is given below [*F*]. He also published, in 1618, a book written by Thomas Bradwardin, Archbishop of Canterbury, against Pelagius [*G*]: And some other pieces of his mentioned in the notes have been published by himself or others [*H*]: besides what he left in manuscript [*I*]. Many of the printed

(*b*) Wood, Ath. ut supra.

But Mr Wharton observes, that the Manuscript of William of Malmsbury's, from which this edition is publish'd, was very incorrect. *Vir illustris D. Henricus Savilius Historiam illius ex mendosissimo Codice descriptam evulgavit* (5). Mr Selden had an ancient MS. of this History of W. of Malmsbury, very near Malmsbury's own time; and once belonging to the Priory of St Augustin in Canterbury (6); which it is pity our learned editor did not see. In his Epistle Dedicatory to Queen Elizabeth, he observes, That some *parts* of our History had been tolerably written by some, but a compleat *Body* of it by none, with the faithfulness and dignity the subject deserved. For, as to Polydore Vergil, besides that he was a stranger, unacquainted with our Constitution, and a man of a slender genius and learning, he hath often mistaken falsehood for truth, and left us not only a faulty but a very imperfect History. Our own low-bred Historians, while they have attempted to adorn the majesty of so great a work, have defiled it with the most disagreeable absurdities. Whereby it is come to pass, that our most illustrious Princes, who outdid all their contemporaries in Bravery, for want of historians, are neglected and unknown. To remedy which evil, not having Himself leisure, nor being furnished with proper helps and materials, for erecting a suitable and lasting Building from the foundation; he contributed towards it as far as he could by publishing these ancient Historians. *Historiæ nostræ particulam quidam non malè: Sed qui totum corpus ea fide, eaque dignitate scriptis complexus sit, quam suscepti operis magnitudo postularet, hactenus plane neminem extitisse constat. Nam* Polydorus, *ut homo Italus, & in rebus nostris hospes, & (quod caput est) neque in rep. versatus, nec magni alioqui vel judicii vel ingenii, pauca ex multis delibans, & falsa plerumque pro veris amplexus, historiam nobis reliquit cum cætera mendosam, tum exiliter sane & jejune conscriptam. Nostri ex fæce plebis historici, dum majestatem tanti operis ornare studuerunt, putidissimis ineptiis contaminârunt. Ita factum est nescio qua hujusce insulæ infoelicitate, ut majores tui (serenissima Regina) viri maximi, qui magnam hujus orbis nostri partem imperio complexi, omnes sui temporis Reges rerum gestarum gloria facile superârunt, magnorum ingeniorum quasi lumine destituti, jaceant ignoti, & delitescant. Cui malo dum medicinam quærerem, neque ita essem vel animo vacuus, vel ab illis subsidiis & quasi instrumentis historiæ scribendæ instructus, ut opus a fundamentis extruerem victurum, serisque nepotibus temporum illorum memoriam transmissurum: feci tamen, quod potui, non invitus, ut ex situ, & squalore, pulvereque eruerem, & in lucem primus emitterem vetustissimos rerum nostrarum authores, non illos quidem facundos, sed fidos rerum gestarum interpretes; eo consilio ut alii, qui & otio abundarent & ingenio, hos quasi ad manum haberent rerum nostrarum commentarios, unde sumerent quæ ad tanti operis exædificationem pertinerent.* —— Some inferred from this passage, that he intended Himself to write a general History of England, though the words do not really imply so much: Nay it is said, that he had searched the Records in the Tower, for that purpose (7). But if ever he formed any such Design, it is evident from this passage, that he had given it over very early. ——— This volume of antient Historians was reprinted at Francfort in 1601. fol. with the addition of an Index; but many errors crept into that edition, especially in the spelling of the English words.

(5) Præfat. ad Angl. Sacr. Part i. p. 13.

(6) See Mr Selden's Notes on Drayton's Poly-Olbion, edit. 1622. p. 182.

(7) Wood, Ath. col. 467.

[*F*] *Particularly he undertook the fine edition of St Chrysostom's works.*] This great Performance is divided into *Eight Volumes*, folio, printed upon very good paper, and with types nearly equal, in goodness and beauty to the elegant ones of the Stephens's. The general title of the whole work, within the middle of a well-engraved copper plate, is 'S. IOANNIS CHRYSOSTOMI OPERA Græcè, Octo Voluminibus, Etonæ, in Collegio Regali, Excudebat Joannes Norton, in Græcis, etc. Regius Typograpus. 1613.' But each Volume hath also a Greek title in this manner, *Τοῦ ἐν Ἁγίοις Πατρὸς ἡμῶν* ΙΟΑΝΝΟΥ ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΤΟΥ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΥ *τῶν εὑρισκομένων* ΤΟΜΟΣ —— *Δι' ἐπιμελείας κ̀ ἀναλωμάτων* ΕΡΡΙΚΟΥ *τȣ* ΣΑΒΙΛΙΟΥ *ἐκ παλαιῶν ἀντιγράφων ἐκδοθείς.* ——— In the Preface he informs the Reader, That having visited Himself, about twelve years before, all the public and private Libraries in Britain, and copied out from thence whatever he thought useful for his Design; he then sent some learned men into France, Germany, Italy, and the East, to transcribe such parts as he had not already, and to collate the others with the best Manuscripts. At the same time, he acknowledges to have received the most considerable assistance from the following great Men: Jac. Augustus Thuanus, or De Thou; Marc. Velserus of Augsburg; George Michael Lingelsheim; Andrew Schott; Isaac Casaubon; Fronto Ducæus; Janus Gruterus; David Hoeschelius; Sebastian Tengnagel; and Gabriel Archbishop of Philadelphia. He professes to have used the utmost exactness, and impartiality. *Et quidem ut cætera sint & mea, & aliorum expectatione inferiora, religionem certe in exprimendis scriptis codicibus præstabo: quam minimum indultum conjecturis, nihil datum studiis partium, nihil auribus cujusquam.* ——— In the eighth Volume are inserted Sir Henry Savile's own Notes, together with those of the learned John Bois (8), Thomas Allen, Andrew Downes, David Hoeschelius, &c. —— The whole charge of this edition is said to have stood Sir Henry in no less than *eight thousand* pounds, including the paper and printing, and the several sums he paid to the learned men, at home and abroad, employed in finding out, transcribing, and collating the best manuscripts. But as soon as it was finished, the Bishops and Clergy of France employed Fronto Ducæus, abovementioned, a learned Jesuit, to reprint it at Paris with a Latin translation; which greatly lessened the price of Sir Henry's own edition, and made it much less valuable than it would otherwise have been (9). This edition was printed in 1621, and the subsequent years, in ten Volumes, fol. And a finer Edition hath been since put out by Father Montfaucon, and the Benedictins, Paris 1718. thirteen Volumes, fol.

(8) See above the article BOYSE, or BOIS [JOHN].

(9) Wood, Ath. ut supra, col. 467.

[*G*] *He also published, in 1618, a book written by Thomas Bradwardin —against Pelagius.*] The title of it is, *Thomæ Bradwardini, Archiepiscopi olim Cantuariensis, de Causâ Dei contra Pelagium, & de Virtute Causarum ad suos Mertonenses libri* III. Lond fol. He prefixed thereto Bradwardin's Life, compiled by himself. *Vita Thomæ Bradwardini Archiep. olim Cantuariensis*

[*H*] *And some other pieces of his mentioned in the note*, &c.] He published from his elegant Greek press at Eaton, 1. an edition of *Xenophon's Institution of Cyrus*, Gr. 1613 4to and, 2. of *Nazianzen's Steliteutici*, 1610. 3. In 1621, he published a Collection of his own Mathematical Lectures: *Prælectiones tresdecim in principium Elementorum Euclidis Oxoniæ habitæ.* Oxon. 1621. 4to. —— 4. A Speech of his before Queen Elizabeth, *Oratio coram Reginâ Elizabethâ Oxoniæ habita, an* 1592, was published by Mr (afterwards Bishop) Barlow, in 1658, from the original in

printed Books in his choice Library were enriched with his own valuable marginal Notes, which have been since made use of by learned men in their editions of those books [K]. In 1619, he founded two Lectures, or Professorships, in the university of Oxford, one of Geometry and the other of Astronomy; which he endowed with a salary of one hundred and sixty pounds a year each: besides a legacy of 600 l. for purchasing more lands for the same use (*i*). He also furnish'd a Library with mathematical books [*L*] near the mathematical school, for the use of his professors. And gave 100 l. to the mathematical Chest of his own appointing; adding afterwards a legacy of 40 l. a year to the same Chest, and to the University, and his professors jointly. He likewise gave 120 l. towards the new-building of the schools; several rare MS. and printed books to the Bodleian library; and a good quantity of matrices and Greek types to the printing press at Oxford (*k*). Thus this great man having, for many years, consecrated his time and pains to the service of Religion and Learning, departed this life February 19, 1621-2, at Eaton-college, and was buried in the chapel there. A black marble stone was soon after laid over his grave (*l*): And a most sumptuous honorary monument erected to his memory, in the choir of the church adjoining to Merton-college (*m*). The university of Oxford paid him the greatest honors possible, by having a public Speech and Verses made in his praise; which were published soon after [*M*]. As to his character; the highest encomiums are bestowed upon him, by Isaac Casaubon (*n*), John Boyse (*o*), Josias Mercerus (*p*), Isaac Gruter (*q*), Marc. Meibomius (*r*), Joseph Scaliger (*s*), and especially the learned Richard Mountagu, who styles him 'that Magasin of Learning, whose memory shall 'bee honourable amongst not onely the Learned, but the Righteous for ever (*t*).' Even J. Pits, who seldom speaks favorably of Protestants, cannot help giving him his just commendation [*N*]. By his wife Elizabeth, daughter of George Dacres of Cheshunt in Hertfordshire, he left one only daughter; which was married to Sir John Sedley of Kent, Bart. (*u*), Son of Sir William, who bequeath'd, in 1618, two thousand pounds, for founding and endowing a Natural Philosophy Lecture in Oxford (*w*). A letter of Sir Henry Savile to Sir Robert Cotton, relating to Mr Bodley and his famous Library at Oxford, hath been publish'd by T. Hearne (*x*), which we shall give in the note [*O*].

in the Bodleian library; and afterwards by Dr John Lamphire in the second edition of *Monarchia Britannica*. Oxon. 1681. 8vo. 5. He translated into elegant Latin, King James the First's 'Apology for the Oath of 'Allegiance.' ——. 6. Four Letters of his to Mr Camden are printed among *Camdeni Epistolæ* &c (10). 7. And one in the fourth Volume of Mr Strype's Annals.

[*I*] *Besides what he left in manuscript.*] The following MSS of his are in the Bodleian Library. Orations. Tract of the Original of Monasteries. Tract concerning the Union of England and Scotland, written at the command of King James I (11). He proposed to set out *Walter de Merton*'s life, at least to make a collection of it for the use of himself and friends (12). But what progress he made in it, doth not appear.

[*K*] *Many of the printed Books in his choice Library were enriched with his own valuable marginal notes,* &c.] Those, in particular, that he had made upon *Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History*, were introduced into the fine edition of that History by Henr. Valesius, as he thankfully acknowledges in the Preface.

[*L*] *He also furnish'd a Library with Mathematical books,* &c.] Of this he gives the following account in a letter to Mr Camden (13), —— 'I for my part 'have cleared my study of all the Mathematical Books, 'which I had gathered in so many years and countreys, 'Greek and Latin, printed and manuscripts, even to 'the very raw Notes that I have ever made in that 'argument, but with express charge, that they may 'make use of them, if there be any thing of worth in 'them, but never to set out any of mine in print.'

[*M*] *Which were published soon after.*] Under the title of *Ultima Linea Savilii*. Oxon. 1622. 4to.

[*N*] *Even J. Pits ——— cannot help giving him his just commendation.*] D. Henricus Savilius *Anglus, Eques auratus, Collegii Mertonensis in Academia Oxoniensi Custos magnificus, vir Græce ac Latine perinde doctus, venerandæ antiquitatis (ut videtur) tam exquisitus indagator, quam ingenuus & liberalis editor* (14). i. e. Sir Henry Savile, Kt. the renowned Warden of Merton college in the university of Oxford, a man extremely well skilled in Greek and Latin, and both a laborious searcher, and a faithful and generous publisher, of the remains of venerable antiquity.

[*O*] *Which we shall give in the note.*]

Sir Henry Savile to Sir R. C[otton].

'Sir,

I have made M. Bodley acquainted with your kind and friendly offer, who accepteth of it in most thankful manner: and if it pleaseth you to appoint to morrow at afternoon, or upon Monday or Tuesday next at some houre likewise after dinner, wee wil not faile to bee with you at your house for that purpose. And remember I give you faire warning, that if you hold any booke so deare, as that you would bee loath to have him out of your sight, set him aside before hand. For my own part, I wil not do that wrong to my judgment, as to choose of the worst, if better bee in place: and beside, you would account mee a simple man. But to leave jesting, we wil any of the dayes come to you, leaving, as great reason is, your own in your own power freely to retaine or dispose. True it is, that I have raised some expectation of the quality of your guift in M. Bodley, whom you shal find a Gentleman in all respects worthy of your Acquaintance. And so with my best commendations I commit you to God. This St Peter's day.

Your very assured friend

Court.

Henry Savile.'

(*i*) Wood, Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. L. i. p. 324. & L. ii. p. 41.

(*k*) Idem, L. i. p. 324.

(*l*) Wood, Ath. col. 468.

(*m*) The inscription may be seen in Wood Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. L. ii. p. 89.

(*n*) Epistol. 100. ad H. Savile; & in Appendice ad Epistolas.

(*o*) Not. ad Homil. in Genes. inter Opera S. *Chrysostomi*.

(*p*) Not. ad C. Tacit. Annalium lib. I.—eruditissimus & omni literatura politissimus Henricus Savillus.

(*q*) Præfat ad H. Savilii not. in Hist. Taciti, a se Latinè versas.

(*r*) Præfat. ad Gaudentii Introduct. Harmonic.

(*s*) In 3 *lib. Epistol.* ep. 232. ad Ric. Thomsonum.

(*t*) Diatribæ upon the first Part of the History of Tithes, p. 126.

(*u*) Wood, Ath. col. 468.

(*w*) Idem, Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. L. ii. p. 42.

(*x*) Appendix to 2d vol. of Joannis Confratris & Monachi Glastoniensis Chronica; edit. Oxon. 1726. 8vo. p. 644.

(10) Edit. Lond. 1691. 4to. p. 219, 224, 213, 214.

(11) Wood, Ath. col. 468.

(12) Camdeni Ep. p. 220.

(13) Camdeni Ep. p. 315.

(14) De illustribus Angliæ Scriptoribus, &c. edit. Paris. 1619, 4to. p. 471.

C

The End of the Fifth Volume.

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